Exploring placemaking in Oslo

Critical perspectives on the 'making' of places

Clara Julia Reich

Master thesis in Development, Environment and Cultural Change

Centre for Development and the Environment
University of Oslo

June 2020

© Clara Julia Reich

June 2020

Exploring Placemaking in Oslo – Critical perspectives on the ‘making’ of places

http://www.duo.uio.no/

Trykk: Reprosentralen, Universitetet i Oslo

Abstract

Cities around the globe are rapidly growing. The high urbanisation rates bear potentials for innovations, including adaptation to climate change and transformations towards sustainability. However, urbanisation also involves risks of increasing social inequalities, gentrification and displacement. These transformations raise questions about how liveable and sustainable public spaces can be created. One approach to dealing with this is placemaking, which has emerged as a movement, concept and tool for improving public spaces since the 1960s. In 2018 with the launch of two placemaking networks in Norway's capital, placemaking gained attention among policymakers, practitioners and activists. In 2019 Oslo was selected as European Green Capital and presented itself as a growing, green, innovative, creative and liveable city, which aligns with placemaking's objectives.

To analyse placemaking in Oslo, focussing particularly on the Gamle Oslo district, 19 people involved in the 'making' of places were interviewed. Drawing on critical perspectives on placemaking and the engaged programme in science and technology studies, the fuzziness of placemaking was analysed. Identifying liveability claims in the existing placemaking literature and movement as a whole, questions of liveability in Oslo–for whom, why and how–arose. The analysis demonstrates that people realising placemaking in Oslo can be categorised in three groups: top-down public sector actors, bottom-up grassroots actors and placemaking professionals focussing on a small and/or large scale projects. The collaboration between top-down and bottom-up actors is particularly challenged due to public regulations, municipal processes, structures and communication issues. Furthermore, deconstructing place narratives, images and myths are ways to analyse power structures and illustrate in-/exclusion and marginalisation processes and make spatial and social inequalities visible. Moreover, to evaluate whether placemaking de facto is improving public places, potential negative environmental and social outcomes of placemaking need to be assessed further. As such, critical perspectives on placemaking open up a possibility to scrutinise how power structures, dynamics, and place narratives are at play in the case studies of the floating sauna and floating garden, as well as at public space Olafiagangen.

Keywords: placemaking, public spaces, sense of place, critical perspectives on placemaking, STS, Oslo, liveability

Acknowledgements

Like placemaking so is a thesis a collaborative process. Hence, I am very grateful that I had many people supporting me in the research and writing process.

First things first, a special thank you goes to my supervisor Arve Hansen for guiding me through the research process, supporting me with valuable feedback. Thank you for all the helpful tips, ideas on my work, and for motivating me to keep on writing.

As part of the research group for sustainable consumption and energy equity, and as an associated master student at Include, I received very valuable feedback and inspiration for my thesis and would like to kindly thank everyone involved. A special thanks go to Ulrikke Bryn Wethal and Tanja Winther for supporting me in restructuring and clarifying my literature review and theoretical framework.

Moreover, I would like to thank the entire PlaceCity project consortium and the Nabolagshager team for inspiring conversations and great collaboration. Thank you Helene Gallis and Laura Martinez Izquierdo for sharing your knowledge on placemaking and fully trusting and supporting my work.

Furthermore, I kindly thank Oslo Forskning for financially supporting my thesis with the Oslo research stipend.

Thank you to Gudrun C. E. Helland and Anne-Line Sandaker for your support and guidance throughout my studies and all the lovely chats about sourdough baking.

My deep gratitude goes to all my interview partners who shared their work, reflections, and ideas on the ‘making’ of places and took time to answer my questions and discuss their projects.

I would like to especially thank Karlotta Schultz for thorough feedback and taking the time to read and engage with my thoughts. Thank you Anders Jakob Sivesind, Ulrike von der Ohe, Thomas Reich and Nora May Engeseth for your feedback, support and insightful conversations.

I thank my family, friends and classmates for patiently listening to all the stories about placemaking and my research process for the last year. Thank you for your support and kindness.

Contents

1. Introduction: Why study cities? 1
  1.1 Why study placemaking? 2
  1.2 Why study placemaking in Oslo? 3
  1.3 Aims and research question 5
  1.4 Structure 6
2. About place(making) 7
  2.1 About places and spaces 7
  2.2 Sense of place 10
  2.3 What is placemaking? 12
    2.3.1 Four types of placemaking 14
      2.3.1.1 Standard placemaking: The Project for Public Spaces' approach 15
      2.3.1.2 Tactical placemaking and tactical urbanism 21
      2.3.1.3 Creative placemaking 24
      2.3.1.4 Strategic placemaking 26
    2.3.2 Placemaking critique 27
  2.4 The emergence of placemaking in Oslo and Norway 28
3. Theoretical framework 30
  3.1 Critical perspectives on placemaking 30
  3.2 Placemaking and the engaged programme 37
  3.3 The engaged programme in science and technology studies (STS) 37
4. Method 43
  4.1 Context 43
  4.2 Qualitative research: Semi-structured interviews 44
  4.3 Case study 45
  4.4 Sampling 46
  4.5 Developing the interview guide and piloting 47
  4.6 Ethics 48
  4.7 Data collection: Interviewing 48
  4.8 Data processing: Notes, transcription and data storage 49
  4.9 Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis: NVivo 50
  4.10 Positionality 51
  4.11 Reflection and limitations 52
5. Doing placemaking in Oslo: Who, how and why? 54

5.1 Public sector actors....58
5.2 Placemaking professionals 64
5.2.1 Large-scale placemaking professionals 64
5.2.2 Small-scale placemaking professionals 69
5.3 Grassroots actors 77
6. Critical analysis of placemaking in Oslo: Placemaking for whom? 81
6.1 Liveability claims....81
6.2 Place(making) narratives, images and myths 84
6.3 Assessing potential negative outcomes of placemaking and the matter of scales and ownership....87
7. Exploring placemaking in Gamle Oslo 93
7.1 Claiming areas in the harbour: From the floating sauna to the floating garden 94
7.2 Olafiagangen: Grønland's entrance....105
8. Conclusion 114
8.1 Placemaking actors, rationales, realisation processes, collaboration challenges and contributions in Oslo 114
8.2 Critical perspectives on placemaking in Oslo....119
8.3 Limitations and further research 123
Bibliography 124
Appendix I: Information sheet and consent form i
Appendix II: List of interviewees v
Appendix III: Interview guide for placemakers in Oslo....vi

List of Abbreviation and Acronyms

DIY	do-it-yourself
JPI	Urban Europe Joint Programming Initiative
NEA	National Endowment for the Arts
NGO	non-governmental organisation
NIMBY	not-in-my-backyard
NOK	Norwegian Krones
NPO	non-profit organisation
NSD	Norwegian Centre for Research Data
PPS	Project for Public Spaces
STS	science and technology studies
SUM	Centre for Development and the Environment
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	United Nations

List of Figures

Figure 1: ‘Four Types of Placemaking’ (Wyckoff 2014, 3). 14
Figure 2: 'What Makes A Great Place?' (Project for Public Spaces 2009b, fourth paragraph). 19
Figure 3: Placemaking actors typology in Oslo (author’s compilation).........................57
Figure 4: Map of the Fjord City (Oslo Kommune Plan- og Bygningsetaten 2008, 10). .93
Figure 5: Floating saunas at Sørenga, Oslo, 31 May 2020. 96
Figure 6: Floating garden at Sukkerbiten, Oslo, 31 May 2020...................................102
Figure 7: Map of Olafiagangen. The map is retrieved from Open Street Map and is based on Oslo Kommune Bymiljøetaten’s (2018, 8) map...105
Figure 8: Olafiagangen under Nylandsbrua, Oslo, 31 May 2020. 109

1. Introduction: Why study cities?

According to the United Nations (UN; 2018) population prognosis, 68% of the world's population will be living in cities by the year 2050. Urbanisation is a global phenomenon, and currently, humans are experiencing the greatest population growth and urbanisation in history. While the most significant urban developments, at a global level, are expected to take place in lower and middle-income countries, many affluent countries are still experiencing continuing urbanisations (Friedmann 2010; Seto et al. 2010; Twohig 2014).

Cities are highly relevant for study and people, as their populations and spaces are growing, with numerous places for people to live, learn, play, work, meet, exchange and relax; moreover, they provide the potential to deal with social challenges and to focus on more sustainable practices and procedures to adapt to climate change (Seto et al. 2010). However, they are also sites of challenges, such as social injustice, displacement, gentrification, deprivation, discontent and alienation (Brenner et al. 2012; Slater 2012).

In Europe, there is an increasing focus on the liveability of urban spaces, and a variety of laws, regulations, agendas and guidelines have been adopted to achieve this (Dempsey and Burton 2012; Kovács and Musterd 2013). An example of such an agenda, which is concerned with the future development of cities, is the UN's Agenda 2030; this includes the organisation's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Goal number 11 of the Agenda focusses on sustainable communities and cities (United Nations 2015). The goal highlights the need for transformation of urban spaces and refers to a variety of different targets ranging from public transport to local businesses, participatory and inclusive urban planning and management with the main target of supporting vulnerable people, including women, children, elderly people and people with disabilities. According to Agenda 2030,

> Sustainable development cannot be achieved without significantly transforming the way we build and manage our urban spaces. [...] Making cities sustainable means creating career and business opportunities, safe and affordable housing, and building resilient societies and economies. It involves investment in public transport, creating green public spaces, and improving urban planning and management in participatory and inclusive ways. (United Nations 2015)

Moreover, the UN's (2016) New Urban Agenda, which was published after the UN-Habitat III Conference in Quito, Ecuador in 2016, posits that cities need to have the

following attributes: they should be competitive; liveable; economically, socially and environmentally sustainable; and deal with a variety of complex interests. This position is strengthened by various scholars, highlighting the increased focus on the importance of city marketing, branding and policymaking to attract human and financial capital and tourists (e.g. Gieryn 2000; Kovács and Musterd 2013; Cilliers et al. 2015). The non-profit organisation (NPO) Project for Public Spaces (PPS; 2018b) collaborates with UN-Habitat to achieve the New Urban Agenda to create sustainable, just, safe and resilient cities using placemaking as a tool. Placemaking is not the only approach to achieve the New Urban Agenda, and it is combined with, for example, policy measures and classical urban planning and management to implement the Agenda (Müller and Shimizu 2018). However, the political use of placemaking as a tool makes it relevant for the study.

1.1 Why study placemaking?

Placemaking emerged as a term in the 1960s as a reaction to modernist planning in the United States, and it developed as a global movement, concept and tool. Despite disciplinary understandings and discussions, the shared core is the aim to create 'better', more 'liveable' and 'sustainable' places in cities (e.g. Project for Public Spaces 2007; Cilliers et al. 2015; Paillliè Pérez 2016). Placemaking gained increasing attention over the last four decades, which led to the establishment of several networks and conferences (Silberberg et al. 2013; Project for Public Spaces 2019b; Hes and Hernandez-Santin 2020). The interest and scope of placemaking may be rooted in the claimed potential of placemaking as leading to economic benefits and sociability, strengthening democracy, providing short- and long-term solutions and having positive environmental outcomes (Project for Public Spaces 2007). Placemaking has an ascribed potential to contribute to sustainable development, combining the environmental, social and economic dimensions of sustainability (Myrick 2011). Hence, placemaking is attributed to a transformative ability leading to more inclusive, just, sustainable, democratic, lively, environmentally friendly places with jobs for locals (Project for Public Spaces 2007; Myrick 2011; Cilliers et al. 2015). Just like sustainability, placemaking comes with the underpinning of being a 'good' concept, approach or tool and seems to be equally at risk of being used as a buzzword (Scoones 2007; Cilliers et

al. 2015; Pailldiè Pérez 2016). Given the scope, increased interest and practice of placemaking and claimed potential, placemaking is an interesting object of study.

Furthermore, placemaking is an inconsistent term that is used to describe a concept, tool or approach across several disciplines, such as geography, architecture, urban planning, design, environmental psychology, ethnography, cultural studies and tourism (Silberberg et al. 2013; Wyckoff 2014; Legge 2015; Courage and McKeown 2019b). Nonetheless, most authors, policymakers and activists assume that it is clear and given what makes a 'good' place, and they avoid critical reflection on the normative underpinnings of the political agenda of creating 'better' places. Considering that urban places are political and sites of power relations, negotiation of dominant narratives, exclusion and inclusion, there is a need for a critical placemaking approach (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). In the placemaking literature, there are few interdisciplinary and critical approaches, despite their potential to open up a space for discussions across disciplinary boundaries. These approaches could address the complexity of urban places and contribute to a more nuanced understanding of them. Scrutinising placemaking in a way that addresses this complexity, different positions, power relations and the political aspects of places has had little research attention in the current placemaking discourses.

1.2 Why study placemaking in Oslo?

Given the city's increasing density and questions about how Oslo is going to develop, as well as the municipality's interest in creating sustainable and 'good' public spaces, it is interesting to study the city and how public places are 'made'. Oslo was one of Europe's fastest growing capitals in the last decades, and it is still growing and increasing its density (Clark 2018; Arnold 2019; Oslo Kommune Statistikkbanken 2019). This has had positive and negative outcomes, including environmental and social issues (Andersen, Skrede, et al. 2018). Oslo was the European Green Capital in 2019 and showcased on an international level, presenting itself as a green city with spaces to experiment and provide new solutions for sustainable development, which can be scaled up (Oslo European Green Capital 2019). Despite these claims that Oslo is a green city, several authors have pointed out the strong role of private investors, which are governed by the government, as having a potential effect on sustainability (Andersen and Røe

2017; Andersen and Skrede 2017; Fossen 2018). The presence of private investors can have the consequence that urban developers and investors do not invest in places where potential buyers will have little money, as the profit would not be promising. Furthermore, this can lead to the use of lower quality materials in places with low-income buyers to increase profit margins (Andersen and Røe 2017; Andersen and Skrede 2017). Considering social justice, inclusion and environmental sustainability, these aspects are problematic (Andersen and Skrede 2017). Acknowledging discussions of sustainable or 'good' urban development raises the question for whom 'good' urban places are meant (Andersen and Røe 2017; Andersen and Ander 2018).

The Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation published a handbook on public urban spaces to facilitate the implementation of SDG 11.7 and promote better urban public spaces. The handbook highlights several placemaking approaches and includes the work of one of my interview partners (Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation 2019). As there is a public interest in the topic of public spaces and placemaking interests in Norway, I aim to contribute to this topic through my work. Considering placemaking as an approach to create 'better' cities is particularly interesting in Oslo's context given the strong role of public-private partnerships in urban development, the speed at which the city is developing and the city's interest in working towards more sustainable urban public spaces that align with the placemaking approach.

Placemaking has emerged as a relatively new term in Oslo, leading to the establishment of two placemaking networks in 2018. One is the Nordic Placemaking Network, which was initiated by the companies Multiconsult and LINK Arkitektur to enhance placemaking in the Nordic countries (Multiconsult 2018); the other is the European Placemaking Network, which spread to the Nordics and is actively exploring and promoting placemaking in Oslo and Norway. This network is funded by the Urban Europe Joint Programming Initiative (JPI; Future Place Leadership 2018; JPI Urban Europe 2020). Due to the recent development of placemaking in Oslo, little research has been conducted on it. This gap leads me to my research aims, as described in the next subsection.

1.3 Aims and research question

In this work, I aim to explore placemaking in Oslo and contribute to filling the research gap. I intend to contribute to placemaking discussions on theoretical and practical levels and to frame my case study findings in Oslo through the critical placemaking approach I expand upon.

I aim to analyse placemaking actors, practices and rationales. Furthermore, I intend to analyse challenges to collaborations and participation between different stakeholders, as I am particularly interested in power structures and frictions based on the theoretical critical placemaking considerations. I aim to explore this, as for the case in Oslo, there is general literature on urban planning, development and structures but no analysis of collaboration challenges in placemaking. Therefore, my first research question and sub-questions are as follows:

I. How is placemaking in Oslo conducted, by whom and for what reasons?
   i. How is collaboration challenged between different stakeholders?
   ii. How does placemaking contribute to the creation of public places in Oslo?

Furthermore, I aspire to focus on a critical placemaking approach, drawing mainly on power structures, social positions and narratives. I aim to expand on the theory by using my Oslo case study with the focus on the Gamle Oslo district to argue for the importance of considering ‘situated knowledges’ and assessing long-term outcomes. Furthermore, I intend to analyse two cases of placemaking in the Gamle Oslo district from a critical placemaking, science and technology studies (STS) and human geography perspective and show how such an analysis can contribute to the placemaking practice. My second research question is:

II. How do critical perspectives on placemaking affect the understanding of placemaking in theory and practices in Gamle Oslo?

Based on the tradition of the engaged programme in STS and critical perspectives on placemaking, I combine a literature review and qualitative interviews in Oslo with a variety of stakeholders to answer these questions.

1.4 Structure

In chapter two, the literature review, I draw on space/place discussions because places are at the core of *place*making and introduce the understanding of place for this work. Moreover, I sketch out the discourse around the concept of sense of place, as this was mentioned by several interviewees in the data collection phase. I review the placemaking literature and draw on four types of placemaking. In chapter three, I introduce my framework with critical perspectives on placemaking, and introduce the use of the engaged programme in STS for the analysis of placemaking. Specifically, I build on Haraway's (1988) understanding of situated knowledges. In chapter four, I elaborate on my methodology. The combination of theoretical and empirical work is grounded in my abductive research process and considerations in STS that knowledge production, technology, and society are interconnected (Stirling 2015; Zegwaard et al. 2015). I describe my qualitative methods, including my data collection, processing and analysis, in this chapter. I also briefly draw on ethics and describe the research limitations.

In chapter five, I focus on my results from the Oslo case on who is placemaking, for what reasons and how. I also discuss how collaborations between actors are challenged and how placemaking contributes to the practice of making places in Oslo. In chapter six, I discuss liveability claims from a critical placemaking perspective and argue for the need to critically access placemaking on a temporal and spatial scale. Then, in chapter seven, I focus on the Oslo case of the floating garden and sauna from a critical placemaking perspective and the case of the public space Olafiagangen, discussing how critical perspectives on placemaking contribute to analysing these cases. Finally, I sum up my questions, sketch out further research, and answer my research questions in chapter eight.

2. About place(making)

2.1 About places and spaces

A *place* is not only an everyday term but also a theoretically contested concept (Cresswell 2004). Here, I briefly sketch out place understandings from human geography, sociology and philosophy perspectives to define place and differentiate it from space. Space, place and scales are at the core of geography as a discipline and have relevance in sociological and philosophical works. *Space* refers to an area's extension on the surface of the Earth, which is conceptualised as either absolute or relational (Mayhew 2015e). I outline place because it is an essential part of *place*making. Placemaking happens in public spaces. Thus, studying placemaking without touching on places and spaces would leave a blank space. In several placemaking definitions, the transformation of spaces into places is highlighted. This transformation is realised through the creation of meaning and attachment of people to places. Therefore, it is important to differentiate place and space conceptually (e.g. Paulsen 2010; Logan 2015; Mintz 2016). As public spaces are relevant for placemaking, I shortly draw on them.

The philosopher Casey (1997) writes that place has been conceptually buried in space or bodies, in philosophy, and has been taken for granted for a long time. He sketches out how the understanding of space changed from Aristotle to Foucault. Based on his philosophical analysis of space and place, Casey (1997) concludes that places are relevant and powerful on theoretical and body levels. He argues that space comes from place, and he contends that being in place in bodily movements may open up space's openness and limitedness through the very emplacement of the body. Casey (1997) follows a phenomenological approach, which states that one is in the world through one's body. Knowing and sensing are embodied and emplaced practices. He conceptualises space and time as coming together as an event in places (Casey 1996).

According to Mayhew (2015a), there are five ways to conceptualise place, which are at the core of geography: 'place as physical location or site, place as a cultural and/or social location, place as context, place as constructed over time, and place as a social process'(first paragraph). In contrast to Casey (1997), the geographer Relph (1976) argues that space and place are interdependent concepts, which are constituted of undifferentiated spaces and places within them. The geographer Tuan (1977) follows Relph, pointing out that space is more abstract and undifferentiated than place is. Places emerge as people obtain knowledge and value is endowed to the place, and they are

unlike undifferentiated spaces. Geographer and poet Cresswell (2004) highlights that making spaces personal transforms them into places. To illustrate this, Cresswell (2004) explains that, for example, an empty room in student housing is just a space like all other rooms and spaces in the building. However, by adding personal belongings and putting up decorations, it becomes personal and meaningful; it becomes a place. He goes further by stating that one can make sense of the world through place and make the world meaningful. Moreover, meaning making leads to place attachment. For Cresswell (2004), place is a perspective and an object and places are always incomplete and in the process of becoming. Places are humans' embodied relationships with the world. Creating places is not innocent, as an inside and an outside are constructed, and this may lead to processes of othering. Furthermore, social categories, such as class, race and gender, are emplaced; hence, they cannot be considered without place (Cresswell 2004). The geographer Massey (1984) emphasises that space is socially constructed, while the social is spatially constructed. Thus, the social and the spatial are entangled (Allen 1984). The meanings and symbols people attach to places need to be critically considered in their temporal changes, as gendered meanings, for example, are often linked to social inequalities (Massey 1994).

The sociologist Gieryn (2000) highlights that place and space are conceptually different. Places are shaped by social forces and emplace differences, hierarchy and intersections. This can lead to patterns of inclusion and exclusion, as well as feelings of belonging or disconnection. Power can be materialised in places, and this can be noticed through increasingly standardised design and the built environment. Power is exercised by place professionals, such as architects, designers, planners, public sector employees and economists. As community feeling, practices, behaviour and social interaction can be influenced, enhanced or hindered through the built environment, it is relevant to consider the materialisation of power. Other aspects of places are that they are sites of social control and social norms, which are often rather implicit (Gieryn 2000).

Following these different perspectives of place and space, I understand the relation between them as interdependent. I understand our bodies as emplaced. Space is more undifferentiated than place is (Casey 1997; Gieryn 2000). Attaching meaning to spaces leads to the creation of places (Cresswell 2004), while places are the sites in which social forces and social categories are at play (Massey 1994; Gieryn 2000). Creating places is a process of situated and embodied people and is not innocent (Haraway 1988;

Cresswell 2004). Places are constituted through processes of social interaction, material elements, sensory bodies, meaning-making processes and combining the spatial and temporal that come together in places (Allen 1984; Gieryn 2000; Cresswell 2004). They are experienced and constructed, and they embrace representation, discourses and power struggles (Bodirsky 2017). Understanding the power relations, social positions and different meaning-making processes is essential; these elements influence placemaking processes and are fundamentally influenced by them (Massey 1994; Gieryn 2000; Cresswell 2004; Bodirsky 2017).

Placemaking takes place in cities' public spaces. Below, I briefly present some theoretical considerations about them. Public space is defined as space that the public ascribes value to and is cocreated through several people and their ascription of meaning and use. Public spaces can be publicly or privately owned. The uses of public places in public space are numerous and can follow or break with social norms (Mayhew 2015c). Beside social interaction, public space is constituted through the built environment, with geographic, historic and culturally specific features (Lofland 1998).

Various meanings, in a genealogical sense, are part of public spaces (Low and Smith 2006). Public urban spaces are marked by tensions and contradictions (Soja 2010). Spatial injustices, such as racism, sexism, fundamentalism and unequal access to participation, lead to inequality in cities (Soja 2010). Public spaces are shaped by power relations and the interplay of public-private elements (Low and Smith 2006). Based on his work on Haussmannisation in 19th-century Paris, Harvey (2006) posits that public space is constructed, organised and contested through the symbols of institutions, organisations and private space. He points out that the public sphere is constituted through the private, quasi-public and public (Harvey 2006). The public sector builds infrastructures and facilities, whereas the private sector is involved in constructing housing (Ball 1984). Beyond spatial planning and the real estate market, the voluntary sector is also relevant in shaping urban places (Seto et al. 2010). Another aspect is that there is an increase in participation and cooperation in cities, although this is sometimes criticised for reducing the government's responsibility (Seto et al. 2010). To increase cities' benefits in the global competition for creative and knowledge workers as well as investment evolved.

2.2 Sense of place

The PPS and various scholars working on placemaking have highlighted the importance of creating distinct places with a character, as well as places individuals and communities identify with (Project for Public Spaces 2009b; Paulsen 2010; Kovács and Musterd 2013; Twohig 2014; Legge 2015; Logan 2015; Tonelli 2015). In the following section, I outline the concept of sense of place and briefly draw on authenticity.

Sense of place is a concept used by several disciplines and theories; a multi-layered term, it is contested and complex (Wilkie and Roberson 2010; Convery et al. 2012; Mayhew 2015d). It is often either used as a concept to refer to the distinct character and qualities of a place—the genius loci—with specific factors, such as topography, spirituality and people's psychological engagement with the place, or it relates to people's attachment, dependency, and identity to, on and with a place and its historical changes (Wilkie and Roberson 2010; Convery et al. 2012). *Genius loci* is a concept that was introduced by the Norwegian phenomenologist and architect Norberg-Schulz (1980), and it refers to the character or spirit of a place (Larkham and Jivén 2003). It is a direct way for outsiders to experience a place, significant for everybody in the place and a denotation of what things are (Relph 1976). It contributes to the distinctiveness of a place and emerged as a term based on Romans' rooted beliefs of a guardian spirit that gave places and people essence, character and life (Norberg-Schulz 1980; Kovács and Musterd 2013).

People's relation to places, their sense of place, is influenced by how they create meaning—how they experience, imagine, feel, interpret, sense and memorise a place (Gieryn 2000; Wilkie and Roberson 2010). This process is shaped by previous experiences and personality, and it is dynamic. Furthermore, people influence each other in their meaning-making process and are influenced through local cultural distinction, economy, environment, and physical elements in the landscape (Paulsen 2010; Corsane and Bowers 2012). A sense of place creates ownership, positive emotions, commitment and pride, and it builds up individual and community identities (Clark 2012). Place relations are creatively reproduced through imagination, as well as by the media (Wilkie and Roberson 2010). Furthermore, designers affect people's place relations (Clark 2012). However, according to the urbanist Talen (1999), the role of architects and designers in creating community identities has been overemphasised. Massey (1984) stresses the point that people's sense of place and their community

identity can also lead to resistance against the planner's work. Therefore, participation is essential in design processes, and a sense of place needs to be understood as linked to identity and place relationships (Clark 2012; Convery et al. 2012).

Massey (1993) highlights that sense of place needs to be considered critically given the social constructiveness of a place and its changes over time to avoid nationalist notions. Furthermore, the uniqueness of a place is constructed through uneven social, economic, cultural, developmental, structural and historical elements, as well as linkages to other places' conceptualisation (Massey 1993; Røe 2014). People's meanings and attachment and their satisfaction with the quality of a place influence their decision-making when it comes to considerations about the use of place (Hurley 2013). As the meaning-making process depends on who has social, economic and political capital and power, this raises questions about whose sense of a place and who gets to define dominant place meanings (Hurley 2013). These power struggles and negotiations about whose sense of place will be dominant are also present in placemaking processes (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017).

A concept that is often linked to a sense of place is authenticity. *Authenticity* is a term that is especially present in conservation discourses and focusses on restoring and repairing (Larkham and Jivén 2003). Paulsen (2010) points out that conservation raises political questions, such as which histories are preserved and which are destroyed. She emphasises that this is an especially important question regarding marginalised and minority people. In Zukin's (2010) analysis of gentrification in New York, she links the process of gentrification to authenticity and the financial and cultural power to brand a neighbourhood as distinct. She criticises Jacobs, a journalist, activist and author who influenced urban studies and sociology and is considered one of the main inspirations for the dominant placemaking discourse, for her admiration of authenticity and diversity. Zukin (2010) accentuates that Jacobs (1961) fails to acknowledge the social construction of authentic and diverse neighbourhoods. Furthermore, Zukin (2010) links authenticity to feelings, visual forms, social relations and experiences people have in a place. She shows how authenticity can include change and replacement of a feeling and lifestyle. Based on this Zukin's (2010) critiques that urban planners adopting Jacobs' mixed-use approach often fail to consider diversity and affordable housing, noting that the authenticity they are aiming for is socially constructed and shaped through power relations. As described below, aiming for the creation of authenticity and diversity can

lead to the creation of a new brand with the consequence of people's displacement (Zukin 2010). Considering what is acknowledged as authentic, and whose histories are preserved and whose are destroyed points at social inequalities and power issues in the creation, conservation, and 'making' of places (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017).

To sum up, sense of place is either used to refer to people's way of constructing place identities and attachments or to describe its distinctive qualities as a genius loci (Norberg-Schulz 1980; Wilkie and Roberson 2010; Convery et al. 2012). Sense of place is also linked to discussions about authenticity, including the unique qualities of a place and the contractedness of places (Jacobs 1961; Larkham and Jivén 2003; Zukin 2010)

2.3 What is placemaking?

> How you define 'placemaking' depends on whom you ask. A planner or urban designer might call it the planning, design, and management of public spaces to benefit the people who will inhabit them. This means working with community members to create places of lasting value guided by the belief that the social aspects of the community and personal well-being are of utmost importance. Meanwhile, a developer or builder might see place-making as a tool for marketing an idea or call it the act of designing and creating a place where people want to live. (Beske and Dixon 2018, 267)

Defining placemaking is a challenging endeavour as it is an interdisciplinary term without a single, clear and consistent definition but refers in the broadest sense to the 'making' of places (Project for Public Spaces 2011; Legge 2015; Lew 2017; Teder 2018). As urban planner Beske and urban designer Dixon (2018) point out, placemaking has different disciplinary meanings. The understandings of this term can be contradictory as they range from geography to architecture, urban planning, environmental psychology and global health to sociology (Friedmann 2010). However, the core of placemaking is humans' encounters and gatherings with and within places and their meaning-making processes, experiences, sensations, practices, routines, traditions and perceptions (Friedmann 2010; Wyckoff 2014; Lew 2017). Placemaking processes can be grassroots, governmental, planned or organic (Paulsen 2010; Silberberg et al. 2013; Lew 2017). Lew (2017) posits that top-down approaches to placemaking are linked to urban planning, design, marketing architecture and landscape architecture; they aim to influence people's practices and perceptions in the city. They reflect political and societal norms and structures, and they are often focussed on the

built environment. Bottom-up approaches relate more to people's daily practices of relating to, identifying with, representing, re-creating and shaping places. Placemaking can also occur on a continuum, such as in tourism, where placemaking oscillates between top-down and bottom-up approaches (Lew 2017).

Due to placemaking considerations related to the long-term change of society, the economy and the environment, the normative goal of creating more liveable places can be linked to sustainable development, the SDGs and the UN-Habitat New Urban Strategy (Myrick 2011; Hes and Hernandez-Santin 2020). Placemaking is attributed to increasing a place's economic value through different forms and interventions and collaborations between place experts, such as planners, engineers and architects. Another form of value creation is through ordinary people's daily interactions with places and their linguistic place representation and meaning creations (Paulsen 2010). In most approaches, placemaking is about collective actions of shaping the public realm and a process that is based on community participation. It involves social and material aspects and is influenced by network processes (Mayhew 2015b).

Besides the core principles of placemaking the conceptualisations, definitions, actors, aims, tools and processes vary among disciplines, practitioners, scholars and policymakers. Placemaking is used as a hands-on approach, an overarching idea, and it is also used for theoretical considerations (Project for Public Spaces 2011; Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017). To organise and put different strains of placemaking into context, I outline the placemaking typology by Wyckoff (2014) as this is the most frequent way of differentiating and defining placemaking. Furthermore, it comprises a variety of more specific discourses that focus on specific ways of making places through art and culture, urban planning and architecture and more bottom-up approaches by residents that overlap in certain key elements. The four types of placemaking are standard, creative, tactical, and strategic placemaking (Wyckoff 2014). Under the standard placemaking approach, I touch on green placemaking, which is in line with the approach and emphasises the relevance of the environment. Furthermore, I briefly draw on an urban development perspective in strategic placemaking because it aligns with this. I present the literature to use it as a foundation for my later analysis of what placemaking contributes to theory and practice in Oslo.

2.3.1 Four types of placemaking

Wyckoff (2014), who worked as an urban planning scholar, suggests a placemaking typology differentiating standard, creative, tactical and strategic placemaking. *Standard placemaking*, or simply *placemaking*, is the overarching concept that comprises tactical, creative and strategic placemaking discourses.

Figure 1: 'Four Types of Placemaking' (Wyckoff 2014, 3).

Placemaking is understood as contributing to a community's or neighbourhood's future through reimagining and creating it. It is defined as a process relating to the creation of quality places for people to learn, live, play and work (Wyckoff 2014).

Quality places, as understood through Wyckoff's (2014) placemaking typology, are places people thrive and enjoy being in, and they are characterised by mixed-use, effectiveness, good connectivity and transport options, diverse housing options, historic preservation and preservation of the community's heritage, creativity, recreation and green and calm spaces; they are at the core of placemaking. These places are distinct, aesthetic, human-centred and walkable; moreover, in terms of density, scale and mass, their forms are appropriate for their location. These characteristics lead to safety and a welcoming, connected and authentic, accessible place that provides comfort and sociability while opening up for civic participation. Strategic, creative, and tactical placemaking focus on different aspects and placemaking discussions. Strategic

placemaking is about infrastructure development to foster economic growth and revitalisation. Creative placemaking aims to increase a place's liveability, sociability and economy by realising cultural and artistic processes. Tactical placemaking intends to transform public spaces by using short-term, low-cost and creative interventions (Wyckoff 2014).

However, they are embedded in a standard placemaking approach. The four placemaking types all have the creation of quality places at the core. Despite the different emphases between strategic, tactical and creative placemaking, the approaches share that they focus on people and physical elements, considering the form, function and use of places. Standard placemaking sets the frame for tactical, strategic and creative placemaking, as described below, with its overall principles (Wyckoff 2014).

2.3.1.1 Standard placemaking: The Project for Public Spaces' approach

Here, I outline the main placemaking approach, developed by the PPS, as it is mainly referred to in theory and by practitioners. The PPS is an NPO that connects stakeholders in the global placemaking movement. It aims to support people in the creation and sustaining of public spaces to generate strong communities. It was founded by Kent in 1975 to expand on Whyte's study of urban spaces. Since this time, the PPS has worked in over 50 countries and completed more than 3500 community projects (Project for Public Spaces 2019a). Therefore, it has gained the role of a key stakeholder in placemaking discourse. Based on the global relevance of the PPS, Wyckoff (2014) considers its placemaking definition as the status quo, referring to it as the 'standard' in placemaking theory and practice. According to the PPS (2018a, first paragraph),

> Placemaking inspires people to collectively reimagine and reinvent public spaces as the heart of every community. Strengthening the connection between people and the places they share, placemaking refers to a collaborative process by which we can shape our public realm in order to maximize shared value. More than just promoting better urban design, placemaking facilitates creative patterns of use, paying particular attention to the physical, cultural, and social identities that define a place and support its ongoing evolution.

