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## Towards a Hybrid City: Rethinking Aarhus through an Institute for (X)

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Towards a Hybrid City: Rethinking Aarhus through an Institute for (X)

*Towards a Hybrid City:*

*Rethinking Aarhus through an Institute for (X)*

*“The highest activity a human being can attain is learning for understanding, because to understand is to be free”*

Baruch Spinoza

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***Abstract***

In a time when urban planning faces challenges such as degradation of the abandoned built environment, challenges in finding permanent solutions for some social problems, or the lack of involvement from citizens, a project that allows experimentation to its community and presents itself as functional and well-received by the broader citizen society can be considered at least a creative and innovative contribution.

This thesis analyses the case of Institute for (X) under an anthropological perspective. Comprising the surrounding area of Godsbanen in Aarhus, Denmark, the case study area was an empty allotment before it was transformed into a culture production centre, hosting over 40 projects and *circa* 200-300 connected people - from musicians to designers, to *Vikings*, to actors and to hands-on environmentalists. The plan for this area includes apartments for students, the new location for *Aarhus Arkitektskolen*, and a continuously growing cultural and artistic programme for all inhabitants and visitors.

This case study methodology was based on ethnographic fieldwork in order to allow an in-depth coalescence between the researcher and the field, and to analyse how the diverse elements of this place combine and interrelate to influence its ongoing transformation; to analyse what social context has enabled this project to prosper; to understand what real impacts are being perceived in the city; and to deepen the discussion of the idea that seemingly ephemeral projects can plant the seed of permanent change in mind-sets.

Through an Actor-Network Theory framework, this research intends to discuss how a temporary urban project affords the learning of resilience mechanisms through a creative environment; and simultaneously, to debate the idea of a Hybrid City within the context of new urban scenarios.

***Key Words:*** *Resilience; Hybrid City; Actor-Network Theory; Temporary Urbanism; Future scenarios.*

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## Chapter I – Introduction

### 1.1. Research Aim

Studying present cities can be very useful for understanding past cities' organization and possible future city scenarios. How will cities of the future be? To think the future in the present, one must *be present* in the rethinking of our cities today. One must find the projects which might already reflect some innovative characteristics and find new perspectives to debate the way these cities might turn out.

As a city analyst, I borrow some theoretical standpoints from Actor-Network Theory (ANT) perspective for I believe that only such lenses *afford* a conceptualization of the city as a *network* of *actors* where space and time co-exist, producing new *interactions* which are relevant for the making of future cities. Also, the way *human and non-human actors* are regarded - at the same analytical level - allows new research to move in a much wider spectrum, where the built environment, materials, things, ideas or people are equally capable of change for a better future, through their *agency*.

And how is this future being shaped? How can we think of a city that responds to our present challenges, is inclusive, *resilient* and *sustainable*, that might be ever 'more humanitarian'? Can we previously imagine that utopian image? Or should society focus on the *path* cities *can* choose with that image in mind? Some believe so. I shall propose this path as a *rethinking pathway towards a hybrid city*, meaning that since one cannot anticipate events that may allow or block a static vision of the future of cities; all cities can surely choose a long-term set of directions towards a *hybrid scenario* of city. As David Harvey says: "*Utopias are only possible through constant change*" (2012). Considering his starting point, this *transition* process, which I will hence forward call *rethinking*, as the conceptualization of the process of building new or transform existing agencies for our future cities.

Today's challenges, according to the European Union Regional Policy Report, "Cities of Tomorrow: Challenges, visions and ways forward" (2011) are: (1) Demographic change, such as ageing population or intense processes of suburbanization; (2) Cities face serious threats of economic stagnation or decline because of the recent economic crisis; (3) Weakening links between economic growth, employment and social progress, the labour markets are no longer responding to their populations' skills and wages are getting lower; (4) Growing disparities and inequalities in terms of income, housing, education, access to employment and services (like health, transport, or information and communication technologies); (5) Social segregation due to the gradual retreat of welfare state; (6) Spatial segregation, related to social

segregation, meaning a more accentuated spatial determination according to social backgrounds; (7) Urban sprawl, meaning insufficient coordinated planning between major cities and smaller surrounding settlements; and (8) Urban ecosystems are under pressure, the incoordination of policies is increasing the risk of flooding or water scarcity.

For the matter of this discussion, I will claim that these characteristics reflect the need for addressing these matters urgently, by building ideas that afford constant change, re-invention, innovation, transformation and resilience abilities. Ecology's definition of *hybrid ecologies* (Reed, 2010) can be regarded as an 'open-ended' pathway for a process which constantly re-invents itself, is adaptive to its surroundings and populations' needs.

Translated to an urban scenario, this would signify that the *hybrid city* would never be fully complete, never fully finished, always ready to answer its internal and external demands - not only human, but also non-human, in short, a city that is constantly *rethinking* itself. But how can a city have 'never-finished' infrastructure? How can this idea translate into a fulfilling urban dwelling?

Grounding part of my analysis on François Ascher's claim that urbanism needs to redefine its concepts and methods, his idea does regard the city as a place that should respond holistically to whatever constitute the actors within that city (people, green areas, infra-structure, public space, ecologies, politics, economics, policies, etc.) and not as a steady site whose population flows through. In this view, the cities run with its population flux and its surrounding nature, in a resilience approach similar to that of Carl Folke (2006), and an egalitarian account of all its elements, as ANT frames.

Is there any evidence that this is happening already? I believe so. The latest urban activists have developed some work in a new area referred to as *Temporary Urbanism* or *Tactical Urbanism* that is showing some potential important breakthroughs in the way city is *designed* in this rethinking process. Also, they might be already mirroring the ideology and philosophy inherent to the hybrid city. In an exploratory manner, I have studied the making of *Institute for (X)* in Aarhus, Denmark, which I believe is already reflecting this ideology of 'city making'.

With some participant observation on-site and an online observation of (X)'s<sup>1</sup> Facebook network, my fieldwork has been extremely important to understand what type of agencies are behind such an innovative creative entrepreneurial platform. The inclusion of this case to my present discussion is crucial, not only because it connects theoretical conceptions with real-

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<sup>1</sup> For purposes of shortening the term *Institute for (X)*, I may refer to it hence forth simply as (X);

life events but also because it reaffirms the idea that observing the present may tell us unique information on what the future might turn out to be like.

The way this project came to existence and how it has affected the city, through the many ties of its agency is a good way to verify how Temporary Urbanism ideology is actually making future's cities by helping present cities rethinking themselves. Contributing to its ability to turn threats into positive changes in a consistent and growing manner, it is also showing how short-term temporary projects can afford *long-term real change*.

Therefore, my research question for this project is: "*How is Institute for (X) contributing to the rethinking of Aarhus; and how is this rethinking affording the Hybrid City?*" meaning that I have traced all possible accessible data on ways that this project has interacted in any way with the city, in the form of a contribution to making Aarhus a city that is better prepared to make its transition to the future, according to the hybrid pathway scenario hereby proposed.

My theoretical discussion is nonetheless focused on my case analysis and the intention is to develop further the Hybrid City scenario in the form of a doctoral study. Hence, my research project will focus on two main tasks: a literature review to provide my analytical foundations and a case-study to illustrate my theoretical discussion.

For this ethnographical task, not only motivated by my belief of studying the present but also by Actor-Network Theory advices to "*follow the actors themselves*" (Latour, 2005, p. 12) I conducted a micro-ethnography exercise based on doing fieldwork during the course of 5 months (from January to May), integrating myself in this community by cooperating with a smaller project – with its headquarters at (X) – called 'Adopt-a-box'. This project allowed a better integration because it gave me a purpose for attending the common areas, access to schedules and better understanding of *where and how to* find the people. It also helped me understand better what this project was all about and who was behind it. Therefore, I interviewed a student and former practitioner at one of Institute for (X)'s boosting projects, Bureau Detours, Pernille Madsen; the chairman of 'Adopt-a-box', Hester Callaghan and the self-named *compass* of the direction of Institute for (X) and head of the project Bureau Detours, Mads Peter Laursen. Besides this, an article in *Scraper* magazine – A project under the creative direction of Alejandro Sosa – had also two other very illustrative interviews, again with Mads Peter Laursen and with the Aarhus city architect who gave his opinion on the role of Institute for (X) in the potential city development, Stephen David Wallacy.

Besides the interviews, I found visual material to be explanatory of constant physical changes that the area experienced through the 10 months I had been in contact with (previous 5 months of preparatory reading and exploratory fieldwork plus 5 months of actual fieldwork

for the chosen case-study). For this purpose, I found it useful to register all the pictures posted on the official Facebook group<sup>2</sup> since it started, in 2009. Because this area attracts young professional artists, all the photographs were of extremely good quality and almost always showed some of the most important events and important details regarding the construction of (X). Also, the identification of all the events linked to the area allowed me to understand some of the main connections with other organizations and other countries' artists and to see how active this place was when it comes to cultural and artistic production.

My participation at *Sustain Festival Aarhus* – which happened in May at Godsbanen / Institute for (X) – for this 10 months period, has helped me to get in touch with some of the most representative critical mass acting in Aarhus in the matters of finding solutions for the future and debating some important sustainability issues.

Furthermore, I have found many challenges in participant and non-participant observation, mainly because of the language barrier. Nevertheless, I have kept a field diary where I took some important notes and comments about how I felt about that place, which eventually facilitated my discussion on this area's *genius loci*<sup>3</sup>.

This investigation has provided me the tools to debate the effects of temporary projects in a city, mainly in the way that it gave my dissertation not only theoretical knowledge but also solid empirical data from real people's contribution and contemporary observations. This is much valued by an anthropologist like me by reinforcing the idea that city making is not only designed in offices but is produced within the interactions that occur among every city *actor-network*. In the sense that I was searching for examples of possible solutions for future cities, I believe that by the end of my investigation, I can comfortably claim that my theoretical and empirical findings are complementarily consistent.