Several authors describe placemaking as a process and outcome of improving places to create quality places through collaboration and co-creation focussing on the human scale (Project for Public Spaces 2011; Silberberg et al. 2013; Schaap 2016; Eggertsen

Teder 2019). According to the PPS (2018a), placemaking is about creating inspiration or encouraging people to reinvent and reimagine public spaces at the core of a community. It has to do with creating strong relationships between people and their places and fostering a place identity via paying attention to physical, social and cultural elements (Silberberg et al. 2013; Project for Public Spaces 2018a). According to the PPS (2007) and Pailliè Pérez (2016), placemaking is context-specific, visionary, dynamic, inclusive, sociable, transdisciplinary, community-driven, adaptable and flexible. It puts function before form; it puts public before private values and aims to create distinct destinations. It aims for local asset-based community development (Project for Public Spaces 2011). Kent and Madden (2016) state that placemaking is about creating good places for everyone and by everyone. However, this is challenging as sometimes people's positions are contradictory, multi-layered and complex. Hence, I argue that intending to create places that are shaped by social forces that are 'good' for everyone either seems to ignore this complexity or will probably fail to achieve it. Aiming for a shared ideal of good public spaces is underpinned by the idea that such a normative goal is shared by everyone, but as various cases show, the real situation is not necessarily like that (Bodirsky 2017). As outlined above, places and their sense of place are constructed by people with different understandings and perceptions of places; hence, claiming that there is one shared goal seems to oversimplify this complexity (Wilkie and Roberson 2010; Zukin 2010). The PPS (2007) states that placemaking is not exclusionary, car-centric, one-size-fits-all, discipline-driven or top-down. Neither is placemaking about quick fixes, static, project-focussed or one-dimensional (Project for Public Spaces 2007). This conflicts partially with Lew's (2017) placemaking definition, which states that placemaking can have a top-down, bottom-up, or in-between structure.

Several authors using the 'standard' placemaking approach delineate that, among other elements, quality places are characterised by accessibility, connectivity to other places, safety, comfort, walkability, mixed-use, diversity, sociability, aesthetics, a sense of place and environmental sustainability (Lawton et al. 2013; Silberberg et al. 2013; Heeman 2016; Beske and Dixon 2018). Furthermore, Beske and Dixon (2018) argue that 'good' public spaces are characterised through authenticity. This is problematic as authenticity depends on the person who is defining it, and hence, it is socially constructed (Zukin 2010). Thus, the claim that 'good' public spaces are authentic veils the diversity of understandings of this term.

The placemaking approach is based on the reading of Jacobs' (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Whyte's (2001) *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*, Lynch, Cullen and Gehl (Silberberg et al. 2013; Gehl et al. 2016; Eggertsen Teder 2019). Most of the literature dates back to US-American urban studies in the 1960s and 1970s. This is interesting, as the PPS highlights the importance of a place's specific features but does not critically consider that Jacob's and Whyte's observations and writings emerged in a specific time and context. Researching whether the PPS's principles are still valid and which places would contribute to a more critical and nuanced discourse and where further research is required. In the following, I briefly draw on the mentioned key authors due to their highlighted centrality in the placemaking movement.

Jacobs drew on observations in her neighbourhood in New York and highlighted the social and material aspects of a city. She emphasised the importance of demarcating public and private spaces and the use of public places during day and night to ensure safety and people having eyes on the street. Moreover, Jacobs underlines the importance of economic diversity, mixed-use, short blocks for social interaction and different types of buildings, including old buildings with cheap rents to achieve social diversity. From her observations, she concludes that these elements also contribute to a vibrant neighbourhood and the 'sidewalk ballet' (Jacobs 1961, 70). According to her, diversity takes place in (semi-) public spaces and city planners need to consider this, as well as structuring elements in the city, such as transport. She also explains that power relations influence the city's shape as more powerful urban planners can decide on the city's structure (Jacobs 1961).

In his Street Life project, Whyte (2001) observed what makes good and social places in New York. With his research assistant Kent, he explored people's behaviour in the city and reasons for the success and failure of public places. The main findings are that good public urban places are characterised through sufficient, comfortable sitting places, sun and shade and protection from rain and wind. Furthermore, food and various activities for different groups attract people to places. The key finding of the study is that people attract people (Whyte and Project for Public Spaces 2001).

Svarre and Gehl (2013) focus on placemaking from an architectural perspective and practice. They state that good architecture and planning should consider public life and

puts people at the heart of practices. It is interesting to consider that humans in planning practice are highlighted by the authors in their architectural and urban planning approach. This shows that, although people use public spaces, there seems to be a lack of practice focussing on humans, and the authors stress this aspect. Given the car-centred focus in the city making in the 1970s, as outlined by van der Werf et al. (2016), the author's approach may seem innovative. However, given that public spaces have a long tradition of being used and shaped by people, this may show some shortcomings of urban planning and architectural practices.

The PPS (2009b) developed a model (see Figure 2) to describe the qualities of public places. The model has a place at its core and distinguishes between four 'key attributes', namely 'Sociability', 'Uses & Activities', 'Access & Linkages' and 'Comfort & Images' (fourth paragraph). These are surrounded by a circle of 'Intangibles', which are embedded in the larger circle of 'key attributes'(Project for Public Spaces 2009b, fourth paragraph). Creating a model to show the variety of different elements of a place that one should keep in mind when 'making' a place can function as an overview and give insights into different fields. The model may also contribute to sparking discussions about the quality of public places. However, it is unclear how this model was developed or on which database. In my opinion, another problematic aspect is that some 'Intangibles' are not clearly defined, such as 'Sustainable' or 'Green' (Project for Public Spaces 2009b, fourth paragraph). Moreover, the model does not show that certain intangibles may be understood in many different and potentially even contradictory ways. For example, 'spiritual' may bear different meanings for people with or without different spiritual beliefs (Project for Public Spaces 2009b, fourth paragraph). Hence, it seems not entirely clear that what makes a great public place is depends on who is

defining it based on individual experience, values, ideas, senses and perceptions.

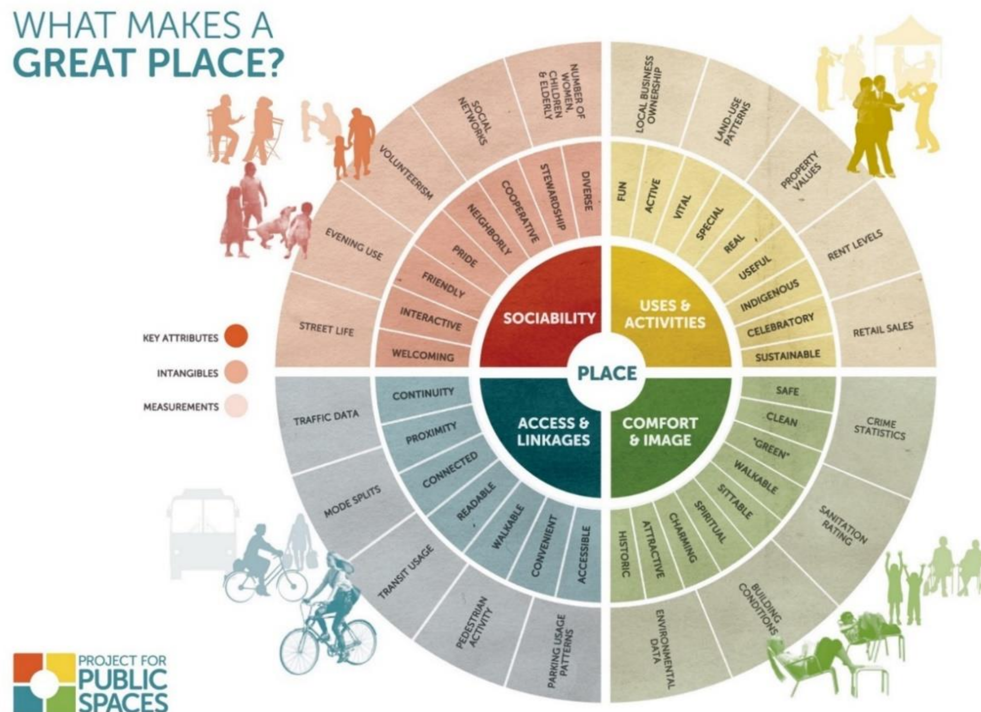


Figure 2: 'What Makes A Great Place?' (Project for Public Spaces 2009b, fourth paragraph).

According to the PPS (2009b), placemaking contributes to more sociability and economic activity through increased accessibility and walkability of places. Moreover, PPS (2009b) explains that placemaking has positive mental and physical health effects. Social interaction and place attachment can decrease depression, anxiety and stress and increase cognitive functions. Playing, being active and engaging in recreational activities can increase life expectancy (Project for Public Spaces 2009b). Positive health effects and the value of green spaces have been emphasised in the placemaking literature.

In line with the standard placemaking approach with a focus on the environment is Cilliers et al.'s (2015) approach of green placemaking and planning. According to the authors, green placemaking and planning have economic, social and environmental benefits, but these are often neglected given the complexity and variety of interests that are negotiated in them. Green urban spaces improve air and water quality, and they are essential for urban ecosystems and their biodiversity; they provide cooling and shadowing, and they contribute to climate change adaptation and improve the

soundscape of a city (Dempsey and Burton 2012). Moreover, among other things, they can contribute to physical and mental health. For example, as sociability is increased, depression decreases (Dempsey and Burton 2012). Green placemaking can contribute to creating places that are attractive, child-friendly and for people (Cilliers et al. 2015). In this approach, placemaking is defined as the people-led transformation of public spaces into places (see also Cresswell 2004). Manuals for placemakers and city managers were developed as an initiative to enrich the planning process and create unique and attractive green urban places. They contained, for example, 'green graffiti' (moss graffiti), vertical plantations with climbing plants, the greening of roofs, green corridors as green walking routes for people and pattern cards with the description of the cities' plants and trees that included their needs (Cilliers et al. 2015).

To transform places, PPS promotes two approaches. One approach is 'the power of 10+', which states that people experience places differently and are interested in different activities. Therefore, to be a good place, a place needs to have more than 10 different activities for a person. This approach calls for varied fronts of houses and stores to create interesting sidewalks and to make pedestrians interact with their environment (Cilliers et al. 2015; Mintz 2016; Lew 2017). According to the PPS (2009a), to ensure successful destinations, there should be 10 different places related to at least 10 different activities, such as sitting, reading, window shopping and eating. Thus, a successful city or region is characterised by at least 10 successful destinations (Project for Public Spaces 2009b). The other approach was coined by Reynolds and is called 'lighter, quicker, cheaper' (McKeown 2015). It promotes cheap, temporary projects to experiment creatively with possible change and gives people ownership through community participation and exploring transformation (Silberberg et al. 2013; Karssenberg et al. 2016). Despite the potential of resident-led, open processes with several stakeholders, there is a need to consider potential negative social and environmental outcomes and the lifecycle of the project beyond ad hoc action (McKeown 2015).

To sum up, the standard placemaking approach is the most frequently used approach and way to understand placemaking; it is based on the work of US-American scholars from the 1960s and 1970s. It focusses on the process of creating 'better' and great public urban places through the participation of and collaboration with the local community. It focusses on material and social transformation and aims for more

sociability and positive economic, environmental and health outcomes, using the 'lighter, quicker, cheaper' and 'power of 10+' approaches to realise placemaking processes (Project for Public Spaces 2007; Silberberg et al. 2013; Cilliers et al. 2015; Eckenwiler 2016). Standard placemaking embraces tactical, creative and strategic placemaking, which are partially overlapping but indicate different discourses and partially different rationales and processes (Wyckoff 2014).

2.3.1.2 Tactical placemaking and tactical urbanism

Tactical placemaking, and especially *tactical urbanism*, represents an approach highlighted in the placemaking literature. They were practiced and stressed by several of my interviewees. Hence, I draw on the development, core principles and examples of tactical placemaking and tactical urbanism to describe these concepts.

Tactical placemaking/urbanism is about cunningly changing public places in a cheap and often temporary way with the aim of upscaling these changes (Wyckoff 2014; Lydon 2015). According to Wyckoff (2014), tactical placemaking is promoted by supporters of the design and urban planning firm Streets Plan Collaborative in its tactical urbanism approach and by PPS, with its 'lighter, quicker, cheaper' approach. He points out that tactical placemaking is a low-cost and phased approach with various stakeholders. It is targeted at public spaces and implemented in neighbourhoods. Tactical placemaking is short-term and includes a variety of activities, such as guerrilla gardening and pop-ups. There is a lack of definitions besides Wyckoff's outline of tactical placemaking. Palmadesso and Sponza (2018) explain that placemaking is considered a moniker for tactical urbanism. However, there is no clear differentiation between (tactical) placemaking and tactical urbanism, as the former seems little-noticed, and I argue that further research is necessary to clarify the conceptualisation of tactical placemaking.

Tactical urbanism is attributed to Lydon, the head of the Streets Plan Collaborative (Mould 2014; Webb 2018; Endsor and Millington 2019). Tactical urbanism emerged as a reaction to the US-American austerity policies in 2008 as a temporary, creative, precarious, low-cost, amateur, flexible, place-specific, often resident-led and bottom-up, scalable approach that aims for establishing long-term change and has become an international movement (Mould 2014; Lydon 2015, 2016; Mahar 2016; Moskerintz

2016; Webb 2018). It aims at increased liveability, the building and activating of neighbourhoods and the decrease of risks for planners and designers through ad hoc and short-term projects (Mould 2014; Lydon 2015; Foth 2017). One of the key principles is to 'ask for forgiveness later' (Lydon 2015, 84) as residents, grassroots groups and activists use the approach to bypass bureaucracy. Nevertheless, regulations and law can hinder social change processes that are sparked through tactical urbanism (Foth 2017). Residents also use tactical urbanism for prototyping and visual demonstration of a possible change in urban spaces (Lydon 2015). For policymakers, tactical urbanism opens up the possibility for participation in different phases. For cities and developers, it enables the testing of different ideas early on in the process before implementation (Lydon 2015). The public involvement can support the overcoming of not-in-my-backyard (NIMBY) mentalities and enable different actors, including businesses, non-profit organisations, resident groups, individuals and policymakers to collaborate and engage in dialogues (Wyckoff 2014; Lydon 2015; Foth 2017; Webb 2018). Drawing on Mouffe's[1] concept of agonistic pluralism, urban lecturer Webb (2018) argues that tactical urbanism has the potential to create contradicting results that can contribute to a better understanding of places' processes and potential future.

Webb (2018) indicates that the way decisions about the future of cities and their places are made has shifted due to tactical urbanism. Moreover, this approach has the potential to change systems on the neighbourhood scale through emerging networks and by experimenting with the improvement of a place's qualities (Lydon 2015). It can also enhance activist and participatory processes and engage residents to be innovative (Foth 2017).

Tactical urbanism is often used as an umbrella term for do-it-yourself (DIY) urbanism, urban prototyping, urban acupuncture, guerrilla urbanism and pop-up urbanism (Mould 2014; Lydon 2016; Moskerintz 2016). This leads to a lack of nuances and does not acknowledge that some practices, such as guerrilla gardening, ad-busting and yarn-

[1] The political theorist Mouffe (2014) differentiates between antagonism and agonism. Antagonism refers to the relation between enemies and friends whereas agonism refers to the relations between adversaries. She highlights that antagonism and agonism are not opposite. She states that agonistic pluralism is shaped by struggles between different ideas and positions. According to Mouffe (2014), agonistic struggles are relevant for sustaining democracies.

bombing, are illegal (Mould 2014). Furthermore, Lydon (2015) underlines that not all practices falling under the term tactical urbanism are tactical.

Tactical urbanism involves a variety of practices, such as dîner en blanc, parkour, Park(ing) Day and parklets, street furniture, markets, festivals, pop-up pavilions, public art, graffiti and performances (Foth 2017; Palmadesso and Sponza 2018). Moreover, it involves designers' temporary alteration of empty shops into spaces for entrepreneurs and various services (Palmadesso and Sponza 2018). These pop-up stores have been criticised by Hancox (2014) and Mould (2014), as encouraging consumerism through associating tactical urbanism with a coolness, unexpected spontaneity and creative aesthetic. Pop-up stores, they state, feed into neoliberal logics and motivate consumers to buy due to the temporal limitation. Moreover, they claim that pop-up stores do not provide long-term spaces for artists and entrepreneurs and weaken activist- and resident-led movements through mainstream tendencies (Hancox 2014; Mould 2014). A more general critique of tactical urbanism, as outlined by Mould (2014) and Endsor and Millington (2019), is that the practices are no longer disruptive and intrusive and have become incorporated into cities' governance, public relations, branding and marketing and mainstream economics. This has led to the development of tactical urbanism as an alternative to mainstream urban planning. Lydon (2015) writes that the increased use of the term 'tactical urbanism' found its way into planning jargon under the terms 'planning by doing' and 'action planning' (210). Another critique, voiced by several authors, is that the practical, short-term, quick-fix, cheap approach undermines strategic thinking and is fed into mainstream urban policymaking without subversive, ideological and anti-hegemonic notions as it used to be (Mould 2014; Webb 2018; Endsor and Millington 2019). Mould (2014) critiques tactical urbanism for not considering displacement and gentrification processes that could be initiated through changes in a neighbourhood.

In short, tactical placemaking is an approach mainly used by residents, although also exploited by governmental actors, to change public places through temporary, low-cost, creative and easy-to-realise material changes, events or initiatives. The changes are directed towards bigger scale transformation in public spaces to increase liveability (Mould 2014; Lydon 2015, 2016; Mahar 2016; Moskerintz 2016; Webb 2018).

2.3.1.3 Creative placemaking

Among my interview partners, several highlighted the potential of art and cultural activities, which are mainly discussed in the creative placemaking approach. I outline this by considering its emergence, core principles and main discussions.

Creative placemaking emerged in the United States as a platform for strategic policymaking and refers to the work of art-led initiatives and processes embedded in cultural regeneration (McKeown 2015). There are several placemaking definitions and approaches in creative placemaking. Hence, there are debates about which projects to fund and with whom to collaborate (Gadwa Nicodemus 2012; McKeown 2016). Creative placemaking involves different stakeholders, including public, private, non-profit and community actors, to strategically shape a city, neighbourhood or any other place to improve the economy, liveability and sociability through arts and culture (Gadwa Nicodemus 2012). Thus, collaboration, co-creation and dialogue are essential for creative placemaking (Courage and McKeown 2019b; Pritchard 2019).

The term creative placemaking was coined in 2009 by the Broadway theatre producer Landesman, who served the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) in the United States and started intersectoral collaborations to fund cultural and artistic practices (Gadwa Nicodemus 2012; Courage and McKeown 2019b). In 2010, Landesman appointed the researchers Markusen and Gadwa Nicodemus to write a white paper on different forms of urban spaces and ways of funding the arts and cultural processes for his new initiative ArtPlace, which is a funding body for the arts (Courage and McKeown 2019b). The NEA and ArtPlace fund and initiate creative placemaking in a top-down manner, but the management takes place in collaboration and through grassroots actors (McKeown 2016). Creative placemaking has increasingly gained global attention and has been, for example, applied in Copenhagen in the scope of a project as a tool to merge culture and urban spaces (Kortbek 2019; Pritchard 2019). Following Mouffe's notion of agonistic struggles in a place as the base for vibrant democracies, Kortbeck (2019) explains that in Copenhagen a project team analysed creative placemaking as a potential for solidarity, consensus and strengthening of democracy. However, the project coordinators evaluated a lack of controversies due to low participation and time constraints for deliberative processes (Kortbek 2019).

Temporary projects can be a start to involve a community, but they cannot change the place narratives, which are contested (Pritchard 2019). Gadwa Nicodemus (2012) points out that projects funded by ArtPlace often show slow transformations, as well as small-scale and context-specific outcomes, which have sometimes been criticised. According to Bedoya (2013), creative placemaking should not be used as a strategy for urban development by practitioners, but instead, there should be a focus on actions that contribute to sites of imagination, spatial justice and healthy communities. Moreover, the approach needs to consider the past and present of discrimination and marginalisation of people in specific places, including who does (not) belong and who does (not) have civil rights (Bedoya 2013). Creative placemaking should also consider potential negative outcomes, such as displacement and gentrification (Bedoya 2013; Pritchard 2019).

Creative placemaking is criticised for feeding into localist and neoliberal agendas and orders and as being instrumentalised by property developers and policymakers (Pritchard 2019). It is also criticised by several authors for not considering diversity (Courage and McKeown 2019b; Pritchard 2019). According to the art historian Pritchard (2019), Florida's (2002) creative class approach contributes to gentrification and has partially enabled creative placemaking. Pritchard (2019) argues that, by promoting arts and culture to attract knowledge and creative workers on the one hand, creative placemakers had the chance to work towards improving a community in collaboration. On the other, this process of creating 'better', more artistic and culturally attractive places may also contribute to gentrification. In contrast, Courage and McKeown (2019b) argue that creative placemaking led to conflations of Florida's approach. Beyond this discourse, cultural geographer Endsor and human geographer Millington (2019) posit that in Florida's (2017) latest work, those people Florida (2002) once referred to as the creative class are probably nothing more than gentrifiers. Endsor and Millington (2019) state that this finding may lead to a decrease in the importance of the creative classes' economic role, as well as a decreased need for cities to attract young, creative workers.

To sum up, the arts and culture are used in a variety of collaborations to increase sociability, liveability and the economy in communities in the creative placemaking approach (Gadwa Nicodemus 2012; McKeown 2016).

2.3.1.4 Strategic placemaking

Those of my interview partners with a background in urban planning, management, development, retail and architecture discussed placemaking in a way that was related to strategic placemaking. Thus, I draw on key concepts of this placemaking approach.

According to Wyckoff et al. (2015), the strategic placemaking approach emerged in the 1970s as a term used among architects, landscape architects and urban planners. However, it was recently taken up by the public. *Strategic placemaking* is understood as an economic development tool that has the potential to be a guide for the development of public infrastructure (Wyckoff et al. 2015). Success in strategic placemaking emerges from the placemaking process and not the end-product of changes in the built environment (Legge 2015). Strategic placemaking aims towards economic growth, job creations and the attraction of creative and knowledge workers through various public-private partnerships and collaboration with non-governmental organisations (Wyckoff 2014; Wyckoff et al. 2015). It also fosters the revitalisation of urban areas and diversity (Wyckoff 2014).

In line with the strategic placemaking approach, several authors put forth that the increased competition between cities to attract people and capital is also visible in an increased competition in tourism to attract visitors (Kovács and Musterd 2013; Skinner 2018). They argue that, to attract tourists, place branding, the marketing of place identities and the planning of distinct touristic destinations are essential (Kovács and Musterd 2013; Lew 2017; Skinner 2018). These activities are also understood as being part of placemaking and producing place brand images (Kovács and Musterd 2013). They are distinct from place images that are created by people using, experiencing, sensing and perceiving places (Kovács and Musterd 2013; Skinner 2018). It should also not be confused with people's dynamic and heterogenous place identity, which emerges organically (Kovács and Musterd 2013; Lew 2017).

In line with the strategic placemaking approach, the urban developer Twohig (2014) discusses that 'good' placemaking leads to an increased economic value and people's pride, as well as people's improved relation to a place. Urban developers aim to break with generic architecture and homogenous neighbourhoods to create distinct and liveable places, with a sense of place that people can relate to (Twohig 2014). The

author explains that they aim to support the local economy and community through intimate and unique places via the built environment and the building of a place brand with brand images. Events, markets, culture, arts, pop-ups and temporary projects have the potential to revitalise a place, generate revenue, fill voids and increase community engagement with and the attractiveness of a site (Twohig 2014).

Kent and Madden (2016) stress that urban planners aim for an increase in economic activities through increased numbers of people, and thus, they are interested in placemaking. In contrast, I argue that this should be considered critical as cities may also need places without consumption, where people can just be without purchasing products and/or services. However, with the increasing privatisation of urban planning in Oslo as outlined by Andersen and Røe (2017), consumption and economic activities are an aspect of placemaking activities.

In a word, strategic placemaking aims at increasing the local economy, economic value and people's pride in places (Twohig 2014; Wyckoff 2014). Furthermore, it is directed towards attracting more tourists and skilled workers (Kovács and Musterd 2013; Lew 2017; Skinner 2018).

2.3.2 Placemaking critique

Most critique of placemaking is directed at the lack of considerations of how it contributes to exclusion, discrimination, displacement and gentrification processes and ignores the political aspects of making and naming place (Forsyth 2013; Lew 2017). Moreover, the challenge of measuring placemaking processes' effects is also highlighted. This is the case because there seems to be a lack of evidence of the positive outcomes of making places despite this being at the core of the placemaking approach. However, the complexity of places and their development, the process character of placemaking and the broadness of liveability make it challenging to evaluate placemaking (Silberberg et al. 2013; Sepe 2017). Furthermore, the lack of considering histories of marginalised people and the focus on funders and placemakers instead of including those who are economically less affluent and those being marginalised is criticised (Foth 2017). In addition, it is highlighted that placemaking projects are replicated globally and are disconnected from their context; they are standardised and follow a particular visual aesthetic. This stands in contrast to the sense of place and the

particularities of socio-material constellations in a place (Ghavampour and Vale 2019). Placemaking is also criticised for punctual[2] interventions in a city rather than a city-wide approach. This may lead to a lack of structural changes in material and social shortcomings for certain social groups, while benefitting quick fixes (Foth 2017). Punctual approaches may have negative spatial or temporal outcomes, which may remain unconsidered in short- term placemaking projects.

Despite the value of Wyckoff's (2014) four types of placemaking, it is unclear how he developed these types. Moreover, Wyckoff worked for the MIPlace Partnership Initiative at the Land Policy Institute at Michigan State University and promoted this approach as strategic. This seems to promote his work in the particular context of Michigan and is partly problematic to use as a general approach. Notwithstanding, the perspective of urban developers, planners, architects and designers in the literature in my interviews strengthened this perspective. Hence, it can be considered relevant. Nevertheless, the wording clearly shows the author's urban planning perspective and hints at a specific way of approaching placemaking. The four types of placemaking contribute to the placemaking literature by encompassing a variety of different discussions. However, Wyckoff's (2014) approach has shortcomings in clarifying the relation of tactical placemaking and tactical urbanism, as well as the variety of creative placemaking approaches.

2.4 The emergence of placemaking in Oslo and Norway

The earliest mention of placemaking in Oslo dates back to the 1990s. The architect and urban planner Gehl kept a record of his placemaking work in 1998–2000 in Akker Brygge, where he worked on creating more sitting places and space for pedestrians in line with Whyte's principles for good urban public spaces (Gehl and Svarre 2013). Beyond this, there seems little clarity and evidence of how and when placemaking emerged in Oslo and Norway. To understand placemaking in context, I asked my interview partners about the roots and development of placemaking and discovered various perspectives.

[2] In this work, a punctual intervention refers to changes that occur at a certain point in time and do not have lasting effects.

It was highlighted that the idea of creating public places is deeply anchored in Norwegian culture and society through the concept of 'allmenningen', which refers to all humans' places. King Magnus Lagabøte introduced city laws in 1276 in Bergen, enabling everybody to use the market regardless of their social status, leading to social and inclusive gathering places. In contrast, it was stressed that, before the discovery of oil, Norway was a rather poor country, and its towns and villages did not have the financial means to create a more elaborate architecture and city life as happened in other European places. Based on this understanding, placemaking and urbanism emerged rather late in Norway and Oslo. These different perspectives are potentially also influenced by different ways of understanding placemaking, mainly a perspective from a background in the municipality with a focus on the organisation of the community and one from a perspective on urban schemes and the future based on an architectural background.

In Stavanger, social sustainability and placemaking principles have been applied in urban development and planning since around 2002. Placemaking was also discussed in Bergen around 2005, when Kent from the PPS visited Norway for a conference and shared his PPS approach. In urban development, placemaking in Oslo emerged over the last 10 years, starting around 2010, and it has especially gained popularity since 2017/2018. The Nordic Placemaking Network and the European Placemaking Network, including a branch in Norway, were both launched in 2018 (Laven et al. 2017; Multiconsult 2018). Both networks entail different actors and ideas of placemaking; however, they show that an organisation and institutionalisation of placemaking in Oslo took place recently. Thus, there seems to be an emerging institutionalised interest in placemaking, illustrating that placemaking has received little research attention in the Norwegian context.

To sum up, placemaking as a concept emerged in the last one or two decades in Norway, and hence, it is a rather new phenomenon without a clear starting date or discourse around its emergence. Given that placemaking is relatively new in Oslo and Norway, an exploration of this topic can contribute to theory and practice.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Critical perspectives on placemaking

Here, I outline critical perspectives on placemaking. I focus on Røe's (2014) socio-cultural approach and supplement it with Toolis' (2017) critical placemaking and Bodirsky's (2017) contested placemaking approach. I sketch out critical urban studies to contextualise the claim of 'the right to the city' (see e.g. Marcuse 2012, 24) the authors write about (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). Moreover, I draw on Dempsey and Burton (2012) and Pritchard (2019) to highlight the importance of a long-term perspective on placemaking.

The socio-cultural approach was developed by human geographer Røe (2014) based on his work in Sandvika, Norway. The approach is rooted in social theory, planning theory and critical architecture theory, as well as human geography. Places are conceptualised as relational and as products of social practices and relations; they are constructions in specific locations through, among other things, planning and investment of capital. The material space and social structures are a setting for humans' daily practices and interactions. Power structures, social relations, domination, subordination and dominant discourse influence places. Røe (2014) explains that these also influence space. He points out that dominant groups exercise power through decisions, policymaking and the realisation of projects, which align with or contradict people's positions in their fields. This could cause resistance against planners' and placemakers' architectural concepts. Thus, people's place experiences are influenced by social relations and power structures. Socio-cultural placemaking is a process that intends to reveal discourses, circulating representations, generic and specific place myths and place images. Moreover, it aims to uncover power relations, positions, practices, social relations and people's contestations. It also analyses the construction of place identities and social meaning production through discourses and social interactions (Røe 2014). Therefore, Røe (2014) focusses on questions of access, identification and power. Social groups accept place representations and place stories mostly collectively and create a shared understanding of the symbols and meanings of the built environment and landscape. These influence their behaviour, attachment to a place and their identifications with it. Therefore, place identities are socially constructed, relational and multi-layered. As places are discursive and in dynamic processes, Røe (2014) writes that identification is a more fitting term than identity is. He argues that the socio-cultural placemaking

approach raises power issues by asking questions about whose places and whose city it is, as well as who shapes the interests and relations between stakeholders. The approach aims for places that are socially and culturally diverse and planners, as well as placemakers who take this into account in their work (Røe 2014). In his case study of the making of Sandvika, Røe (2014) discovers a narrative of the good life among planners and architects and nostalgia among the other involved stakeholders. He also analyses resistance by local residents towards plans through neighbourhood organisations and NIMBY tendencies. Some people were against the urbanisation of suburban Sandvika, which caused people to claim that they did not want this to happen in their neighbourhood. Creating 'good' urban life through the 'making' of public places aligns with the idea of creating quality places in placemaking as outlined by Wyckoff (2014). The NIMBY tendency is an interesting aspect, as it points out that despite the common agreement of creating quality places, certain consequences are not considered as pleasant and voiced by certain social groups. Resistance and NIMBY reactions may indicate that the creation of 'good' public places does not always have (only) benefits for everyone. Røe (2014) explains that there is a need to consider power structures, social relations and the complexity of a place.

In line with this approach, from a psychological perspective, Toolis' (2017) critical placemaking approach focusses on deconstructing place narratives to understand the co-creation of meaning to uncover power relations. She expands beyond what Røe (2014) explains in his approach by elaborating on the relevance of deconstructing place narratives. In line with Røe (2014), Toolis (2017) describes that humans experience places in many ways; they have different place identities and are attached to places differently, ascribing different meanings to places that are at the core of place narratives. Therefore, Toolis (2017) emphasises deconstructing place narratives as essential to understanding the co-creation of meaning and a political process, where public spaces are contested and shaped through historic and political power and multiple contesting discourses. Stories are negotiation sites and a way to communicate struggles over belonging and exclusion. People with the most power create a single story as a 'master narrative' (Toolis 2017, 184) that excludes marginalised perspectives and contributes to further establishing their authority. Røe (2014) writes about reproducing authority through domination and subordination and the analysis of place myths, narratives, images and discourses. Toolis' (2017) critical placemaking approach

also raises the question of who has access to and the possibilities to participate in public spaces, whose narratives are heard and whose narratives remain marginalised. This underlines Røe's (2014) analysis of positionality, power structures, social relations and discussions about the 'right to the city'.

As stated in Røe (2014) and elaborated by Toolis (2017), deconstructing place narratives has the potential to open up for former invisible histories, memories and representations and enables contestation of master narratives through criticising and questioning dominant perceptions, as well as voicing doubts. Toolis (2017) argues that, through its dialogical and reflective character, the tool enables a transformation of power and can be empowering for those whose narratives are marginalised. Hence, critical placemaking processes can contribute to the reimagination of relationships with various social groups and build up social capital, which includes (in)formal interlinks between people, their norms and networks, trust and cooperation. Furthermore, she claims that it is a tool to resist privatisation and neoliberal logic. Based on the deconstruction of place narratives, counter-narratives can be produced and lead to critical placemaking initiatives, which can have many forms, such as community gardens, murals, protests and housing cooperatives (Toolis 2017).

Grounded on notions of critical urban theory, namely 'the right to the city' and the claim for common shaping of urban spaces, Bodirsky's (2017) contested placemaking seems to capture urban politics in their complexity, analysing neoliberal capitalism and agonistic struggles in Mouffe's (2014) sense. Contested placemaking involves both conflict and solidarity between residents, and it is in line with Toolis' (2017) and Røe's (2014) considerations about who can create, shape and access resources in the city, comprising the 'right to the city' claim that emerged in critical urban theory.

In line with critical urban theory, Bodirsky (2017) posits that contested placemaking goes beyond binary understandings of the city as only shaped by exchange- and use-value. The author also considers capitalistic processes, practices and exclusion, which are based on neoliberal systems. Therefore, she claims that it focusses on different scales and moments that are embedded in space and time, social relations and capital flows, and she expands on Røe's (2014) socio-cultural placemaking approach. Bodirsky (2017) writes that contested placemaking analyses the neoliberal state, struggle over public resources and nationalist tendencies that are embedded in them and the

complicity of residents with those who create exchange value, which often supports gentrification processes, for example, through cafés and malls. Based on this idea, she claims that contested placemaking calls for creating more common places that are inclusive, sustainable and just and are in line with the perspective of 'the right to the city' (Bodirsky 2017). As Røe (2014) does, Bordirsky discusses that the acknowledgement of different place perceptions, experiences and boundaries needs to be considered. She makes this clear by writing about her approach: 'It asks by whom, and how belonging and entitlement in place are delimited. Who is seen to have a claim to place, to access resources in place, to shape a vision of place?' (Bodirsky 2017, 675). Bodirsky (2017) explains that non-strategic politics lead to the creation of distinct places through multi-scalar processes and everyday practices. This influences the processes of creating place attachment, the ways social relations are ordered and how the built environment is produced. Moreover, it feeds into the questions of who does (not) belong to a place and who is (not) entitled (Bodirsky 2017). By focussing on space-time configurations, neoliberal systems, struggles over public resources and gentrification, Bodirsky (2017) expands on the complexity and power issues mentioned by Røe (2014).

Critical perspectives on placemaking draw on critical urban theory's 'right to the city' approach; at the same time, they focus on social inequalities, structures and marginalisation (Brenner et al. 2012; Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). In a nutshell, the critical urban theory is about understanding urban structures and considering social inequalities, power relations, social forces, marginalisation and exclusion and grounded in social theory, especially Marxist political economy (Brenner et al. 2012). Harvey (2008) points out that, in critical urban theory, urbanisation is conceptualised as a class phenomenon and based on surplus production, controlled by a few people in cities. He stresses that society is dominated by the accumulation of capital and market exchanges (Harvey 2003). According to Schmid (2012), cities are commodified and urban spaces, with their geographic and historical particularities, that are controlled economically and politically. This raises questions of who consumes and uses urban places, who dominates or self-determines space, who has access and who is excluded. As outlined above, these questions are also essential for critical placemaking approaches that take place in the public (urban) spaces (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). Furthermore, the critical perspectives on placemaking align with Brenner

et al.'s (2012) transformational interests. They point out that critical urban theory aims towards cities' change and intends to contribute to more social inclusion, democracy, sustainability and justice. The theory critiques exploitation, inequalities and unequal power distributions within and between cities, and it has antagonistic relationships at its core (Brenner et al. 2012). Brenner et al. (2012) write that critical urban theory aims to provide an approach to understanding urban capitalistic processes, enabling critical perspectives with a focus on power relations, genealogical aspects and a critique of technocracy and market-driven processes; thus, it opens up for discourses about alternatives (Brenner et al. 2012).

Critical placemaking approaches align with critical urban theory considerations about power structures, materialisations, institutionalisations and negative outcomes (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). This is the case because the critical urban studies approach embraces an analysis of political-institutional arrangements that are shaping and shaped through capitalist urbanisation (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). They are aware of exclusionary, marginalising and unjust processes, including the social forces of social categories, and they highlight how they are naturalised and inscribed in configurations of the urban (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). Schmid (2012) underlines that space is linked to power structures and knowledge production, as well as whose representations, rules and ethics are dominant. He argues that, in public space, public-private strategies lead to displacement, marginalisation and gentrification (Schmid 2012). As urban geographer Slater (2012) explains, gentrification is a term that was coined by the sociologist Glass in 1964. It is often used synonymously with revitalisation or regeneration, which are underpinned by a neoliberal narrative and foster competition, leading to further gentrification processes (Slater 2012). Slater (2012) is in line with Zukin (2010) in arguing that there is a need to consider affordable housing as a social justice issue.

An important aspect of critical urban theory is supporting the right to the city, following Marxist philosopher and sociologist Lefebvre (Marcuse 2012). The right to the city is future-oriented and mainly directed toward deprived people, rather than those already having rights (Brenner et al. 2012; Schmid 2012). It is about the right to access the city and its resources, experiment with alternative lifestyles and change urban space and sociability (Harvey 2003, 2008; Marcuse 2012; Schmid 2012). Harvey (2008) points out that the right to the city is collective and goes beyond individuals. Moreover, he

comments that social relationships, the ways people live, their aesthetic values and technologies shape ideas of what kind of city people desire (Harvey 2008). Critical perspectives on placemaking build on these considerations, embrace the claim for the right to the city and adopt them for an analysis of placemaking processes (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). Harvey and Wachsmuth (2012) argue that, to achieve change in the urban context, there is a need for economic transformations, coalitions and political and social movements in cities, which is also mentioned by Bodirsky (2017). However, according to Meyer (2012), there is also a challenge of social movement being incorporated into neoliberal models.

As several interview partners pointed out, and discussed by Dempsey and Burton (2012) and Pritchard (2019), it is important to consider the long-term effects of placemaking. Assessing placemaking and focussing on a long-term perspective despite quick fixes is important to add to critical placemaking approaches in the case of Oslo.

According to Dempsey and Burton (2012), placemaking is important to improve the quality of public spaces and has social and economic potential. However, these authors emphasise that the lack of maintenance and long-term management of places, the 'place-keeping' (Dempsey and Burton 2012, 11), can have negative material, environmental, economic and social effects. According to them, the concept of place-keeping was first introduced by Wild et al. in 2008 (Dempsey and Burton 2012). Place-keeping is often expected to be a process that will just automatically happen after the placemaking process, as highlighted by Dempsey and Burton (2012). As a result, maintenance costs are often not included in budgeting placemaking. Yet, the authors explain that place-keeping does not always follow placemaking and can potentially lead to negative influences not only on the current engagement of people but also on future involvement with the place and the placemaking process. The authors stress that, as people like to use well-maintained places with a variety of activities, it is important to establish partnerships to achieve this. Local groups, policymakers and practitioners can be important stakeholders and keep the place-keeping process alive in both the short and long term. Involving different collaborations, such as public-private partnerships, private funding, endowments and funds, can secure place-keeping and avoid negative consequences from placemaking (Dempsey and Burton 2012).

Based on his readings of Harvey and Lefebvre, Pritchard (2019) posits that to break with neoliberal tendencies, communities and artists need to reclaim their right to create and re-create their cities and resist the power of those who promote consumption and passivity. This way of resisting neoliberalist gentrification and breaking with capitalist logic is termed 'place guarding' (Pritchard 2019, 152) and has an agenda beyond placemaking and place-keeping. Place guarding is focussed on spatial justice and assessing negative long-term outcomes and aims for ways to change common power structures that are embedded in the neoliberal system. Finding ways to gain rights for those without access to resources and possibilities to shape and re-shape the city can be linked to critical urban theory. This goes beyond the place-keeping approach that aims at sustaining placemaking processes and avoiding negative outcomes; rather, it is directed toward a change of unequal power structures. Place guarding feeds into considerations about the 'right to the city', and thus, can be combined with the critical perspectives on placemaking outlined by Røe (2014), Toolis (2017) and Bodirsky (2017).

To sum up, critical perspectives on placemaking focus on actors' different aims and rationales through analysing dominant place narratives, power structures, the force of social categories and intersections (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). Moreover, critical perspectives on placemaking bring forth the idea of 'the right to the city' and analyse different people's entitlement and possibilities of shaping, creating and accessing public places and resources in the city (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). Furthermore, places are considered socio-material and embedded in their material, cultural, economic and social contexts (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017). Another important aspect is that generalisations, such as the creation of 'good' and 'better' places, can be deconstructed through the approaches, thereby raising critical questions (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). Another key point that should be added to critical placemaking perspectives is the necessity to consider long-term perspectives and assess potential negative outcomes and possibilities for changing unequal power structures, as highlighted by my interview partners (Dempsey and Burton 2012; Pritchard 2019). To strengthen these approaches and to deepen the theoretical focus on positionality, I draw on the engaged programme in STS outlining situated knowledges. Furthermore, I use this programme to answer my research question on actors and rationales.

3.2 Placemaking and the engaged programme

Placemaking is linked to the development of 'better' places, and hence, it can be connected to urban transformations towards sustainability (Cilliers et al. 2015; Pailliè Pérez 2016; Project for Public Spaces 2018a). It is gaining attention and currently discussed in scientific, social and political contexts (e.g. Future Place Leadership 2018; Courage and McKeown 2019a; Hes and Hernandez-Santin 2020). The engaged programme in STS is working on transformations and sustainable development, and thus, it provides a good perspective for theorising placemaking (Rohracher 2015). The variety of disciplines and practitioners using placemaking and their numerous understandings of it hint at different ways of knowing and producing knowledge, which is materialised in the built environment and bodies (Gieryn 2000; Legge 2015; Lew 2017). The engaged programme can contribute with critical considerations of knowledge production, ways of knowing (epistemology) and being (ontology) and provide a base for conceptualising placemaking (Nightingale 2016; Klenk et al. 2017). Analysing placemaking by drawing on the engaged programme can also contribute to the body of literature and enlarge it. Another aspect is that the engaged programme in STS asks critical questions about actors, as well as their positions, authority and knowledge production processes and rationales, which are key to my research questions (Cretney 2014; Eriksen et al. 2015). The engaged programme is a politically filled and critical programme that works on deconstructing dominant discourses, as well as material and social interrelations (Sismondo 2008; Rohracher 2015). These are also key elements in critical perspectives on placemaking as they have a transformative aim for more just, inclusive and diverse societies (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). Therefore, the engaged programme in STS is a fitting theoretical backdrop for critical placemaking considerations and can expand them through discussions about knowledge production and the situatedness of stakeholders.

3.3 The engaged programme in science and technology studies (STS)

In this section, I contextualise and specify the engaged programme in STS, I then state its core elements. The engaged programme is part of the inter- and intradisciplinary field of STS, which is sometimes also termed science, technology and society (Sismondo 2008; Martin et al. 2012; Rohracher 2015; Jasanoff 2017). The field of STS emerged starting in the 1960s with Kuhn's work *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*

in 1962 (Jasanoff 2017). Kuhn (2012) states that knowledge is a process rather than cumulative. This process is shaped, for example, through scientific revolutions, which happen when anomalies become too strong and the normal processes of science-based paradigms can no longer be continued (Kuhn and Hacking 2012). In the 1970s, STS was split as a field resembling a quantitative and a qualitative one. The former was following a rather uncritical approach with citation and co-citation methods and the latter a more critical approach (Edge 1995; Martin et al. 2012). In Edinburgh in the 1970s, researchers were working on the 'strong programme', concerned with how knowledge is caused (Rohracher 2015). They pointed out that interests inform positions and knowledge (Sismondo 2008; Martin et al. 2012). This means that knowledge is relative and the research process can lead to different outcomes. The engaged programme is a critically and politically informed programme that focusses on deconstructing power structures and their social and material relations, as well as dominant discourses (Sismondo 2008; Rohracher 2015). It works on a variety of contemporary issues in politics and society, including agricultural transformations towards sustainability, mobility and energy systems, climate change and feminist studies (Rohracher 2015).

Below, I draw on theoretical considerations of the engaged programme, with several articles from adaptation to climate change discourses, as these elaborate in illustrative ways on theory and empirical research and deal with narratives about more 'sustainable' and 'better' futures and transformations. The engaged programme's focus on politics and society comprises a variety of elements, such as transformation towards sustainability and mobility, that align with the variety of topics in placemaking approaches (Wyckoff 2014; Legge 2015).

Knowledge production is at the core of the engaged programme and raises a variety of questions with analytical strength. Harding (1991) raised the important questions of 'Whose science? Whose knowledge?' (297) stating that science is political and contested. Asking critical questions about knowledge production, such as for whom and for what reasons, points at the actors, their identities and rationales (Amsterdamska 2008). These questions can also contribute to unpacking social dynamics (Cote and Nightingale 2012). Further, the engaged programme raises questions about power structures and authority, such as who legitimates what is considered as valid knowledge (Harding 1991; Jasanoff 2004b; Eriksen et al. 2015; Klenk and Meehan 2015; Stirling

2015; Goldman et al. 2018; Hulme 2018). Other questions raised in connection to knowledge production concern the ways in which knowledge is materialised and institutionalised (Eriksen et al. 2015; Rohracher 2015). Asking how knowledge is produced, Keith and Rehg (2008) argue that social practices and embodied reasoning are essential. Furthermore, there are considerations about ways of knowing (epistemology) and being in the world (ontology; Nightingale 2016; Klenk et al. 2017). Understanding knowledge production as a process of world making highlights that the question of which are dominant discourses and which knowledge is reproduced and considered valuable is tied to authority (Klenk et al. 2017; Goldman et al. 2018). Different ways of knowing and doing placemaking and the resulting variety of practices, as well as claims about what makes a 'great' or 'better' place can be explained through the perspective of the engaged programme in STS.

Lukes (2005) points out that there are various ways of conceptualising power. In this work, I adopt Nightingale's (2017) understanding of inequalities as an outcome rather than an indication of power. Moreover, I use her definition of authority, based on her readings of the philosophers Foucault, Butler, and Gramsci, as a relational dynamic that legitimises governance through the recognition of those being governed (Nightingale 2017). I also follow Eriksen et al.'s (2015) statement that power is at play between different actors, organisations and institutions, as well as on different levels, and that authority is a way to conceptualise the inequalities, which are an outcome of the exercise of power.

From an STS perspective, social categories, such as gender, race, age, religion and class, and their intersections need to be considered in the knowledge production process (Fox Keller 1995; Rohracher 2015). This applies to those who are producing knowledge, the kinds of knowledge they are producing and the outcomes of these knowledge(s). These social categories are established in knowledge production processes and become present through specific material and social relations and shape the ways of being and living in the world (Goldman et al. 2018). They are often linked to ideologies and marginalisation processes and re-iterate inequalities. Therefore, they are important for a politically engaged and transformative programme (Bassett and Fogelman 2013; Ensor et al. 2015). As feminist STS scholars have pointed out, there is a need to go beyond binary categories and to be precise with the use of language to avoid, for example, equating gender with women (Longino 1990; Fox Keller 1995;

Suchman 2008). Acknowledging the relevance of language, the engaged programme can be linked to critical placemaking perspectives highlighting the relevance of narratives. Furthermore, critical placemaking approaches emphasise the relevance of analysing social categories, intersections and in-/exclusion mechanisms as well (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017).

Social, cultural, historical and material contexts should be considered in the analysis of the production of knowledge and its effects as the contexts shape individuals' beliefs and possibilities to know and influence ideologies (Longino 1990; Harding 1991; Solomon 2008; Rohracher 2015). Analysing places and placemaking includes focussing on the creation of a sense of place by drawing on material, social, historical and cultural elements and their relevance for individuals and social groups. The construction of places and the placemaking process can be supported through the engaged programme's considerations.

Fox Keller (1995) criticises that, beyond its local particularities, context points in various directions and could be better understood through Haraway's situated knowledges approach. This approach highlights positionality and aligns with the question about whose knowledge is at stake; thus, it is central to the qualitative field of STS (Amsterdamska 2008; Lynch 2008).

Taking the knower's position seriously, Haraway (1988) develops an epistemological approach that is dynamic, hybrid and focussed on partial perspectives. Her critique of object and subject is followed by her introduction and aim to think of the world through the body's production of apparatus (Rohracher 2015). Haraway (1988) posits that 'feminist objectivity means quite simply situated knowledges' (581). She explains that objective vision can only be achieved through 'partial perspectives' (583). Moreover, she elaborates that feminist objectivity is about 'limited location' and 'not about transcendence and splitting of subject and object' (583). She criticises the totalitarian and relativist approach that promises vision from any perspective and calls this the 'god trick' (584). Haraway (1988) argues that critical, partial and locatable knowledge sustain connection webs, which she terms solidarity and shared epistemological conversations. Following the community and not isolated individuals matters in her approach of 'situated knowledges' (590). She highlights that vision is linked to power and concludes that positions and positioning are essential to understanding struggles

over position taking in scientific knowledge production. Further, she mentions that being is contingent and goes beyond categories. To sum up, she claims:

> I am arguing for politics and epistemologies of location, positioning, and situating, where partiality and not universality is the condition of being heard to make rational knowledge claims. These are claims on people's lives. I am arguing for the view from a body, always a complex, contradictory, structuring, and structured body, versus the view from above, from nowhere, from simplicity. (Haraway 1988, 589)

Her notion of solidarity, which is constituted out of partial, situated perspectives, is linked to the production of knowledge (Longino 1990). Pointing out the situatedness, Haraway (1988) highlights that there are no 'innocent positions' (584), which means that one cannot know anything neutrally as Nightingale (2017) argues. Focussing on people's situatedness, their partial knowledges and acknowledgement of their positionality led me to analyse the different actors' perspectives on placemaking as partial ways of approaching the 'making' of cities based on partial understandings of what makes good public places.

An important aspect of the knowledge production process is co-production (Jasanoff 2004b). Since the 1990s, public participation in knowledge production has been demanded by various social movements and NGOs due to struggles in globalisation and development issues, which were interconnected with society and technology (Jasanoff 2004a; Bucchi and Neresini 2008). Therefore, businesses and political institutions increased public participation, which involved and is still characterised by struggles and negotiations. This is the case because the scale of decisions and norms underpinning decisions are negotiated and constructed rather than being given (Jasanoff 2004a). The rationales for policymakers to open up for participation processes are often to enhance democracy and citizenship, legitimate decisions and avoid heated discussion (Bucchi and Neresini 2008). However, the meanings of citizenship and democracy are often unclear in this context (Jasanoff 2004a). Furthermore, the question of who is participating becomes relevant since some people are excluded for various reasons (Ensor et al. 2015). The co-production process is shaped through social interaction between laypeople and experts. This process can be challenged through communication issues due to multi-layered gaps between non-experts and experts (Bucchi and Neresini 2008). It is relevant for my analysis of who is placemaking and who is not to draw on the outlined co-production process and analyse rationales for participation. Furthermore,

it is relevant to scrutinise inclusion and exclusion that might be a result of collaborative knowledge production processes (Jasanoff 2004a; Bucchi and Neresini 2008; Ensor et al. 2015)

To sum up, the engaged programme in STS highlights that social categories and intersections need to be considered in the production, representation and recirculation of knowledge (Fox Keller 1995; Rohracher 2015). Placemaking processes are interconnected with certain ways of knowing and being in the world, which is related to people's positionality and situatedness in Haraway's (1988) sense. Different social positions and stakeholders in placemaking raise questions of placemaking for whom, for what reasons and whose knowledge is considered valid (Harding 1991; Jasanoff 2004b; Amsterdamska 2008; Cote and Nightingale 2012; Eriksen et al. 2015). Focussing on the aspect of knowledge production, several authors point out that different ways of knowing (epistemology) and being in the world (ontology) lead to distinct ways of producing knowledge world making, raising the question of whose knowledge and discourses are dominant and reproduced (Nightingale 2016; Klenk et al. 2017; Goldman et al. 2018). Therefore, analysing different stakeholders due to peoples' situatedness and their positions in the placemaking process can also clarify who is holding social, economic and political capital and power, and who is exercising power. Furthermore, it can make clear who has access to participate and who does not due to unequal power relations (Bucchi and Neresini 2008). Bucchi and Neresini (2008) delineate that participation is a way for more powerful actors to co-create with laypeople and experts and to legitimise their decisions. Furthermore, place narratives, myths and representations may be visible or invisible, and they influence the involved placemaking stakeholders and their knowledge production and ideologies (Longino 1990; Harding 1991; Low and Smith 2006; Solomon 2008; Rohracher 2015). This is the case because humans experience and attach to places in many ways. The deconstruction of different stories also shows partial views and that there are no 'innocent positions' (Haraway 1988, 584; Cresswell 2004; Nightingale 2016).

4. Method

4.1 Context

In this chapter, I outline how I developed my master's thesis and involvement with the PlaceCity research projects, based on my identification of a research gap I discovered through an internship. As part of my master's programme studies in Development, Environment and Cultural Change at the Centre for Development and Environment (SUM), I completed an internship at Nabolagshager in Oslo from February to June 2019. Nabolagshager (2020) is an Oslo-based think tank that works in collaboration with local and international actors on social and green entrepreneurship, circular economy, urban agriculture and placemaking. I was mainly working on the project 'PlaceCity, placemaking for sustainable thriving cities' (Nabolagshager 2018, first paragraph), which is funded by JPI Urban Europe (PlaceCity 2019). The project consortium consists of multiple parties including public, private and scientific actors in Norway, Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands (Nabolagshager 2018). PlaceCity comprises two cases, one in Oslo, Norway, which focusses on Grønland, a part of the district Gamle Oslo, and one in Vienna, Austria, which focusses on the Floridsdorf district (PlaceCity Consortium 2018). The project aims to establish a toolbox and sustainable business models in placemaking and establish placemaking networks in Norway and Vienna, which can be linked to the European Placemaking Network (Nabolagshager 2018)[3].

To gain a deeper understanding of placemaking, I conducted a literature review based on the search terms 'placemaking', 'place making', 'place-making' and 'stedskaping' (Norwegian term for placemaking) in the search engine Oria. Based on my readings on placemaking, participation in project meetings and some interviews, the topic sparked my interest. As I found little research on placemaking in Oslo but increasing attention to the topic, especially among my interview partners and people involved in the launch of 'placemaking in the Nordics' network, my motivation for researching the topic deepened (Multiconsult 2018). Therefore, I collaborated with Nabolagshager and the PlaceCity to complete this thesis.

[3] To share placemaking tools and insights from Oslo I contributed to the e-book *Exploring Placemaking in Context* based on my interviews (see Reich et al. 2019).

4.2 Qualitative research: Semi-structured interviews

To explore placemaking in depth with a focus on complexity and to 'understand the interactions, processes, lived experiences and belief systems' (O'Leary 2017, 142) of institutions, social groups and individuals, I decided on a qualitative research approach. Moreover, since there has been little research conducted on placemaking in Oslo, an explorative and qualitative approach seemed more fitting than a quantitative approach did. Furthermore, my aim for a critical perspective on placemaking, working with positionality, power positions and complex social interactions, can be linked to the qualitative research tradition as outlined by, for example, O'Leary (2017).

As I wanted to explore the placemakers' experiences and perspectives on placemaking, as well as their understandings, power structures, positionality and narratives in Oslo, particularly in the Gamle Oslo district, I chose qualitative semi-structured interviews as a method that allowed me to explore the complexity and depth of my topic (Byrne 2018). Moreover, Byrne (2018) argues that qualitative interviews can enable access to attitudes, values and feelings. The method allowed me to ask my interviewees about their ideas, emotions and attitudes during placemaking processes and to hear their voices and perspectives (Byrne 2018). I also decided to use semi-structured interviews to gain comparable data but to have the flexibility of exploring the topic in its complexity (Bryman 2016). As Brinkmann (2014) points out, semi-structured interviews open up the possibility for researchers to follow up on the interviewees' angle. This possibility to explore and ask further questions about placemaking in Oslo through semi-structured interviews, along with the flexibility, complexity and access to attitudes, values and feelings seemed promising to me to answer my research questions. O'Leary (2017) argues that semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to pursue the research interests and give the research the possibility to explore new details. This combination influenced my research process strongly, as I was able to combine my interest in placemaking initiatives and process and learn about unexpected elements.

4.3 Case study

O'Leary (2017) delineates that case studies have the potential to be the basis of a new theory or provide evidence for it, contributing to the understanding of the research issue with new variables. Moreover, case studies can be politically relevant and may be used to disprove a theory. Given the variety of possibilities of a case study, it seemed promising for my research design. I decided to research placemaking in Oslo with a focus on the Gamle Oslo district. As outlined in the introduction placemaking is a relatively new phenomenon in Oslo and urban spaces, and the negotiation on how to develop, and 'make' them is quite central due to the growth of the city, spatial and economic inequalities and social and environmental challenges (Andersen and Røe 2017; Andersen and Ander 2018; Oslo Kommune Statistikkbanken 2019). Given the centrality of Gamle Oslo and that it is targeted by several urban development projects and undergoing a gentrification process made it a politically relevant and interesting area for study (Ander 2017; Andersen and Ander 2018).

As Robinson and Seale (2018) point out, the advantages of case studies are a detailed understanding of a certain setting or event, as well as the possibility to test and generate policies, hypotheses and ideas. Focussing on placemakers in Oslo and understanding the variety of actors, the specific legal, social and historic configurations enabled me to gain a more detailed understanding in the specific context. However, Robinson and Seale (2018) also describe the challenge of a lack of generalisable data and possibilities to prove the relationships between causes and effects. This also applies to this study, which is context specific; thus it cannot be generalised or present causalities but raise questions that may be relevant on a broader scale.

4.4 Sampling

To create a relevant sample of placemakers in Oslo, I decided on a purposive non-probability sample, which means that some people were more likely to be selected than others (Bryman 2016). I combined snowball sampling and theoretical sampling with access through a key informant and social media (Byrne 2018; Seale 2018). According to Bryman (2016), theoretical sampling is a way to sample interviewees based on certain characteristics. According to Bryman (2016), snowball sampling is sampling that relies on interviewees' recommendations for further interview partners.

Choosing interview partners according to the characteristics of gender and professional positions is a theoretical sampling type and was the first step in the sampling process. To identify placemakers, Gallis, the leader of Nabolagshager and the Nordic network at Placemaking Europe, made a list of relevant interview partners based on her professional experience of placemaking in Norway. She posted a request in the Facebook group Byutviklere asking for suggestions for interview partners. The group aims for exchanges about topics related to urban space and planning. She added the suggestions to the list with a comment on persons who had been mentioned several times. The PlaceCity project manager Martinez Izquierdo, Gallis and I clustered the potential interview partners according to their position(s). The positions of the people included were policymakers, public sector employees, entrepreneurs, architects, urbanists, artists, bottom-up initiatives and people from the private sector, such as urban developers. The placemakers were, except one conducting placemaking research, based in Oslo, and several had a focus on Grønland and Tøyen. The interview partners were selected based on their position(s) and in a way to ensure gender balance. I researched the interview partners' contact information online and contacted them mainly via e-mail and LinkedIn. I provided an information sheet on the project and the interview in my message (see Appendix I for the information sheet and consent form). Snowball sampling was applied during the interviewing process. Towards the end of each interview, I would ask my interviewee for a recommendation of further potential interview partners and added them to the list of potential interview partners when I did not have them already on the list; I then contacted them for interviews (see Appendix II for the list of interviewees).

4.5 Developing the interview guide and piloting

Based on the PlaceCity project's objectives and a preliminary literature review, I developed a two-column interview guide for placemakers in Oslo and one specifically for the interviewees that were focussing on the Gamle Oslo district (see Appendix III for the interview guide). The latter was almost identical, except for a narrower focus on the district than on Oslo. I received feedback from project partners at Superwien, Stipo and Nabolagshager on the interview guide and modified it slightly by clarifying and adding some questions. Furthermore, I wrote an information sheet about the project and a preliminary interview consent form for my first 11 interviews, on which I also received feedback from the project partners. I worked on the comments to make these documents clear and easy to understand. I piloted my interview guide with a placemaker in March 2019 to test my guide and the recording equipment to practice for my interviewing process and to reflect on my role as an interviewer, as recommended by O'Leary (2017). The feedback I got was to focus more on specific tools and to be aware of my position as an interviewer. Questioning and reflecting on my role and perceptions of public space and places as a researcher was important feedback for me, which was relevant during my interviewing and analysing process as I focussed more clearly on reflection, positionality and power relations.

Questions were arranged on the left side of the interview guide's column in four thematic sets. To ease the start of the conversation, I began the interview guide with questions about the project(s), including questions about the duration, rationale, process, involved stakeholders and funding. After this section, I asked about the placemaking definition and understanding, as well as the history of placemaking and history of the place in Oslo and Norway where the interviewees were working. A set of questions focussed on the tools and goals of the placemaking project, while the final block included questions about other placemaking initiatives or projects the interviewee could know about. Moreover, I planned time for interviewees to ask questions about the PlaceCity project and my research. The interview guide was quite long, as I focussed on not asking two questions at the same time and asking specific instead of general questions, as recommended by Bryman (2016).

4.6 Ethics

I registered my research project with the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) and prepared a consent form for my interviewees that complied with all their regulations. I did this to ensure that my interview process complied with ethical research standards in general, as outlined by Byrne (2018), and specifically for my case study research in Norway. All interviewees gave their consent to be recorded and to have the interviews transcribed, analysed and used in my thesis, as well as in the PlaceCity project. Some interviewees wished to be credited with their names in direct quotes, whereas others preferred to remain anonymous. The interviewee's choice was approved by the NSD.

Before each interview, I asked the interviewee to sign the consent form, which stated—among other things—that participation was voluntary and the interviewee could stop the interview at any time. Furthermore, I asked for consent to record the interview. To ensure data protection, I recorded with a recorder and not my phone.

4.7 Data collection: Interviewing

I conducted 19 interviews between May and August 2019. In August, I mainly interviewed people working in the Gamle Oslo district. The interviewees were free to choose the place and time of the interview to ensure they could decide on an interview setting they felt comfortable with (Byrne 2018). The interviews for which I received consent to use in my thesis were conducted at different cafés, interviewees' office spaces, the Nabolagshager office space, at the project's location, and at an interviewee's home. Before each interview, I read about the interviewee's projects and biographies to be able to position them better and to come prepared to the interview meetings. The interviews varied in duration between 20 and 75 minutes. In all the cases, the atmosphere was relaxed and the setting was informal. I conducted the interviews in English, which is a second language for me. Conducting interviews in a language that is not the mother tongue of the interviewees or researcher is as described by Resch and Enzenhofer (2018) describe as a 'lingua franca' (138). Except in the cases of two interviewees who were native English speakers, the language of the interview was a lingua franca. In several interviews, Norwegian words and terms were used, and once, Spanish terms were employed. As I do have a good basic understanding of Norwegian and Spanish, the changes in language to describe certain issues, processes and regulations were not a problem for communication.

At the beginning of the interviewing process, I followed the interview guide quite closely to obtain all the information I was aiming for, concentrate on open body language and ensure my recorder was working. Over time, I developed my interviewing skills and became more familiar with my research interests. Hence, it was easier for me to listen carefully. I started asking questions to deepen the interviewees' points, as well as raising questions that were more critical, concerning issues like power dynamics. It was helpful for me to take notes to remember themes and questions in the interviewing process. Furthermore, I gained more insights into the topic, which made me feel more comfortable talking about it. Towards the end of the interview, I increasingly asked questions related to gentrification, friction and conflicts in their project; these were themes that usually emerged earlier during the interview. Over the interviewing process, my interest in exploring the complexity, power structures, social forces and potential negative outcomes increased, and I adapted my questions partially to explore these aspects in more depth.

4.8 Data processing: Notes, transcription and data storage

After each interview, I filled out a template on the place, duration and length of the interview, as well as on the atmosphere. Furthermore, I wrote down my thoughts on my role as an interviewer, important aspects and themes of the interview, the conversation before and after starting the recording, situational aspects and comments I had. I did this to document the context and aspects that seemed important to me for the analysis. I created a code for each interview, which was stored with the names in a separate file and folder. I saved the files and documents on my university cloud and the PlaceCity project cloud with the consent of my interviewees.

To transcribe the recordings, I used the Olympus transcription player and pedal to increase my transcribing speed. All transcripts are anonymous but contain the transcript code, which allowed me to link them to the notes and audio files and to identify the different interviewees. I followed the GAT 2 transcription guide for a simple and effective transcription (Selting et al. 2011). After transcribing, I proofread each transcript to ensure that I had transcribed everything and did not mishear something.

4.9 Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis: NVivo

I chose NVivo to code the transcripts of my interviews to explore interlinks between topics, as outlined by Bryman (2016). However, I am aware that analysing single codes bears the risk of decontextualising data and bias, as various researchers have discussed (see for example Bryman 2016; O'Leary 2017). Participating in several meetings and (in)formal discussions, attending placemaking events and being part of digital placemaking platforms informed my understanding of the analysis. However, I did not conduct field observations in the chosen methodology.

The coding process was abductive, as I started with codes based on the aims of my interview guide for each question, such as 'placemaking definition and understanding', 'placemaking tools' and 'genealogy—history of a place or area'. These aims were based on my preliminary literature review and input I obtained from placemaking experts. These codes were marked as yellow, whereas the codes that I created inductively were not marked with a colour. With each interview, I made more inductive codes based on the transcripts to explore my data and to be more open about my material, such as 'politics, position, perception, power and the public space', 'good urban life' and 'safety, security and gender'. I sometimes returned to (a) previous interview(s) to code them with a code that I created based on an interview and could be applied to them. I coded passages with several codes. After coding the last interview, I organised and merged my codes and coded all interviews one more time to ensure that I had the same code list for all my interviews. During this phase, I did not create new codes.

I used the memo function throughout the entire coding process to note down thoughts on the coding process, codes, connections between topics and aspects that surprised me or I felt I could use in the phase to make a theory emerge. Furthermore, I used the annotation function to note down particularities of a specific passage. I imported my post-interview notes into NVivo to go through them and ensure I did not forget to code aspects I noted down as essential after my coding process. Going through the notes was a quick step, since I had coded and taken notes on most of the aspects I considered relevant after my interviews. I exported all my notes, codes, word frequency and annotations.

Following O'Leary (2017), I analysed my codes to identify key elements in the interviews in combination with my annotations, notes and memos. I repeated the same

analysing process after conducting my literature review to consider my data from a more theoretical perspective and wrote down several ways of connecting them, which I used for discussing my material. Brinkmann (2014) points out a tendency of social science researchers aiming for one narrative despite acknowledging contradictions in different interviewees' narratives and descriptions. Keeping this critical remark in mind, I aimed to sketch out different, partially contradicting findings of what placemaking means and how people aim for different goals during the coding and analysis process.

4.10 Positionality

According to Hackett (2008), positionality is essential for STS scholars, and self-reflection is a relevant part of the research process. Therefore, I position myself as a 'White'[4] racialised, female master student with a background in cultural and sustainable humanities studies in the global North to make my privileges and position visible. During my interviews, several partners spoke quite openly and personally about their experiences and showed me their trust, which is probably based on my situatedness in Haraway's (1988) sense. In some interviews, negative comments were made about 'the immigrants', which shocked me at first, as this included myself and left me speechless for a moment. However, reflecting on it, I understood that, as an educated and 'White' racialised woman, I was not perceived as an immigrant but as part of the Norwegian society. Consequently, I was not included in the interviewee's understanding of 'the other'. Having learned Norwegian also enabled me to understand terms related to regulations or that are specific to Norwegian culture, such as dugnad[5], which may also have led to the perceived feeling of being part of the underlying 'we'.

My undergraduate studies influenced my interest in the study of inequalities, power structures and social forces and focus on complexity and interdisciplinary endeavours. Following the theoretical perspective I chose to analyse my data and my findings are shaped through my academic background.

[4] In this work, I capitalise and set the terms 'White' and 'Black' into quotation marks to highlight that these terms are socially constructed, as outlined by Arndt (2003).
[5] *Dugnad* is a Norwegian term and cultural practice, which is about collectives or communities, conducting voluntary work and gathering (Simon and Mobekk 2019).

4.11 Reflection and limitations

The variety of my interviewees' perspectives and statements were important for me to understand the complexity and contradictions of my topic. Furthermore, it made me aware of the limitations of my sample, as some placemakers did not always call themselves placemakers. This also raised questions about what makes a placemaker. This led me to reflect on my assumptions that placemakers could be 'identified' and that it was clear what the criteria for such a process are. The variety of understandings of what placemaking is, and hence, the role of placemakers vary as outlined in the literature review.

My sampling decisions on using key informants and snowballing approaches have the risk and limitation that they can lead to the identification of a single network, which leaves out interview partners with different experiences (Seale 2018). On the one hand, certain people were recommended as relevant interviewees multiple times and seemed to be part of the same network or even collaborators on projects. On the other, the experiences and perspectives of the interviewees sometimes contradicted each other to a varying degree and/or focussed on different aspects. This hints at a certain degree of diversity in my sample. Furthermore, some interviewees met at the placemaking event for the first time, which shows that the interviewees were not part of a single network. However, it is not entirely clear to me how related or not my interview partners were, since I did not focus on social network analysis. Nevertheless, I was satisfied with my interview sample, which comprised a varied and diverse spectrum of perspectives with complementing or interesting contradictory elements.

During my inductive coding process, I tried to work as closely as possible with the data. However, I am aware that my epistemology, which is influenced by my former training in cultural studies, influences the way I make sense of my data. I had several informal conversations with different people about my dataset. I once discussed my codes with a project member to reflect on my epistemology and coding process and to ensure that I could define and give reasons for coding. Coding with several researchers would have been an asset to validate the coding process. However, this is beyond the scope of this master's thesis and would have only partially affect the subjective quality that qualitative research methodology inevitably has.

Through my literature review on the engaged programme in STS and a focus on power structures, social forces and the complexity of cities, a new perspective opened up and enabled me to reflect on my bias and positionality.

The use of a lingua franca for most of my interview partners and me is another limitation that may have influenced the depth of my data and some nuances to a certain degree. However, as the atmosphere was relaxed and interviewees sometimes used Norwegian words that I understood, there did not seem to be a major language barrier.

A more general limitation of qualitative data is that findings cannot be generalised from qualitative interviews (Bryman 2016). I aimed for trustworthiness, following Bryman (2016), including credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. I kept records throughout the entire research process for dependability. Moreover, I aimed to gain detailed information about Oslo to provide a database in the sense of transferability. I reflected on my positionality to deal with confirmability and discussed findings with experts in the field to achieve credibility.

5. Doing placemaking in Oslo: Who, how and why?

> I think it has to do with the background of the people that are motivated and that are engaged in it [placemaking]. Because if you come into it as a garden fanatic then it's the plants that motivate your action. Whereas when you come into it from an architectural background then it's maybe the physical structure that interests you the most. Or if you come into it as a social worker then you see the social dynamics of it. And I think placemaking unites many of these aspects into a very holistic approach that I still think is quite new in Oslo. (Helene Gallis, leader of the Nordic Placemaking Network and founder of Nabolagshager)

In the placemaking movement in Europe, including Oslo, in online forums, conferences, presentations by self-declared placemakers and informal chats, placemakers referred to themselves as a community, as a 'we', without differentiating different understandings, rationales, approaches or positions. Creating a communal 'we' partially seemed to veil the complexity of whom, why and how placemaking was conducted.