## ***1.2. Thesis Structure***

This project has seven chapters. This first Introduction chapter outlines the context of this project, the theoretical framework for this research question and an overall description of how the project was developed. It also includes this structure description and outlines the research design of the present work.

The second chapter, a State of the Art contextualization, explores several theoretical developments important for this work, namely, how ANT was conceptualized; how cities

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<sup>2</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/groups/164200956447/>;

<sup>3</sup> Like Christian Norberg-Schultz puts it, in his book (1991) “*since the ancient times the ‘genius loci’ or ‘spirit of place’ has been recognized as the concrete reality mas has to face (and dwell) in his daily life*” (p. 5);

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have evolved and where are they now; how has the transition towards sustainability been considered so far; and the history of tactical and temporary urbanism.

The third chapter, Analytical Framework, serves the purpose of identifying my conceptual *cloud* – providing definitions for debated concepts or ideologies that I address later in my discussion and further providing the lenses for the use of these conceptualizations in my analysis, learnings and final discussions.

Methodological chapter four is dedicated to explaining the reasons behind this chosen methodology as well as how these methods were applied regarding the case-study. It also develops the research design and discriminates the methodological steps necessary for the development of this project.

The fifth chapter presents Institute for (X). Besides its historical background exploration, this chapter explores the geographical location and the future plans for this area.

The sixth chapter ‘Research Conclusions’ debates how is, then, **Institute for (X) contributing to the rethinking of Aarhus, and how this rethinking is affording the Hybrid City**; and connects the project’s conceptual discussion hereby presented with the empirical analysis.

The final chapter, Final Reflections and Further Research Needs discloses the main challenges to this investigation, some questions and reflections regarding some hypothesis and unanswered issues and identifies further research needs in the line of Urban Studies investigation in the final, seventh chapter of this dissertation.

### ***1.3. Research Design***

For the accurate understanding of my research aim, it is important to deconstruct some key concepts in my narrative. It is needed (1) to understand how ANT was first thought; (2) to review the history of cities’ development that points towards my idea of the ‘hybrid city’; (3) to review how the process of thinking the future, regarding today’s challenges, has evolved; and (4) to understand when did temporary projects start and which role they played so far. In my discussion, I will hence understand how the Institute for (X) is contributing to the rethinking of Aarhus by (1) being a temporary project contributing to building resilience mechanisms; (2) therefore affording a rethinking that leads to a Hybrid City Scenario discussion. Both grounded by this research’s attempt to bring ANT to a central stage in Urban Studies, which makes a shift in focus possible – from the end form to the process of rethinking cities towards resilience potentially demonstrating how Aarhus and or other cities are henceforward better prepared for a sustainable future.

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The following table has been developed in order to show the relation between concepts and how the answer to this research question affords a conceptualization of the Hybrid City. The analytical framework shows four main areas of investigation, which ultimately needed some clarification in order to answer my final question.

State of the Art	Analytical Framework	Methodology	Outputs/ Discussion
0. How has ANT begun and how has it been used so far?	0. How is it conceptualized here to analyse this case?	0. Literature review	0. ANT affording a shift in focus, from the end product to the process – of rethinking towards the Hybrid City.
1. How are future urban scenarios being thought towards the Hybrid City?	1. The Hybrid City as a scenario that mirrors ANT and is in a constant rethinking – scenario that can be reached through Temporary Urbanism.	1. Literature review	1. Can the Hybrid City be considered as an emergent future urban scenario through rethinking, as it is conceptualized here?
2. What does it mean to rethink cities, as the transition lead by the search for resilience mechanisms?	2. Rethinking as a transition process; as a search for resilience mechanisms; as a pathway towards the Hybrid City	2. Literature review	2. Rethinking processes as a product of Temporary Urbanism, as long as the latter is producing resilience mechanisms.
3. How was Temporary Urbanism first thought?	3. A mechanism of search for resilience itself – therefore, producer of resilience mechanisms, therefore contributor to a process of rethinking towards a Hybrid City.	3. Literature review + Empirical analysis (micro-ethnography: -documents review; -interviews; -fieldwork observation; -online ethnography.	3. Which resilience mechanisms is (X) producing?
<p><b>How is Institute for (X) contributing to the rethinking of Aarhus?</b></p> <p>Through the production of resilience mechanisms, which therefore, already contribute to the rethinking of Aarhus</p> <p><b>Further Discussion: How is this rethinking affording the Hybrid City?</b></p> <p>If the Hybrid City is in constant rethinking; If rethinking is also a constant search for resilience mechanisms; and temporary urbanism is a constant producer of resilience mechanisms; then the rethinking process that Institute for (X) is contributing to, is also contributing to shape a Hybrid idea of City.</p>			

Table 1 – Analytical Scheme

In a brief account for this scheme, as “*How is Institute for (X) contributing to the rethinking of Aarhus; and how is this rethinking affording the Hybrid City?*” is my main research question, it is the one that is more thoroughly described in its methodological process since the previous two questions are mainly framing bigger discussions important for the understanding of my argument. In a future possible development of this work, they will be further explored and more thoroughly investigated.



## Chapter II – State of the Art

### 2.1. Understanding Actor-Network Theory

According to Law, (1992, p. 8) on a *post scriptum* note, ANT is the product of a group of sociologists associated with, and in several cases located at, the Centre de Sociologie de l'Innovation of the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Mines de Paris. “*The authors associated with this approach include Madeleine Akrich (1989a; 1989b; 1992), Geof Bowker (1988; 1992), Michel Callon (1980; 1986; 1987; 1991; and Latour, 1981; and Law and Rip, 1986), Alberto Cambrosio (et.al., 1990), Antoine Hennion (1985; 1989; 1990; and Meadel, 1986; 1989), Bruno Latour (1985; 1986; 1987; 1988; 1988; 1990; 1991; 1991; 1992; 1992), John Law (1986; 1986; 1987; 1991; 1991; 1992; 1992; and Bijker, 1992; and Callon, 1988, 1992), Cecile Medeal (see Hennion and Medeal) Arie Rip (1986), and Susan Leigh Star (1990; 1991); and Griesemer, 1989*”.

ANT started out in the sociology of science and technology by arguing that knowledge is a “*social product rather than something generated by through the operation of a privileged scientific method*” (Law, 1992, p. 2). Within this theory, *knowledge, agents, social institutions, machines or organizations* are equally seen as a product or an effect of a network of heterogeneous materials.

Taking on a material form – either this comes in a paper, a talk, or in the form of skills embodied in scientists and technicians – ANT believes that *knowledge or agents* (or all above mentioned) are the end product of a lot of hard work which is made by all the bits and pieces (test tubes, chemicals, organisms, skilled hands, scanning microscopes, monitors, scientists, articles, computers, etc.) that compose a juxtaposed patterned network. It is not only a material matter but a matter of organizing those materials. This is the original Actor-Network diagnosis for science: “*that it is a process of ‘heterogeneous engineering’ in which parts of the social, the technical, the conceptual and the textual are fitted together, and so converted (or ‘translated’) into a set of equally heterogeneous scientific products*” (Law, 1992, p. 2).

In this sense, the family, the organization, computing systems, the economy or technologies are all ‘social’ and may be similarly pictured. They are all ordered networks of heterogeneous materials whose resistance has been overcome. “*This is the crucial analytical move made by actor-network writers: the suggestion that the social is nothing other than patterned networks of heterogeneous materials*” (Law, 1992, p. 2).

Even though nowadays the network-vision has gained some territory, at the time this was a radical claim, saying that networks are not only composed of people but also of machines,

animals, texts, money, architectures – and all that you care to mention. The argument was that what ‘makes the social’ isn’t solely human and that we wouldn’t have a society at all if it weren’t for the heterogeneity of the networks of the social. The task of sociology here would be to characterize and explore these networks in order to understand their calibration system that would generate effects like organizations, inequalities or power (Law, 1992, p. 2).

What I mainly retain from ANT’s argument for the sake of my own is that material world isn’t simply what we eat, where we shelter, how we produce; almost all of our interactions with other people are mediated through objects of one kind or another. “*Even I speak to you through this text in this form of communication, mediated by a network of objects – the computer, the paper*” (Law, 1992, p. 2) and also by a network of objects-and-people, like a postal system or that who handed you this text. The argument is that all these various networks are not only part of the social, but they also *shape* it (Law, 1992).

Having then in mind that processes are also agents within this thesis’ conceptualization, I will therefore clarify how actor-networks can have said agency, ultimately, to understand the full impact that a temporary project can have in a city; and how this agency can afford new visions of the city, namely, the rethinking towards a hybrid city.

## **2.2. Cities’ Evolution**

As soon as we learned to walk on our feet, we freed our hands to explore the world. We learned how to make fire, how to shape tools to hunt; how to paint; how to grow food. These actions became more sophisticated overtime, partially because of how we learned to use what was around us. We shaped the physical world around us the same way our brains grew bigger as a consequence of our learnings from these encounters. And there is no evidence this has ceased to happen<sup>4</sup>.

Even though (Eames & Goode) believed that “*true urban centres first emerged 5,000 years ago*” (1977, p. 74) with three first archeologically studied sites – Tigris-Euphrates valley (Mesopotamia); Indus River valley (India) and Huang-Ho basin (China) – some authors believe this is not exactly accurate, as I will discuss next. But one important common factor must be stated: the constant seasonal flooding which deposited rich alluvial soils, thus permitting continuous cultivation of grain crops on a large scale, indicates that the main

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<sup>4</sup> Much in the same way as clarified in previous note (3), the author C. K. Maisels says, in his book (The Emergence of Civilization: From Hunting and Gathering to Agriculture, Cities and State in the Near East, 1993) that “*Synekism is directly derived from synoikismos, literally the condition arising from dwelling together in one house, or oikos, and used by Aristotle in his Politics to describe the formation of the Athenian polis or city-state*” (Miles, p. 22). This *synekism* is then a ‘fundamental and a continuous force in the entire sequence of human societal development;

reason for emergence of cities might have been access to fertile land for cultivating purposes. There might have been hence a connection between this and the development of techniques which allowed, ultimately, the food-producing revolution. For these authors, there was a parallel development of these cities – in the Old World (Eurasia) – of two major areas: Meso-America (largely in Mexico and Guatemala) and Andean region.