Below, I first outline different placemaking actors, drawing on Lew's (2017) continuum of top-down and bottom-up approaches. I then sketch out their rationales for placemaking, the ways they realise placemaking projects, and the challenges they face, especially in collaborations. I then delineate the shared elements of placemaking among different actors and challenges for collaborations. Finally, I draw on what placemaking contributes to the practices of shaping public places in Oslo.

Depending on one's background and focus on placemaking, one's interests and understandings vary as highlighted by Gallis in the quote above. Thus, as diverse as people are, so are their placemaking understandings, which leads to a certain fuzziness and complexity of placemaking. Allen (1984), Massey (1994), Gieryn (2000) and Cresswell (2004) all explain that people experience and perceive public places in different ways. Hence, people have diverse, sometimes contradicting and conflicting understandings and practices of places and placemaking. The interviewees understand placemaking as a method, tool, mindset and philosophy, movement and approach. The informants pointed out that placemaking is need-based and change-oriented. The creation of 'great' or 'quality' places and the transformative character of placemaking as described by Wyckoff (2014) and the PPS (2007) were also highlighted by the interview partners. The informants also understood placemaking as solution- and future-oriented and aiming to improve public places and solve challenges in them, which again feeds

into the idea of improving places and making them 'better', as emphasised by several authors (Wyckoff 2014; Cilliers et al. 2015; Paillè Pérez 2016).

However, drawing on Amsterdamska (2008), from an engaged programme in the STS perspective, it could be criticised that the interviewees mostly did not question who defines and decides what a problem or challenge is but only focussed on solving the challenges through placemaking. Hence, analysing who gets to decide problems, what is taken for granted and underlying placemaking assumptions can contribute to understanding power structures and the complexity of places as described by Sismondo (2008) and Rohracher (2015). The relevance of placemaking as a concept was stressed by some interviewees, whereas others pointed out the challenge of placemaking as a rather undefined term. The critique also entailed that placemaking was covering 'everything' and lacked clearness. The outlined lack of conceptualisation and definition in Oslo feeds into Legge's (2015) analysis that there is a lack of one consistent definition, thereby strengthening her argument. Despite the fuzziness of placemaking, the 'making' of places was also posited by the interviewees in the sense of co-creating meaning and making places useful, shaping, managing and programming them, as delineated, for example, by Paulsen (2010), Silberberg et al. (2013), Eggertsen Teder (2019) and Mayhew (2015b). The informants explained that they intuitively grasped what placemaking meant due to the 'making' aspect of it. Moreover, Dempsey and Burton (2012) and Pritchard (2019) argue for a long-term perspective on placemaking, which was also highlighted by several interview partners. I expand on this argument when discussing a critical perspective on placemaking in the next chapter.

Drawing on the engaged programme in STS, analysing different people's positionality becomes relevant (Amsterdamska 2008; Eriksen et al. 2015). Røe (2014) and Toolis (2017) go beyond individuals and analyse social groups to grasp a better understanding of placemaking actors and rationales. To answer my research questions about placemaking actors, rationales, practices and challenges of collaborations, I analyse the different actors who are placemaking in Oslo. Paulsen (2010) explains that, in placemaking, top-down and bottom-up actors exist. Lew (2017) highlights that this is a continuum in which different placemaking actors are working; as I shall sketch out, this is also eminent in Oslo. Furthermore, there is a continuum between the spatial scale of placemaking works, which was highlighted by different interviewees ranging from one

specific place or location to bigger urban schemes such as a neighbourhood, district, or defined urban development area.

Placemaking actors in Oslo can be divided into three broad groups, namely public sector actors, placemaking professionals and grassroots actors (see Figure 3). The three groups collaborate and sometimes intersect in their work; hence, the three circles indicating each group overlap to illustrate the cooperation. Interviewees sometimes shared that they changed their jobs, and hence, moved either from work in the public sector to placemaking professionals or the other way around, or alternatively, from grassroots actors to placemaking professionals. The public sector actors work mainly in a top-down manner. However, they include participation and create spaces, such as workshops and panels, to include people's opinions, visions and ideas into their processes; thus, they partially work in a bottom-up way. They collaborate with placemaking professionals to facilitate bottom-up collaborations and realise placemaking projects. Furthermore, they partially support grassroots actors through financial resources and advice in some departments, programmes and projects. The work of public sector placemaking actors ranges from projects in specific squares, streets and locations to greater urban scales that aim at transforming a neighbourhood, such as an area around Olafiagangen or an urban development space, such as the Fjord City. In contrast, the grassroots actors I interviewed mainly focussed on one specific location or a couple of places in one area due to limited time and financial resources. Nevertheless, they highlighted the need for change and transformation in bigger urban schemes. Besides collaborations with the public sector, they shared that they collaborated with placemaking professionals, mainly associations, NPOs, NGOs, entrepreneurs and social companies. Sometimes, grassroots actors slowly transformed into one of these forms as funding was easier to access in such a formal and legally organised form.

The group of placemaking professionals can be divided into two categories. On the one hand, there are NGOs, NPOs, associations and social companies working with tactical and creative placemaking mainly in one place or a well-defined neighbourhood. On the other, there are urban developers, planners, architects and retail and tourism actors focussing on strategic placemaking and mainly bigger urban schemes, although sometimes they concentrate on specific locations.

Besides the three groups, researchers working on placemaking could be considered the fourth group, with two ways of working. Research on placemaking processes is mainly conducted in the group of placemaking professionals and often funded by or realised in the public sector. This mainly happens to outline a place's particularities in material, cultural, historic, and especially, social terms and to map possible changes. However, more independent research with a broader view focussing critically on the complexity and processes of placemaking in general and specific cases is also conducted. This analysis comprises all placemaking groups in Oslo, and there is a lack of research on how it influences placemaking processes and different groups in this city. Therefore, research is not visualised as a group in Figure 3.

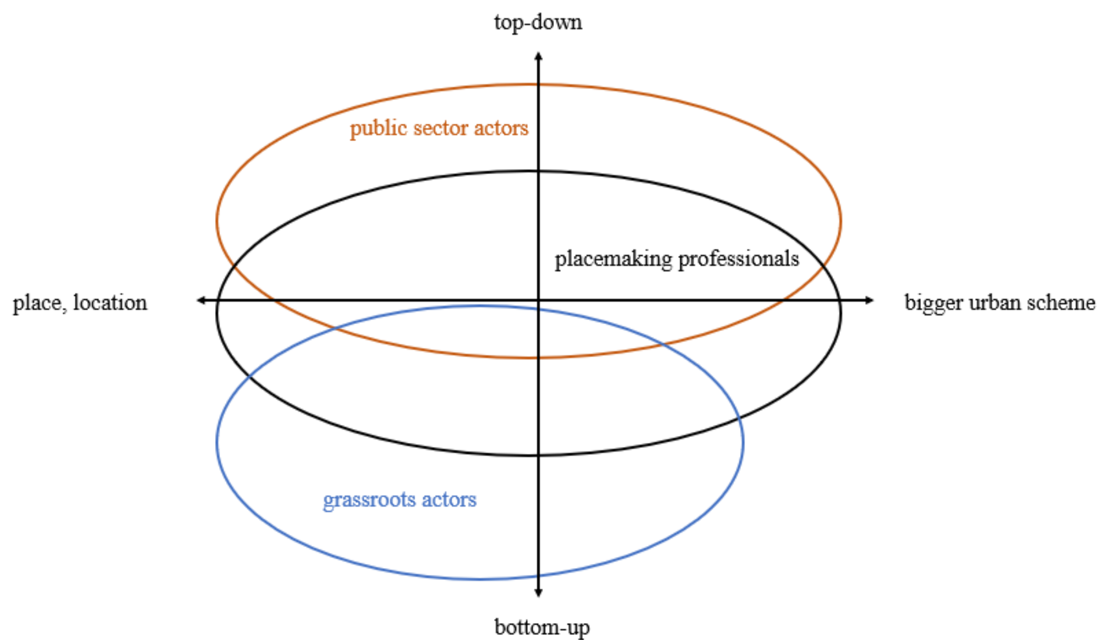


Figure 3: Placemaking actors typology in Oslo (author's compilation).

5.1 Public sector actors

The interviewees who worked for the public sector understood placemaking as a tool, method and approach in the urban planning and city-making process. The interviewees were located in different departments and working on projects with different purposes and scales. Drawing on the placemaking typology by Wyckoff (2014), placemaking in Oslo's public sector was either tactical or creative. The placemaking actions were targeted at all residents, including those running local businesses in each of the neighbourhoods of the projects. It was highlighted that diverse people and all those interested in the placemaking project should be addressed. Thus, placemaking was directed towards the public with the aim of improving public space for everyone. This notion feeds into Kent and Madden's (2016) claims that placemaking increases the liveability for everyone. However, it was mentioned by several public sector employees that this task was challenging due to the diversity of contradicting ideas, interests, needs and wishes for public places. This variety of ideas can be rooted in the different ways people make sense out of public places, as well as how they relate to, imagine, sense, interpret and feel them (Gieryn 2000; Wilkie and Roberson 2010; Clark 2012).

Placemaking was understood as an approach for community development and a possibility to test things out. One interviewee explained, 'So maybe that's why I love the placemaking approach because of the "making" word in it. We are makers, we are doing and creating things together' (Lisbeth Iversen, senior advisor, Arendal Municipality—public sector, Ph.D. candidate at the Oslo School for Architecture and Design). The diverse rationales and arguments on how placemaking was adding up to the practice of making places were explained by the interviewees, who were (former) public sector employees. They highlighted that the main reason for placemaking was to create meeting places that are social, safe, aesthetic, creative and accessible for everyone, as well as having sitting places and enhancing sociability, which aligns with the PPS's (2018a) rationales for placemaking.

Placemaking was mainly understood as a tool to test out new ways of how places can be made relevant for the public, to explore and experiment with different programmes, functions and physical elements in public spaces. These rationales are in line with the literature. The focus on experimenting with alternative ways of being in public places in the short term aligns with the tactical placemaking/urbanism approach (Wyckoff 2014). As Foth (2017), Lydon (2015) and Mould (2014) explain, tactical urbanism is about

decreasing the risk for planners and designers as they can try out plans in the short term. Lydon (2015) highlights that placemaking aims at increased liveability and activating a neighbourhood. Thus, these rationales of (former) public sector employees in Oslo highlighting liveability and creating sociability in a neighbourhood have been discussed in the literature. Several informants delineated that placemaking enabled them to test out plans in longer and larger urban development programmes and represented a possibility to create a livelier and more social neighbourhood that activated people to participate. This rationale can be supported by tactical urbanism rationales on reducing risks for the public sector through experimenting with different possibilities of how to shape and increase liveability in public places (Mould 2014; Lydon 2015; Foth 2017). This was voiced by one public sector employee who posited that using placemaking as a tool enabled the public department to show institutions, local businesses and residents in the neighbourhood what potential changes could look like. Moreover, the interviewee and the involved team saw the possibility to gather data and gain insights into people's opinions on these possible changes and use them more directly. The interviewees argued that placemaking was also a tool to strengthen democracy and avoid extremism through public involvement, participation and shared visions, as well as people's empowerment to take ownership of public spaces. This aligns with the analysis of Jasanoff (2004a) and Bucchi and Neresini (2008) of the public sector's aim for participation and co-creation to enhance democracy and strengthen residents. The authors critique that these aims are often not specified and reflected on and that struggles in the participation processes often exclude certain social groups (Jasanoff 2004a; Bucchi and Neresini 2008).

In the case of Oslo, democracy and the value of empowering residents to take ownership were not further reflected on and would require further analysis. The lack of participation of people was voiced by several interviewees. However, in some cases, specific targeting of social groups through public sector employees or the contracting of placemaking professionals with expertise in facilitating participation for certain groups, such as children, proved to be a way to overcome this challenge. Hence, exclusion of people during public participation is partially happening, but there seems to be an awareness and aim of public sector employees to deal with these challenges. This becomes evident in the following question: 'Whose voices have I heard now for three years and whose have I not?' (Susan Morales Guerra, facilitator and retired public

sector employee). Placemaking was understood as a way to realise sustainable development in a neighbourhood or within an area of urban development. Downscaling and realising political sustainability goals and agendas, such as the SDGs and Agenda 21, were emphasised. The interviewees stressed the importance of social sustainability in city-making processes, especially in urban planning. For example, creating attractive and inclusive material structures of public places, considering various people's needs, was mentioned. According to the public sector employees, public places need to be accessible for parents with strollers and people with wheelchairs. To achieve inclusive and attractive places, the interviewees argued that material barriers, as well as perceived barriers that seemed to exclude certain groups, needed to be abolished.

Among the (former) public sector interview partners, I discovered a focus on sociability and the potential for creating more just and diverse places. Moreover, some mentioned that placemaking could have positive effects on the economic dimension of sustainability by strengthening local businesses and contributing to alternative ways of organising the economy, such as a circular economy. However, the environmental aspects were only mentioned alongside. This could be due to a lack of focus on environmental topics in placemaking processes by the public sector or due to responsibility in other departments. The emphasis on the link between sustainable development and placemaking as a tool might have been influenced through Oslo's status as European Green Capital during the interviewing process. Furthermore, Oslo municipality is promoting a car-free city life (bilfritt byliv) focussing on creating liveable, environmentally friendly and social public places for people to relax, play meet and gather (Oslo Kommune 2019, 2020). The link between placemaking and sustainable development has also been sketched out in the literature by Hes and Hernandez-Santin (2020) and Myrick (2011). The authors explain that placemaking has the potential to contribute to creating public places that are environmentally, socially and economically sustainable, and hence, serve as a backdrop for the interviewees' rationales (Myrick 2011; Hes and Hernandez-Santin 2020). Furthermore, the PPS (2018b) points out that placemaking could be an approach to realise the political UN-Habitat New Urban Agenda. The emphasis of the PPS on the New Urban Agenda, in the case of Oslo, was not mentioned at all. Hence, it remains unclear what importance this agenda has in the Oslo context. Another rationale for one former public sector employee was the possibility to make places more attractive through encouraging people to create

a place brand, which aligns with Kovács and Musterd's (2013) discussion of the value of place brands.

The most common ways to conduct placemaking were through events, pop-ups and temporary material upgrades to spark sociability, following the 'lighter, quicker, cheaper' approach (Project for Public Spaces 2007; Wyckoff 2014). It was emphasised that achieving more sociability and lively neighbourhoods was more important than realising physical upgrades. In addition, it was stressed that the accessibility of public places, barrier-free planning and public transport was ensured through the planning law and other departments. In contrast, creating sociability and liveliness seemed to be less anchored in departments' work and seemed to be achievable in the short-term through placemaking as a tool. Two interviewees referred to the model of PPS (Project for Public Spaces 2009b) of 'What Makes a Great place?' (see Figure 2) and stressed the relevance of 'sociability' and touched on 'uses and activities', as well as 'comfort and image' (fourth paragraph) as relevant areas for placemaking. In contrast, 'access and linkages' (Project for Public Spaces 2009b, fourth paragraph) were portrayed as already fairly well realised in public spaces and the responsibility of other departments. The PPS plays an interesting role in placemaking discourses. It was named by several interview partners as a key actor or influencing their practice through their principles and methods. Hence, the PPS seems to have an authority that is acknowledged among Norwegian actors practicing placemaking, although their principles are rooted in the US-American context. However, the interview partners seemed to be aware that it was relevant to consider the Norwegian context in their studies. For example, one interviewee pointed out that in a collaboration with Kent, the founder of PPS, she disagreed about framing processes as campaigns to increase followers, as she aimed for a more bottom-up approach that would put the community and commons at the heart of the movement.

Another way of using placemaking as a tool was through creative placemaking, namely public art. According to the interviewees, public art was realised through collaborations and dialogue to achieve liveability and sociability. They sketched out that creative placemaking was an organic, participatory and explorative process that combined physical transformations with sparking thoughts about mental spaces and ways to change and contemplate public spaces. This is in line with creative placemaking approaches' aims and methods, as outlined by Gadwa Nicodemus (2012) and Courage

and McKeown (2019b). This is an interesting finding, as it contributes to the result that creative placemaking is gaining attention global, as well as in Scandinavia. Besides Copenhagen, as described by Kortbek (2019), creative placemaking is also present in Oslo, as the findings show.

Dialogue, interviews, informal chats, public meetings, participatory workshops and meetings were mentioned as important elements at the beginning of placemaking, as well as in general urban planning and development processes. To achieve the aimed-for diversity and inclusion of diverse social groups, stakeholders and organisations, facilitation between their different needs, interests, visions and ideas to overcome frictions was considered key. All interviewees stressed the relevance of collaborations and networks to access different knowledges, skills, funding and other resources. Networks and public-private partnerships were especially considered important to maintain placemaking projects in the long term. The informant argued that as part of the municipality, many collaborations and good networks with relevant institutions, organisations and social groups had been established. Drawing on Haraway (1988), the relevance of collaboration can be explained theoretically through understanding knowledges as partial, highlighting the need for solidarity, namely collaboration and networking between different stakeholders, as a way to access different partial views. For example, an interviewee explained that public sector employees have working hours until 4 or 5 PM, and hence, they rarely experience what happens in the evening and at night. Thus, collaboration with residents enabled them to gain different insights into the use of public space at different times of the day, as well as needs and uses. Understanding the limited knowledge and collaborating with other people to gain more partial knowledges were experienced as fruitful by the informants.

Challenges for public sector employees to apply placemaking as a tool were mainly the variety of regulations, laws and different responsibilities in different departments. Transforming public places requires a variety of expertise types and acknowledging different requirements and knowledge about them. Furthermore, in some cases, requirements for funding, such as the evaluation of outcomes, were difficult to align with the pace at which the placemaking process was developing and showing changes. In one case, the lack of technical skills was challenging for a creative placemaking process but this was solved through collaborations. Several interviewees pointed out that collaborating and facilitating participation with a variety of different stakeholders

was a key challenge. In particular, collaboration with grassroots actors and small-scale placemaking professionals was difficult, as the requirements for funding and reporting often did not align with the bottom-up actors’ and placemaking professionals’ ideas, wishes and visions. The complexity of regulations and the department’s responsibilities were often experienced as non-transparent and frustrating by the grassroots actors and placemaking professionals, as highlighted by the public sector (former) employees. Furthermore, the use of technical jargon complicated the collaboration between the public sector and grassroots, as well as small-scale placemaking actors. Creating systems for collaborations and enabling public sector employees to understand the different processes and facilitate between the regulations and complexity and grassroots actors was a way to deal with this challenge, as explained by a former public sector actor. Another approach targeted at structural changes in the public sector was explained by one interviewee pointing at Bergen. There, the restructuring of collaborations in the city planning department was beneficial for realising placemaking and more community-oriented planning. Employees from different departments with expertise on diverse regulations, such as education, climate and transport, were working together in an office that was placed in the physical location where change was planned to enhance cross-collaborations and dialogue and collaborations with local actors in the area.

The informants highlighted the relevance of individuals as facilitating creative and/or tactical placemaking processes. They posited that the person’s experience, skills, networks, knowledge and ideas were influencing the processes despite applying general tools or methods. A former public employee argued that public sector employees can more easily test alternative uses of public places due to the good knowledge about laws and regulations and well-established networks. Therefore, placemaking seems a promising tool for the public sector.

Summing up the results, public sector employees work in a variety of departments and different positions. They apply placemaking tools but do not necessarily consider themselves placemakers. Their main rationale for realising placemaking processes is to increase liveability and sociability while supporting the local economy. Further rationales for public sector employees in Oslo were to strengthen democracy, practice sustainable development and include the SDGs in urban development. Moreover, experimenting with ways to make public places meaningful and relevant for people and

temporary upgrades to gain more immediate feedback on potential change and signal transformation in long-term urban planning projects were further reasons for the interviewees to use placemaking approaches. To achieve these goals, tactical and creative placemaking approaches, including the 'lighter, quicker, cheaper' approach, were applied. Therefore, events, pop-ups and collaborations with diverse stakeholders were important. Furthermore, different forms of public engagement and participation, such as workshops, chats and facilitation methods, were steps on the way to create more liveable places with and for the public.

5.2 Placemaking professionals

5.2.1 Large-scale placemaking professionals

Placemaking professionals can be positioned along a continuum between a smaller and larger scale in terms of project areas. Those focussing on rather large urban schemes are mainly applying what Wyckoff (2014) terms strategic placemaking and aligns with Twohig's (2014) approach to create economic value in the city through urban planning, development and architecture. The authors delineate that, in strategic placemaking, urban planners, architects and landscape architects are mainly involved, working with physical changes; this is mainly in line with my findings. In the case of Oslo, one interviewee highlighted an individual background in urban retail, marketing and place branding, which was not mentioned by Twohig (2014). However, the interviewee's professional background aligns with Kovács and Musterd (2013); in relation to strategic placemaking, these authors focus on creating competitive, distinct and attractive destinations for knowledge workers and tourists.

The informants explained that they were using placemaking as a strategy and tool and 'making' places in the physical sense, building on their disciplinary and professional traditions. These actors have been analysed in different projects with their aims, work and positions in Oslo and surroundings from human geography, urban planning, social studies and critical architecture perspectives (e.g. Røe 2014; Andersen and Røe 2017; Andersen and Skrede 2017; Andersen and Ander 2018). However, the rationales for the use of placemaking tools exhibit a paucity of research, and some interviewees emphasised the relevance of placemaking for their work. In line with Twohig (2014) and Wyckoff (2014), the interviewees underlined, that they are aiming to create

economic value and following commercial interests of property, retail and building development. Nevertheless, they mentioned that, beyond the economic interests, they realised placemaking processes to improve the physical environment to create attractive, safe public spaces people could gather in and that would be good to use during the day and at night throughout the year.

Another rationale for placemaking was that building up a history and identity of a place could increase people's happiness, pride and life quality. Furthermore, the interviewees focussed on realising sustainable development and climate goals in their planning, management and organisation practices and laying the foundation to solve future urban problems. They explained that placemaking is a way to realise more urban sustainability and address future challenges in cities. Moreover, placemaking was understood as a possibility to experiment and test out new things, especially through festivals, exhibitions, markets, public art and a variety of activities and temporal use of empty spaces by, for example, entrepreneurs. The aims were to activate places during the process of building a place brand, in the sense of Kovács and Musterd (2013), or to make a place more known to increase the attractiveness and profits of the buildings in an area. To break with generic urban architecture, Twohig (2014) argues that creating unique and distinct places with a place brand is essential. He explains how events and different activities, markets and temporary use can contribute to increasing a place's attractiveness and revenue through community engagement. Hence, the interviewees' emphasis on the temporally limited use of spaces through a variety of events and activities is in line with Twohig's (2014) rationales and ways for economic value creation, supporting his arguments. Skinner (2018) underlines that, in the global competition for investment, tourists and workers, the place brand is especially relevant, and thus, provides a theoretical backdrop for this rationale. This rationale was also relevant for the informants.

To plan, develop and change an area, the interviewees explained that the first step is to research the history of a place and the different stakeholders, including local businesses and residents. A second step was to form collaborations, if necessary, to facilitate between different interests and create partnerships. Being physically in a place was considered relevant by two interviewees to be able to form good collaborations. This aligns with Wyckoff et al.'s (2015) ways of conducting placemaking and their emphasis on collaborations with the public and private sector, as well as NGOs. One interviewee,

focussing on realising sustainable urban development, described how workshops with various stakeholders from the public and private sector, as well as civil society organisations, were key to solving challenges and development and realising the 'making' of places. An urban developer discussed how placemaking activities need to be anchored in the local history and narratives around one area. The interviewee described how preservation of historical buildings was used in one case to strengthen the place brand through narratives and preserving a part of the local history. Massey (1993) and Røe (2014) explain that a sense of place, the uniqueness of a place, is constructed. Hence, the preservation of distinct material features, the genius loci in Norberg-Schulz's (1980) words, and the creation of a place brand, as outlined by Kovács and Musterd (2013), can be understood as ways of constructing a sense of place. Based on the literature, the process of preserving parts of historical buildings to strengthen the area's identity can be understood as a process of constructing a certain image that can be marketed. Furthermore, Larkham and Jivén (2003) link preservation to authenticity, which Zukin (2010) critically discusses. According to her, authenticity is about constructing places for certain people with economical means and deciding which parts of history are to be preserved and which are not (Zukin 2010). Thus, creating a place brand, preserving buildings, and deciding on the layout of future urban schemes are actions linked to economic power, exclusion and inclusion and show the power of those making decisions over what to preserve and what to market over those having used the space before.

The interviewees explained that, due to its broad scale, placemaking was directed towards all people being currently and in the future in the places, especially towards investors and tourists. This can be substantiated by Skinner's (2018) arguments about the need to attract these groups and knowledgeable workers. Therefore, placemaking activities were not targeted specifically towards certain clearly defined groups. Moreover, placemaking was understood as a strategy, a tool to create attractive urban places with a history and place brand and as place-specific in terms of resources and social, historical and cultural contexts. Some interviewees used placemaking to supplement their practices, whereas others embraced placemaking at the core of their work. An architect, for example, highlighted the importance of placemaking for the working process, especially for creating a sense of place and sociability. The informant claimed that placemaking was an approach that could emphasise elements that were not

sufficiently addressed in architectural and urban planning practices. However, I argue that these claims would need further research comparing and contrasting placemaking practices in Oslo and the work of architects and urban planners. The interviewee explained that placemaking is about combining four different steps and highlighting the importance of space for placemaking to enable social interaction and public places where people would like to stay:

> Through my practice, I have based the urban design on using data […]. The outline of this [is] in four steps. Step one is the *Where—What—Why*; i.e. the place, the people, the reasons, goals and potential for rethinking a place. Step two is 'the dynamics' of things; how we move about in our everyday lives. Step three is 'the spatial' context, mapping out the urban spaces. Finally, step four is 'the static' material, i.e. buildings and installations as a physical framework for these previous steps. So first understand life, then the dynamics and then space, before the static. Usually, developers and architects, in particular, will leap straight to step four and make up something for steps one to three to justify it. For placemaking, the focus is on space; where you and I meet each other, that's where we slow down, that's where we want to feel that this is a place I want to stay in, I want to be here, I don't want to just rush through on my dynamic move, through my life, but I want to stay here. (Sissel Engblom, head of Urbaniq, architect)

Placemaking, as outlined by the interviewee, is an approach that combines the place particularities, the genius loci described by Norberg-Schulz (1980), people and their dynamics and sociability and reasons to use and stay, in line with the PPS (2009b) model of what makes a great public place (see Figure 2). The model combines questions about dynamics, mainly access and links between places, the comfort and image of a place in terms of reasons to stay in it, the different activities and sociability (Project for Public Spaces 2009b). However, unlike the standard placemaking approach, participation is rather less important in large-scale urban placemaking; this is because more stakeholders and organisations are involved in collaboration and partnerships (Project for Public Spaces 2018a). Furthermore, as the interviewee described, placemaking is about analysing the dynamics and particularities of a place and people's sociability rather than directly engaging with them. The informant goes further to elaborate on the need to create unique experiences of public places that can be underlaid by the discussion around place branding, as described by Kovács and Musterd (2013). The architect argued,

> We have been making so many places, especially here in the Nordic countries where it's cold and dark, that may be pretty enough, but we just want to hurry through them. I think we have to turn that around, to embrace the arctic climate and darkness

> as a potential for unique experiences. […] When we understand how to do this, we will succeed better with step four; the static building of our environment. So not before you have solved these three first steps can you create a strong and sustainable foundation for your holistic concept, and then for your concept of the static material which translates into the buildings, constructions and installations and details. (Sissel Engblom, head of Urbaniq, architect)

Highlighting the darkness and cold as specific contexts of public places in the Nordics and stressing that these can potentially lead to special experiences for people feeds into the discussions of sense of place in the literature and was discussed by other interviewees (Wilkie and Roberson 2010; Convery et al. 2012).

The interviewee shared that, in urban development and architecture, art on an international level was sometimes used as a placemaking tool to reimagine the current status quo. Examples of this were paintings instead of zebra crossings on the street, which make drivers aware that children are running and playing in the street, as well as the concept of traffic lights with a push button for drivers instead of one for pedestrians. These artistic projects and concepts were aimed to focus on more human-centred cities and to re-think the concept of car-dominated streets. Another art project that was mentioned was in Nantes, where a big motor-driven elephant marionette went on 45-minute walks around the city; people could stand on top or walk along, and during summer, the elephant would spray water. Another project focussing on the urban floor was realised in Skien, Norway, where the idea was to playfully take up space on the urban floor of the city and make space for slower movements and new experiences.

As several interviewees pointed out, realising placemaking projects is not without challenges. An urban planner expressed that it is difficult to create attractive places during the construction phase of buildings or construction works in the streets due to the noise, dirt and construction machines. Furthermore, facilitating between different stakeholders in urban planning processes was considered another challenge due to conflicting ideas. One interviewee considered it challenging to collaborate with small-scale placemakers due to different interests and approaches.

In short, the large-scale professional placemakers are urban developers, planners and architects, or those working to create a place brand for an area and apply placemaking either as a tool in their discipline-oriented work or reorganise their work practices around placemaking. The latter seems to be directed towards emphasising the human-

scale approach, but it remains unclear how far these practices differ from more traditional city-making processes. Some of these large-scale professional placemakers considered themselves placemakers and used this approach to promote the uniqueness of their work. However, others followed more traditional ways of creating and shaping places. From a theoretical perspective, they were practicing strategic placemaking; however, it is unclear how much this angle can add to understanding their work in the literature and practice. Still, some informants explained that they used placemaking tools but did not consequently define themselves as placemakers, as outlined by, for example, Wyckoff (2014). The rationales for working with placemaking are mainly to use placemaking as an economic development tool in Wyckoff's (2014) sense of strategic placemaking and to practice sustainable development. Furthermore, creating attractive places for people to meet, which were safe and lively, and which they could thrive in and be proud of, were further factors that promoted applying placemaking. In practice, the informants mainly used temporary activities, pop-ups, events, markets and temporal uses as ways to gain attention and build up a place brand. Moreover, research on the history and stakeholders of a place was relevant for interviewees, which led to a variety of collaborations, and in the case of an urban planner to the preservation of buildings.

5.2.2 Small-scale placemaking professionals

In contrast to the large-scale urban actors, placemaking professionals working on a place or neighbourhood had quite different rationales for placemaking, which were directed towards ideal goals. The interviewees also worked in different positions, mainly in NPOs, social companies and associations. Some informants were founders and entrepreneurs and had a strong entrepreneurial spirit to kickstart projects. This also often enabled them to gain support, such as funding or advice from key actors. It is possible that, in Oslo, similar actors are working on public spaces who do not consider themselves placemakers or posit using placemaking methods. However, it is beyond the scope of this work to analyse other groups to compare and contrast their work with that of small-scale placemaking professionals. The interviewees mainly used tactical placemaking/urbanism approaches or had critical perspectives on the 'making' of public places (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017).

The informants said that they were realising placemaking processes to increase the liveability of a place, street or neighbourhood and work towards more socio-spatial justice. The rationale of liveability can be backed up by the general argument of placemaking, as well as the argument of tactical urbanism/placemaking that these processes contribute to more liveability and better places (Wyckoff 2014; Lydon 2015; Project for Public Spaces 2018a). Pritchard (2019) and Bodirsky (2017) discuss spatial justice in the context of placemaking, and hence, support the informants' rationales. Furthermore, the interviewees mentioned that another reason for placemaking was to practice sustainability, experiment with more sustainable approaches and prototype change towards sustainability. This connection can also be backed up by the literature (Cilliers et al. 2015; Hes and Hernandez-Santin 2020). Hes and Hernandez-Santin (2020), Bodirsky (2017) and Cilliers et al. (2015) link placemaking to sustainable development in the literature and show the possibilities to achieve transformation through making places. Moreover, the informants highlighted that they were placemaking as it was a possibility for them to create environmentally and pollinator-friendly, social public places where people could gather, exchange and relax, while marginalised people could voice themselves. Combining sociability with a positive image and comfort in a place and a variety of activities, as well as accessibility, aligns with the PPS (2009b) model on different elements that contribute to creating a great public place (see Figure 2). Highlighting environmental and social elements can be linked to green placemaking, as outlined by Cilliers et al. (2015). Furthermore, Dempsey and Burton (2012) describe how, for example, biodiversity and city trees have positive influences on urban ecosystems, including humans, and on adapting to climate change; thus, they support the interviewee's rationales.

Another rationale ascribed to placemaking was the potential to strengthen democracy in public places by making them more accessible and enabling people to access and shape them. Nevertheless, drawing on Bucchi and Neresini (2008) and Jasanoff's (2004a) critiques, the value and meaning of democracy were not elaborated on, as was also the case for the public sector.

The interviewees highlighted that the placemaking potential of empowering people to create, activate and change public places through participation and public engagement as valuable for strengthening local communities and motivated them to apply the approach. A focus on the creational aspect of placemaking and DIY practices have

been particularly highlighted in tactical placemaking/urbanism to create more liveability (Mould 2014; Lydon 2016; Moskerintz 2016). Working with one's hands and sharing time and activity was underlined to be an activity that is opening up reflections and dialogue, as well as something that can be the start of creating long-lasting friendships, deeper relationships and trust. Giving people ownership, especially youth, was an important reason for informants to realise placemaking. Empowering people and giving them the possibility to create public places and have ownership connects to discussions about the 'right to the city' (Harvey 2003, 2008; Brenner 2012; Marcuse 2012). One interviewee stressed that, due to the strong private sector in Norway, public engagement and enabling people to change public places and influence urban development were important to gain more spatial justice. The strong role of the public sector was delineated by Andersen and Røe (2017) and backs up the interviewee's observation. Furthermore, Gitlestad (2020) criticises the public sector for not imposing more requirements for public participation in urban planning and development, which shows the relevance of the interviewee's point.

A variety of ways of conducting placemaking were mentioned, including festivals, events, workshops and activities with DIY elements, such as painting, designing, crafting and building, which are discussed in tactical urbanism/placemaking as effective ways of shaping and creating liveable public places (Wyckoff 2014; Lydon 2015). From a theoretical perspective, this process of shaping and 'making' a place is termed the creation of a sense of place (Massey 1993; Wilkie and Roberson 2010; Convery et al. 2012). Several professional placemakers discussed that they realised dugnads to achieve their rationales. The approach of mobilising people through a dugnad was perceived as fruitful because this is a culturally embedded practice in Norway, as discussed by, for example, Simon and Mobekk (2019).

Furthermore, to access material, financial and human resources, collaborations and networks, as well as participation, were relevant to conduct placemaking. Visualising and facilitating public involvement, experimenting with different forms of participation were further ways of realising placemaking. Public engagement was considered important by the interviewees to create ownership by locals. Jasanoff (2004a) analyses this process of co-creation as a way of creating acceptance of a project among those participating with actors who are implementing the collaboration process, in this case, the placemakers. Despite the emphasis on participation, one informant pointed out that

it was necessary to accept that not everyone has the time, interest and energy to participate, and hence this should also be respected. Nevertheless, the interviewees stressed that placemaking processes should be highly inclusive and participatory. The strong emphasis of participation aligns with the idea of standard placemaking and the involved tactical placemaking approaches, as highlighted by Lydon (2015) and Wyckoff (2014). The placemaking professionals commented that trust and access were crucial to enable participation and people's commitment to contribute to placemaking processes, especially in the long run. To create a communal feeling to gain the trust of the local neighbourhood, and thus, engage them, organising and realising shared meals and coffee were highlighted as important. The placemakers put the focus on their role as facilitating dialogue between different individuals and social groups and their sometimes contradictory needs and wishes related to the transformation of public places. Hence, the role of placemakers, their personality and skills for facilitation and mediation become central.

Public engagement was often combined with research on the place, actors, power structures and the force of social categories and intersections, which can be supported by literature that has critical perspectives on placemaking (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017). Mixed methods, such as focus groups, photovoice, observations, counting and behavioural mapping, were used. Furthermore, action research and the training of citizen scientists were applied to analyse and grasp the complexity of public places, as well as the potential of and barriers to transformation.

Another crucial aspect for realising placemaking processes was to be physically in place. Therefore, some interviewees opened up temporary office spaces in the placemaking project's area. This also simplified the communication, collaboration and community engagement and contributed to a better understanding of diverse people, groups, institutions and particularities of the site. Several interviewees also talked about how living and/or working in a local neighbourhood made processes easier as they knew many people, had a solid idea about social organisations and groups, and could connect to relevant stakeholders more easily. Several of the informants engaged youth in researching and paid teenagers in the process of realising hands-on projects, such as building sitting places for a square. In the Gamle Oslo district youth were often perceived as problematic by the local community in that some formed gangs, and they lacked jobs and possibilities to gain professional skills. Hence, creating jobs for a while,

teaching skills and tapping into local knowledge from the youth were ways to take the community's situation and wishes seriously during the placemaking process. Furthermore, it contributed to the acceptance of the transformation of public places due to co-creation. The value of creating objects and DIY in the case of youth working in workshops was observed and explained by a researcher:

> Something happens when people work with their hands and tactile and tangible things. It's slow, and you just have to take your time and then the dialogue and the reflection that happens between people when you do something like that is special (Aina Landsverk Hagen, senior researcher, Work Research Institute, Oslo Metropolitan University).

Hands-on approaches, as the researcher described, not only lead to the 'making' of things, such as benches, markets booths, and art objects, but also enable dialogue between people and open up space for them to reflect. Thus, the process of placemaking seems to be perceived as a fruitful element of creation, social interaction, dialogue and reflection. Furthermore, workshops with people working physically on concrete things to change a place can function as a platform for exchange among diverse people despite their age, gender, profession and other social categories that may usually lead to a lack of dialogue. Working on concrete things with a clear goal of realising something can open up another level of communication and social interaction and build up and/or strengthen a communal feeling, as Landsverk Hagen illustrated. An issue raised by several interviewees is the need to consider maintenance and care and find a way to deal with the physical changes of ageing spaces and avoid the possible degeneration of a place after a while. This can be linked to the critique of tactical urbanism being punctual and not considering more structural and long-term aspects of changing public places (Mould 2014).

The interviewees discussed that reflecting on one's position as a placemaker and learning from mistakes were important in conducting placemaking. The relevance of positionality can be supported through STS literature, especially Haraway's (1988) discussion about partial knowledges. Learning from mistakes included assessing potential negative environmental and social outcomes of placemaking activities, such as gentrification, which are also discussed by Pritchard (2019). The informants stressed the relevance of being transparent about potential negative outcomes in communication with everyone engaged in the participation processes and affected by the placemaking activities.

Furthermore, the interviewees argued that, despite engaging with the local community, a critical perspective on them was necessary to avoid the reproduction of power structures and the force of social categories. This can be backdropped by critical perspectives on placemaking and STS discussions (Sismondo 2008; Røe 2014; Rohracher 2015; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). Moreover, they posited that analysing NIMBY tendencies was relevant to avoiding the displacement of people, which is also discussed by Røe (2014). An example was provided by an interviewee who sketched out the conflict in a public square. The place was being used by drug users, leading to parents' concerns about potential risks for their children playing there; they argued that they did not want these people there. The interviewee described that different clashing and contradicting needs and uses of the place needed to be negotiated without discriminating against either of these groups. Hence, the informant stressed that the facilitation of different groups without marginalising either of them was important. The interviewee stated that this was relevant to avoid the parents—as the group with more power to influence decision-makers—to realise the displacement of drug users without discussing the contradicting needs and uses and acknowledging that everyone has the right to use, shape and access public places in the sense of the 'right to the city' (Harvey 2003, 2008; Brenner 2012; Marcuse 2012).[6] In line with concerns about spatial justice, an informant argued that placemaking should take place not only in urban but also rural public places to avoid that only residents in cities profit from vibrant public spaces.

Collaboration challenges were mainly named between placemaking professionals and the public sector. The interviewees criticised that there was a lack of a system for public involvement, especially for youth participation. They pointed out that the public sector was quite non-transparent and it was difficult to realise placemaking processes due to the variety of regulations and different departments and public sector actors that needed to provide information and agree to the projects. Another challenge the informants delineated was the lack of funding, and hence, time for research and building trustful relationships. They posited that a lack of funding negatively influenced the

[6] To contextualise this argument one should know that in Oslo the manufacturing, sale, purchase, and possession of drugs are illegal according to the penal law § 162. 1 and the Medicine Act § 32. 2 (Helse- og omsorgsdepartementet 2019). The law is currently under transformation to decriminalise and destigmatise the use of drugs and to enforce stronger health and social support (Helse- og omsorgsdepartementet 2019).

understanding of the particularities of a place, including the stakeholders and the co-creation and participation processes.

Furthermore, small-scale placemaking professionals stated that there was a challenge to balance their technical input, skills and knowledge and the ideas of participants and collaborative processes. Moreover, the public sector's focus on short-term projects was disliked due to the lack of effects on the local community, potential negative outcomes and more structural changes. In particular, the risk of gentrification was stressed as a problem: Ironically, participation to improve a place could lead to displacing these participants and make the place no longer their home in the long run. Two professional placemakers experienced tokenism in their projects, and they criticised the public sector for merely checking off participation boxes. During the research phase for the public sector, they collected information on the needs, wishes and ideas of people in the neighbourhood but learned that architects had already been commissioned and concepts had been made. Hence, their research report was only relevant to changing the public square to a small degree. Another critique that was voiced was the strong role of private investors and developers and their power to change public spaces with little public involvement, which can be supported by Gitlestad's (2020) criticism. One interviewee mentioned that high amounts of research on a specific neighbourhood without any follow-ups had made the residents tired of engaging in research and participation. Thus, the importance of communicating findings, results, and potential change was emphasised. Among professional placemakers, collaboration of those working on a small-scale worked well. However, there seemed to be less collaboration with actors that were rather large-scale oriented due to the different aims and ways of working. Moreover, a lack of jobs for professional placemakers and limited funding were mentioned as challenging issues.

An interesting finding is that there is no discussion of small-scale professional placemakers in the placemaking literature, although they self-declare as placemakers. Drawing on STS and critical placemaking approaches, it should be stressed that analysing their role is important for understanding their positionality (Haraway 1988; Harding 1991; Jasanoff 2004b; Amsterdamska 2008; Røe 2014; Eriksen et al. 2015). The small-scale placemaking professionals, on the one hand, contribute to professional processes and enable time-intensive procedures. They can deal with the potential need for co-financing the process and contribute with their professional expertise. Thus, they

may open up for processes that would not have been possible without a professional. Moreover, they can potentially share their experiences with placemakers who are working voluntarily and contribute with their work to more reflected placemaking practices. On the other hand, they are paid to placemake, and hence, obliged to make changes. Thus, a critical discussion with diverse local people about potentially deciding against changing a place will probably not take place if change is the condition for the small-scale placemakers' payment.

According to small-scale professional placemakers who conducted research, another challenge is that they often lack time and financial resources to investigate local complexity, interests, social positions, power structures and social inequalities. Consequently, working with too little funding may lead to potentially negative outcomes. These placemaking actors seem to be a group of stakeholders that influence public spaces, often with idealist goals like practicing sustainability, and they are also often critical about their work and power structures. They are less influential than private developers, planners and investors are in shaping public places in Oslo in terms of spatial scale and decision-making power; however, they influence places and local communities.

In a nutshell, the small-scale professional placemakers are mainly working with associations, NGOs, NPOs or (social) businesses, or they are serving as entrepreneurs. Several of these people considered themselves as placemakers or claimed that they used placemaking approaches in combination with other approaches, and hence, placemaking was relevant for them. Small-scale placemaking professionals seem to be an increasingly relevant group in creating and re-creating Oslo as a city, as well as facilitating public engagement and people's possibility to be a part of this process. The main motivations for the stakeholders were to work towards spatial justice, practice sustainability and strengthen democracy. Furthermore, empowering the neighbourhood to shape their public places and to take ownership, especially youth, was also a discussed rationale. Moreover, creating liveable, social, environmentally friendly public places to gather and to relax was mentioned as a further reason. The small-scale professional placemakers highlighted the importance of critically reflecting on the positionality of actors, power structures and potential negative outcomes. Placemaking was mainly conducted in collaboration, co-creation and participation with local stakeholders and based on research. DIY events, meals, activities and dugnads were

hands-on approaches and ways to conduct placemaking. Furthermore, physical proximity were advantages, whereas public sector regulations and a lack of system for participation hindered their work.

5.3 Grassroots actors

In Oslo, several grassroots actors were practicing the 'making' of places from a bottom-up position. However, over time, several of these actors transformed into small-scale placemaking professionals and formalised their work, for example, in NPOs; this allowed them to apply for funding and to achieve greater impact. Therefore, there is a partial overlap between some grassroots actors and some small-scale placemaking professionals' rationales and ways of realising placemaking. The main difference was that they mainly started unpaid processes in their spare time. Some informants considered themselves bottom-up actors and activists; however, as their work was professional, formalised and paid and displayed top-down tendencies, I decided not to categorise them as grassroots actors to clarify that their approaches were not entirely grassroots. Some grassroots actors were politically active, and hence, had a good overview of public processes, regulations and key actors. From a theoretical perspective, their work can be best described as tactical and sometimes creative placemaking but with rationales rooted in critical perspectives on placemaking (Røe 2014; Wyckoff 2014; Lydon 2015; Courage and McKeown 2019b).

The main reasons for grassroots actors to conduct placemaking were to enable sustainable urban transformation and work towards spatial and social justice. Creating long-term change and aiming at the shift of a neighbourhood from a long-term perspective can be supported with central rationales of tactical urbanism (Lydon 2015; Webb 2018). Focussing on spatial and social justice is anchored in critical placemaking perspectives (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017). Furthermore, the interviewees aimed to strengthen the neighbourhood's diversity and inclusion to tackle gentrification threats. Another rationale was to make invisible, forgotten and/or marginalised stories visible. Moreover, gaining attention to inequalities and presenting alternatives to current public places were also reasons for placemaking. Critical placemaking approaches can theoretically underlay these aims about tackling gentrification and working with narratives and power issues (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). The interviewees pointed out that they intended to create green, safe, accessible and social meeting places for people, especially in Gamle Oslo, where overcrowding is a problem for multiple

families. These rationales align with the standard placemaking approach that surrounds tactical placemaking and its justifications (Wyckoff 2014; Project for Public Spaces 2018a). The grassroots actors I interviewed especially aimed to improve public places for children and youth and other marginalised groups. The informants posited that another rationale was to shape the surroundings to increase liveability, ownership and people's pride, especially in the case of public art, which aligns with tactical and creative placemaking rationales (Lydon 2015; Webb 2018; Courage and McKeown 2019b).

At the focus of grassroots actors' actions were events and temporary material upgrades and changes and/or the creation of new flexible moving places. A specific form of DIY was to build moving places that they ascribed positive meaning to and built in collaboration and with the participation of different volunteers. 'Making' places becomes a literal meaning in these projects. They created places that were considered to bridge places and connect different people through moving. This seems to be an innovative approach in placemaking that has not been discussed in the literature. One bottom-up placemaker claimed that one should ask for forgiveness later and that it is important to do tactical and pop-up activities to realise goals. Another grassroots interviewee was organising pop-up cafés and a Park(ing) Day with local youth to transform a street that was dominated by parking cars and people passing by. The hands-on, pop-up approach with the focus on seeking approval from the authorities later on, as well as Park(ing) Days, are key features of tactical placemaking/urbanism (Lydon 2015; Foth 2017; Palmadesso and Sponza 2018).

The grassroots actors highlighted that sociability during events, gatherings and social exchange was more important than material changes were. One important aspect was to be physically in place. An interviewee reflected on this based on one project, they were building and planting garden boxes during a dugnad, and children were painting them to mark ownership over them. However, the garden boxes and plants did not make the difference; rather, it was the people coming to enjoy the growing plants, to water and to harvest, who were in dialogue with the placemaker and other members of the local community. The socio-material interconnectedness of placemaking processes could be understood through the literature that several authors highlighted places as being constructed through social and material elements (Allen 1984; Gieryn 2000; Cresswell 2004).

One bottom-up interviewee highlighted the importance of understanding oneself in space and time when realising placemaking, which can be linked to reflecting on spaces, places and space-time (Casey 1996). Creating shared ownership was achieved in this and another case through dugnads, which united people to re-shape and create public places to increase their liveability. To incentivise people to participate in the dugnads and other workshops, as well as to obtain resources, collaborations and networks were emphasised as being highly important. The placemaker had an essential role in planning, organising, facilitating and coordinating the processes and collaborations and figuring out all technical and legal details. Reading regulations, guidelines and political agendas were required in two projects to realise the placemaking process and acquire political and financial support. Some placemakers chose to use the media to create public attention and gain support for their projects. For one interviewee, directly addressing politicians and aiming for approval in the city council was an approach that was outlined as fruitful to realise the project. In that case, formalising the engagement into a citizen's initiative and collecting signatures for the cause also proved to be successful in conducting the placemaking process.

An interviewee explained that creative placemaking was realised through collaboration with various stakeholders and public art projects, such as murals. These ways of conducting placemaking align with what McKeown (2016) and Gadwa Nicodemus (2012) describe in the context of creative placemaking. Reimagining public places and shaping them through curating and facilitating between a community and artists were essential in the case of murals highlighted by my interviewee. Enabling the locals to think about ways to re-shape their public places through paintings, graffiti and prints was a way to give people a 'right to the city', a rationale and approach discussed by several authors (Marcuse 2012; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). The bottom-up placemaker understood this as an approach to tell marginalised stories and a cost-effective way to contribute to urban development.

The grassroots actors pointed out challenges related to the public sector due to the complexity of bureaucratic processes, non-transparent structures in the municipality and the high number of regulations. Furthermore, a lack of funding and/or unsuitable funding in the public sector for the specific ideas and approaches of bottom-up placemakers was partially challenging. The interviewee who directly addressed the city council was frustrated by the lack of action in the responsible department. The

informants emphasised that being dedicated, persistent and keeping up the commitment to realising their projects were crucial for success. Other challenges addressed were the coordination of many differently committed volunteers and facilitating diverse ideas. Furthermore, the power of urban developers and planners in deciding how public spaces are being shaped was considered problematic. This aligns with the finding that public places are shaped by dominant actors (Andersen and Røe 2017).

To sum up, the grassroots actors were aiming to conduct placemaking to work towards social and spatial justice and to enable urban transformations. Furthermore, their rationales were to create more liveable, environmentally friendly and social meeting places that are inclusive and diverse and enable people to create, re-shape and engage with them to gain ownership. To realise these goals, physical changes, events, public art, activities and dugnads were realised, and participatory and co-creational processes were facilitated. Collaboration, networks, the media and the bottom-up actors' skills were essential in successfully sharing the project, involving people and gaining resources for it. Studying regulations and formalising the project in the form of an association or NPO to apply for funding were further ways to realise the placemaking processes. Collaboration with the public sector emerged due to the complexity of regulations, responsibilities and a lack and/or unsuitable funding.

6. Critical analysis of placemaking in Oslo: Placemaking for whom?

In this chapter, I draw on critical placemaking approaches to analyse the practice of ‘making’ places in Oslo. Critical perspectives on placemaking, as discussed in chapter 3, address a variety of placemaking critiques, namely the lack of considerations of how the approach is contributing to gentrification processes, discrimination and exclusion and veiling marginalised stories due to the focus on placemaking actors and funders (Foth 2017; Lew 2017). Furthermore, they consider that the process of naming and creating places is political. Foth (2017) criticises that placemaking may lead to punctual interventions, quick fixes and material and social shortcomings. Critical perspectives on placemaking address these issues by analysing positionality and assessing potential negative outcomes. Hence, they contribute to the placemaking literature by addressing some critiques and avoiding a merely positive understanding of placemaking, which I elaborate on in the sections below. First, I draw on liveability claims in placemaking. Second, I discuss the need to consider placemaking narratives, and third, I sketch out the relevance to assessing placemaking outcomes on a temporal and spatial scale. Finally, I draw on the placemaking projects of the floating garden and sauna and Olafiagangen to illustrate what critical perspectives on placemaking can contribute to the understanding of urban development and the practice of ‘making’ places.

6.1 Liveability claims

Critical perspectives on placemaking stress that generalisations should be deconstructed and raise critical questions acknowledging power structures and dynamics, social categories and positionality (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). Hence, in analysing placemaking literature through a critical perspective liveability claims can be problematised. In the placemaking literature, the emphasis on liveability, the creation of quality places, and the creation of ‘better’ public places is central (Wyckoff 2014; Cilliers et al. 2015; Pailliè Pérez 2016; Project for Public Spaces 2018a). Liveability and the creation of quality places are the rationales for and at the same time outcome of placemaking literature and among the interviewees. Hence, placemaking seems to have an underlying normative assumption that it is positive and improves public places. Rooted in critical perspectives on placemaking and the engaged programme in STS, I

argue that liveability claims need to be critically analysed and questions raised about placemaking for whom, as well as for what reasons liveability becomes relevant, to avoid potential negative effects, such as gentrification (Amsterdamska 2008; Røe 2014; Eriksen et al. 2015; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017).

Among the informants, there seemed to be an awareness of the complexity of places and partially conflicting and contradicting positions. They described it as a challenge to conduct placemaking due to the variety of different needs, interests, wishes and ideas in changing public places. This shows that, in placemaking practices in Oslo, there seems to be no single idea about how public places are to be improved and liveability achieved. Nevertheless, the interviewees aimed to increase liveability, which feeds into the municipalities' work on increasing liveability and the placemaking literature (Oslo Kommune 2019, 2020). One interviewee critically reflected on the tendency of claiming 'byliv' or placemaking as positive. According to the interviewee, placemaking needs to go beyond the liveability narrative that can quickly become equivalent to 'gentrification that serves the privileged urbanities' (Aga Skorupka, head of social science at Rodeo Architects). She argued that placemaking needs to work with and represent diverse people, including the urban poor, drug users and other marginalised groups. The interview partner clarified that potential negative outcomes and the liveability claim do not mean that one should not aim for change, improvement or more spatial justice; rather, one should consider effects, be critical about power structures, be inclusive and participatory and reflect on one's position. In Oslo there are diverse ideas about what makes liveable public places; however, there are only few placemakers who critically reflect on liveability narratives and assumptions.

Linking placemaking practices to sustainable development and understanding it as an approach that can contribute to change towards sustainability strengthens the positive connotation of placemaking. Hes and Hernandez-Santin (2020), for example, highlight the benefits of placemaking for the environment, economy and society. However, as several interviewees outlined, and is partially discussed critically in the placemaking literature, placemaking can also have negative environmental and social outcomes that contradict these liveability and sustainability claims (Mould 2014; Lew 2017; Pritchard 2019). Hence, placemaking can but does not have to contribute to sustainable development.

The PPS (2018a) and European Placemaking Network (2020) delineate how following placemaking principles, guides and step-by-step tool manuals contributes to achieving great places. Thus, it seems to be a rather neutral process of 'making' places that are liveable. In contrast, the interviewees explained that the placemakers' positionality, characters, skills and networks were important in conducting placemaking. Some small-scale placemaking professionals stressed that reflecting on one's positionality is important, which aligns with the STS literature on partial knowledges and the relevance of reflexivity (Haraway 1988; Jasanoff 2004a; Nightingale 2016). Therefore, the placemakers' epistemology, their understandings of public places, and their ontology, the sensing and experiencing of the places, influence how they conduct placemaking. This shows that placemaking is not a neutral process; implying that it is neutral veils the positionality, situatedness and power dynamics that influence placemaking processes and may contribute to reproducing spatial inequalities. Placemaking is a highly political process, as it is embedded in public places that are shaped by power struggles over who can access resources, create and shape the city. These struggles were also pointed out by several interviewees who experienced that facilitating between stakeholders with contradicting and conflicting opinions was challenging. Given social and spatial inequalities in Oslo, liveability claims may come at the cost of people at intersections, those who are marginalised and the environment (Andersen and Skrede 2017; Myhre 2017). From a critical perspective on placemaking, assessment, reflection and evaluation of placemaking processes are relevant to avoid discrimination, exclusion and marginalisation (Røe 2014, Bodirsky 2017, Toolis 2017).

Drawing on critical perspectives on placemaking and STS raises further questions, such as who is entitled and who claims entitlement to shape the vision of a place and access resources in a place. Furthermore, it brings up questions about who has the 'right to the city', who has power and from whom and why placemaking is conducted. Thus, gaining analytical depth and critically assessing placemaking discourses become relevant actions (Sismondo 2008; Røe 2014; Rohracher 2015; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). These considerations feed into the discussion in the literature on urban development in Oslo, which asks for whom 'good' or sustainable urban development is realised (Andersen and Røe 2017; Andersen and Ander 2018).

6.2 Place(making) narratives, images and myths

Places are experienced, conceptualised and understood in many ways, and so are people's identification with, attachment to and uses of public places which are shaped by power dynamics (Røe 2014; Toolis 2017). Human experiences, people's identification with public places and the meaning they ascribe to them are at the core of place narratives, myths, images and representations, according to critical perspectives on placemaking. This was also highlighted by several placemakers, who explained the relevance of understanding how a place emerged and changed with its social, cultural, traditional, topographical and material particularities and to gain insights into the construction of a place. Deconstructing place narratives, images and myths reveals different layers of conceptualising, experiencing and understanding places, as well as showing who has the power to create dominant narratives and images that are reproduced (Røe 2014; Toolis 2017). This deconstructing process also illustrates that there are no 'innocent positions' (Haraway 1988, 584) as some epistemologies and ontologies become more powerful than others, leading to dominant and marginalised place narratives and images.

One interviewee conducting placemaking research put forth that each position is valuable and each action has consequences that may or may not be positive. This statement aligns with discussions about partial perspectives and positionality as it acknowledges the diversity of experiencing and making sense of public places and considers potential outcomes (Haraway 1988; Røe 2014). Acknowledging that there are diverse place narratives, images, experiences, identifications, uses and understandings of places may open up the possibility for more diverse places (Røe 2014). Toolis (2017) argues that deconstructing place narratives can uncover power relations and give insights into the co-creation of meaning as a political process shaped by power throughout history. Moreover, she posits that place narratives and stories communicate the negotiations and struggles over who does or does not belong to a place. In this way, the people with most authority create a dominant narrative, the 'master narrative' (Toolis 2017, 184), which excludes other perspectives. Hence, deconstructing place narratives, images and myths gives insights into whose narratives are heard and whose are marginalised and sketches out power structures and questions of access. An informant working on creative placemaking delineated how reimagining how public places could look, researching a place, participatory workshops and making unheard

stories visual through public art empowered the local people to feel an entitlement to shape public places and acknowledged that they are part of public places. This strengthens Toolis' (2017) point on the relevance to analyse who is marginalised and who remains unheard. Toolis (2017) argues that taking power structures and entitlements into account enables changes. Furthermore, she argues that, on the grounds of analysing who is entitled and who holds power counter-narratives can be created and critical placemaking initiatives formed, ranging from murals to community gardens.

A curator I interviewed who was conducting creative placemaking in Tøyen shared the experience of a work that aimed at contributing to diversity in the neighbourhood. Tøyen is gentrifying, and the diversity of people in terms of classes and migrant backgrounds seems to be at risk, as several interviewees and researchers in Oslo, such as Andersen and Ander (2018), have observed. The sense of place was illustrated by two small-scale placemaking professionals who illustrated that in Tøyen people could taste and feel that it was people-made and claimed that one could grasp the 'aura' of the place (Gieryn 2000; Paulsen 2010; Wilkie and Roberson 2010; Corsane and Bowers 2012). The curator explained that murals are a way of capturing local stories and the history of a place that has remained unheard for a while. The interviewee added that in the case of Norway's capital, various houses are defined as cultural heritage. This usually implies that the original building has to be preserved; however, due to the long-standing tradition of hand-painted advertisements on houses paintings exceptions were made. The curator was working in the area with diverse artists and involving the locals through participatory workshops and dialogue with house owners.

In the case of one mural, the curator was collaborating with the fine artist and Sudanese refugee Fadlabi, who had spent most of his life in Oslo. Fadlabi painted the Afrofuturist musician Sun-Ra, a 'Black' character. The local children asked the artist if the character on the mural was a Somali astronaut and the artist did not wish to disappoint the children and felt it was challenging to explain who Sun-Ra was. Therefore, he told the children that the story behind the mural was that, as a Somali, you could do anything and even become an astronaut. Fadlabi named his work 'The Sky is the Limit', with the new story of a Somali astronaut as an encouragement for the local Somali children. In an interview, Fadlabi explained that he wished to create a site-specific artwork due to the gentrification in Tøyen, which is leading to a decrease in cultural diversity. He also commented in the interview that Somalis experience discrimination in Oslo (Listopad

2016); therefore, he aimed to create a cool ‘Black’ character the local Somali children could identify with and feel inspired by (Listopad 2016). Drawing on Toolis (2017) and Røe (2014), the mural can be understood as the creation of a counter-narrative, creating a sense of place and a possibility for identification drawing on the history of racism against Somalis. This serves as an example of working with the sense of place and collaborating with locals to reimagine public places and empower their perspectives and experiences.

Other ways of creating counter-narratives, by telling stories of marginalised people, and making a street meaningful in the sense characterised by Toolis (2017) and Røe (2014), were described by the interviewee Pålsrud from Growlab, drawing on a placemaking project with a team partner. They were working on improving Storgata, a street downtown close to Brugata, which is frequented by drug users. Storgata is characterised by the tram passing by quickly and few storefronts; hence, it has a narrow and closed street feeling. Pålsrud explained that the idea was to improve the street for people working, living and hanging out there, including the drug users. To understand the place, they were conducting various informal interviews and put up a table with a bit of catering and invited people to make personal flags that represented the value of a place that could be either Storgata or Oslo. This opened up a dialogue with drug users and other people, who could express their perspective on the street in conversations and creatively through the flags.

After this project, the two placemakers interviewed more people about why they were or were not walking in the street. The placemakers wrote down the answers, illustrated them and made a 50-m long street newspaper, consisting of aligned A3 papers, that was launched in the street, creating social interaction among various people. Voicing people that were partially marginalised and making their perspectives and sense of place visual aligns with the potential Toolis (2017) ascribes to critical placemaking. Temporarily telling people’s stories to engage dialogue to go beyond the single narrative of Storgata not being a ‘good’ place was also a key element of the interviewee’s third experimental project. During Christmastime, people in the street complained about the lack of Christmas decorations there, and the Growlab team decided to make a meaningful decoration and connect it to a ceremony. They lighted a candle for every person that had died due to non-alcohol-related drug death in Norway in the past year, resulting in 289 candles, and they invited passers-by and people in stores and on the street to join. The

candles burned for a few hours and people said that it was meaningful to remember these people. Making places meaningful through making stories seen, sensed, read and told in temporary, artistic and experimental projects appeared to contribute momentarily to the creation of a sense of place and possibilities for identification (Røe 2014). However, it remains unclear how long these projects contributed to a change of perception and how far they changed the quality of the street and the perception at all.

6.3 Assessing potential negative outcomes of placemaking and the matter of scales and ownership

Foth (2017) and Mould (2014) criticise that placemaking often does not take potential negative outcomes, such as gentrification, into account and is rather punctual. This was also voiced by a few interviewees, who mentioned the relevance of keeping the potential negative effects of placemaking processes in mind. In the following, I elaborate on the relevance of assessing potential negative outcomes of placemaking on a temporal and spatial scale and argue that critical perspectives on placemaking should include these. Moreover, I discuss ownership in combination with long-term placemaking.

Several interviewees explained the relevance of thinking about short- and long-term goals and potential negative social and economic placemaking outcomes, especially gentrification. These should be analysed critically, and the potential negative effects in the future or in other places should be assessed to analyse whether the negative consequences outweigh the benefits of placemaking. In the placemaking literature, the positive outcomes are highlighted; the potential negative effects are only discussed among those with a critical perspective on placemaking (e.g. Røe 2014; Wyckoff 2014; Toolis 2017; Project for Public Spaces 2018a; Hes and Hernandez-Santin 2020). The lack of evaluation of placemaking processes, as Silberberg et al. (2013) criticise, may be one of the reasons there is little discussion about placemaking effects.

The interviewees conducting placemaking talked about the importance of planning and realising placemaking processes beyond the short term; a few also argued that reflecting on the project is essential. Nevertheless, time constraints and limited resources partially led some small-scale placemaking professionals to realise quick and cheap interventions without considering the complexity of a place and the potential negative outcomes

during the placemaking process. Based on human geography and readings applying STS, I argue that it is problematic to realise quick fixes in a neighbourhood to 'improve' the liveability without assessing the potential negative outcomes this may have on both temporal and spatial scales (Gibson et al. 2000; Cote and Nightingale 2012). Below, these scales are understood as socially constructed and relational, but at the same time, as relevant in assessing placemaking and liveability claims (Gibson et al. 2000).

On a temporal scale, the assessment of potential negative outcomes in the near and further future is important to avoid negative outcomes that clash with the ascribed benefits of placemaking. However, this is a challenging task due to uncertainties, especially when it comes to unknown unknowns[7]. Considering that over time values, power structures and ideas about public places change make such an assessment a complex endeavour. Moreover, it is problematic to make decisions based on the assessment of potential negative outcomes for different social groups; such an action raises the question of who is entitled to decide which negative outcomes can be justified for whom, and hence, it broaches power issues. As outlined above, this feeds into the challenges of diverse actors, power structures and contradicting rationales in placemaking processes (Sismondo 2008; Røe 2014; Rohracher 2015; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). On a spatial scale, outcomes should be assessed beyond the place(s) in which placemaking is conducted. Places were conceptualised as relational and interconnected among the interviewees and in the literature (Casey 1997; Gieryn 2000; Røe 2014). The interlinks and connections of places and accessibility are also emphasised in the placemaking literature, and potential positive outcomes for neighbouring places are mentioned (Project for Public Spaces 2007; Wyckoff 2014). However, it remains unclear what the effects of placemaking on other places, neighbourhoods and districts are. The strong focus on developing a sense of place seems to omit an analysis and evaluation of negative and positive outcomes of projects on other places. Interviewees mentioned that they sometimes wrote reports but usually did not evaluate effects long term. The challenge of assessing spatial outcomes is the lack of definition in the literature, as well as among placemakers, of what, for example, a neighbourhood is or is not (Gibson et al. 2000). However, this does not mean that there are no definitions and understandings of borders; as several interviewees mentioned, there are social inequalities between the East and West Ends of Oslo, which

[7] Unkown unkowns refer to unkown elements that one does not have knowledge about their relevance.

is also discussed in the literature (Andersen and Skrede 2017; Myhre 2017). To avoid negative outcomes, spatial and temporal scales should be thought of together to assess them in their complexity.

An example of a negative environmental outcome was shared by one interviewee. The informant explained that, in one project, they were using recycled material to collaboratively build something in a public place to prototype and experiment how it would influence the neighbourhood. The focus of the project was on the social part of co-creation and improving the place for the neighbourhood based on the wishes and needs of the locals that had been researched beforehand. Following the 'lighter, quicker, cheaper' approach, the placemakers implemented the construction quickly and cheaply. However, the interviewee highlighted that, due to the use of low-cost and recycled material, the paint washed off after a couple of rain showers, and with it, microplastics were deposited into the fjord. The interviewee reflected on this negative environmental outcome as a challenge of the approach to quickly and inexpensively implementing placemaking projects and a need to consider the potential negative effects of placemaking. Furthermore, the interviewee said that the placemaking work they were conducting may contribute to gentrification processes and concluded that communicating this risk, as well as reflecting on one's culture, education, norms, values, practices and understanding of 'good' public places, was important. The understanding of positionality and partial knowledges is in line with Haraway (1988) and (Røe 2014). Furthermore, the interviewee posited that adopting more collaborative approaches throughout the entire placemaking process could lead to avoiding gentrification processes as a place would be entirely created by and with the local, diverse community.

Another interviewee explained that, during one of their early projects, they forgot to consider what would happen beyond the project time and did not plan social and financial resources for this. Thus, their installation was rotting, aesthetically unpleasant, and hence, no longer attractive for the local people. However, the interviewee told me that besides their 'fuck up', people living in the area were inspired by the project. They started a neighbourhood festival in another place that expanded over time and created several jobs, strengthened the people's identity, and was completely self-organised. The informant highlighted the importance of assessing what happens after the placemakers are no longer in charge of the placemaking project. This aligns with place-keeping in

the sense described by Dempsey and Burton (2012). These authors highlight the need to plan the maintenance of the physical infrastructure that evolves in placemaking processes to ensure attractiveness (Dempsey and Burton 2012). They explain that maintenance is often taken for granted, which was the case of the rotting installation the interviewee described. However, the example also illustrates that failed placemaking projects can also create spaces of possibilities and hints at the complexity of assessing potential future outcomes.

One interviewee stressed that projects should last as long as they are supported by people, which stands in contrast to several interviewees highlighting that placemaking projects should last as long as possible. According to the interviewee, an end of a process can be sad for those involved, but it can also be a chance to open up for new projects. Hence, it allows people to renegotiate ideas about public places, re-shape a place and create new socio-material dynamics. It leaves uncertainty about who is going to change the place and how, as well as whether it will transform towards a more sustainable, just and democratic place. This position also conflicts with the views of several other interviewees, who highlighted the importance of ensuring the long-term existence and maintenance of placemaking processes to ensure that their 'good' work will continue. However, this 'good' work should be critically analysed, as discussed above, drawing on power structures, positionality, authority, potential negative outcomes, rationales and entitlements to prevent the place-keeping from leading to the establishment of power at the cost of others (Røe 2014, Bodirsky 2017, Toolis 2017).

In line with Dempsey and Burton (2012), a placemaker in the public sector explained that placemaking should be complemented by caretaking. Furthermore, the interviewee delineated that placemaking was a possibility to give people ownership and engage them in the shaping of public places. The interviewee illustrated this by saying, 'but if you say placemaking, and I also add caretaking, then you open for this possibility: "We own the place together, and should look after it for the generations to come"' (Lisbeth Iversen, senior advisor for Arendal Municipality—public sector, Ph.D. candidate at Oslo school for architecture and design). The interviewee's notion of caretaking is in line with Demsey and Burton's (2012) place-keeping, as both focus on the need to plan maintenance and consider future outcomes. Among the interview partners, the relevance of maintenance was stressed in those conducting or funding placemaking in the public sector. This was partially considered challenging by grassroots and small-scale

placemaking actors who aimed at quick changes that clashed with the place-keeping requirements.

The informants explained that, in placemaking processes, and especially to ensure voluntary maintenance of placemaking processes, in the sense of place-keeping, ownership was key. The interviewees understood ownership in the physical, legal, financial sense of owning a place or building, as well as in the sense of feeling ownership, relating to and identifying with a place. Felt ownership was referred to as essential to gain support and be able to realise a project, whereas physical ownership was relevant in terms of seeking permission to continue a project. Different responsibilities and ideas that are tied to ownership were considered to add up to the complexity of a place. Creating felt ownership in collaboration and co-creation between different stakeholders from the beginning and throughout the entire placemaking process was emphasised. This can be theoretically framed by discussions about co-creation and participation in STS that argue that, for instance, the public sector is enabling residents to co-create to accept the decisions by taking ownership over them (Jasanoff 2004a). To create co-creation and to engage people, the interviewees put forth the relevance of creating trust and building up a relationship. Interviewees conducting creative placemaking explained that public involvement and engagement with locals built up a sense of place and ownership, which contributed to avoiding the destruction of art. Kortbek (2019) describes how in the case of creative placemaking, a lack of time and collaboration and engagement with locals led to the destruction of artworks as they seemed to interfere with the locals' ideas about how the place should be.