But as Miles (2007, p. 23) claims, the first city ever traced was Çatal Hüyük, in Sumeria, today's Anatolia. It was built in wood and mud-brick at least 8,000 years ago and housed a population of around 10,000. This finding was decisive in the way we perceive cities' evolution because it brings us an 'Urban Neolithic', conception that was impossible previously. The urbanization part of the process and the social production were then a second nature of human dwelling, as cities were already there, and were indeed the primary form of settlement (p. 23): *"This allows a reconceptualization of the city as location of the proximity of a mass of people in one place inverting the usual chain of causality"* (Miles, 2007).

With the Industrial Revolution the urbanists gained territory and some had freedom and social progress related ideas. The 'new' city has thus had a few utopian contributions worth mentioning, nonetheless, for the understanding of modern city development. From Ebenezer Howard's garden city attempt to synthesize rural health and urban opportunity (p. 10) to *"Camillo Sitte's plan for Munich, which sets out new city districts reproducing the city in a multi-use zoning, so that the city becomes a network of what might now be called urban villages"* (p. 11) clearly the latter resembles a more visual representation of the actor-network system applied to cities. But this seems to be reacting to the early works of Chicago School researchers, like Wirth (p. 13) who saw group formation in the city in a negative way and unable to provide a holistic vision of a future. Burgess also influenced by the work of Georg Simmel, like Louis Wirth, already starts using a biological metaphor for the evolution of transitional zones in the city: *"analogous to the anabolic and katabolic processes of metabolism in the body"* (p. 15). But Chicago School sociology had a very important contribution, nonetheless, with the introduction of ethnographic methods of research and 'participant observation' brought to the spotlight to study the matters of the city and its dwellers. Thrasher's fieldwork, for example, became known as the precedent for urban anthropology (p. 16). The shift from city as a production to a consequence perspective shows why it is so fundamental to understand social networks and relations within a city, and Chicago School researchers provided the tools to study what the utopian urbanisms had already thought. Urban Anthropology can be today's tool to provide present cities a better

understanding of themselves and ways to keep focusing on the dwelling of its population within the urban form.

Miles then say today's cities are: "(...) *complex environments in which social formations occur and re-occur, power and property are contested, and traces of an invisible architecture of sociation overlie the visible environment which itself bears traces of multiple concepts of a city effected by past regenerations*"; being then *produced* instead of simply designed. (p. 17).

Understanding that cities are more of a consequence of a reality, today's cities can be thought differently than they have recently been. Miles states that Peter Marcuse (2002: 102) was able to demonstrate that "*cities comprise overlapping zones of business, power, industry, and housing within all of which are distinct zones, to produce a clustering along a number of dimensions, some related to and congruent with others, other lines independent of all others*" (Miles, p. 17) being regarded as a series of interactions and zones, but not necessarily static.

Today, when defining the idea of city, one finds many different possible scenarios. Depending on the disciplinary area one sympathises with or what ideology one follows, many different answers may arise. Malcom Miles gives a very detailed literature review on what is the meaning of 'city' in his book (2007). He starts by telling how the word 'city' comes from Latin *civis* (citizen) and 'urban' from *urbs* (city). One as being more related with *dwelling* and, the other, with a site. He gives this interesting definition: "*At the simplest level, a city is where things happen to influence history*" (p. 9) in a provocative tone, as it is so obvious, yet so hard to define.

The more institutional idea of city, according to "Cities of Tomorrow" (Union, 2011) comprises many possible definitions. It can refer to an administrative unit or a certain population density. Distinctions can be made between towns and cities but it can also refer to perceptions of urban way of life with social or cultural features as well as functional places of economic activity and exchange. 'City' may even mean two different realities: the *de jure* city – administrative city – and the *de facto* city – the larger socio-economic agglomeration (E.U., 2011). One of the gaps between how we think cities and how we produce them comes from the very different definition of 'city' from academics and institutional technicians and practitioners. On the one hand it's shown how cities are thought of as places of cultural production, spaces of interaction and agents of change and on the other hand, what the administrative delimitation of a city can be. The gap between these two conceptions can be, nevertheless, softened.

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According to Vicente Napolini (2009), in a work he developed about the contributions of François Ascher to Urbanism paradigms, Ascher has been quite radical about his critics to urbanism today.

Ascher's main argument – which affords primarily my conceptualization of a Hybrid City – aims at demonstrating that the *de facto* and *de jure* city can both coexist by shaping cities of tomorrow.

	<b>Community</b>	<b>Industrial Society</b>	<b>Hypertext Society</b>
<b>Social ties</b>	Scarce, monotonous, strong and functional	More abundant, heterogenic, evolutionary, exponentially specializing	Very abundant, very heterogenic, mediated, direct, fragile, specialized.
<b>Solidarity</b>	Mechanical	Organic	Commutative
<b>Social Territories</b>	Closed, locally centralized	Integrated on a bigger group, more open, nationally centralized	Open, multiple, changing, several variations of real and virtual scales
<b>Social-territorial Morphology</b>	Alveolar	Areolar	Reticular
<b>Dominant Paradigms</b>	Beliefs, tradition and continuity, destiny, strength, authority, wisdom	Universal reasoning, functionality, simplification, specialization, representative democracy	Complexity, uncertainty, self-regulation, flexibility, governance
<b>Actions</b>	Repetitive and routine-like	Rational	Reflexive
<b>Main regulations</b>	Habits, chiefs	States and law	State systems, law and society, contracts, public opinion
<b>Dominant Economic Activities</b>	Agricultural	Industrial	Cognitive
<b>Culture</b>	Predominantly local	Social-professional components	Diversified and <u>hybrid</u> (multiple belongings)
<b>Dominant Urban Design</b>	Market-city	Hierarchic industrial cities	<i>Metapolitan</i> system
<b>Institutions</b>	Parishes, cantons, nation state	Communes, centralization, welfare state, pacts, alliances and treaties	Agglomerations, countries, regions, international and supranational organizations, NGOs

Table 2 – Ascher's scheme for stages of urbanization (Napolini, 2009)

Ascher places this new stage of urbanization in what he calls the *Metapolis*, according to the author of this report (2009, p. 64) because he believes it is a new era the outcome of which we cannot predict yet, but that points towards this direction. Even though a table might seem restrictive, it is actually very informative in the sense that it shows simply what Ascher believes being the direction that our cities are pointing towards.

Concerning the networks theories, Ascher agrees that the needs for fluidity, complexity and interdependence call for a network vision, of communication, companies and cities – in order to comprehend their interdependencies and agency in the shaping of the urban network (2009,

p. 74). His sympathy with ANT and inclusion of the hybridity notion and ‘open-ended’ society we are moving towards is crucial for the theoretical consistency of this thesis, which defines temporary urbanism experiences as today’s signal of a new urbanism trend, just like Ascher predicted, even though he claims that it is harder and harder to predict the future, as societies become more and more complex (2009, p. 100). Since we are moving towards this uncertain universe of urban life, Ascher claims even that ‘urban planning’ should gradually move towards ‘urban management’ due to the unpredictable character and integration of fluctuations of creativity, innovation, uncertainty, contradiction, ambiguity and imprecision (2009, p. 101).

Nonetheless, Nasparini asks in his final conclusion a pertinent question that is also existent in my investigation: “*Should we then start from scratch, or can we make some adaptations, and of what kind?*” (2009, p. 118).

### **2.3. From Transition to Rethinking**

I hereby propose cities should focus on self-transformation through adaptation mechanisms since there are few times in history when settlements have started from scratch. However, radical changes in direction are possible, through an open-ended, well-thought, transition process.

The Transition Towns (TT) movement, which started in Totnes, United Kingdom, provides probably the most consistent body of work regarding the transition as I intend to approach it here. The New Economics Foundation (NEF) has an important reference to this matter, in a book that makes justice to the expression “best perfumes come in small bottles”: “The Great Transition” (New Economics Foundation, 2010).

The inherent idea present in both discussions about what this Transition means is the need to find solutions for overcoming the present challenges that have been threatening the health of our cities, towns and communities, for instance, by ending oil dependency and finding empowering solutions for every social challenge.

“The Great Transition” takes its name from the famous “The Great Transformation” from Karl Polanyi in the 1940s. In a tale of “how it could turn right” by 2050, the authors intend to parallel Polanyi’s work in which he analysed “*how market processes in the industrial revolution had created severe ruptures in the fabric of social life, and argued strongly that we needed to reverse this and find a balance between the market and the non-market; the private and the public; the individual and the community*” (2010, p. 1).

What this report intends to do is then to “(...) *set out how the balance Polanyi sought might be achieved in a modern context, particularly how this could be done in a way that safeguards the natural environment; where we live more in harmony with nature and within the ‘carrying capacity’ of our planetary resources*” (2010, p. 1) from a mainly economic perspective.

I must say that this work changed my perspectives in life as it allowed me to think ideologically and pragmatically, as a researcher, that a better world is possible to achieve.

My perspective of the *Hybrid City* aligns with this perspective in the sense that the democratization of the use of our planetary resources can be used if we shift our anthropocentric perception of city to a holistic view of interconnectedness with the environment and the physical world and give back citizens the possibility to make city through their informed, deliberate actions and interactions. I shall refer to this later in my ‘further research needs’ chapter.