Several small-scale placemaking professionals and grassroots actors explained how focussing on a communal use and feeling of 'owning' a place can blur the lines between clearly defined material ownership and enable people to experiment with alternative ways of living that are more community than capital oriented. This can be linked to Pritchard's (2019) notion of place guarding, which aims at opposing consumption and neoliberal tendencies, arguing that people should have the possibility to shape and re-create cities. He argues that artists and communities should especially work towards this 'right to the city'.

Critical perspectives on placemaking make power structures, social forces, authority, frictions and inequalities visible (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). The

interviewees outlined that ownership, participation and access are interconnected. To participate in a placemaking project one needs to have knowledge about it and have the social networks to learn about it; moreover, one needs time to spare, and one needs to be addressed and heard by the people who are facilitating the process, but due to social inequalities, this is not accessible for everyone. The interviewees highlighted that drug users and bigger groups of young people are often left out in participatory processes as some social groups perceive them as rather undesired in public places. Hence, it becomes clear that participation, and thus, ownership and access are highly dependent on who is facilitating and whose voices are heard and power structures and stigmatisation. Informants argued that a person having access to shape and re-create public places and to become involved in placemaking processes felt more ownership and experienced how it was to exercise 'the right to the city'. However, as access and the possibilities to participate are not always ensured, people remain without ownership or the 'right to the city'. This makes clear that power structures and social categories are at play in placemaking processes and may be reproduced rather than opposed (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). Excluded, marginalised, stigmatised and less privileged people may especially suffer from a lack of assessing potential negative outcomes as their perspectives, needs and wishes may not be considered in the 'making' of public places. Therefore, the person realising placemaking processes needs to critically consider power issues and positionality, taking them into account when conceptualising how people are to be involved, gain access and gain ownership over a place. In his place guarding approach, Pritchard (2019) argues that the underlying unequal power structures that are embedded in neoliberal systems need to be transformed to enable those who are excluded and marginalised to exercise their 'right to the city'.

7. Exploring placemaking in Gamle Oslo

The question of who good places are created for is specifically relevant in Oslo's East End, home to working-class and many non-'White' people. Since the 17th century, the eastern part of Norway's capital has been developed less than the more affluent western part of the city has (Andersen and Skrede 2017). Class inequalities between the East and West Ends have been manifested in Oslo over 200 years, which still contributes to social inequalities in a variety of areas (Myhre 2017). These spatial differences have also led to stigmatisation and negative portrayals of the East End in the media (Andersen and Skrede 2017). Moreover, the Gamle Oslo district, including Tøyen and Grønland, is often negatively framed, highlighting crime, drug use and immigrants, but it is also part of several gentrification processes (Andersen and Ander 2018; Fossen 2018). Another controversial area is Oslo's regenerated waterfront, also known as Oslo Fjord City, which aims to attract human capital and financial investment, leading to the development of Bjørvika and the Barcode (Andersen and Røe 2017). In the next sections, I explore placemaking in Gamle Oslo, namely in the cases of the floating sauna and garden and Olafiagangen, which is a public space. I analyse these cases through critical perspectives on placemaking and STS to gain a better understanding of these initiatives.

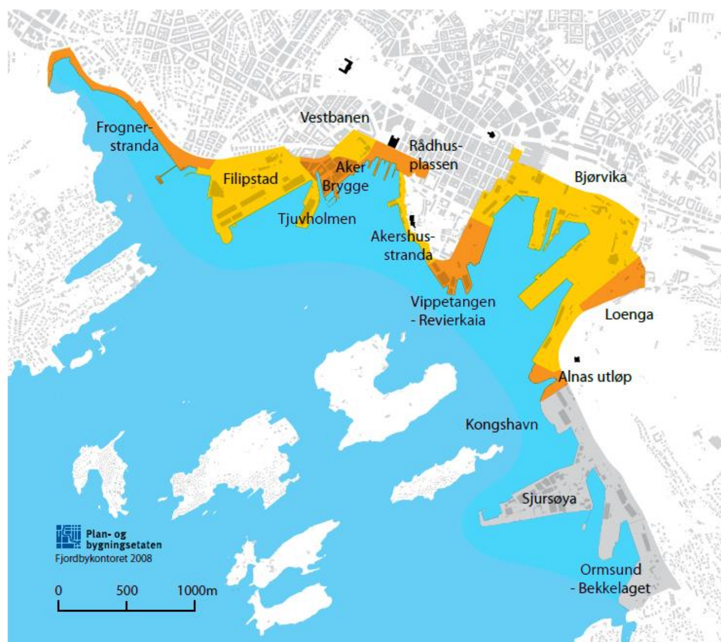


Figure 4: Map of the Fjord City (Oslo Kommune Plan- og Bygningsetaten 2008, 10).

7.1 Claiming areas in the harbour: From the floating sauna to the floating garden

> In the city council's Fjordbyplanen, they have, like, general sentences that say, 'We have to make it ready for the unexpected, and the social will be more important than the economic'. And they can say all these things, and the people that really develop you know, the big things they don't. But then, for people like me, it's really valuable because you can take the quotes and you can do things, and you can make the politicians responsible for what they have actually decided […] So doing things like this—saunas or floating gardens—is like, 'Hey you want unexpected and it wasn't expected, was it?' (Hans Jørgen Hamre, teacher and urban activist engaged at the floating sauna and garden)

As outlined in the quoted passage, below, I analyse the floating sauna and floating garden as placemaking projects based on critical perspectives on placemaking and the engaged programme in STS. I focus on analysing actors, rationales and ways of conducting placemaking and challenges in collaboration. I then draw on power issues, such as who has access and the entitlement to shape public places and what the tactics are to renegotiate them. Furthermore, I briefly discuss narratives and liveability claims. I start by outlining the project's political context and material embeddedness in the Fjord City.

The Fjord City (Fjordbyen) is a big urban development project in Oslo that aims to open up the city towards the fjord and connect the fjord and the city to create a vibrant urban development for residents, recreation and business. The project planning started in 2000, and in 2003, a decision of the city council approved the development of the Fjord City, which stretches from Forgnerkilen in the west to Sydhavna in the south east (Oslo Kommune Plan- og Bygningsetaten n.d.). The plan for the Fjord City was accepted in 2008 by the city council. The Fjord City area covers 261 acres and is divided into 11 sub-areas (Oslo Kommune Plan- og Bygningsetaten n.d.). In the public sector, various stakeholders are involved, which aligns with the above findings that, in Oslo, different departments are usually responsible for urban development projects. The Fjord City project is a collaboration among—the Cultural Heritage Department, the Environmental Department, the Estate and Urban Renewal Agency, the Agency for Cultural Affairs, the Port Authority and the Planning and Building Department (Byantikvaren, Bymiljøetaten, Eiendoms- og Byfornyelsesetaten, Kulturetaten, Oslo Havn KF and Plan- og Bygningsetaten). The project includes 9 km of public harbour and will last until 2030, providing temporary solutions if necessary (Oslo Kommune Plan- og Bygningestaten n.d.).

Oslo's rationale for realising the Fjord City is to work towards sustainable development with varied cultural and recreational activities for Oslo's residents and visitors. The aim is to develop barrier-free pedestrian-, cyclist- and public transport–friendly areas, with vibrant public spaces, making visible local history and characteristics to improve Oslo citizens' liveability and create an attractive site for tourists. The Fjord City shall be environmentally friendly, combining parks and buildings and taking measures for reducing air, water and soil pollution. These reasons for developing the Fjord City align with the municipality's general aims for more liveability (Oslo Kommune 2019). Various forms of flats for different family and user sizes are planned in the area; however, as a report showed, mainly high-income people and rather older people live in the neighbourhood. Moreover, mainly wealthier people are using the gastronomic and cultural services in the Fjord City, mostly at Aker Brygge. (Oslo Kommune Plan- og Bygningsetaten 2017). The aim of building student flats and affordable apartments in Bjørvika as originally planned was not realised, showing a lack of social sustainability (Andersen and Røe 2017). Moreover, the privatisation of several parts of the Fjord City, such as Tjuvholmen, shows that public space in the Fjord City is under the ownership of private investors, owners and developers with regulated public places, making them semi-public (Ander 2017).

Drawing on critical perspectives on placemaking to analyse the power dynamics, it becomes clear that those with economic power are favoured in the Fjord City (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017). This illustrates that the city's liveability claims and the promotion of social sustainability do not include all social groups, instead favouring economically stronger classes. This may lead to the exclusion of the less affluent and urban poor, and it contradicts the city's claims about creating diverse and inclusive public places. Moreover, the Fjord City calls for innovative, environmentally friendly, child friendly, recreational, surprising and participatory projects. However, several interviewees pointed out that it was challenging to realise projects that combined these criteria in the case of a floating sauna and garden due to the challenges in collaborating with the municipality (Oslo Kommune Plan- og Bygningsetaten n.d.). Thus, the municipality's claims and the real practice seem to be diverging.

The idea for the floating sauna emerged through a conversation by a grassroots placemaker, who was temporarily living on a boat on the fjord and working several jobs related to water, and a Swedish friend. The Swede was surprised that there were no

saunas in Oslo's former industrial harbour, unlike in most Swedish harbours. They agreed that public baths were quite expensive and that Norwegians were lacking public saunas with the possibility of a bath in Oslo. They decided to take action to create a more accessible possibility for and with people in Oslo. Based on their rationale to create a more accessible and cheap possibility to enjoy a public bath and sauna, they decided to build a DIY sauna in the spirit of tactical urbanism (Mould 2014; Lydon 2016; Moskerintz 2016). Together with several bohemian international friends, they collected floating wood and wood left behind from the Øyafestivalen, a music festival, as well as exchanging work for quality sauna wood from a local carpenter (Burke 2019).

They built the sauna on a beach close to one of the larger islands in the Oslo fjord, Hovedøya, where there used to be small party cabins 80 years ago that had transformed into more structured cabins. Many working hours later the sauna, which fits 12 people and is named Seagull (måken), was built with a total cost of 4000 NOK. Many helping hands made the project realisation possible, aligning with the finding of the relevance of collaborations for placemakers in Oslo to gain access to human and material resources. It also aligns with the findings that placemaking has a tangible element of 'making' things. In the creation of the sauna, a new floating place on the water, the creating aspect became quite literal.

Figure 5: Floating saunas at Sørenga, Oslo, 31 May 2020.

The floating sauna project, encouraging people to swim in the fjord, feeds into Oslo's bathing culture, which, from a historical perspective, started in 1820 with the arrival of the first bathing machine from England (Jervell n.d.). Jervell (n.d.) relates that doctors' statements about the positive health effects of saltwater encouraged more and more people to swim in the fjord, and several public baths opened in the Oslo fjord as a result. About 15 public baths for men, women, military, students, and even for horses existed in the late 1800s (Jervell n.d.). However, Jervell (n.d.) explains that, due to water pollution at the beginning of the 19th century, the baths were destroyed, and only after the 1970s did the water quality improve, leading to a re-opening of the public fjord bath in Sørenga.

Permission for the floating sauna proved to be difficult to obtain due to a variety of different municipal stakeholders, power struggles over who decides on how public places are shaped and collaboration challenges, which I delineate below from the viewpoint of critical perspectives on placemaking (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). Despite the Fjord City development call for innovation and participation, the DIY sauna was not welcomed by various stakeholders. The Sørenga property development, the authorities, the harbour authorities and the residents were against the sauna; they considered the aesthetic and the project as unfitting for the area. This illustrates that the private sector and the more affluent residents did not have an interest in transformations brought about by more grassroots actors with a different aesthetic and lifestyle. It also demonstrates the power of the private sector in shaping and determining how public places are supposed to look in Oslo, which aligns with the findings in the literature on the city (e.g. Ander 2017; Andersen and Røe 2017). Moreover, it exemplifies that there was a lack of systems for participation and collaboration in the municipality, which is in line with the discussed collaboration challenge in Oslo. Nevertheless, the team behind the floating sauna was tactically responding to the existing power dynamics and collaboration challenges. They were moving the sauna to areas where the different departments would have fewer controls or on the line between different departments' responsibility, where they would expect the other department to take care of the issue to keep it running (Boger 2020). Furthermore, they identified the floating sauna as an artwork to avoid regulations on the construction as a strategy to use the municipality's regulations to back up the project. This demonstrates tactics to circumvent a variety of requirements.

As discussed in ways of conducting placemaking among grassroots placemakers in Oslo, the media is a way to gain public attention and gather more support and authority. In the case of the floating sauna, there was big media coverage, which led to cooperation with the Norwegian Ministry for Foreign Affairs' ice bathing club; according to a grassroots actor, the club was interested in a sauna. The interviewee mentioned that the ministry's interest led to a broader acceptance of the floating sauna due to their influence and authority. Moreover, an Instagram post from the football player Freddy dos Santos, who has thousands of followers, led to attention for the floating sauna and interest in the project. Many people were coming after the post to use the sauna, and hence, the floating sauna got one week of permission from the municipality. This delineates how eliciting public interest and the support of influential actors can strengthen the authority of grassroots actors. To run the sauna, the team behind the floating sauna cooperated with a friend who had a café with bathrooms. The friend's café had few visitors during wintertime, and they were interested in running the sauna and splitting the income to keep the business going. This illustrates the benefits of collaborations and the positive economic benefits of placemaking projects outlined by Hes and Hernandez-Santin (2020) and Wyckoff (2014).

During the time of the power struggles around the floating sauna project, the municipality employed an urban developer and placemaker working with events, participation and tactical urbanism to develop the harbour promenade. The urban developer was collaborating and networking with several projects, placemakers and volunteers on the coast, including Vippa and Salt, aiming to enable bottom-up projects. However, the regulations in the municipal system and different regulations among different departments were challenging for bottom-up projects to be approved. This fits into the general challenges for small-scale placemaking professionals and grassroots actors in collaborations with the municipality. The new public sector employee collaborated with the team behind the floating sauna and supported the project through a variety of actions enabling placemaking activities. This illustrates how individuals can be influential and essential in the realisation of placemaking projects. The urban developer and placemaker highlighted that the facilitation between the top-down municipality and bottom-up actors was important to create an understanding of different processes. The urban developer described how explaining the value of participation, opening doors, gaining trust and understanding and creating a system for collaboration

to different departments was important in the facilitation, and ultimately, the approval process of the floating sauna.

The work of creating a system for participation and collaboration across departments hints at the challenges of the public sector to enable bottom-up placemaking processes. The need for facilitation also illustrates the necessity to understand responsibilities, different visions and ways of realising projects that vary between top-down and bottom-up actors despite their shared goal to achieve more liveability. Drawing on Røe (2014) and Haraway (1988), this delineates how people with their partial knowledges and different positions sometimes seem to have challenges of understanding different ways of comprehending, communicating and realising processes. The urban developer pointed out that there was an irony in one of Norway's most public places not being accessible for placemakers despite the variety of their projects and activities, including cultural, environmental and plastic-free projects. Based on Bodirsky (2017) and Røe (2014), this can be understood as an example of how, despite their fundamental feature of being public, public places are not automatically accessible for the public to change and re-shape them in the sense of the 'right to the city' in Oslo due to the variety of collaboration challenges and power struggles.

After the approval and public attention, the sauna became quite popular and successful, according to an interviewee, there were more than 1500 users per week in 2019. Furthermore, more saunas popped up; the Oslo fjord sauna team formalised their work in an association and built three other floating saunas and a hot spring. The placemakers who initiated the project left the initiative to kickstart new projects. The work also found a commercial imitator named KOK. The company runs sauna boats and has expanded to more fjords in Norway using the activists' ideas and efforts on creating access to and possibilities for using a sauna and swimming in the fjord; however, this has not been done at low cost. Furthermore, Salt is running saunas with the possibility of swimming (Boger 2020). The increase in saunas run with an economic objective is in contrast to the grassroots actors' rationale of giving people a more affordable possibility to use and access the fjord; however, it aligns with the idea of making the fjord more accessible. The Oslo Fjord Sauna Association has a turnover of 4 million NOK per year, and it has transformed from a rather small project to one with economic value (Svensen 2020). Having an association behind the fjord sauna with a revenue may ensure a longer term existence of the floating sauna project. This shows that maintenance is considered

in the sense of place-keeping (Dempsey and Burton 2012). However, the idea of accessibility of the fjord is only occasionally the case for everyone, at specific events; otherwise, it remains only accessible to those with economic power.

Moreover, the sauna is strongly advertised by several tourist blogs, including the limited company Visit Oslo, which claim to be the official guide to Oslo and promotes the sustainable design of the sauna under the slogan ‘Oslo is rubbish’ (Visit Oslo 2019). Visit Oslo has shareholders from Oslo city’s travel, trade and commerce, as well as companies that are active in tourism and transport. They have presented the floating sauna with a focus on its innovative and sustainable DIY character to attract visitors. Portraying the project of the floating sauna that emerged through grassroots activists who aimed to make saunas and public bathing more accessible and affordable can be understood as a way to build up the place brand of an innovative city with interesting and unique activities. This feeds into the neoliberal logic of making a city more attractive than others, as outlined in the literature review by several authors and in line with strategic placemaking (e.g. Kovács and Musterd 2013; Lew 2017; Skinner 2018). This shows that placemaking practices can be quite diverse and partially contradictory when it comes to aims, ways of conducting and rationales, which is in line with Røe’s (2014) considerations about positionality.

The grassroots actor was arguing that they were claiming parts of the harbour, which seems to have the underlying idea of people having the right to public places which were declared as everyone’s places (allmenningen) by the municipality (Oslo Kommune Plan- og Bygningsetaten 2008). This feeds into the discourse, as discussed in critical perspectives on placemaking and critical urban theory, about the ‘right to the city’. The discourse is about the right to shape, create and access resources in the city and is discussed as a right that should be for the less powerful and privileged people, enabling them to experiment with alternative lifestyles (Harvey 2003, 2008; Marcuse 2012; Schmid 2012; Røe 2014). Claiming another area in the fjord and making the harbour more accessible for the public, especially socially marginalised groups, were essential steps for the floating garden project. The grassroots activist illustrated:

> [The floating sauna] is probably the main inspiration for me to take it further. It's like, okay, we built this small sauna, and it was fun and we have access to it, but what's the next thing that would be really, really cool? A floating garden. A huge thing, and you can hang out there all the time. With the sauna, it's cool when you do the sauna, but then it's not a place you hang out apart from that. So, this would be a place you could hang out all the time. Move in and you can grow your own food. But it is, it's, you can say a strategy to actually claim areas in the harbour. (Hans Jørgen Hamre, teacher and urban activist engaged at the floating sauna and garden)

The urban activist explained that the floating garden is a way of strategically creating a new flexible place that can connect people in different areas, be a meeting place and claim another area in the harbour as a publicly accessible environmental, social and child-friendly place. The first floating garden was prototyped and built by a placemaker and several bohemian friends in 2018 out of recycled coffee bags with coir and soil on a raft. The grassroots actor explained that the garden obtained its hydration from the river, and due to the hot summer, a variety of plants—ranging from banana to coconut plants—were growing. The floating garden was located at Olafiagangen in Grønland, and several students from a local high school participated in the project (Andersen, Skajaa, et al. 2018). The project was financially supported by the environmental department (Bymiljøetaten) programme 'Spirende Oslo' and the neighbourhood programme of the Gamle Oslo district. It was a collaboration with the social company Nabolagshager, the youth club Riverside, the high school H20 and the wooden boat association Akerselva Trebåtforening (Andersen, Skajaa, et al. 2018).

The floating urban farmer team and especially one grassroots placemaker, who works at the high school, decided to scale up the project. The placemaker aimed at combining the teaching job with the work on the ocean and applied for funding for a bigger floating garden with hexagon-shaped platforms and a big greenhouse as a floating classroom and garden. Several funds, including the DNB Sparebankenstifelse foundation with 1 million NOK, were approved (Svensen 2020). The placemaker offered the municipality to give them the money to build the floating garden in return for a one-year position as a teacher. The urban floating garden is a cooperation between Grønland's floating urban farmer team (Grønland Flytende Bybondelag), the environmental organisation Marinreparatørene, Oslo's education department (Utdanningsetaten), a high school (H20, Herslebs Videregående Skole), Oslo Green Capital (Oslo Kommune Miljøhovedstad), a foundation (Sparebankstiftelsen), the environmental department

(Bymiljøetaten) and the port authority (Oslo Havn KF) in Oslo (Oslo Fjordhage 2019). Moreover, there is a plan to collaborate with the urban farmer at Losæter to connect the urban farm to the fjord. The variety of collaborators shows how the placemakers used their skills and social networks to achieve their goals, feeding into the findings of how placemaking is conducted in Oslo. The construction of the floating garden was made by an architect, according to the municipality's standards, as the grassroots actor had learned about regulations. However, it was incorporating recycling material from the organisation RESHOW that gives out recycled material for non-commercial cultural stakeholders (Antipodes 2019). During the Havnelangs festival, along Oslo's harbour promenade, children were painting in an open workshop on panels that had been attached to the outside of the greenhouse. The children were invited to participate, shape and take symbolic ownership over the project. The floating garden's greenhouse is a 50 m² geodesic dome with a high ceiling and volume and access to the sea in the middle (Jelstad 2019).

Figure 6: Floating garden at Sukkerbiten, Oslo, 31 May 2020.

According to a grassroots actor, the plan is to cultivate seaweed, kelp and mussels under the floating garden, contributing to a positive marine environment. This interviewee explained that the floating garden's aims are to teach students about urban agriculture, urban aquaculture, and the relationship between the two, as well as to give them the opportunity to learn in a more hands-on and practical manner (Jelstad 2019; Svensen 2020). Hence, the floating garden aims at enhanced conditions for the environment and more sociability. Moreover, teaching is intended to be more varied and is directed to stimulate students' curiosity and help them develop competences on climate and the environment (Svensen 2020). Jelstad (2019) argues that the floating garden contributes to a more creative and innovative Oslo and is accessible for everyone. According to Svensen (2020), the floating garden shows that people can make a difference in the Fjord City; however, this requires high enthusiasm and effort and some private sacrifices. A grassroots actor highlighted that it is also a way of bringing (marginalised) youth, who are studying at the high school and often come from Grønland and Tøyen, into the Fjord City and to create a more diverse public place. This aligns with 'the right to the city' perspective and critical perspectives on placemaking, which highlight the need to enable people to shape public places (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017). One placemaker in the project explained that, as part of the Gamle Oslo district, one of the richest and one of the poorest parts of the city can be bridged through the floating gardens, and the students can be in both parts.

Drawing on the deconstruction of place narratives and images, as discussed by Røe (2014) and Toolis (2017), the floating garden's image seems to aim at symbolically bridging different social groups, but at the same time, it has physical aspects through its flexibility to float between, for example, Grønland and Sørrenga. It seems to target spatial inequalities by creating a new place that aims at sociability, positive environmental impacts and creating more possibilities for people to be engaged in shaping urban spaces. According to the interviewee, the floating garden is a public place where people can hang out, learn, meet and gather. In the long run, the plan is to build further platforms functioning as a greenhouse and to create a growing lab for seaweed and a café for people paddling and diving (Jelstad 2019). This shows that there are considerations about the long-term effects of place in the sense of place-keeping (Dempsey and Burton 2012). The floating garden only has funding for a year, and in the sense of place-keeping, the future is uncertain. However, if students have experienced

access and ownership and participated in the project, they may develop a sense of place guarding and feel that they have a right to shape public places in Oslo (Harvey 2003, 2008; Marcuse 2012; Schmid 2012; Pritchard 2019). The initiative behind the floating sauna and garden has generated a debate about a floating activity house, giving associations and residents of Gamle Oslo more access to the harbour (Løkse et al. 2020). This shows that the rather punctual initiative, as one could criticise it based on Foth (2017), may have influence in the future and in the neighbourhood.

The realisation did not come without challenges in collaborating with the municipality, which did not initially approve the project and failed at clearly communicating their regulations and processes. Thus, the floating garden team had to move the place several times due to uncertainty as they waited for the municipality's approval. Again, this can be understood as a way to circumvent regulations and put the tactical urbanism principle that one should ask for forgiveness later, as introduced by Lydon (2015), into practice. It shows how grassroots actors tactically try to find ways to realise their ideas despite public regulations.

According to the urban activist, starting the project work in the socially challenged area of Olafiagangen was a way to contribute to changing the public place there. Furthermore, the interviewee explained that moving the floating garden between that place and the fjord was a way to connect people more to the fjord. In the next section, I describe Olafiagangen in more depth.

7.2 Olafiagangen: Grønland’s entrance

> Olafiagangen is perhaps the most difficult public place in Oslo. It has the biggest open drug market in the city; there is no contact, no programming, people avoid it. It’s a very male space; women tend to avoid it. It is sort of the border of Grønland. It functions as a wall against the rest of the city. A lot of people see Olafiagangen, and they don’t want to see the rest of Grønland, because if this is the beginning, then what’s the end? (I12, public sector employee)

One site of current urban development and placemaking efforts that came up with several interview partners is Olafiagangen. It is an approximately 5000 m² public space located in Grønland in the Gamle Oslo district that is bordered by the bus terminal, the Akerselva River, the streets Smalgangen and Grønlandsleiret and the Vaterlands Park, and is under a bridge that is part of Nylandsveien. The public space is central due to its closeness to the city centre, the main station and Bjørvika. Moreover, it lays between several large urban development spots, namely Lilletorget, Oslo Spektrum, Oslo Plaza, the centre development ‘Levende Oslo’, Bjørvika and the Fjord City (Ander 2017; Oslo Kommune Bymiljøetaten 2018). Except the last two, these development projects are marked with stars on the map in Figure 7, and the public space is marked with a yellow square.

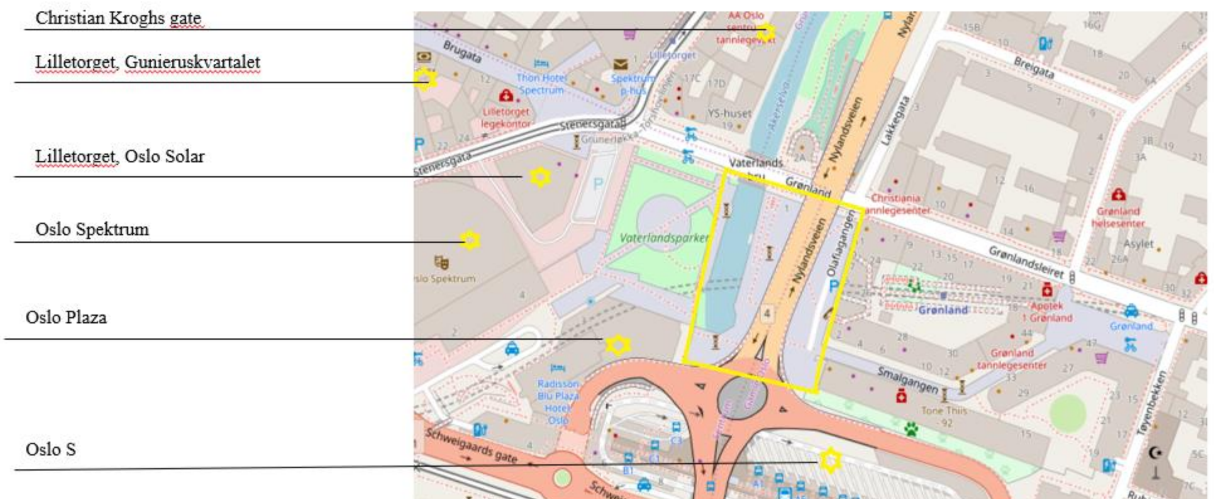


Figure 7: Map of Olafiagangen. The map is retrieved from Open Street Map and is based on Oslo Kommune Bymiljøetaten’s (2018, 8) map.

Several people have highlighted the central location of Olafiagangen as essential for the public space, as it is easily accessible through public transport (t-bane) for pedestrians

from the city centre and travellers outside the city (Ander 2017; Hoffengh 2019; Oslo Kommune Bymiljøetaten 2019). As Ander (2017) delineated in her master's thesis, this is especially relevant for poor travellers who pass by the public space. Two interviewees described that many drug dealers come outside the city or other districts in Oslo and sell narcotics at Olafiagangen. It was explained several times that Olafiagangen is Oslo's biggest open drug market, and the sale of marijuana and other drugs mainly takes place during the afternoons and evenings.

As a small-scale placemaker pointed out, the central location makes the public place vulnerable to gentrification, as the bordering areas are developing or to be developed. Gentrification is an ongoing process that is happening in Gamle Oslo (Ander 2017; Andersen and Røe 2017; Brattbakk et al. 2017; Andersen and Ander 2018). Andersen and Ander (2018) found that the socio-economic changes in Gamle Oslo, with the increase of more expensive 'White' middle- class gastronomy and services, has led to a decrease of culinary offers and services for the working class. Hence, working-class people have fewer places to go to where they feel comfortable, and thus, they may feel that they no longer belong to the space. Moreover, the authors point out that self-declared urban developers, as well as real estate developers and landowners, are interested in this transformation of Gamle Oslo towards a cleaner and safer space with more expensive services to increase profits. Andersen and Ander (2018) explain that, in Grønland, Starbucks was used to trigger bigger stakeholders to rent places in the area and to attract more young and urban people to use and live in that part of the city. They clarify that local actors often wish to perceive diversity but aim for material changes, such as car-free areas, to enable the residents in overcrowded apartments to use the public spaces and to create a more metropolitan sense of place. The economic interests of several investors and real estate developers were also mentioned by two placemaking professionals. The large-scale placemaking professional pointed out the potential for the municipality to receive funding for change at Olafiagangen and Grønland, whereas the small-scale placemaking professional explained how investors' and owners' gentrifying activities were problematic due to Grønland's vulnerability to gentrification. Furthermore, the interviewee said that, due to the development of Bjørvika and the central location of Olafiagangen, it is likely that the entire area will transform drastically, providing more economic possibilities for investors and owners.

The large-scale placemaking professional argued that the municipality should focus on collaboration with the private sector, mainly property developers, to gain financing for projects at Olafiagangen. The informant claimed that private investment could contribute to dealing with the social and material challenges of Olafiagangen. Moreover, the interviewee highlighted that creating a place brand for Grønland working with the diversity of the neighbourhood, could increase people's pride. In this sense, Olafiagangen and the neighbourhood were seen as potentially profitable areas. Creating a place brand in the sense described by Kovács and Musterd (2013) is controversial. Even if a place brand would potentially promote diversity, it may also foster gentrification and displacement processes. Hence, building up people's pride and creating a sense of place and promoting diversity could ironically lead to the opposite, namely the displacement of diverse people. Therefore, assessing potential negative outcomes and analysing who would benefit from which actions and who has the political and economic power to decide on how public places are going to be developed through placemaking processes is central. Drawing on Røe (2014) and Toolis (2017) this exemplifies a clash between economic large-scale-oriented and more idealistic small-scale-oriented ideas about how the area should develop and which role placemaking should play. It illustrates that, although all placemakers claim to work towards liveability and refer to the same terms, their intentions can be diverse and contradictory. In the case of Olafiagangen, economic value creation clashes with efforts to avoid gentrification effects that are triggered by these activities.

To understand placemaking, a project's spatial embeddedness and the socio-material elements are relevant. This also applies to the case of Olafiagangen, which is embedded in the multicultural district of Grønland. Several interviewees and researchers highlighted the need to understand the diversity, the variety of cultural and social groups, religious congregations, different nationalities, and the diverse offer of local businesses and services to grasp Olafigagneng's complexity (Ander 2017; Vik and Thun 2019). Furthermore, the ongoing urban development in the neighbourhood influences Olafiagangen, as well as the development of the place. Other public places that were partially perceived as challenging were Akerselva miljøpark (Elgsletta), Vaterlandsparken, Grønland Torg and Grønlandsleire (Vik and Thun 2019). The development of Olafiagangen is planned for 5-10 years and budgeted with 40 million NOK and is a collaboration between Bymiljøetaten of Oslo Municipality and Gamle

Oslo district's area development programme (områdeløft; Oslo Kommune Bymiljøetaten 2018; Boger 2020). In 2018 Bymiljøetaten was assigned the task to work on a simple concept study (konseptvaglutredning) for Olafiagangen, which required a current state of the public space. On 5 September 2018, the city council decided to implement an action plan to increase the city life, create a more attractive urban space and activate hidden public places in Oslo's centre, including Olafiagangen (Oslo Kommune Bymiljøetaten 2018). From October 2018 to January 2019 a description of the public space was written, which was based on the place analysis (stedsanalyse) in 2017 that was ordered by Oslo municipality and the Gamle Oslo district (Brattbakk et al. 2017; Oslo Kommune Bymiljøetaten 2019). Based on the report on the status quo, according to a public sector employee, a stakeholder workshop was organised and Barnas Boligbyggere was contracted to realise youth participation with teenagers aged 12–19 years as the NPO had expertise in youth participation (Barnas Boligbyggere 2019). The results of the workshops were a perceived lack of safety due to criminal activities, such as crime, syringes as a safety hazard for children and youth and alcoholics in the street, as well as a perceived lack of ownership (Barnas Boligbyggere 2019; Oslo Kommune Bymiljøetaten 2019; Vik and Thun 2019). Moreover, there was a lack of maintenance and an abundance of trash, urine, graffiti, bird droppings and too many city birds. An urban activist highlighted that rats, urine and a lack of maintenance made the place disgusting. Furthermore, noise due to unregulated traffic and the pub under the bridge was negatively perceived by several people (Ander 2017; Barnas Boligbyggere 2019; Oslo Kommune Bymiljøetaten 2019; Vik and Thun 2019).

Another issue raised was the material structure. It was criticised that there was a lack of access to the river, bad lighting, no colour and few sitting places; moreover, the place was perceived as complex, with blind spots adding up to the perceived lack of safety (Ander 2017; Oslo Kommune Bymiljøetaten 2019; Vik and Thun 2019). As the public sector employee in the introductory quotation explained, Olafiagangen can be perceived as a wall that keeps people outside Grønland and leads to an uninviting and unpromising feeling for visitors and people passing by. The lack of activities and functions and the main use as an area to pass through were also pointed out as problematic. Furthermore, a grassroots actor mentioned that several social and material transformations like the skating park and the wooden boat club association were positive examples of creating public involvement with the area and creating ownership.

However, in line with findings in the reports, the interviewee claimed, that Olafiagangen needed placemaking but that it was important to create ownership and a sense of belonging through temporary projects involving participation. In the case of the interviewee's project, the lack of ownership and the urine at the project site led the placemaker to move the project to another location where participation felt more 'natural'. This shows how ownership is essential for a placemaking project, as is access to a place, participation and people's trust. Based on this analysis, it was highlighted that any concept would have to focus on use that enhances 24/7 use throughout the year (Ander 2017; Barnas Boligbyggere 2019; Oslo Kommune Bymiljøetaten 2019; Vik and Thun 2019). A misrepresentation of women, youth, and elderly people was also mentioned (Oslo Kommune Bymiljøetaten 2018).

Figure 8: Olafiagangen under Nylandsbrua, Oslo, 31 May 2020.

The negative narrative of Olafiagangen in the media and among people in Oslo can be traced to the last century, when it used to be an area where farmers would deliver their goods and spend money on alcohol and prostitutes. According to Kvistum (2020), at the beginning of the 19th century, the Icelandic nurse, social worker and feminist Ólafia Jóhannesdóttir was living in Smalgangen 4 and helping alcoholics, prostitutes and those with social challenges and started the first street hospital. She was considered the

unlucky people's friend and worked in the stigmatised and feared neighbourhood in Grønland (Ander 2017; Kvistum 2020). Olafiagangen was named in commemoration of her. According to Ander (2017), Olafiagangen kept the narrative of being a public place for drug users and those with a difficult and poor life. Drawing on Toolis (2017), the dominant narrative of Olafiagangen being a negative place seems to remain. The represented narrative of the place being negative can justify the need for change. Furthermore, associating drug users and the urban poor with a negative place narrative may stigmatise them and make them mainly responsible for the negative image of Olafiagangen.

A public sector employee and Ander's (2017) study on Olafiagangen clarified that the complexity of bureaucracy was making it challenging to achieve transformation. To change the public place, many departments with partial responsibility ranging from public lights to sewage water, responsibility for the river and several ongoing projects had to agree (Ander 2017; Oslo Kommune Bymiljøetaten 2018). The public sector employees explained that how much change is possible is limited due to the variety of regulations. This feeds into the already outlined findings of other placemakers who delineated that the complexity of bureaucracy and regulations makes it challenging to transform a public place.

Based on the results of the status quo description, workshops and research, Norconsulent developed three concepts to deal with the challenges at Olafiagangen. However, it was not considered that some people's voices could be overrepresented or remain unheard in the study and that the status quo is different for diverse people (Haraway 1988; Røe 2014). The concepts are 'Supergrønland', 'Smaken av Grønland' (taste of Grønland) and 'Skapende Grønland' (creative/creating Grønland) (Vik and Thun 2019, 10). The first concept entails an activity park for self-organised training and a playground to address families, children, youth, and especially those living in overcrowded apartments. People in Grønland who engaged with the concept preferred this idea but stated that there would be a need to combine it with a café and volunteers that would take ownership and take care of children and youth at the public place. This was also the concept that the city council decided on. The second concept was also popular; however, there was a critique that there are already sufficient food halls in Oslo and that it might be posh and unfitting for Grønland, which already has a varied

culinary landscape. The last concept was mainly directed towards tourists, not fitting for the neighbourhood, and it was least favourable (Vik and Thun 2019; Boger 2020).

Analysing gentrification and marginalisation processes at Olafiagangen, Ander (2017) put forth that drug dealers and users, homeless people, beggars and poor travellers are often excluded and perceived as 'undesired'. Drawing on critical perspectives on placemaking, this is problematic. Based on the literature, othering processes, power struggles, power dynamics, social categories and dominant narratives are analysed below (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017).

In the case of Olafiagangen, some people are 'othered' and considered 'the problem' by more powerful actors based on social categories, mainly 'class' and 'race'. This othering process is also visible in the dominant narratives that exhibit negative associations with drug users and the urban poor. As a consequence, these people are not included in the participation process and excluded from the 'making' of Olafiagangen. Hence, their needs, wishes and perspectives are not included in the placemaking process, and this may lead to a reproduction of power structures that further excludes these people. Not considering these social groups leads to a reduction of diversity and is in contrast with the claimed functions of public places as places for encounters, discussion and democratic experiences of negotiating different needs, ideas and wishes (Project for Public Spaces 2007). Excluding the drug users and urban poor leads to processes that are not spatially just, democratic and socially sustainable, and hence, they conflict with the municipality's and general placemaking principles (Oslo Kommune 2020). Furthermore, from a critical placemaking perspective that takes 'the right to the city' into account, there is a need to include these groups and enable them to shape and create public places (Project for Public Spaces 2007; Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). This critical perspective on placemaking was also voiced by three interview partners who highlighted that drug users and other 'undesired' people are part of public spaces. Hence, these people should be part of dialogues of how change should take place, be included and contribute to a place's diversity.

Rooted in critical perspectives on placemaking, the relevance of including people that were 'othered' becomes clear (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). Hence, considering what the marginalised people's needs are and finding solutions for them could have positive outcomes for all users and potential users of Olafiagangen. Ander

(2017) observed how some poor travellers were using the public spaces as private space, meaning using Olafiagangen and Akerselva as a bathroom and sleeping spot despite the law prohibiting these activities. Hence, based on critical perspectives on placemaking, taking these people's needs into account could lead to ways of tackling challenges, such as the installation and maintenance of free public bathrooms to avoid people urinating in public. Another approach to working more inclusively was shared by a grassroots actor. The placemaker explained that a successful placemaking approach at the neighbouring Vaterlandsparken was the increase of possibilities to participate and attract more diverse people. The interviewee and a team installed planting boxes, built DIY furniture, had chess games and engaged people to participate in cultivating plants and facilitating chess games. These activities led to an increase of people, resulting in the increased perceived safety of the place and is an alternative to excluding and chasing away certain social groups. The security people in the area reported that giving the park a function, including people and creating a possibility to meet led to a reduction of major vandalism they had not experienced before in that place. Hence, the role of the placemakers, their positionality, ideas, skills and approaches are essential in determining if a project is contributing to what Bergsli and Hanssen (2017) discuss, namely more democratic, inclusive and diverse public places to meet and debate.

If the municipality aims to achieve its goal for diversity and inclusivity, as Ander (2017) argues, there is a need to take these elements seriously. Focussing on the municipality's public action plan for public participation from 2019–2020, on behalf of the environmental and development organisation Spire, Gitlestad (2020) pointed out, that they are seeing good intentions. However, he continues to state that the exclusively internal use of the plan is problematic as 70% of planning processes in Norway are private, and the private stakeholder only follows the minimum standards regulated by the planning and building law (plan- og byggningsloven). Moreover, he argues that public participation should take place at an earlier stage of the process. He goes on to criticise the municipality for differentiating between public involvement and co-determination to avoid too-high expectations from participants in city development processes. Critical perspectives on placemaking show that the private sector is powerful in Oslo and that the municipality's claims for diversity and inclusion are not realised but reproduce power structures and exclusion.

As part of the urban development of Olafiagangen placemaking was used and is planned to be used as a tool to create immediate action and to show that change is happening through pop-up events. For example, a second-hand market was organised at Olafiagangen like it used to be, and people were engaged in and excited about it. The market took place from 1999–2014, but according to Ander (2017), it had to be closed down due to the trash left behind and sale of stolen items. A pop-up event took place in December 2019 with several food pop-ups, games and activities for children and youth with diverse stakeholders under the bridge as part of the car-free Oslo programme. Moreover, an outdoor cinema under the bridge organised through local youth was planned. An interviewee mentioned that the place could also work as a concert venue. An urban activist said that Olafiagangen had the potential for building, painting and crafts. Furthermore, a voluntary building workshop (byggedugnad) is planned with a company and an organisation working with design, participation and placemaking. The organisation has experience in creating placemaking projects that contribute to improving drug users' situation in public places. Creating temporary projects, using events and pop-ups is a way to show that public involvement in changing a place is taken seriously. It is a way of inviting people to participate in changing a place, experiment with alternative functions and uses and create alternative place narratives. It is the possibility of giving them ownership and access, enabling a long-term perspective of keeping the place maintenance. As discussed in the literature, it also opens up the possibility that people can obtain access to shape, create and access resources in the city and claim their right to it (Harvey 2003, 2008; Marcuse 2012; Schmid 2012; Pritchard 2019). Having events, diverse activities and a lively public place are ways of attracting a variety of users and potential users of the place. The role the person facilitating these processes has is important to ensure that marginalised and excluded people are also included and feel comfortable participating in these events. The different perspectives on Olafiagangen and ideas about how the place is supposed to change show power struggles and clashing rationales of people involved in the creation of the place and the relevance of critically assessing them.

8. Conclusion

8.1 Placemaking actors, rationales, realisation processes, collaboration challenges and contributions in Oslo

Placemaking as an approach, tool and mindset has become increasingly popular in Oslo as the launch of placemaking networks, placemaking projects, and several interviewees have illustrated (Multiconsult 2018; JPI Urban Europe 2020). Despite a general understanding of different actors as 'making' places, there is little research conducted on placemaking actors, their rationales and ways of realising placemaking in Oslo.

Drawing on the engaged programme in STS and critical perspectives on placemaking allows questions about placemaking actors, rationales and ways of conducting placemaking to be raised. Moreover, to understand the social dynamics and power structures the question of how collaboration is challenged between the different groups becomes relevant (Haraway 1988; Harding 1991; Jasanoff 2004b; Amsterdamska 2008; Cote and Nightingale 2012; Røe 2014; Eriksen et al. 2015; Bodirsky 2017). The analysis of different actors showed that stakeholders are on a continuum between top-down and bottom-up actors and vary in the scale of their project from small- to large-scale. Placemaking in Oslo is conducted by different actors, which can be categorised into the three following groups: public sector stakeholders who follow a top-down approach, placemaking professionals that can be differentiated into small-scale and large-scale actors and grassroots actors who are working in a bottom-up manner. Their rationales and ways of conducting places vary, and so do the contribution of placemaking to the different groups' practices. Furthermore, they face different challenges; especially, collaboration between top-down and bottom-up actors are challenged by a variety of different aspects, such as regulations, problems in facilitating different ideas and processes, a variety of different responsibilities among different departments and a lack of transparency of these processes. However, what stands out is that individuals with character, skills and knowledge and collaborations are essential for realising placemaking processes. The planning, facilitating, realising, evaluating, process and result are emphasised differently depending on who is placemaking, despite the ideas of applying the general standard, tactical, creative or strategic placemaking tools sketched out by the PPS (2018a). It may come as no surprise that actors, such as public sector employees, urban developers and planners, are using placemaking tools and are influential in the creation of public places and cities as outlined in the literature

on Oslo (e.g. Andersen and Røe 2017; Andersen and Skrede 2017). However, it is interesting that some large-scale interviewees consider themselves placemakers and do not only claim to apply placemaking tools. Small-scale placemaking professionals partially understand themselves as bottom-up actors, and they often realise their projects with public engagement throughout the realisation process. Nevertheless, due to funding issues, they may have a specific agenda of increasing the 'liveability' and 'sustainability' of a place without considering whether different local groups have the same interest. Hence, the partially enforced placemaking projects are based on their normative understanding of creating 'better' places. Small-scale placemaking professionals are not entirely bottom-up actors; they often take formalised shapes, such as those of companies or NPOs.

All groups of people realising placemaking practices considered placemaking as a way to create public places that are liveable and social and where people like to meet. Large-scale placemaking professional and public sector interviewees highlighted that the local economy in these places should be thriving and attractive. The creation of a place brand was important to large-scale placemaking professionals. Small-scale placemakers and grassroots actors highlighted that these places should also be environmentally friendly, inclusive and diverse, and people should like to relax in them. Among all the interviewees, it was highlighted that placemaking was understood as a tool to realise sustainable development. Public sector interviewees and small-scale placemaking professionals named the strengthening of democracy as another reason why they were realising placemaking. However, it remains unclear how such activity was strengthening democracy. Moreover, placemaking seems to have the potential to realise temporary upgrades and test out potential changes in public places and receive feedback on them, especially in larger urban development projects, for public sector employees and large-scale placemaking professionals. Small-scale placemaking professionals and grassroots actors highlighted that placemaking is a way to realise more diverse and inclusive public places. Furthermore, they commented that placemaking enables people to exercise their 'right to the city' in creating and re-shaping public places and enables them to gain ownership and identify with places.

All interviewees highlighted the relevance of networks and collaborations with different stakeholders and the value of physically being in a place. Public sector employees, small-scale placemakers and grassroots actors emphasised the relevance of participation

and public engagement. Furthermore, all interviewees realised placemaking projects through temporary upgrades, events and a variety of activities in line with the 'lighter, quicker, cheaper' standard placemaking approach. The variety of events and activities involving connecting over food, crafting and art, as well as different research methods and ideas for communicating and involving people in Oslo are described by Reich et al. (2019). Grassroots actors and small-scale placemaking professionals stressed that organising dugnads to engage people in creating public places was important. They also highlighted the benefits of constructing new flexible places. Grassroots actors explained that studying public regulations, fundraising and sometimes formalising their work were important steps to 'making' places. A critical evaluation and reflection about the process, public involvement and potential negative outcomes were key elements for small-scale placemaking professionals. Large-scale placemaking professionals also named temporary use as a way to realise placemaking. Furthermore, research on the history of an area and central stakeholders as relevant for a place brand and placemaking was underlined.

Collaboration with grassroots and small-scale placemaking professionals was challenged through regulations, technical jargon and different departments' responsibilities. This complexity was perceived as non-transparent by the bottom-up and small-scale placemakers. The public sector employees realising placemaking and small-scale placemakers also pointed out that there was a lack of structures and internal understandings of the benefits for collaborations between top-down and (relatively) bottom-up actors. Challenges between top-down and bottom-up actors led the actors to deal with problems in collaboration and accept divergent, complex and contradictory ideas and enabled people to better negotiate different needs and wishes. Furthermore, it partially encouraged small-scale placemaking professionals' critical analysis of power structures, evaluation of processes and a reflection of their positionality, which aligns with critical placemaking perspectives, such as those of Røe (2014), Toolis (2017) and Bodirsky (2017). The small-scale placemakers and grassroots actors also criticised the lack of action of the public sector, which is also partially tied to regulations, and hence, restricted possibilities for individuals to take action and limited or unfitting funding for projects. Several (former) public sector employees pointed out that discussing the value of collaboration with grassroots and small-scale placemakers in the public sector

departments as well as restructuring collaboration in departments, proved to be valuable to tackle these challenges.

Another challenge was to facilitate different interests between top-down and bottom-up actors conducting placemaking. Communicating and visualising the different processes, the public sector's need to report and ensure the maintenance and the needs and aims of the public sector employees were ways to deal with this gap through facilitation. Grassroots actors and small-scale placemaking professional criticised the strong role of the private investors, developers and planners, who are part of the group of large-scale placemaking professionals in the city. The critique especially addressed the limited need for more public involvement and participation and the lack of representation of diverse actors and needs in a neighbourhood. Hence, regulations addressing the requirements for diverse participation were outlined by some interviewees, as well as by Gitlestad (2020). The large-scale placemaking professionals argued that facilitating different interests in the participation phase can be challenging. The strong role of the private sector aligns with other studies of Oslo and emphasises their power in creating and shaping public spaces (e.g. Andersen and Røe 2017; Andersen and Skrede 2017).

Furthermore, it was challenging for grassroots actors to facilitate between different actors. Moreover, it was problematic to change public spaces due to their limited power compared with urban developers, planners and investors. Their collaboration with small-scale placemaking professionals was described as fruitful, and no challenges occurred in the cases of the interviewees. One architect and urban planner described that collaborating with small-scale placemaking professionals was challenging due to the interests with different scales and effects, and hence, different ways of realising them. The interviewees did not mention challenges in collaborating with public sector actors or grassroots actors.

Below, I answer how placemaking contributes to the practices of 'making' places in Oslo. Hes and Hernandez-Santin (2020) point out that placemaking can have positive economic, ecological and social benefits, and hence, it can contribute to sustainable development. This was also highlighted by the interviewees, who explained that placemaking is an opportunity to contribute to creating more liveable, 'better' public places and to put sustainability agendas and climate goals in practice. Creating more social, accessible, environmentally friendly and attractive public places was understood

as working towards sustainable urban transformation. The interviewees explained that, as an approach, tool, concept, mindset and philosophy, placemaking contributes to focussing on ways to improve liveability and implement sustainable development in the planning and realisation phase of creating and shaping public places. Raising questions about what makes places liveable, what makes a 'better' public place for people in Oslo, has opened up a dialogue and discussion about public places among people considering themselves or practicing placemaking tools. Experimenting, testing and prototyping potential urban transformations through applying placemaking tools were ways of contributing to change in public places. The interviewees explained that, as an approach, placemaking enables low-cost, timewise flexible and diverse ways of realising change in public places, which was perceived as positive for different projects. These features are in line with the 'lighter, quicker, cheaper' approach (Wyckoff 2014; McKeown 2015). The municipality's attention to creating liveable public spaces, 'byliv', in the city of Oslo, as well as the title of Oslo as European Green Capital, may have contributed to understanding the approach as relevant in the 'making' of places. Kovács and Musterd (2013) and Skinner (2018) argue that the concept is relevant in building up a place brand to attract tourists, investors and skilled knowledge workers. In the case of Oslo, this was highlighted by interviewees from an economic perspective. The interviewees sketched out placemaking as a tool to create a sense of place, which is key for a place brand, and hence was relevant for their work.

Several authors pointed out that placemaking is an unclear and interdisciplinary term that in the broadest sense refers to the 'making' of places (Project for Public Spaces 2011; Legge 2015; Lew 2017; Teder 2018). However, as Wyckoff (2014) illustrates, it also combines different ways of conducting placemaking and perspectives, which can contribute to increasing the quality of a place. In Oslo, among the interviewees, a certain fuzziness existed; however, the concept of making great public places united the different stakeholders. The value of cross-sectoral and inter- and transdisciplinary collaborations, as well as networks, were emphasised. Hence, the approach may contribute to putting stress on the value of different perspectives and inclusion of different needs, wishes, ideas, ways of understanding and creating public places. As Haraway (1988) argues, acknowledging partial perspectives is key. Different ways of perceiving and making sense of public places influenced the people's rationales and approaches of 'making' public places.

8.2 Critical perspectives on placemaking in Oslo

Here, I put in a nutshell, how critical perspectives on placemaking contribute to placemaking theory. I sum up the findings on liveability claims, the relevance of deconstructing place narratives and creating counter-narratives and the need to assess potential negative placemaking outcomes.

Critical perspectives on placemaking take into account placemaking critiques and consider how placemaking is veiling marginalised stories through deconstructing place narratives, and thus, enabling counter-narratives (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Foth 2017; Lew 2017; Toolis 2017). Drawing on the engaged programme in STS and human geography, potential negative outcomes, such as gentrification processes and negative environmental effects of placemaking and power issues, can be raised. Furthermore, critical perspectives on placemaking make visible the underlying assumptions about the contribution of placemaking towards more liveable and sustainable places and raise questions about actors, rationales, positionality and authority to decide what makes 'good' places in the practice of Oslo.

Critical perspectives on placemaking also show how the placemaking process is embedded in power structures and which role it plays in negotiations for authority in shaping and creating public places. Analysing the actors, rationales, challenges of collaboration and ways of conducting placemaking open up for a better understanding of how placemaking is situated in public places (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). The critical analysis of placemaking illustrates that, besides claims by practitioners and scholars, placemaking can have both positive and negative effects. It exemplifies that there is a potential of placemaking contributing to increasing places' liveability and sustainability, but there is also the risk that liveability is only increased for certain groups and that some short-term benefits for people, the economy or the environment are outweighed by negative effects in the future and/or at other places. Drawing on considerations in human geography and discussions in placemaking, the need to assess potential negative outcomes—both on temporal and spatial scales—becomes relevant (Dempsey and Burton 2012; Foth 2017). Considering the lack of evaluation of placemaking, there seems to be a dearth of evidence that it is 'good' and sustainable per se, as long-term outcomes and outcomes in neighbouring places are not analysed.

Below, I sum up the most relevant findings of how critical perspectives on placemaking contributed to analysing and understanding the case of the floating sauna and garden, which are placemaking projects, and the case of Olafiagangen where placemaking was applied.

In the case of the floating garden and sauna project, drawing on the engaged programme and critical perspectives on placemaking actors, rationales and ways of conducting placemaking could be identified and contribute to a more complex understanding (Amsterdamska 2008; Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). Furthermore, the theoretical approach reveals challenges for bottom-up placemakers, power struggles and tactics to deal with powerful actors. The floating sauna and garden projects started as a tactical placemaking initiative that was aiming to 'claim areas in the harbour' (Hans Jørgen Hamre, teacher and urban activist engaged at the floating sauna and garden). The projects show that grassroots actors can change and create places in collaboration and using tactical ways to deal with power struggles and regulations, as discussed by Røe (2014) and Toolis (2017). Critical perspectives on placemaking assess struggles over access and the right to shape and create the city, which is also central in the floating sauna and garden projects (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017). In the case of the floating sauna project, critical perspectives on placemaking show that the public place is being limited by several powerful actors, including private development, residents and public authorities. Public, private and individual stakeholders had several interests to deny access, entitlement to change the existing aesthetic and use of the fjord and ideas about what makes the place good. The strong influence of the private sector in approving or disapproving over the use of public space due to the high amount of urban development should be discussed critically in Oslo, as outlined by Andersen and Røe (2017).

Economic affluence was analysed to be a factor for people living and enjoying the Fjord City despite the city's general claims for liveability, which shows that deconstructing liveability claims can reveal social inequalities and intersections, as Toolis (2017) illustrates. Based on the analysis of power dynamics and struggles in critical perspectives on placemaking tactics to gain authority can be analysed (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017). Declaring the floating sauna as an artwork and moving it and the floating garden on the border between different responsibilities can be seen as ways of undermining the current power structures and finding solutions to avoid the regulations and the prohibition by the public authorities who had the power to influence the success

or failure of the projects. This can be linked to the idea of tactical placemaking, which aims at surprising and bottom-up changes by residents in the city (Mould 2014; Lydon 2015; Foth 2017). The floating sauna and garden projects reflect the findings that placemaking is conducted through collaborations and networks in Oslo. The projects also show how collaboration in Oslo between top-down and bottom-up actors is challenged through the high amount of regulations, different responsibilities and lack of systems for participation, as well as different processes. Hence, facilitation between top-down and bottom-up actors is relevant, as an interviewee explained. The case of the floating sauna shows how the formalisation of a project can change its rationales and ways of realising it and how different people conducting placemaking can have different rationales and approaches, which can be contradictory. This is in line with critical perspectives on placemaking understandings of complex processes and struggles over who can decide how public places are to be created and shaped (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017).

Analysing the case of Olafiagangen from critical perspectives on placemaking illustrates that different placemakers have different rationales, approaches and positions. Hence, to analyse placemaking, these need to be differentiated to avoid misunderstandings. Furthermore, it clarifies that no natural positions exist in Haraway's (1988) sense. Critically, analysing how Olafiagangen is being developed and for whom placemaking is used shows that power struggles and interests to reproduce existing orders by more powerful stakeholders exist. The people participating in the status quo report and participatory workshops were interested in excluding the urban poor and drug users and portrayed them as the main cause for the lack of quality at Olafiagangen. This 'othering' process and the creation of a narrative of these people being the 'problem' instead of including them led to a marginalisation of their needs and wishes for the public place; such actions will potentially not solve the challenge of, for example, people using the place as a bathroom. Hence, critical perspectives on placemaking can make these inequalities and exclusion processes visible and contribute with alternatives to enable dialogue between conflicting experiences and ideas of how public places should be. This perspective sets the focus on the political character of the creation of places and liveability claims.

The engaged programme in STS has theoretically complimented critical perspectives on placemaking. I briefly sketch out findings that may be of relevance from the Oslo case

study. By researching placemaking in Norway's capital, it became clear that people's emplacement as their access to the world is a creational process that is influenced through their ontology, the way they sense and experience places, which is interconnected to their epistemology, the ways they make sense of and understand places. This may feed into the existing discussions about the relationship between ontology and epistemology, which I do not intend to deepen here. Placemaking in Oslo is a political process in which more powerful actors can create dominant place narratives and how places should look; critical perspectives on placemaking can contribute to the interdisciplinary field of STS with considerations that are complementary to the engaged programme (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). Drawing on the engaged programme in STS proved to be especially valuable as it raised critical questions, such as whose knowledge and experiences have power in shaping places, how this is realised and why. As all humans are emplaced, places and people's struggles over creating, attaching meaning to and identifying with them influence their ways of being in the world and knowing. Hence, places are essential in the production of knowledge and experience of places, the sense of place (e.g. Feld and Basso 1996; Larkham and Jivén 2003).

8.3 Limitations and further research

If claims about placemaking and its positive influence on liveability and sustainability are to be validated, there is a need to evaluate and assess potential spatial and temporal effects, in terms of both theoretical and practical aspects. This could potentially prevent negative environmental effects and foster gentrification. Due to the limited scope of this thesis, I did not explore further what such an assessment could be like in practice. However, due to the risk of the negative effects outweighing the positive ones, this is a relevant point that needs further research. The evaluation of placemaking processes could be built on a variety of literature. It could be based on critical considerations about assessing outcomes, modelling changes, and considering social, environmental and economic factors and scales (for an extensive review of scales, see Gibson et al. 2000). Furthermore, as discussed above, drawing on critical perspectives on placemaking and the engaged programme can give insights into actors, rationales and ways of conducting placemaking, as well as elucidating for whom, how and why places are changed to be 'better' (Røe 2014; Bodirsky 2017; Toolis 2017). However, this also bears the risk of discovering that placemaking may not contribute to creating more 'liveable' and 'better' places for everyone, which could have a negative influence on self-declared placemakers' businesses.

Based on the findings of placemakers as networkers, collaborators and facilitators, questions are raised on how different actors are connected, dependent or independent. Social network analysis could be valuable to analyse different stakeholders and their relations in depth and to evaluate key actors (brokers; e.g. Borgatti and Lopez-Kidwell 2014; Marin and Wellman 2014). Analysing social interrelations with weak and strong ties could also contribute to a better understanding of power dynamics, funding and dependency in Oslo. This could be an interesting approach for further studies on the 'making' of places in the city.

Bibliography

Allen, John. 1984. "Analysis: aspects of geography of society." In *Geography matters! A reader*, edited by John Allen and Doreen Massey, 49-53. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press in association with the Open University.

Amsterdamska, Olga. 2008. "Practices, People and Places." In *The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*, edited by Edward J. Hackett, Olga Amsterdamska and Judy Wajcman, 205-209. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press; Published in cooperation with the Society for the Social Studies of Science.

Ander, Hannah Eline. 2017. "Et ubehagelig mangfold. En studie av mangfold og inkludering som mål for Olafiagangen som offentlig rom på Grønland." Master i samfunnsgeografi Institutt for sosiologi og samfunnsgeografi University of Oslo.

Andersen, Bengt, and Hannah Eline Ander. 2018. "Oslos byrom som arenaer for kos, konflikt og kommers." *Plan* (02):34-41.

Andersen, Bengt, and Per Gunnar Røe. 2017. "The social context and politics of large scale urban architecture: Investigating the design of Barcode, Oslo." *European Urban and Regional Studies* 24 (3):304-317.

Andersen, Bengt, Joakim Skajaa, Hanna Bjørgaas, Viktor Lund Shammas, and Astri Margareta Dalseide. 2018. "Grønland flytende hage på plass i Akerselva." Last Modified 13.07.2018, accessed 17.04.2020. http://www.invisibleinfrastructures.com/forsiden/2018/7/13/grnland-flytende-hage.

Andersen, Bengt, and Joar Skrede. 2017. "Planning for a sustainable Oslo: the challenge of turning urban theory into practice." *Local Environment* 22 (5):581-594.

Andersen, Bengt, Joar Skrede, Hanna Hagen Bjørgaas, and Yngvild Margrete Mæhle. 2018. "Fortetting som verktøy og mål i Oslo." *Plan* (04):16-23.

Antipodes. 2019. "Oslo fjord hage." Antipodes, Last Modified 15.08.2019, accessed 15.04.2020. https://www.antipodes.cafe/aethings/oslo-floating-garden/.

Arndt, Susan. 2003. "Weiß-Sein als Konstruktion des Rassismus und Kategorie." Berliner Programm zur Förderung der Chancengleichheit für Frauen in Forschung und Lehre : Tagung, Berlin.

Arnold, Emma. 2019. "Aesthetics of zero tolerance." *City* 23 (2):143-169.

Ball, Michael. 1984. "The spaced out urban economy." In *Geography matters! A Reader*, edited by Doreen Massey and John Allen, 68-84. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barnas Boligbyggere. 2019. Barne- og ungdomsstemmer til behovsbeskrivelse for KVU Olafiagangen. Oslo: Barnas Boligbyggere.

Bassett, Thomas J., and Charles Fogelman. 2013. "Déjà vu or something new? The adaptation concept in the climate change literature." *Geoforum* 48:42-53.

Bedoya, Roberto. 2013. "Placemaking and the Politics of Belonging and Dis-belonging." *GIA Reader, Grantmakers in the Arts, Supporting a Creative America* 24 (1).

Bergsli, Heidi, and Gro Sandkjær Hanssen. 2017. "Byrom for alle? ; urbane offentlige rom i et demokratiperspektiv." *Plan* (1):40-43.

Beske, Jason, and David Dixon. 2018. "Suburban Remix: Creating the Next Generation of Urban Places." In. Washington, DC: Island Press/Center for Resource Economics : Imprint: Island Press.

Bodirsky, Katharina. 2017. "Between equal rights force decides?: Contested place-making and the right to the city." *City* 21 (5):672-681.

Boger, Christian. 2020. "Ikke matmarked i Olafiagangen. SuperGrønland får i stedet ballbinge, skøytebane og klatreapparater." Last Modified 22.01.2020, accessed 22.05.2020. https://vartoslo.no/berit-jagmann-christian-boger-gamle-oslo/ikke-matmarked-i-olafiagangen-supergronland-far-i-stedet-ballbinge-skoytebane-og-klatreapparater/113139.

Borgatti, Stephen P., and Virginie Lopez-Kidwell. 2014. "Network Theory." In *The SAGE Handbook of Social Network Analysis*, edited by John Scott and Damian Carrington, 40-54. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Brattbakk, Ingar, Aina Landsverk Hagen, Bengt Andersen, Marit E. Ruud, Hanna Breistrand, Joakim Skajaa, and Astrid M. Dalseide. 2017. På sporet av det nye Grønland. Sosiokulturell stedsanalyse av Grønland i Bydel Gamle Oslo. Oslo: AFI Arbeidsforskningsinstituttet.

Brenner, Neil. 2012. "What is critical urban theory?" In *Cities for people not for profit: critical urban theory and the right to the city*, edited by Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse and Margit Meyer, 11-23. London: Routledge.

Brenner, Neil, Peter Marcuse, and Margit Mayer. 2012. "Cities for people, not for profit: critical urban theory and the right to the city: an introduction." In *Cities for people not for profit critical urban theory and the right to the city*, edited by Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse and Margit Meyer, 1-11. London: Routledge.

Brinkmann, Svend. 2014. "Unstructured and Semi-Structured Interviewing." In *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research*, edited by Patricia Leavy, 277-299. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bryman, Alan. 2016. *Social research methods*. 5th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bucchi, Massimiano, and Federico Neresini. 2008. "Science and Public Participation." In *The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*, edited by Edward J. Hackett, Olga Amsterdamska, Mike Lydon and Judy Wajcman, 449-472. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press; Published in cooperation with the Society for the Social Studies of Science.

Burke, Claire. 2019. "Hot properties: how Oslo went wild for floating saunas." *The Guardian*, 18.09.2019. Accessed 15.04.2020. https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2019/sep/18/hot-properties-how-oslo-went-wild-for-floating-saunas.

Byrne, Bridget. 2018. "Qualitative Interviewing." In *Researching Society and Culture*, edited by Clive Seale, 218-234. London: Sage.

Casey, Edward S. 1996. "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena." In *Senses of Place*, edited by Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, 13-52.

Casey, Edward S. 1997. *The fate of place: a philosophical history*, *A Centennial book*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

Cilliers, Elizelle Juanee, Wim Timmermans, Frans Van Den Goorbergh, and Jimmie Slijkhuis. 2015. "Green Place-making in Practice: From Temporary Spaces to Permanent Places." *Journal of Urban Design* 20 (3):349-366.

Clark, Greg. 2018. "Preface: Stay Small but Act Big." In *Oslo - learning to fly*, edited by Erling Fossen, 16-18. Stockholm: Arvinius + Orfeus.

Clark, Michael. 2012. "Achieving Memorable Places ... 'Urban Sense of Place' for Successful Urban Planning and Renewal?" In *Making Sense of Place Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Ian Convery, Gerard Corsane and Peter Davis, 119-132. Newcastle: Newcastle University.

Convery, Ian, Gerard Corsane, and Peter Davis. 2012. "Introduction: Making Sense of Place." In, edited by Ian Convery, Gerard Corsane and Peter Davis, 1-8. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Corsane, Gerard, and Jared D. Bowers. 2012. "Sense of Place in Sustainable tourism: A Case Study in the Rainforest and Savannahs of Guyana." In *The International Center for Cultural & Heritage Studies*, edited by Ian Convery, Gerard Corsane and Peter Davis, 249-260. Newcastle: Newcastle University.

Cote, Muriel, and Andrea J. Nightingale. 2012. "Resilience thinking meets social theory: Situating social change in socio-ecological systems (SES) research." *Progress in Human Geography* 36 (4):475-489.

Courage, Cara, and Anita McKeown. 2019a. *Creative placemaking: research, theory and practice*. Abingdon, Oxon, New York: Routledge.

Courage, Cara, and Anita McKeown. 2019b. "Introduction: curating research, theory and practice." In *Creative Placemaking Research, theory and practice*, edited by Cara; McKeown Courage, Anita, 1-8. London and New York: Routledge Studies in Human Geography.

Cresswell, Tim. 2004. *Place: a short introduction*, *Short introductions to geography*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell.

Cretney, Raven. 2014. "Resilience for Whom? Emerging Critical Geographies of Socio-ecological Resilience." *Geography Compass* 8 (9):627-640.

Dempsey, Nicola, and Mel Burton. 2012. "Defining place-keeping: The long-term management of public spaces." *Urban Forestry & Urban Greening* 11 (1):11-20.

Eckenwiler, Lisa A. 2016. "Defining ethical placemaking for place-based interventions." *The American Journal of Public Health* 106 (11):1944-1946.

Edge, David. 1995. "Reinventing the wheel." In *Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*, edited by Sheila Jasanoff, Gerald E. Markle, James C. Petersen and Trevor Pinch, 1-23. Thousand Oaks: United States, California, Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Eggertsen Teder, Maria. 2019. "Placemaking as co-creation - professional roles and attitudes in practice." *CoDesign* 15 (4):289-307.

Endsor, Tim, and Steve Millington. 2019. "Spaces of vernacular creativity reconsidered." In *Creative Placemaking: research, theory and practice*, edited by Cara Courage and Anita McKeown, 28-339. London and New York: Routledge Studies in Human Geography.

Ensor, Jon E., Sarah E. Park, Erik T. Hoddy, and Blake D. Ratner. 2015. "A rights-based perspective on adaptive capacity." *Global Environmental Change* 31:38-49.

Eriksen, Siri H., Andrea J. Nightingale, and Hallie Eakin. 2015. "Reframing adaptation: The political nature of climate change adaptation." *Global Environmental Change* 35 (C):523-533.

Feld, Steven, and Keith H. Basso. 1996. *Senses of Place*, *School of American Research advanced seminar series*. Santa Fe, N.M: School of American Research Press.

Florida, Richard L. 2002. *The rise of the creative class: and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. New York: Basic Books.

Florida, Richard L. 2017. *The new urban crisis: how our cities are increasing inequality, deepening segregation, and failing the middle class-- and what we can do about it*. New York: Basic Books.

Forsyth, Tim. 2013. "Community-based adaptation: a review of past and future challenges." *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change* 4 (5):439-446.