The idea that towns and cities can incorporate this transition from an oil-dependent, with a misbalanced climate society, is the main oversight of the Transition Towns Movement. From an economic demonstration of possibility to ‘turn things around’ from NEF (New Economics Foundation, 2010) to analysing now how town planning and community empowerment<sup>5</sup> can help overcome these challenges, the evidence is clear that many scholars, scientists, technicians, practitioners and citizens have thought about how to build a ‘better’ world. These two works are important not only because their idea of a different future but because the main argument is that *it is possible to build it*.

Entwined in the idea of “The Transition Handbook” (Hopkins, 2008) is the concept of *resilience*. Familiar to the ecologists, *resilience* refers to the “*ability of a system, from individual people to whole economies, to hold together and maintain their ability to function in the face of change and shocks from the outside*” (Hopkins, 2008). Central to this work is also the idea that the transition ‘model’ is about the sharing of solutions, about a social, cultural and political movement.

In a paragraph, Rob Hopkins explains TT: “*Rebuilding local agriculture and food production, localising energy production, wasting no people, rethinking healthcare, rediscovering local*

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<sup>5</sup> *An advocate of the term, John Friedman considers empowerment as an alternative strategy to the traditional way of promoting development. His interpretation of the concept emphasises an improvement in the quality of life of the marginalised. This is achieved because empowerment tries to rewrite the history of exclusion from economic and political power that the vast majority of the population has experienced. According to Friedman, empowerment attempts to humanise the system and its long term objective is the transformation of society, including the structures of power*” (FRIDE, 2006);

*building materials in the context of zero energy building, rethinking how we manage waste, all build resilience and offer the potential of an extraordinary renaissance – economic, cultural and spiritual. I am not afraid of a world with less consumerism, less ‘stuff’ and no economic growth. Indeed, I am far more frightened of the opposite: that the process which took fertiliser sacks to the most fertile fields will probably ever stand in continue, reducing the ability of communities to support themselves beyond the brief, transitory historical interlude when industry was able to turn natural gas into a fertiliser and when the car was king”* (Hopkins, 2008, p. 8).

This transition process, when contextualized in a process of attempting to achieve a possible hybrid city, is what I shall call ‘rethinking processes’ because if the hybrid city is to never be fully finished or complete, neither shall the transformative process be. Instead of ‘transition’ - which directs to an end - ‘rethinking’ is a social-led process and doesn’t necessarily need to ever be definitively accomplished.

Regarding the ‘renaissance’ Hopkins mentions, there is a strong link with what Richard Rogers calls the “Urban Renaissance” (Rogers, 2005). In his report, pairing the two main problems pointed out by Hopkins (Oil dependency and climate change), Rogers names other challenges that cities must overcome, like class inequalities or age gaps, to the building of urban communities aiming to be: (1) well designed, compact and connected; (2) support a diverse range of uses in a sustainable urban environment; (3) are well-integrated with public transport; and (4) are adaptable to change. The final development provided by this author is that while Hopkins calls for a slow transition and renaissance of green, local-oriented mind-sets; Rogers claims there is a sense of urgency that is reinforced by pressing environmental challenges at a global and local level (Rogers, 2005, p. 4). It is time to use our transition towns community-building tools; economic alternatives and know-how to empower communities to become more resilient; and to overcome these challenges and be better prepared for the next ones through empowering communities with more empowering knowledge, literacy and skills to start a citizen-led ‘urban renaissance’ towards a hybrid city: hereby conceptualized as the process of ‘rethinking cities’ today.

#### ***2.4. From Tactical Urbanism to Temporary Urbanism***

According to a document written by The Street Plans Collaborative (Lydon, et al., 2012), ‘Tactical Urbanism’ is a term inspired by a June 2010 blog post that discussed the



pedestrianization of Times Square. In the introduction, the blog discussed ‘tactical interventions’ and ‘hacks’ which seemed to perfectly describe low-cost, citizen-led projects and experiments. The word ‘Tactical’ appears in the dictionary as (1) of or relating to small-scale actions serving a larger purpose; and (2) adroit in planning or manoeuvring to accomplish a purpose.

The authors claim that part of the reason why planners always seek control is because cities are in a “*constant state of flux*” (2012, p. 1). Such projects require, nonetheless, a substantial investment of time as well as a deep reserve of political, social and fiscal capital. Besides, there are no guarantees in the long run of this project’s success. On an attempt of equitable practice, citizens are typically invited to engage in a process that is fundamentally broken: “*(...) rather than being engaged to contribute to incremental change at the neighbourhood or block level, residents are asked to react to proposals they often don’t understand, and at a scale for which they have little control*” (2012, p. 1). ‘Tactical urbanism’ is trying to improve this, claiming that the liveability of our towns and cities usually starts at the street, building or block level. The authors believe that incremental small-scale improvements are increasingly seen then as a stage for more substantial investments. Besides, this approach allows local actors to test new concepts before making political or financial commitments, in a perspective commonly referred to as ‘pop-up urbanism’, ‘guerrilla urbanism’, ‘DIY urbanism’ or ‘temporary urbanism’ (2012, p. 1).

This deliberate approach to city making features five overlapping characteristics: (1) An approach to instigating change; (2) Local ideas for local planning challenges; (3) Short-term commitment with realistic expectations; (4) Low risks with potential high reward; and (5) The development of social capital between citizens and the building of organizational capacity between public/private institutions, non-profit/NGOs and their constituents (2012, p. 2).

This form of democratic urbanism claims the time for action is now due to recent events such as the 2008 economic recession, shifting demographics and the potentials of the internet as a tool for building civic economy. The authors warn, though, that tactical urbanism flourishes better in human-scale places, where social capital and creativity are most easily catalysed.

In a document backed-up with examples of ‘tactical urbanism’ cases that went from unsanctioned grassroots interventions to sanctioned non-profit or other successful sanctioned forms of organization, the authors claim that this exemplifies perfectly what ‘tactical urbanism’ is in its core, promoting short-term action for long-term change. In the case of Institute for (X) we can find examples of projects that match the ones typically found in tactical urban projects (e.g. chairs made of pallets; guerrilla gardening; seed bombing; bike

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companies; re-appropriation of public space for public use; and pragmatic and functional art installations), making this case a matching example of how this type of action is potentially transformative of a city.

## Chapter III – Analytical Framework

### 3.1. Actor-Network Theory conceptualizing agency

Actor-Network Theory is, according to Edwin Sayes (2013), a position which intends to give to non-human actors the same strategic place as human actors in social analysis. To ANT, both can, democratically, exercise agency. With the turn towards the ‘new materialism’ in social theory, came the rise of the ‘thing studies’ and the idea that material culture brings a new set of objects to social sciences. Even though there have been many criticisms to this position, namely by authors like Amsterdamska (1990) or Schaffer (1991), authors like Sayes argue that ANT presents a coherent methodology for taking non-human actors into account. Central to this idea is the claim that non-humans are actors and have agency (2013, p. 136) provided they are things such as ‘microbes, scallops, rocks, ships, natural phenomena, tools and technical articles, material structures, transportation devices, texts and economic goods’. Excluded from this definition is everything that is ‘human, entities that are supernatural and entities that exist in such a scale that they are literally composed of humans and non-humans’ (2013, p. 136).

One of the key distinguishing points to these definitions is that it only makes sense to say non-humans are actors when they become mediators. Sayes explains that, to Latour, a non-human actor is only so because he is “*necessarily seen as adding something to a chain of interaction or an association*” (2013, p. 138). It needs to be something *more* than an *intermediator* which plays no other role than to that of just transporting something. Non-humans, “*like anything else that is placed between two actors, are understood as continually modifying relations between actors*” (Latour, 2005) and are both changed by their circulation and change the interaction *through* their circulation (2013, p. 138).

As if making a direct symmetry with Pierre Bourdieu’s conceptualization of *habitus*<sup>6</sup> (Wacquant, u.d.) – in which he intends to break with the ‘individual’ *versus* ‘society’ (except in ANT, Latour rather prefers calling ‘society’ a ‘collective’<sup>7</sup>) dichotomy claiming that one is

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<sup>6</sup> “*In this respect it is similar to several other contemporary social theories. Think, for instance, of Giddens’ (1984) notion of ‘structuration’, Elias’ (1978) theory of ‘figuration’, or Bourdieu’s (1989) concept of ‘habitus’*” (Law, 1992, p. 9);

<sup>7</sup> In Bruno Latour’s book “*Reassembling the Social*” the author conceptualizes the word *collective* as a better definition of *society* since it “*designates the project of assembling new entities not yet gathered together (...)*” (p. 75) whereas the latter “*will be kept only for the assembly of already gathered entities that sociologists of the social believe have been made in social stuff*” (p. 75). This perspective is because “*ANT claims that we should simply not believe the question of the connections among heterogeneous actors to be closed, that what is usually meant by ‘social’ has probably to do with the reassembling of new types of actors. (...) ANT states that If we wish to be a bit more realistic about*

shaped by the other; ANT claims that actor-mediators' agencies are actively making the social world through the involvement of instruments and that they can be one of the biggest boosters of innovation and change generator – ANT claims that non-humans play a role in changing the very fabric of our social associations by the same principle.

In fact, non-human actors are even seen as gathering points of other times and spaces, which is the very notion of 'actor-network': "*the assembling together of a network of actors of variable ontologies, of variable times, and of variable spaces*" (2013, p. 140). Any actor is part of a structured network, which means he always *interacts*.

But to say that non-human actors have agency is not to just say that there are interactions. Latour's standing point is that *intention* – as this being the characteristic that could be bluntly said non-human actors are missing – is only here conceived as a type of action and that there are many others, like 'authorize, allow, afford, encourage, permit, suggest, influence, block, render possible, forbid' and so on (2013, p. 141). Thus, it is now possible to understand that this agency is not only causal and that Latour was indeed able to dehumanize all the possible interactions that *can transform* (2013, p. 141).

Well then if an actor is an *actant*, meaning, something that interferes with another's action (Latour, 1996) an agent is simply "*something that makes a difference in the course of some other agent's action, as long as there is some trial that allows this difference to be noted*" (Sayes, 2013, p. 141). This idea that 'the ability to make a difference' becomes the standard measure of agency unlocks numerous possibilities for the Urban Studies because then *anything* that transforms has an impact on something, therefore *has the ability to change* its course within its network, provided we can find the traces. For Ruming (2008) *agency* becomes the "*collective capacity of heterogeneous networks, in which the activities of the non-human count for as much, or more, than the activities of humans*" opening a new window for interpretations of a *hybrid network* or *multiple agencies of hybridity* applied to society or city studies: a new way to look at networks made up of not only one *agency* but multiple, originating several layers or dimensions of interactions in a *hybrid network*; hence allowing the claim that present cities shape future cities by choosing a certain 'path' or 'rethinking process' that has several layers of networks' agencies and thus, several nodes of interaction.

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*social ties (...) then we have to accept that the continuity of any course of action will rarely consist of human-to-human connections or of object-to-object connections, but will probably zigzag from one to the other*" (p. 75). Since this point is related to my hybrid city conceptualization, I will use this word only in the respective, following point;

From Ecology's view point, the study of agency began with Richard Foreman's research during 1980s and early 1990s (Reed, 2010, p. 324). His studies developed new understandings and terminologies for ecological systems which were now described as matrices, webs and networks, usually characterized by adjacencies, overlaps and juxtapositions. This work recognized the dynamic, living nature of ecological systems – "*not just the physical stuff he was mapping, but how the stuff of the physical world supports the movement and exchange of ecological matter (water, seeds, wildlife)*" (2010, p. 324). In this field, this led to a shift in understanding systems as attempting to "*achieve a predictable state of equilibrium or steady-state condition to systems typically in states of change, adapting to subtle or dramatic changes in inputs, resources and climate*" (2010, p. 325). Hence, adaptation, flexibility and appropriation became the hallmarks of *successful* systems as it is through ecosystems *ability* to respond to changing environmental conditions that they persist. According to Reed, this shift opened new worlds for critical discourse in design and urbanism, as symmetries began to be as important in engineering system studies as in material practices, changing from a "*what things look like to what they can do*" (2010, p. 325)<sup>8</sup>.

For the author, ecology can be then, a generating force and an active *agent* in the structuring of the city and in the experience of urban and civic life. An *agent* that "*(...) physically, mechanically and constructively engages the various advanced technologies, public policies, and social and cultural dynamics in play. In all of these, the appropriation of mechanisms and resiliency and even the language of ecology and ecological systems (...) form the basis for a newly charged set of design practices: flexible, responsive, and adaptable as projects evolve and accumulate over time*" (2010, p. 329).

Then, **(1) ANT allows a conceptualization of non-humans as having agency within a network;** and **(2) the ecology perspective contributes to thinking that the focus on agency affords a shift from aesthetics to function, being now central to the building of mechanisms of resilience.** For the analysing a temporary urban project contribution to a city rethinking, then, these are important conclusions to keep.

Consequently, **(3) being good contributors to a rethinking that mirrors the hybrid city, they can also be said to mirror the hybrid city itself,** as it must be a city that acknowledges the full potential of these networks agency for change, using it to keep reinventing itself.

For a good understanding of what it means to analyse the city through an ANT point of view, one can look at Jennifer Robinson's idea of 'ordinary cities', a definition that embeds all the

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<sup>8</sup> Similar to the way those involved in (X) think and speak about it;

previously stated authors and in particular Miles's (Miles, 2007) position – as why he uses her as a case study: “(...) *I have proposed the value of seeing all cities as ordinary (...) first, ordinary cities can be understood as unique assemblages of wider processes; (...) second, ordinary cities exist within a world of interactions and flows. However, in a place of the global and world-cities approaches that focus on a small range of economic and political activities, ordinary cities bring together a vast array of networks and circulations of varying spatial reach and assemble many different kinds of social, economic and political processes*” (Robinson, 2006: 108-109).

The connection with this project's main theoretical base is in this definition a “*city's future is produced in complex interactions of social and political factors, global webs of communication and economic forces and policies*” (p. 19) much like ANT's definition of collectives' interactions. Without this precedent, I could not state that the Hybrid City can be produced in the present.

Also, Henri Lefebvre's argument that “*the unified space of design is always interrupted by a dimension of constantly remade meanings and associations in the use of urban spaces*” (Miles, 2007, p. 17) brings another piece of ANT's vision, that of time and space connection through networks and that confirms that there is a process that constantly interrupts designing cities: the one I call ‘rethinking’.

On the paper “Non-Human Agency in Residential Development and Planning: two examples from fringe Sydney” (Rumming, 2008) the influence of ANT is clear as this research claims that urban planning and development unconsciously recognize the role of non-human actors in transforming the environment and intends to investigate which are some of these actors at a fringe development site in Sydney. The author is clearly drawn to ANT to justify the actor's vitality in the construction and maintenance of any networked reality, claiming that this “*framework provides an in-depth analysis of residential development and planning policy which facilitates the identification and tracking of actors/ intermediaries which may otherwise be neglected, ignored or forgotten*” (Rumming, 2008, p. 1). This paper's attention is specially pointed towards the multiple ways in which these actors interact to facilitate the development of residential property and policy arrangements – namely the “*presence of endangered species; the mobilisation of scientific equipment and computer modelling to create (apparently) coherent policy translations; environmental conservations and market operations; and the influences of topography as an intermediary directing urban design*” (2008, p. 21).

By studying one of the largest Greenfield development sites in Sydney, the author realises that in each case non-human actors become central in shaping the translations of residential development, since with the inclusion of these actors in his picture, more diverse and complex patterns of power become apparent. It also shows how so many agencies, from different *genesis*, have such important impacts and contributions in residential developing and planning, showing that a temporary project's contribution to a city's rethinking isn't as radical as ANT.

While Rumming confirms that ANT framework has been increasingly used in geography by some authors and in the construction of hybrid environments, such as gardens, by others, less attention has been paid to their role in shaping the urban form, nonetheless. This is one of the main points my thesis wishes to contribute. Concluding, the author positions non-human actors as playing a central role in the creation of property and highlights the value of ANT in studying the city.

The three cases, hereby used as examples of how different studies have used ANT's framework to include different elements in their analysis, all agree on the point that cities are, to ANT, a constant flow of interactions with multi-layers of networks' agencies influencing the city.

By including non-human actors in research, new perspectives of power relations can be found and new visions of cities must count on all possible dimensions in order to be reachable, feasible and real.

The central role of ANT in this thesis is, therefore, **(1) how a focus on *agency* affords a shift, from aesthetics to function, allowing a new horizon to develop – the hybrid city; (2) the evidence that other scholars have taken ANT's standpoint of the present building the future through flows of interactions – hereby conceptualized as the 'rethinking process'; (3) the different *genesis of agencies* within cities, which affords a more clear assumption that a temporary urban project *can* change a city through its agency; (4) and how related to this approach is the conceptualization of hybrid environments shaping the urban form.**

### 3.2. Conceptualizing the Hybrid City

In Reed's article (2010, p. 328) Hybrid ecologies are defined as “(...) *the development of responsive systems that tap into environmental, engineering, and social dynamics simultaneously – systems that engage both human and non-human dynamics and forces. Such systems are open-ended in the multiple ways they remain engaged with large-scale environmental dynamics (rainfall and drought, lake level rise and fall, plant succession, etc.), but they put human and non-human systems and elements into dialogue. These are strategies of conflation of social/ecological realms that reveal both their interdependence and their individuality*”.

François Ascher's comparative table previously displayed (p. 12) also compares the idea of *Hypertext society* to the idea of Hybrid Ecologies in the sense that it is characterized as being fragile, commutative, open, multiple, changing, with several real and virtual scales, complex, uncertain, self-regulated, flexible, reflexive, cognitive, diversified and *hybrid*. The scenario he claims society (*collective*) is moving towards is in fact very similar to that of the Hybrid Ecology and hence moving closer to that of the Hybrid City which wouldn't be possible though without its network-reality framework.

The argument that urban tissue can be regarded as an ecosystem was also defended by Henri Lefebvre in his book “The Right to the City” (2012) where he claims that the urban tissue doesn't bound itself to its morphology definition. This constitutes the support for a ‘way of life’, more or less intense, which he names *urban society* (2012, p. 24). In his description, society and culture are transported through the urban tissue, producing a way of life juxtaposed by systems of objects and systems of values. Lefebvre even claims, in his concluding points, that a new economic revolution is needed (more oriented towards social needs) parallel to a political revolution (which demands a democratic control of the State and a generalized self-management) leading to a *permanent* cultural revolution.

This idea that cities need to *permanently* reinvent themselves is present then since 1968, when Lefebvre first wrote this book. This is the core soul of the hybrid city.

In an article called “Defining the City” (Frey & Zimmer, 2001) there is a proposal for a new definition of ‘city’ which theoretically supports the possibility of the Hybrid City. The authors suggest that new definitions of city should be based upon a “*notion of Functional Community Area (FCA) which represents a self-contained local labour market within an area characterized by high frequencies of daily interaction*” (2001, p. 29). This idea of ‘city’ would work in terms of a ‘functional metropolitan community’ and would not be tied to (1)



neither any physical configuration such as population size or density criteria; nor (2) location in urbanized areas. They may be specified solely on the basis of measures of interaction. Because urban and rural areas would measure the same kind of interactions, the formal distinction between ‘metropolitan’ and ‘non-metropolitan’ areas would disappear (2001, p. 30). Despite the fact that FCAs use the same measurement as local labour markets, the FCA concept does not presume to identify homogeneous areas on physical characteristics. Neither does it intend to identify homogeneous areas on population nor housing features. *“The main criteria for identifying these areas are high levels of interaction”* (2001, p. 30).