Fossen, Erling, ed. 2018. *Oslo - learning to fly*. Stockholm, Sweden: Arvinius + Orfeus.
Foth, Marcus. 2017. Lessons from Urban Guerrilla Placemaking for Smart City Commons.
Fox Keller, Evelyn. 1995. "The Origin, History, and Politics of the subject called 'Gender and Science'. A first Person Account." In *Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*, edited by Sheila Jasanoff, Gerald Markle, James Petersen and Trevor Pinch, 80-94. Thousand Oaks: United States, California, Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, inc.
Friedmann, John. 2010. "Place and Place-Making in Cities: A Global Perspective." *Planning Theory & Practice* 11 (2):149-165.
Future Place Leadership. 2018. "Afternoon networking session: Placemaking in the Nordics." Last Modified 28.12.2018, accessed 22.04.2020. https://futureplaceleadership.com/events/placemaking_nordic_networking/.
Gadwa Nicodemus, Anne. 2012. "Creative Placemaking 2.0." *GIA Reader, Grantmakers in the Arts, Supporting a Creative America* 23 (2).
Gehl, Jan, Lotte Johansen Kaefer, and Solvejg Reigstad. 2016. "Close encounters with buildings." In *City at Eye Level*, edited by Hans Karssenberg, Jeroen Laven, Meredith Glaser and Mattijs van 't Hoff, 29-35. Delft: Eburon.
Gehl, Jan, and Birgitte Svarre. 2013. *How To Study Public Life*. Washington, DC: Washington, DC: Island Press/Center for Resource Economics.
Ghavampour, Ensiyeh, and Brenda Vale. 2019. "Revisiting the "Model of Place": A Comparative Study of Placemaking and Sustainability." *Urban Planning* 4 (2):196-206.
Gibson, Clark C., Elinor Ostrom, and T. K. Ahn. 2000. "The concept of scale and the human dimensions of global change: a survey." *Ecological Economics* 32 (2):217-239.
Gieryn, Thomas F. 2000. "A Space for Place in Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology*:463-469.
Gitlestad, Joakim. 2020. "Oslo kommune må tørre å stille krav til private aktører om medvirkning." Vårt Oslo, Last Modified 24.02.2020, accessed 11.04.2020. https://vartoslo.no/byutvikling-hele-oslo-joakim-gitlestad/oslo-kommune-ma-torre-a-stille-krav-til-private-aktorer-om-medvirkning/116427.
Goldman, Mara J., Matthew D. Turner, and Meaghan Daly. 2018. "A critical political ecology of human dimensions of climate change: Epistemology, ontology, and ethics." *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change* 9 (4):n.p.
Hackett, Edward J. 2008. *The Handbook of science and technology studies*. 3rd ed. ed. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press; Published in cooperation with the Society for the Social Studies of Science.
Hancox, Dan. 2014. "Fuck Your Pop Up Shops." Last Modified 21.02.2014, accessed 22.05.2020. https://www.vice.com/en_uk/article/nnyjyw/shipping-container-elephant-park-dan-hancox.
Haraway, Donna. 1988. "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective." *Feminist Studies* 14 (3):575-599.
Harding, Sandra. 1991. *Whose science? Whose knowledge? : thinking from women's lives*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press.
Harvey, David. 2003. "The right to the city." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27 (4):939-941.
Harvey, David. 2006. "The Political Economy of Public Space." In *The Politics of Public Sphere*, edited by Setha Low and Neil Smith, 17-34. Taylor & Francis Group LLC.

Harvey, David. 2008. "The right to the city." *New Left Review* (53):23-40.
Harvey, David, and David Wachsmuth. 2012. "What is to be done? And who the hell is going to do it?" In *Cities for people not for profit: critical urban theory and the right to the city*, edited by Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse and Margit Meyer, 264-274. London: Routledge.
Heeman, Jeniffer. 2016. "The Science of Joy in Sao Paulo." In *City at Eye Level*, edited by Hans Karssenberg, Jeroen Laven, Meredith Glaser and Mattijs van 't Hoff, 276-279. Delft: Eburon.
Helse- og omsorgsdepartementet. 2019. Rusreform – fra straff til hjelp. In *NOU 2019: 26*. Oslo: Departementenes sikkerhets- og serviceorganisasjon, Teknisk redaksjon.
Hes, Dominique, and Cristina Hernandez-Santin. 2020. "Placemaking fundamentals for the built environment." In. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan.
Hoffengh, Sissel. 2019. "Kan bli matmarked på Grønland." Last Modified 29.08.2019, accessed 22.05.2020. https://www.dagsavisen.no/oslo/kan-bli-matmarked-pa-gronland-1.1575587.
Hulme, Mike. 2018. "'Gaps' in Climate Change Knowledge: Do They Exist? Can They Be Filled?" *Environmental Humanities* 10 (1):330-337.
Hurley, Patrick T. 2013. "Whose sense of place? A political ecology of amenity development." In *Place-Based Conservation*, edited by William P. Stewart, Daniel R. Williams and Linda E. Kruger, 165-180. Springer, Dordrecht.
Jacobs, Jane. 1961. *The death and life of great American cities*: Modern City Library.
Jasanoff, Sheila. 2004a. "Science and citizenship: a new synergy." *Science and Public Policy* 31 (2):90-94.
Jasanoff, Sheila. 2004b. *States of knowledge: the co-production of science and social order*, *International library of sociology*. London: Routledge.
Jasanoff, Sheila. 2017. "A Field of its Own: The Emergence of Science and Technology Studies." In *The Oxford handbook of interdisciplinarity*, edited by Robert Frodeman, Julie Thompson Klein and Roberto C. S. Pacheco, 173-187. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Jelstad, Jørgen 2019. "Her sjøsetter læreren sitt nye klasserom. I en flytende skolehage skal Hans Jørgen Hamre undervise elever om havet. ." Last Modified 16.08.2019, accessed 15.04.2020. https://www.utdanningsnytt.no/klima-laereryrket/her-sjosetter-laereren-sitt-nye-klasserom/208932.
Jervell, Sverre. n.d. "Badingens historie i indre Oslofjord." accessed 16.04.2020. https://www.oslofjordsauna.com/badingens-historie-i-fjorden.
JPI Urban Europe. 2020. "Introduction JPI Urban Europe." accessed 25.02.2020. https://jpi-urbaneurope.eu/about/intro/.
Karssenberg, Hans, Jeroen Laven, and Mattijs van 't Hoff. 2016. "80 Lessons to a good city at eye level." In *City at Eye Level*, edited by Hans Karssenberg, Jeroen Laven, Meredith Glaser and Mattijs van 't Hoff, 310-325. Delft: Eburon.
Keith, William, and William Rehg. 2008. "Argumentation in Science: The Cross-Fertilization of Argumentation Theory and Science Studies." In *The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*, edited by Edward J. Hackett, Olga Amsterdamska, Michael Lynch and Judy Wajcman, 211-239. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press; Published in cooperation with the society for the Social Studies of Science.
Kent, Fred, and Kathy Madden. 2016. "Streets as Places a conversation with Fred Kent & Kathy Madden." In *City at Eye Level*, edited by Hans Karssenberg, Jeroen Laven and Mattijs van 't Hoff, 26-35. Delft: Eburon.

Klenk, Nicole, Anna Fiume, Katie Meehan, and Cerian Gibbes. 2017. "Local knowledge in climate adaptation research: moving knowledge frameworks from extraction to co-production." *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change* 8 (5):n.p.

Klenk, Nicole, and Katie Meehan. 2015. "Climate change and transdisciplinary science: Problematizing the integration imperative." *Environmental Science and Policy* 54 (C):160-167.

Kortbek, Hjørdis Brandrup. 2019. "Contradictions in Participatory Public Art: Placemaking as an Instrument of Urban Cultural Policy." *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 49 (1):30-44.

Kovács, Zoltán, and Sako Musterd. 2013. "The Importance of Places and Place Branding." In *Place-making and Policies for Competitive Cities*, edited by Zoltán Kovács and Sako Musterd, 97-104.

Kuhn, Thomas S., and Ian Hacking. 2012. *The structure of scientific revolutions*. 4th ed., 50th anniversary ed. ed. Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press.

Kvistum, Vidar. 2020. Ólafia Jóhannsdóttir. In *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon*.

Larkham, Peter J., and Gunila Jivén. 2003. "Sense of Place, Authenticity and Character: A Commentary." *Journal of urban design* (8):67-81.

Laven, Jeroen, Anna Bradley, and Charlot Schans. 2017. "European Placemaking Network." accessed 19.03.2020. https://stipo.nl/case/european-placemaking-network/?lang=en.

Lawton, Philip, Michael Meczyński, and Austin Barber. 2013. *Policies towards Place Attraction and Policies for Place Retention*.

Legge, Kylie. 2015. "The Evolution of Placemaking. What's Next?" In *Placemaking*, edited by Cara Courage and Gem Barton, 12-15. Edge Condition.

Lew, Alan A. 2017. "Tourism planning and place making: place-making or placemaking?" *Tourism Geographies* 19 (3):448-466.

Listopad, Steven. 2016. "Mural Artist Cassius Fadlabi." Last Modified 19.07.2018, accessed 11.05.2020. https://oslorocks.com/2018/07/19/mural-artist-cassius-fadlabi/.

Lofland, Lyn H. 1998. *The public realm: exploring the city's quintessential social territory*, *Communication and social order*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Logan, Kevin. 2015. "From Space to Place." In *placemaking*, edited by Cara Courage and Gem Barton, 18-23. Edge Condition.

Løkse, Tuva, Stian Amadeus Antonsen, and Agnes Viljugrein. 2020. "La frivilligheten samles i et flytende aktivitetshus i Bjørvika." Last Modified 04.05.2020, accessed 22.05.2020. https://vartoslo.no/sukkerbitens-venner-sorengas-badstuforening/la-frivilligheten-samles-i-et-flytende-aktivitetshus-i-bjorvika/236495.

Longino, Helen E. 1990. *Science as social knowledge: values and objectivity in scientific inquiry*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

Low, Setha , and Neil Smith. 2006. "The Imperative of Public Space " In *The Politics of Public Space*, edited by Setha Low and Neil Smith, 1-16. Taylor & Francis Group LLC.

Lukes, Steven. 2005. *Power: a radical view*. 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lydon, Mike; Garcia, Anthony. 2015. *Tactical Urbanism: Short-term Action for Long-term Change.*: Island Press.

Lydon, Mike; Garcia, Anthony; Flynn, Julie; Murriente, Sherryl; Wall, Dana; Simpson, Charlie. 2016. Tactical Urbanist's Guide to Materials and Design. edited by Street Plans Collaborative.

Lynch, Michael. 2008. "Ideas and Perspectives." In *The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*, edited by Edward J. Hackett, Olga Amsterdamska, Michael Lynch and Judy Wajcman, 9-12. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
Mahar, Josh. 2016. "Tactical Urbanism: Applying a Big City Placemaking Technique to Smaller Communities." MRSC Local Government Success, Last Modified 04.02.2016, accessed 21.02.2020. http://mrsc.org/Home/Stay-Informed/MRSC-Insight/February-2016/Tactical-Urbanism-In-Smaller-Communities.aspx.
Marcuse, Peter. 2012. "Whose Right(s) to what city?" In *Cities for people, not for profit: critical urban theory and the right to the city*, edited by Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse and Margit Meyer, 24-41. London: Routledge.
Marin, Alexandra, and Barry Wellman. 2014. "Social Network Analysis: An Introduction." In *The SAGE Handbook of Social Network Analysis*, edited by John Scott and Peter J. Carrington, 11-25. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
Martin, Ben R., Paul Nightingale, and Alfredo Yegros-Yegros. 2012. "Science and technology studies: Exploring the knowledge base." *Research Policy* 41 (7):1182-1204.
Massey, Doreen. 1984. "Introduction: Geography matters." In *Geography matters! : a reader*, edited by Doreen Massey and John Allen, 1-11. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press in association with the Open University.
Massey, Doreen. 1993. "Questions of Locality." *Geography* 78 (2):142-149.
Massey, Doreen. 1994. *Space, place and gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Mayhew, Susan. 2015a. place. In *A Dictionary of Geography*, edited by Susan Mayhew. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Mayhew, Susan. 2015b. place-making. In *A Dictionary of Geography*, edited by Susan Mayhew. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Mayhew, Susan. 2015c. public space. In *A Dictionary of Geography*, edited by Susan Mayhew. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Mayhew, Susan. 2015d. sense of place. In *A Dictionary of Geography*, edited by Susan Mayhew. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Mayhew, Susan. 2015e. space. Oxford University Press.
McKeown, Anita. 2015. "Deeper, Slower, Richer: A Slow Intervention Towards Resilient Places." In *'placemaking'*, edited by Cara Courage and Gem Barton, 24-27. Edge Condition.
McKeown, Anita. 2016. "Creative Placemaking: How to embed Arts-led processes within cultural regeneration?" *Journal of Arts and Politics*:n.p.
Meyer, Margit. 2012. "The 'Right to the City' in Urban Social Movements; Margit Meyer." In *Cities for people not for profit: critical urban theory and the right to the city*, edited by Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse and Margit Meyer, 63-85. London: Routledge.
Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation. 2019. Network of Public Spaces - an idea handbook.
Mintz, Norman. 2016. "By the Power of 10 " In *City at Eye Level*, edited by Hans Karssenberg, Jeroen Laven, Meredith Glaser and Mattijs van 't Hoff, 80-83. Delft, Eburon.
Moskerintz, Holly. 2016. "Try Out Placemaking with a Tactical Urbanism Project." Last Modified 28.12.2016, accessed 21.02.2020. https://www.nar.realtor/blogs/spaces-to-places/try-out-placemaking-with-a-tactical-urbanism-project.
Mouffe, Chantal. 2014. "By Way of a Postscript." *Parallax* 20 (2):149-157.

Mould, Oli. 2014. "Tactical Urbanism: The New Vernacular of the Creative City." *Geography Compass* 8 (8):529-539.
Müller, Bernhard, and Hiroyuki Shimizu. 2018. *Towards the Implementation of the New Urban Agenda: Contributions from Japan and Germany to Make Cities More Environmentally Sustainable*. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
Multiconsult. 2018. "#Placemaking in the Nordics." Last Modified 12.09.2018, accessed 25.02.2020. https://www.multiconsult.no/placemaking-in-the-nordics/.
Myhre, Jan Eivind. 2017. "Østkant og vestkant: Oslos historie som delt by." Last Modified 04.07.2017, accessed 28.04.2020. https://sosiologen.no/essay/essay/ostkant-og-vestkant-oslos-historie-som-delt-by/.
Myrick, Phil. 2011. "The Power of Place: A New Dimension for Sustainable Development." Last Modified 21.04.2011, accessed 22.05.2020. https://www.pps.org/article/the-power-of-place-a-new-dimension-for-sustainable-development.
Nabolagshager. 2018. "PlaceCity." accessed 20.05.2020. https://nabolagshager.no/prosjekter/placecity/.
Nabolagshager. 2020. "Nabolagshager green and social cities." accessed 22.05.2020. https://nabolagshager.no/.
Nightingale, Andrea J. 2016. "Adaptive scholarship and situated knowledges? Hybrid methodologies and plural epistemologies in climate change adaptation research." *Area* 48 (1):41-47.
Nightingale, Andrea J. 2017. "Power and politics in climate change adaptation efforts: Struggles over authority and recognition in the context of political instability." *Geoforum* 84:11-20.
Norberg-Schulz, Christian. 1980. *Genius loci : towards a phenomenology of architecture*, *Genius loci : paesaggio, ambiente, architettura*. London: Academy Editions.
O'Leary, Zina. 2017. *The essential guide to doing your research project*. 3rd ed. Los Angeles, Calif: SAGE.
Oslo European Green Capital. 2019. "About Oslo European Green Capital." accessed 22.04.2020. https://www.greencapital2019.com/about-us.
Oslo Fjordhage. 2019. "Hjem." accessed 14.04.2020. https://oslofjordhage.no/mer-om-oslo-fjordhage.html.
Oslo Kommune. 2019. Bylivsguiden 2019 Hvordan kan du bidra til byliv i Oslo? Oslo.
Oslo Kommune. 2020. "Bilfritt Byliv." accessed 09.05.2020. https://www.oslo.kommune.no/slik-bygger-vi-oslo/bilfritt-byliv/.
Oslo Kommune Bymiljøetaten. 2018. Situatsjonsbeskrivelse for Olafiagangen. Oslo.
Oslo Kommune Bymiljøetaten, Byromsdivisjonen. 2019. Olafiagangen oppsummering fra interessentverkstedet 15. januar 2019.
Oslo Kommune Plan- og Bygningestaten. n.d. "Havnepromenade." accessed 15.04.2020. https://www.oslo.kommune.no/slik-bygger-vi-oslo/fjordbyen/havnepromenaden/#toc-1.
Oslo Kommune Plan- og Bygningsetaten. 2008. Fjordbyplanen. edited by Oslo Kommune. Oslo: Avdeling for Byutvikling.
Oslo Kommune Plan- og Bygningsetaten. 2017. Fra havneby til fjordbyen. Hvem bor der, hvem bruker den og hvordan oplleves den? edited by Oslo Kommune. Oslo: Avdeling for byutvikling.
Oslo Kommune Plan- og Bygningsetaten. n.d. "Fjordbyen." accessed 15.04.2020. https://www.oslo.kommune.no/slik-bygger-vi-oslo/fjordbyen/.

Oslo Kommune Statistikkbanken. 2019. Folkemengden etter kjønn og alder (B) − Begge kjønn, Alder i alt, Antall.
Paillìè Pérez, Francisco 2016. "To Imagine a Space Can Be Different." In *City at Eye Level*, edited by Hans Karssenberg, Jeroen Laven, Meredith Glaser and Mattijs van 't Hoff, 280-283. Delft: Eburon.
Palmadesso, Allison, and Carolyn Sponza. 2018. "A How-to for Creative Placemaking and Tactical Urbanism." accessed 21.02.2020. https://www.gensler.com/research-insight/blog/how-to-for-creative-placemaking-and-tactical-urbanism.
Paulsen, Krista E. 2010. "Placemaking." In *Encyclopedia of Urban Studies*, edited by Ray Hutchison, 600-603. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publisher Inc.
PlaceCity. 2019. "PlaceCity – Oslo & Vienna." accessed 13.11.2019. https://placemaking-europe.eu/placecity/.
PlaceCity Consortium. 2018. "PlaceCity Placemaking for Sustainable Thriving Cities." JPI Urban Europe meeting.
Placemaking Europe. 2020. "Towards an open source placemaking toolbox." accessed 11.05.2020. https://placemaking-europe.eu/tools/.
Pritchard, Stephen. 2019. "Place guarding - Activist art against gentrification." In *Placemaking: research, theory and practice*, edited by Cara Courage and Anita McKeown, 140-155. Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge.
Project for Public Spaces. 2007. "What Is Placemaking?", Last Modified 1.12.2008, accessed 15.04.2020. https://www.pps.org/article/what-is-placemaking.
Project for Public Spaces. 2009a. "The Power of 10+." Last Modified 02.01.2009, accessed 15.04.2020. https://www.pps.org/article/the-power-of-10.
Project for Public Spaces. 2009b. "What Makes A Successful Place?", Last Modified 29.09.2009, accessed 03.03.2020. https://www.pps.org/article/grplacefeat.
Project for Public Spaces. 2011. The Case for Healthy Places. Improving Health Outcomes Through Placemaking. In *Project for Public Spaces Inc.* New York.
Project for Public Spaces. 2018a. "What is Placemaking - What if We Built Our Communities Around Places?", accessed 20.02.2020. https://www.pps.org/article/what-is-placemaking.
Project for Public Spaces. 2018b. "Public Spaces at the 9th World Urban Forum: Systemic Change for the New Urban Agenda Through Placemaking." Last Modified 01.02.2018, accessed 15.04.2020. https://www.pps.org/article/systemic-change-for-the-new-urban-agenda-through-placemaking.
Project for Public Spaces. 2019a. "Our Mission, Our History." accessed 07.03.2020. https://www.pps.org/about.
Project for Public Spaces. 2019b. "Placemaking Week." accessed 28.04.2020. https://www.placemakingweek.org/regional-events.
Reich, Clara J., Laura Martinez Izquierdo, and Helene Gallis. 2019. "Placemaking in Oslo." In *Exploring Placemaking in Context*, edited by Anna Bradley, 18-55.
Relph, Edward. 1976. *Place and placelessness*. Vol. 1, *Research in planning and design*. London: Pion Limited.
Resch, Katharina, and Edith Enzenhofer. 2018. "Collecting Data in Other Languages – Strategies for Cross-Language Research in Multilingual Societies " In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection*, edited by Uwe Flick, 131-146. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
Robinson, Clare, and Clive Seale. 2018. "Research Design." In *Researching Society and Culture*, edited by Clive Seale, 103-121. London: Sage

Røe, Per Gunnar. 2014. "Analysing Place and Place-making: Urbanization in Suburban Oslo." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38 (2):498-515.
Rohracher, Harald. 2015. *History of Science and Technology Studies*: Elsevier Ltd.
Schaap, Ton. 2016. "Designing from the street a conversation with Ton Schaap (urbanist)." In *City at Eye Level*, edited by Hans Karssenberg, Jeroen Laven, Meredith Glaser and Mattijs van 't Hoff, 99-103. Delft: Eburon.
Schmid, Christian. 2012. "Henri Lefebvre, the right to the city, and the new metropolitan mainstream." In *Cities for people not for profit: critical urban theory and the right to the city*, edited by Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse and Margit Meyer, 42-62. London: Routledge.
Scoones, Ian. 2007. "Sustainability." *Development in Practice* 17 (4-5):589-596.
Seale, Clive. 2018. "Sampling." In *Researching Society and Culture*, edited by Clive Seale, 156-173. London: Sage
Selting, Margret, Peter Auer, Dagmar Barth-Weingarten, Jörg Bergmann, Pia Bergmann, Karin Birkner, Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen, Arnulf Deppermann, Peter Gilles, Susanne Günthner, Martin Hartung, Friederike Kern, Christine Mertzlufft, Christian Meyer, Miriam Morek, Frank Oberzaucher, Jörg Peters, Uta Quasthoff, Wilfried Schütte, and Susanne Uhmann. 2011. "A system for transcribing talk-in-interaction: GAT 2 translated and adapted for English by Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen and Dagmar Barth-Weingarten." *Gesprächsforschung* 12:1-51.
Sepe, Marichela. 2017. "Placemaking, livability and public spaces. Achieving sustainability through happy places." *The Journal of Public Space* 2 (4):63-76.
Seto, Karen C., Roberto Sánchez-Rodríguez, and Michail Fragkias. 2010. "The New Geography of Contemporary Urbanization and the Environment." *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 35 (1):167-194.
Silberberg, Susan, Katie Lorah, Rebecca Disbrow, and Anna Muessig. 2013. Places in the making: How placemaking builds places and communities. In *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*.
Simon, Carsta, and Hilde Mobekk. 2019. "Dugnad – A Fact and a Narrative of Norwegian Prosocial Behavior." *Cultural and Behavioral Systems Science* (42):815–834.
Sismondo, Sergio. 2008. "Science and technology studies and an engaged program." In *The Handbook of science and technology studies*, edited by Edward J. Hackett, 13-32. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press; Published in cooperation with the Society for the Social Studies of Science.
Skinner, Heather. 2018. "Who really creates the place brand? Considering the role of user generated content in creating and communicating a place identity." *Comunicación y Sociedad* 31 (4):9-25.
Slater, Tom 2012. "Missing Marcuse - On gentrification and displacement." In *Cities for people not for profit critical urban theory and the right to the city*, edited by Neil Brenner and Peter Marcuse, 171-196. Routledge.
Soja, Edward W. 2010. *Seeking spatial justice*. Vol. 16, *Globalization and community series*. Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press.
Solomon, Miriam. 2008. "STS and Social Epistemology of Science." In *The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*, edited by Edward J. Hackett, Olga Amsterdamska, Michael Lynch and Judy Wajcman, 241-258. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
Stirling, Andrew. 2015. "Emancipating transformation: from controlling 'the transition' to culturing plural radical progress." In *The politics of green transformations.*

Pathways to sustainability., edited by Ian Scoones, Melissa Leach and Peter Newell, 54-67. London: Routledge.
Suchman, Lucy. 2008. "Feminist STS and the Science of the Artificial." In *The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*, edited by Edward J. Hackett, Olga Amsterdamska, Mike Lydon and Judy Wajcman, 139-164. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press; Published in cooperation with the Society for the Social Studies of Science.
Svensen, Mette. 2020. "Brikoløren." Last Modified 14. 04. 2020, accessed 15.04.2020. https://www.arkitektnytt.no/nyheter/brikoloren.
Talen, Emily. 1999. "Sense of Community and Neighbourhood Form: An Assessment of the Social Doctrine of New Urbanism." *Urban Studies* 36 (8):1361-1379.
Teder, Maria Eggertsen. 2018. "From Outsideness to Insideness - Placemaking in Public Space."Doctoral Thesis, Department of Architecture and Planning, NTNU.
Tonelli, Bruno. 2015. "Disclosing the Genius Loci." In *Placemaking*, edited by Cara Courage and Gem Barton, 8-11. Edge.
Toolis, Erin E. 2017. "Theorizing Critical Placemaking as a Tool for Reclaiming Public Space." *Am. J. Community Psychol.* 59 (1-2):184-199.
Tuan, Yi-Fu. 1977. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. London: Edward Arnold.
Twohig, David. 2014. *Living in Wonderland: Urban development and placemaking*: Harriman House Limited.
United Nations. 2015. Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.
United Nations. 2016. The New Urban Agenda. Quito.
United Nations. 2018. "68% of the world population projected to live in urban areas by 2050, says UN." Last Modified 16.05.2018, accessed 22.02.2020. https://www.un.org/development/desa/en/news/population/2018-revision-of-world-urbanization-prospects.html.
van der Werf, Jouke , Kim Zweerink, and Jan van Teeffelen. 2016. "History of the city, street and plinth." In *City at Eye Level*, edited by Hans Karssenberg, Jeroen Laven, Meredith Glaser and van't Hoff, 36-47. Delft: Eburon.
Vik, Reidun, and Mia Thun. 2019. Konseptmedvirkning Olafiagangen. Involvering av nabolag, barn, ungdom og næringsliv på Grønland i arbeidet med konseptvalgutrednign. edited by Barnas Boligbyggere. Oslo.
Visit Oslo. 2019. "Oslo is rubbish." Last Modified 20.08.2019, accessed 15.04.2020. https://www.visitoslo.com/en/oslo/oslo-is-rubbish/.
Webb, David. 2018. "Tactical Urbanism: Delineating a Critical Praxis." *Planning Theory & Practice* 19 (1):58-73.
Whyte, William H., and Project for Public Spaces. 2001. *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*: Project for Public Spaces.
Wilkie, Richard, and George F. Roberson. 2010. Sense of Place.
Wyckoff, Marc A. 2014. "Definitions of placemaking: Four different types." *Planning & Zoning News* 32 (3):1-10.
Wyckoff, Mark A, Brad Neumann, Glenn Pape, and Kurt Schindler. 2015. *Placemaking as an Economic Development Tool: A Placemaking Guidebook*: Land Policy Institute, Michigan State University, Land Policy Institute.
Zegwaard, Arjen, Arthur Petersen, and Philippus Wester. 2015. "Climate change and ontological politics in the Dutch Delta." *An Interdisciplinary, International Journal Devoted to the Description, Causes and Implications of Climatic Change* 132 (3):433-444.

Zukin, Sharon. 2010. *Naked City: the death and life of authentic urban places*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Note: These are the original information sheet and consent form which contain the old title and research question.

Appendix I: Information sheet and consent form

Are you interested in taking part in the research project

***'From the floating garden on Akerselva to garden boxes at Urtehagen - exploring placemaking and placekeeping in Oslo'*?**

This is an inquiry about participation in a research project where the main purpose is to explore placemaking and placekeeping in Oslo with a focus on the district Gamle Oslo, especially Grønland. In this letter, we will give you information about the purpose of the project and what your participation will involve.

Purpose of the project

The research project is part of the PlaceCity – Placemaking for Sustainable Thriving Cities project funded in the framework of the Joint Programming Initiative (JPI) Urban Europe and also a master's thesis at the Centre for Development, Environment and Cultural Change at the University of Oslo. The PlaceCity Project is a partnership between Austrian, Norwegian, Belgium, Dutch partners and Placemaking Europe.
The purpose of the project is to first, identify placemaking definitions in Oslo and second, motivations and challenges for placemakers. Third, lessons learned and experiences of placemakers are collected. Fourth placemaking tools are analysed. And fifth, are the financial and social sustainability of placemaking (placekeeping) analysed.
Hence the research question is: "How do placemakers in Oslo, and especially in the district Gamle Oslo, define placemaking, what are their motivations, challenges they face, experiences the particularities of the place, lessons learned and used tools, and how do they address the financial and social sustainability?"

Who is responsible for the research project?
Nabolagshager and the Centre for Development, Environment and Cultural Change at the University of Oslo are the institution responsible for the project. The supervisor of the master thesis is Arve Hansen. The project managers of the PlaceCity project in Oslo at Nabolagshager are Helene Gallis and Laura Martinez Izquierdo.

Why are you being asked to participate?
You are one of twenty placemakers that have been selected by the Nabolagshager PlaceCity team as your work is very inspiring and insightful to explore placemaking and placekeeping in Oslo. Your email addresses were researched online to send you this inquiry.

What does participation involve for you?
If you chose to take part in this project, this will involve an interview that takes approximately 30 – 45 minutes. The interview will be recorded on an audio recorder and transcripts and notes will be made. The main aspects are your placemaking projects, your placemaking tools and understanding as well as your first memories of placemaking and experiences.

Participation is voluntary
Participation in the project is voluntary. If you chose to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. All information about you will then be made anonymous. There will be no negative consequences for you if you chose not to participate or later decide to withdraw.

Your personal privacy – how we will store and use your personal data
We will only use your personal data for the purposes specified in this information letter. We will process your personal data confidentially and in accordance with data protection legislation (the General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act).

- The EU PlaceCity Project members have access to the data. Potentially my supervisor and my research group will be shown a selection of transcripts that could include yours.
- I will replace your name and contact details with a code. The list of names, contact details and respective codes will be stored separately from the rest of the collected data. I will store the data on the University of Oslo server and the EU project's cloud and only accessible by project members.

What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?
The master's project is scheduled to end the 30th of June 2020 and the data will be deleted from the University cloud and at the end of the PlaceCity project in August 2022 stored anonymously in the EU cloud for storage purposes.

Your rights
So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:

- access the personal data that is being processed about you
- request that your personal data is deleted
- request that incorrect personal data about you is corrected/rectified
- receive a copy of your personal data (data portability), and
- send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data

What gives us the right to process your personal data?
We will process your personal data based on your consent.

Based on an agreement with the Centre for Development, Environment and Cultural Change at the University of Oslo, NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS

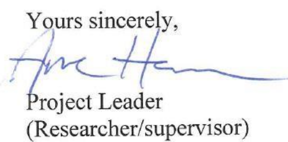
has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

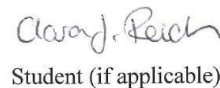
Where can I find out more?

If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, contact:

- Centre for Development and Environment at the University of Oslo via Arve Hansen arve.hansen@sum.uio.no
- Our Data Protection Officer: Maren Magnus Voll
- NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS, by email: (personverntjenester@nsd.no) or by telephone: +47 55 58 21 17.

Yours sincerely,





Consent form

I have received and understood information about the project PlaceCity and the master thesis and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent:

☐ to participate in an interview
☐ for my personal data to be processed in a EU research project
☐ for information about me/myself to be published in a way that I can be recognised through direct quotes if applicable (if you do not agree your data will be analysed anonymously)
☐ for my personal data to be stored after the end of the project for the purpose of EU storage

I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end date of the project, approx. August 2022.

-------- (Signed by participant, date)

Appendix II: List of interviewees

Interviewees	Position(s)
I1	Helene Gallis, leader of the Nordic Placemaking Network and founder of Nabolagshager
I2	Urban developer
I3	Hans Jørgen Hamre, teacher and urban activist engaged at the floating sauna and garden
I4	Urban designer and head of urban development, design and participation company
I5	Head of the chamber of commerce of a district in Oslo
I6	Susan Morales Guerra, facilitator and retired public sector employee
I7	Head of an architecture firm, architect, researcher and author
I8	Sissel Engblom, head of Urbaniq, architect
I9	CEO, co-founder, social innovator
I10	Aga Skorupka, head of social science at Rodeo Architects
I11a I11b	Founder and general manager of a collective, creative, volunteer non-profit organisation Partner and project manager of the same non-profit organisation
I12	Public sector employee
I13	Head of an urban art non-governmental organisation, curator
I14	Advisor for a property, retail, and urban development and brand building
I15	Mads Pålsrud, Growlab
I16	Aina Landsverk Hagen, senior researcher, Work Research Institute, Oslo Metropolitan University
I17	Head of a citizen initiative, architect
I18	Lisbeth Iversen, senior advisor, Arendal Municipality—public sector, a Ph.D. candidate at the Oslo School for Architecture and Design
I19	Project manager in a developing district in Oslo, commissioner and producer of public art, board member of a foundation

Appendix III: Interview guide for placemakers in Oslo

Question	Aim
1. What is your project about?/ What are your projects about?	Ice **breaker** questions to wrap up the project and start the conversation easily.
2. What inspired you to do your project (specify project)?	Understand **rationales** for place-making Learn about the **motivation** for place-making
3. What are your short-term goals for the project? 4. What are your long-term goals for the project? 5. How long do you plan to have that project going?	Learn about **short** and **long-term** goals for the project.
6. When did you start your project?	Find out when the **project started** (research in advance – maybe there is online information available)
7. What were the key moments in your project?	Learn about **key aspects** of the project
8. How did/do you realize your project? Or: How did you put your project in practice? 9. Which tools did you use to make your project work? 10. What is innovative about your approach/your tools?	Find out the **tools** for place-making
11. What were your positive experiences until now? 12. What were your negative experiences until now? 13. What were your overall experiences with the project until now?	Learn about the **experiences** of place-makers
14. What did you learn from the project so far?	Identify **lessons learned**
15. What was/is challenging in Oslo?	Learn about **challenges** for place-makers in Oslo

16. Who else is/was involved in the project?	Find out if there are **more place-makers** in the project/initiative
17. How did/do you fund the project?	Understand how **financially sustainable** the project is
18. How do you plan to fund the project in the near future? How do you plan to this in the further future?	Learn about **financial sustainability**
19. If there are other people involved ask: Were the people involved funded? Were they volunteers?	Find out if there are volunteers/full- or part-time place-makers in the project to understand the **social sustainability** of the project
20. Are you collaborating with other people? 21. **If yes**: With whom? What do you think about collaboration?	Learn about **collaborations** and attitudes towards them.
22. How do you plan to keep the project going in terms of human resources in the near future? How do you plan to do this further on?	Learn about **social sustainability.**
23. How did the public react to your project? 24. What did different target groups think about your project?	Find out which **resonance** place-makers get from the in Oslo Elaborate **different target groups**
25. Do you think there are particularities/characteristics of your project for Oslo? Or for Norway? 26. If yes: What is typical for place-making in that context? If the question is unclear state e.g. Long winter, culture as possible particularities	**Particularities** of the place
27. What is the essence of place-making for you?	Learn about the interviewees' **definition of place-making**
28. Who are influential thinkers of place-making in Norway?	Identify influential thinkers?
29. When did place-making start in Oslo? 30. What is your first memory of place-making in Oslo? 31. When did place-making start in Norway?	**The starting point** of place-making in Oslo/Norway

32. What is your first memory of place-making in Norway?	
33. What were the key moments in place-making in Oslo? 34. What were the key moments in place-making in Norway? 35. Why were they important in Oslo? 36. Why were they important in Norway?	**Key moments** in place-making in Oslo/Norway
37. Do you know about other(similar) place-making projects in Oslo? 38. Do you know about other place-making projects in Norway? 39. Do you know about other place-making projects internationally? **If yes**: 40. What do they do? 41. How do they realize their project(s)? 42. When did they start? 43. How did they fund their projects? 44. Do you know about the challenges they faced? 45. If yes: which? If no: do you know why? 46. How did you find about out this projects?	Learn about **other place-making initiatives** in **Oslo** and **Norway** and their **tools, challenges, start**.
47. Would you like to add anything?	Give interviewees the possibility to add aspects or to give feedback.
48. Do you have any questions you would like to ask me?	Give the interviewee the chance to learn more about the project.
49. Connect interviewee to the national place-making network	
50. Thank you for the interview! 51. If agreed upon it in the consent sheet the audio file/outcomes will be forwarded.	