The same authors conclude saying the *“(…) greater spread and inter-urban connectedness of settlement in most developed regions of the world, fostered by the rise of the service economy and the communications revolution, calls for a re-examination of what represents a ‘city’ in these regions. The new concept should be more flexible, emphasizing interactions and functional ties, rather than specific ecological or morphological forms”* (Frey & Zimmer, 2001, p. 31).

This emphasis on ‘interaction levels’ to measure a city opens the possibility of the hybrid city as a tangible solution, not so philosophically radical.

This shift from aesthetics to function (as previously discussed), through the focus on agencies is the key concept to be able to now define a city as the gate-way to ‘rethinking’ new, possible, concepts of urban life – perhaps more open to new ways of creating the physical space as well, where function is now the key.

Since my conceptualization of a Hybrid City means no more than a reflection on where we might be moving towards through the temporary urban projects preview, I do not intend to define its final state yet. My intention in this conceptualization is to relate the ANT perspective with some other theoretical references which contribute to the cohesion of my argument given that: one can, already, envision a hybrid city; and I believe this is only possible through studying today’s cities’ rethinking processes, such as temporary projects. Then, one might figure how this theoretical reflection translates into material concretizations, with other studies, experimentation projects and urban laboratories, throughout time.

As I have already defined, a hybrid city is pointing towards where Henri Lefebvre already pointed in 1968, when he claimed that cities would need to continuously reinvent themselves. It has been conceptualized here using some main references such as the Hybrid Ecologies definition, as previously stated, in Reed’s article (2010, p. 328) *“(…) the development of responsive systems that tap into environmental, engineering, and social dynamics simultaneously – systems that engage both human and non-human dynamics and forces. Such*

*systems are open-ended in the multiple ways they remain engaged with large-scale environmental dynamics (...) but they put human and non-human systems and elements into dialogue. These are strategies of conflation of social/ecological realms that reveal both their interdependence and their individuality”;*

The Functional Community Area (FCA) proposal of defining a city by its level of interactions (Frey & Zimmer, 2001) and not by (1) any physical configuration; nor (2) by location in urbanized/ non-urbanized areas;

Or the *Hypertext Society* scheme, proposed by François Ascher (Naspolini, 2009) where the two above mentioned theories meet, in a prediction of the future city, characterized as *fragile, commutative, open, multiple, changing, with several real and virtual scales, complex, uncertain, self-regulated, flexible, reflexive, cognitive, diversified and hybrid* (2009, p. 12).

I shall further develop, in future research projects, the other remaining characteristics of an present-based imagined, possible hybrid city, such as *having an ‘open-ended’ character; being a pathway for a constant re-invention process; having an adaptive resilience; having a never-finished infrastructure design; having a fulfilling urban dwelling; being a city as a product of a rethinking process towards a sustainable future; being democratic in the use and sharing of planetary resources by a shift from our anthropocentric view; being an empowering environment with community-building tools, having economic alternatives, being a platform for re-skilling, constant learning and improving literacy and, mainly, a citizen-led ‘urban renaissance’.*

But this vision is only afforded through an ANT perspective. The Ecology vision of hybrid environments borrows an agency notion of “*collective capacity of heterogeneous networks, in which the activities of the non-human count for as much, or more, than the activities of humans*” (Rumming, 2008) which opens the window for a new way to look at interactions for change, in the sense that we are moving further and further from having a human-centred agency definition; in the sense that this shift in focus takes the central stage from aesthetics and brings it to functionality; and the new idea that building resilience mechanisms is the way to achieve a successful city.

The FCA also borrows important analytical perspectives from ANT, namely the focus on ‘interaction levels measurement’ which reflects ANT’s weight on actor’s interactions and mediations. Despite these interactions being measured in their work only in human interactions, there is no indication it wouldn’t be possible to integrate this methodology using non-human actors as well.

Besides, François Ascher is also himself sympathetic with ANT's philosophy. Ascher agrees that the raising needs for fluidity, complexity and interdependence, among all the other characteristics of the hypertext society, call for a network vision of communication, companies and cities in order to fully comprehend their agencies in shaping the urban network (2009, p. 74).

Once more, the common ground to all the three references is the idea that networks can be regarded as hybrid layers of heterogeneous agencies (Law, 1992) which allows a nearly infinite number of combinations and democratization of priorities when it comes to shaping cities. A hybrid city could be one where humans and non-humans dimensions count for as much, with a definition of 'society' more in the image of the 'collective' Latour described, permanently open to gathering new entities not yet assembled – this is, also, the core of the hybrid city.

Later, in the discussion of my ground theory regarding the 'hybrid city' I will add some empirical data, collected within the micro-ethnography case that was hereby studied, that point to the evidence that the idea of a new urban scenario is starting to shape in some other ways and not just in this theoretical discussion.

If then, **(1) there is evidence that cities are moving towards the hybrid city; (2) the hybrid city can be conceptualized; (3) the hybrid city can eventually be mirrored in temporary urban projects:** *What are the evidences of an emergent Hybrid City in Institute for (X)?*

### ***3.3. Rethinking Cities***

Standing from the point where we claim present interactions are producing future's networks, then, to understand how today's cities are shaping future cities, one's only option is to study the present process of how cities today are already rethinking themselves – much as in to understand the interaction's agency within the network, we would find its tracings. This approach is only possible through ANT not only because of a network-worldview but also because it has already been demonstrated how it affords the shift in focus from aesthetics to function which brings the process of this shift to a central stage in city making processes.

This *rethinking* that I refer to is a two way street: first, it directs us to one of the characteristics we tend to associate more with human behaviour. If we are animals, we are animals who think excellently and – in this process of imagining better cities - it is only natural that it is seen as a human process, regarding all our needs, wants, limitations and ambitions. In a provocateur position, I apply ANT standpoint here in this 'rethinking' as well, because I believe non-human 'rethinking' should also be taken into account, since making

cities isn't just thought and then practiced, but practice also tells us where to 'rethink' towards. It is thus also a process that should evaluate where we situate in the world's ecosystem constantly and be built on a strong mutual respect for the environment; secondly, the term *rethinking* should also direct us to the constant need for adaptation, in our fast-changing world, with minute by minute changes and updates. In an era where contexts might change in blink of an eye, cities must also have the ability to re-adapt their social structures, physical structures and resources.

Interestingly enough, Aarhus Municipality has defined this concept very well – for their own project to be the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) by 2017 – in its application report (Aarhus 2017, 2012).

For this team, 'rethinking' reflects the "*essence of the city and the zeitgeist*" (2012, p. 12) in an attempt to find solutions and new models for society. This theme reflects their commitment to creating a future-oriented platform that intends to be critical and self-critical, using and re-using experience and practice in realising the need for bending and reassembling knowledge. It is therefore the outcome of a process, of rethinking institutions, dwellings, public spaces, community engagement solutions and methods furthering sustainability. These platforms also intend to produce new skills which will be specified and developed through individual projects, scenarios and situations thus this term 'rethinking' refers to a progressive mentality of thinking and acting smarter today than yesterday, realising the absence of sustainability in the existing solutions and imagining the next practices through physical and social changes in the city.

To 'rethink' is "*the common point of departure and the common thread, guiding our way perspectives and considerations*" (2012, p. 12). In this process, reflection and learning must be a constant to test new methods and concepts that will influence our age.

In this project, traditional divisions such as urban/rural or past/future shall be 'rethought' through new art media and projects to create 'new spaces' such as artificial landscapes and temporary projects.

In a clear synergy between my intentions for this thesis and Aarhus project for ECoC 2017, the conceptualization of 'rethinking the city' couldn't be more accurate.

According to the European main reference, Cities of Tomorrow (Union, 2011), in terms of how real policies and action are addressing the transition towards a sustainable future process, or cities rethinking, future cities need to provide solutions for their challenges by (1) developing **sustainable local economies**, by anchoring key competences and resources in the local economic tissue and supporting social participation and innovation; (2) creating a

**resilient and inclusive economy**, by rethinking the present development model which depends on economic growth; (3) exploring the **potentials of diversity**, where ethnic, cultural, generational and social-economic backgrounds need to be cherished and celebrated – cities must become more elderly-friendly, family-friendly and exponentially places of tolerance and respect; (4) combating **spatial exclusion and energy poverty with better housing**, making cities more eco-friendly and lively; (5) adopting a **holistic approach to environment and energy** issues, in order to have cities with a better green environment and health; (6) Producing **thriving and dynamic small and medium-sized cities**, essential for avoiding rural depopulation and urban drift and for promoting a coordinated and balanced territorial development; (7) making more **attractive open public spaces** and promote sustainable, inclusive and healthy mobility, where multi-modal transport systems must be favoured.

In this report, it is also clarified how new forms of governance are essential to respond to these challenges, which shall include: (1) **Holistic models of sustainable urban development**; (2) **Governance systems need to adapt to evolving circumstances**; (3) **Cities have to work across sectors**; (4) **Horizontal and vertical coordination**; (5) **New governance models**; (6) **Social innovation and civic engagement**; (7) **Foresight is a specifically relevant tool for managing transitions**.

This rethinking process should, then, have the responsibility to study if and how these goals are being met today, provided they reflect the ‘characteristics’ of the desirable sustainable future city – in fact, the Transition Towns (Hopkins, 2008) movement has thought about this deeply, bringing some light into ‘real actions’ cities and towns can do to start moving towards an oil-independent, climate balanced future.

Also, as concluded in the previous point, the rethinking process should take into account the needs to achieve the ultimate mechanism for achieving this goal: to be more resilient. To understand ways the rethinking process must build through the achievement of resilience mechanisms, I believe the concept of ‘resilience’ hereby used must be cautiously explained in order to prove itself worthy of such claim, to be the ultimate goal of the ‘rethinking processes’.

The resilience approach, according to Carl Folke (2006, p. 260) “(...) *is concerned with how to persist through continuous development in the face of change and how to innovate and transform into new more desirable configurations*”. Focusing on the section the author

describes as *Social-ecological resilience*<sup>9</sup> its (1) characteristics are: interplay disturbance and reorganization, sustaining and developing; (2) its focus is on: adaptive capacity, transformability, learning, innovation; and (3) its context is an integrated system feedback, cross-scale dynamic interactions (Folke, 2006, p. 259).

Adaptive processes that relate to the capacity to deal with change, ultimately, emerge out of the system's self-organization and therefore the dynamics after a disturbance or even a regime shift is crucially dependent on the self-organizing capacity of the complex adaptive system and the **self-organizing process** draws on temporal and spatial scales above and below the system in focus (Folke, 2006, p. 259). This is why this conceptualization of resilience in relation to social-ecological systems incorporates the idea of "*adaptation, learning and self-organization in addition to the general ability to persist disturbance*" (Folke, 2006, p. 259). In conclusion, this type of resilience can be interpreted as: (1) the amount of disturbance a system can absorb and still remain within the same state or domain of attraction; (2) the degree to which the system is capable of self-organization (versus lack of organization, or organization forced by external factors); and (3) the degree to which the system can build and increase the capacity for learning and adaptation.

*"In this sense, resilience is an approach, a way of thinking (...) an area of explorative research under rapid development. The resilience approach provides one among several arenas for generating integrative science and interdisciplinary collaboration on issues of fundamental importance for governing and managing a transition toward more sustainable development paths, one of the greatest challenges of humanity"* (Folke, 2006).

Having in mind the conceptualization of 'rethinking processes' made earlier, rethinking cities has always been present in architects and urbanists minds. Without entering Urbanism area, analysing the different utopias that have been most successful at influencing policy-makers decisions or scientists' imagination, architects have developed their philosophy of space in their works, which lately parallels to some extent the way ANT works. From Kevin Lynch (1960) to Christian Norberg-Schultz (1991), ending in an example of how today's architects are imagining the city, Jan Gehl (2010), the role of the architect has shifted from 'that who makes cities' to that 'who helps people make their own city'.

For Lynch, the architects and planners are "*artists (...) who manipulate the city*" (1960, p. 17) while in Norberg-Schultz we read a slight change in discourse: "*Architecture means to visualize the 'genius loci', and the task of the architect is to create meaningful places,*

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<sup>9</sup> Since one must focus on the balance between human action and environmental ecosystems in order to find an adaptation that equally benefits both coexisting sides (Folke, 2006, p. 259);

*whereby he helps man to dwell*” (1991, p. 5). Perhaps because at the time he writes this, ‘things studies’ are also exploring new areas, the author sees “(...) *architecture as the concretization of existential space*. *‘Concretization’ is furthermore explained by means of the concepts of ‘gathering’ and ‘thing’*. *The word ‘thing’ originally meant a gathering and the meaning of anything consists in what it gathers. Thus Heidegger said that ‘a thing gathers the world’*” (1991, p. 5).

Interestingly enough, the *soul* of what Norberg-Schultz understands for ‘thing’ is very similar to ANT’s notion of actor, in the sense that, within its network it ‘*gathers*’ different times, spaces and possibilities of interaction without it being put in the same terms.

On Jan Gehl (2010) it is promptly said in the foreword that “*we (citizens) shape cities and cities shape us*” (p. IX) which leads us to believe a more integrated approach is already being taken in city-making, regarding the relationships and interactions that shape the *dwelling* of citizens.

Gehl (2010, p. 9) makes a small introduction to show how urban structures have clearly influenced human behaviour and the ways in which cities operate. From the Roman Empire with its colony towns, forums and compact structure with short walking distances, squares and marketplaces – which supported centres of trade and military – to Haussman’s strategic urban renewal of Paris in 1852 which promoted a ‘boulevard culture’, Gehl places the connection between behaviour and how space is organized.

The important part to retain from this brief analysis is that of how architecture has been evolving through times to coming closer to ANT’s perspective on the network view of the world, understanding how humans and non-humans interact and are actors with their own agencies, translated to the Urban Studies perspective.

Another interesting fact about these authors early relation with ANT ideology is that they seem to understand architecture as a ‘phenomenon’ or an ‘event’. Albertsen and Diken (2004) state that “[indeed] (...) *the mediator is active and productive. It performs something by itself, and this performance cannot be reduced to the effect of distortion of something else. The performance of the mediator is an ‘event’ which is partly ‘causa sui’, partly mediated by other mediators*” (2004, p. 47). What their work opens up to is the idea that if architecture is a ‘phenomenon’ and an ‘event’, meaning, the ‘concretization’ of that phenomenon, then it means Norberg-Schultz had already seen architecture as an actor, in this ‘actor-network’ or ‘event-network’ which can be the city. And then, to understand the *genius loci* or ‘spirit’ of a place would be to understand the acting agencies within that place.

So the idea inherent to these points is that the ‘**rethinking process**’ is present in all of these three authors. Either it is through the ‘art’ of making city, according to Lynch: respecting the past ‘spirit’ of a place, like Norberg-Schultz puts it, in order to build better present places; or how Gehl demonstrates how citizens shape cities and cities shape citizens;

ANT’s intention to make actors of different times interact (Latour, 2010) is what gives all this part of the rethinking process, in the sense that future cities can only be shaped in the present if, in this present, we are aware of this networks agency.

Then, **(1) the rethinking process starts with a search for a transition towards a resilient future; (2) resilience is the ultimate goal of the rethinking process towards a hybrid city; (3) it is only through ANT’s concept of agency that the present actor’s networks can be agents in the future cities, having the potential to produce resilience mechanisms: *How can Temporary Urban Projects be agents in the rethinking process of a city, through the production of resilience mechanisms?***

### ***3.4. Temporary Urbanism producing Resilience Mechanisms: Towards the Hybrid City***

‘Temporary Urbanism’ seems to distance itself from ‘Tactical Urbanism’ in the sense that, according to “*Urban Tactics: temporary interventions for long-term planning*” (Killing Architects, U.d.) all the projects they studied had some things in common, different from typical ‘Tactical Urbanism’ projects: (1) strong commitment and support from the local municipality; (2) a group of tenacious and resourceful people behind the projects; (3) all the projects used the nature of the event to attract attention to an area of the city in question.

In a way, temporary projects can be connoted with a more institutional stake of municipalities, bigger than the small-scale proposals that are associated with ‘tactical urbanism’ but having the same genesis in their core.

This group of architects even identified some of the benefits that were drawn after their case-studies evaluations (Killing Architects, U.d.):

#### ***For the designers/architects/urbanists/artists involved:***

1. It offers a platform for designers to show their ideas and work;
2. It can provide networking opportunities and the chance to form new professional relationships;
3. It can offer the chance to prototype and experiment with the way that different parts of the city are designed and get feedback on ideas from a wide range of people;



4. Temporary projects can allow you to do the difficult work of politics – to build the contacts and relationships necessary to do further (perhaps permanent) projects;
5. Particularly in areas lacking other cheap space, temporary use can provide ‘incubator spaces’ for young not-yet-established people working in the creative sector – for the teenage band to play their first gig, young artists to have their first exhibition of work, etc.;
6. A temporary project can provide a ‘quick’ win in the long-term process of an urban development – where an urban redevelopment project can take years, the time necessary for a temporary project can be counted in months. These projects can help to demonstrate that something really is happening and starting to change the view of a site, or area.

***For land/building owners:***

1. They can raise the profile of an area, or of a particular site to help attract further investment;
2. Temporary uses can help to change people’s perspective of a place, helping them imagine how it might be different;
3. Where empty property is taxed, using the space for a temporary project until a permanent tenant can be found, may give exemption from this tax.

***For municipalities/government bodies:***

1. Events can draw attention to areas of a city which are undergoing change and raise awareness of issues related to architecture and urbanism there;
2. They can help to educate people about planning and about how to get more involved with it;
3. Events can help with effective community consultations. They can help reach a wide audience and attract attention for the launch of a consultation, so that it is possible to start a discussion about design proposals. Consultations need to coincide with the dates of an event, however.

***For local people:***

1. Temporary projects can add to the existing provision of public spaces and community facilities in an area;

2. Where building projects have been put on hold and sites remain unused and closed off by hoardings, temporary projects can help by giving the public access to land, opening up a greater number of routes through an area and improve its permeability;
3. When there is a strong community engagement aspect to a temporary project, it can have a big effect on the way that people view their local area, helping them to imagine that they are able to change things in the public space of the city, beyond their own homes;
4. Temporary projects can help people imagine what an area will be like if a proposed project were to go ahead;
5. Experimentation and prototyping in public space can help expand people's design vocabulary, so that they become aware of a greater range of things that it is possible to do to improve public spaces – to go beyond requests for more cleaning and better street lighting (although these may be relevant as well).

The authors warn for the need of further deeper investigation of the effects of temporary projects in the city, not only because all the projects so far are still at an experimental level but also because it is important to draw better conclusions on the contexts that lead to successful and positive effects in the city.

Temporary urbanism can be, therefore, one that brings institutionally linked projects, with strong community support; a platform for new ideas and techniques; a networking opportunity for artists and community makers; prototypes, experiments and previews of how a city is changing; incubator spaces; a platform for events; a platform for learning and re-skilling<sup>10</sup>; a platform for community engagement and communication; public facilities; among others. In short, it is any project which is not part of the master plan but that intends to be a trial for something else.

Temporary projects can therefore be the way to analyse how cities are rethinking themselves, in order to achieve better resilience mechanisms, this being perhaps the process which affords a future Hybrid City.

ANT has had a big impact in the 'universe of networks' by excellence: the digital world. Latour (2010) claims, in a key-note speech that "*the more digital, the less virtual and the*

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<sup>10</sup> "*The Great Reskilling touches upon many of the kinds of activities that are key to enhancing human well-being. These are the things that, unlike consumerism, really do make a difference to our experience of life, once basic needs have been met. Many of which have been squeezed out in an over-marketed and over-commoditized society. NEF's research identifies learning, connecting, taking notice, being active and giving. The initiatives outlined above are rich in all of these*" (New Economics Foundation, 2010, p. 76);

*more material a given activity becomes*” (p. 8) and that this process helps rendering networks visible. Meaning it is now, more than ever, easier to ‘see’ the networks *at work*.

By the demonstration of virtual networks being rendered visible by digital means, it is possible to understand in what ways these networks visions can be rendered visible in the city. By having a framework which analyses the agencies at work, within a network, it is then, possible to ‘visualize’ this same network.

Then how can one trace a temporary project’s contribution, in the long-term, to its city rethinking process? In this work, in order to understand this, some online ethnography has been carried out. The challenge is to understand through these virtual networks how the data collected can show which direction these short-term interventions are moving towards, in the long-run. The methodology to analyse this is further explained, but the tracing of long-term effects in short-term projects is behind the necessity to study temporary urbanism.

The inherent claim is that since it is temporary – because this means it is more reflective of the direction our cities are going – it is situated in a better position than most projects to contribute to its city ‘rethinking process’, as this should be a long-term, open-ended process. It is better placed because it is also more flexible, more adaptive and resilient to change, and therefore, in a privileged position to lead cities’ laboratories and experimentations it needs in order to carry its rethinking process the best way possible. In making these ‘interactions’ between citizens and the city last longer, they make possible the understanding of how ephemeral projects can have a longer-lasting impact in the city;

Killing Architects (U.d.) in their conclusions on long-term effects of temporary urbanism discuss their intangibility but nonetheless significant importance. Not only can they help to improve the image and attractiveness of an area but also to build stronger community bounds. Among the examples of long-term effects, the strengthening of a professional network that can be reconnected or re-activated for future projects is number one, in the sense that it can boost the continuity of projects within the city area over time; these projects can also allow discussions to be started with a wide range of stakeholders in a situation that requires a lower level of commitment and a higher level of creativity; they can even be focal-points for community activities and can hence give community its space back and eventual funding so that these activities can be maintained after the temporary project has finished its purpose.

In order to apply this scheme to my present work, and in order to understand how Institute for (X) is contributing to the rethinking of Aarhus, I had to; (1) conceptualize the ‘rethinking of Aarhus’ as continuously resilient network, made of different layers of action and interaction;

(2) and, conceptualize Institute for (X) as a temporary urban project, and yet as another actor-network, with an agency that can be traced through its direct or indirect influence in the city.

This position in which I feel confident in claiming that temporary projects are in a better strategic position nowadays to contribute to the rethinking of tomorrow, is, therefore, only possible through an ANT perspective, where actor-networks afford time-crossing interactions and long-term change through short-term urban laboratories.

For the present argument's sake, temporary urbanism will be conceptualized as **(1) an agent in producing resilience mechanisms** – since in its origins, temporary urbanism came to existence as a result of a communities search for better solutions in their neighbourhoods, having the five characteristics already enumerated (Lydon, et al., 2012), consequently producing what Folke described as dynamic interactions for resilience (Folke, 2006, p. 259); and **(2) a conceivable preview of what the Hybrid City, through their long-term agency in their respective rethinking process**, might look like, since its core is the same in the sense that both search for solutions for a constant reinvention of themselves, and their community: *What resilience mechanisms can be found at Institute for (X)?*

### **3.5. Summarizing:**

The central role of ANT in this thesis is, therefore to expose **(1) how a focus on agency affords a shift, from aesthetics to function, allowing a new horizon to develop – the hybrid city; (2) the different genesis of agencies within cities, which affords a more clear assumption that a temporary urban project can change a city through its agency; (3) how related to this approach is the conceptualization of hybrid environments shaping the urban form.** The need for empirical confirmation here is then to know “*how is Institute for (X)'s agency affording a shift in focus, from aesthetics to function, in the city of Aarhus – towards a Hybrid City?*”

Regarding an emergent Hybrid City, then, **(1) there is evidence that cities are moving towards the hybrid city; (2) the hybrid city can be conceptualized; (3) the hybrid city can eventually be mirrored in temporary urban projects:** *What are the evidences of an emergent Hybrid City in Institute for (X)?*

If **(1) the rethinking process starts with a search for a transition towards a resilient future; (2) resilience is the ultimate goal of the rethinking process towards a hybrid city; (3) and it is only through ANT's concept of agency that the present actor's networks can be agents in the future cities, having the potential to produce resilience mechanisms:** *How is the rethinking process in Aarhus being shaped by Institute for (X)?*

And if, for the present argument's sake, temporary urbanism will be conceptualized as **(1) an agent in producing resilience mechanisms** – since in its origins, temporary urbanism came to existence as a result of a community's search for better solutions in their neighbourhoods, having the five characteristics already enumerated (Lydon, et al., 2012), consequently producing what Folke described as dynamic interactions for resilience (Folke, 2006, p. 259); and **(2) a conceivable preview of what the Hybrid City, through their long-term agency in their respective rethinking process**, might look like, since its core is the same in the sense that both search for solutions for a constant reinvention of themselves, and their community, then: *What resilience mechanisms can be found at Institute for (X)?*

These main themes which I intend to discuss further in the sixth chapter are important to answer my research question in the following manner: *“How is Institute for (X) contributing to the rethinking of Aarhus; and how is this rethinking affording the Hybrid City?”*

If a temporary project can trigger and support the learning of resilience mechanisms, then one must find *“What resilience mechanisms can be found at Institute for (X)?”* and how are these resilience mechanisms shaping Aarhus rethinking process *“How is the rethinking process in Aarhus being shaped by the resilience mechanisms found at Institute for (X)?”*;

Therefore, a contribution to a rethinking that affords the Hybrid City needs to find *“What are the evidences of an emergent Hybrid City in Institute for (X)'s rethinking”* through understanding *“how is Institute for (X)'s agency affording a shift in focus, from aesthetics to function, in the city of Aarhus?”*.



## **Chapter IV – Methodology**

### ***4.1. Literature review***

For my literature review process, which led to a State of the Art complemented with an Analytical Framework, I followed the suggested guidelines (Bryman, 2012, p. 8): (1) found what is already known about Actor-Network Theory; Hybrid City evidences in emergent studies; Rethinking as a transition process; and Temporary Urbanism; (2) read about what different concepts and theories have been applied to these topics; (3) saw what different research methods had been used to study these topics; (4) learned about what are the main controversies about these topics; (5) analyse if there was any clashes of evidences; and (6) identified who the key contributors are to related research projects.

On an analytical review of my literature, I have conceptualized four main themes in order to answer the separate premises of my research question.

### ***4.2. Empirical Analysis***

#### ***4.2.1. Urban Ethnography Approach***

In order to be clear why I base my definition of the hybrid city on that of hybrid ecology, it is important to understand the link Ecology makes between Anthropology and Urban Studies. As the work “Anthropology of the City” (Eames & Goode, 1977) explains, Cultural Ecology started by having a big impact upon Urban Anthropology. By ‘cultural ecology’ the authors mean “*the focus on the complex interplay between the human organism, culture, and natural resources*” (1977, p. 75). In this interplay, all the elements, in turn, affect each other and the all the components in the ecosystem, leading to change in the system.

Inside urban anthropology there are two major tracks: ‘anthropology *in* cities’ and ‘anthropology *of* cities’. Since the latter is the only one that emphasizes the urban context as a major variable influencing life (1977, p. 33), it makes sense that I situate myself within this frame of analysis, not only because of my ANT perspective but also because the corresponding methodology is the one that is mostly linked to Urban Studies. Within this frame, ethnographic studies using the city as a laboratory place a consistent role on data collected in the field and anthropologists within this line rely mostly on collecting their own descriptive material (1977, p. 278). The key elements of this ethnography are first-hand contact, direct observation and relation to all data to context and analysing all the elements combined. There is some debate about the extent to which extent to which it is essential for anthropologists to be exposed to some sort of experience in an alien setting because there are

some relevant difficulties to this methodology. Culture shock and difficulty in knowing the gate-keepers to open communication possibilities are two of them. I rely on the conviction that I had to go through the experience to reinforce my analytical ability in the matter I wished to discuss in this thesis.

About this part of the fieldwork, the authors call *entry and rapport*, the key element for a successful study is the ability of the anthropologist to be accepted by those being studied. It is only through this acceptance that interactions will be allowed and answers will be found. The difficulty is to capture the 'performance' which is typical of an every-day instead of one constructed for their benefit (1977, p. 284).

The authors give some help by sorting out which strategies are usually successful to overcome such problems: (1) the use of professional ties or status; (2) use of personal ties; (3) joining formal associations; or (4) 'hanging out' or 'moving in' (1977, p. 285).

For my particular situation I chose number (3) and (4) since this was a professional platform for some of the actors who could only socialize in specific schedules which I would have not been aware of had I not joined 'Adopt-a-box'. Even though I was successful at integrating myself in some events and activities at the site, the language barrier still persisted.

#### **4.2.2. *Micro-ethnography***

For this thesis, five important stages have showed relevance for the development of my research question: (1) an extensive literature review on what Action-Network Theory, and all the related conceptual cloud, meant; (2) an intensive search for newspaper's articles, magazines and other documents that could provide documented information on the site; (3) the interviewing process and choice of my key informants; (4) a full-scan on the site's Facebook page, which was part of my online ethnography and gave me a visual account of the site's physical transformation since 2009; (5) and my fieldwork accounts, based on my field notes and reflections which allowed me to include everything I experienced but cannot document – but were nonetheless important for the development of my work.

Because my case is not a case-study in the sense that it does not follow a particular case-study methodology and it is mostly used as an illustration, I have selected methodological steps closer to ethnography, giving me the freedom to address what I thought was relevant for my thesis. Nevertheless, my aim is to follow an 'abductive reasoning' because within this framework, I ground a theoretical understanding of the context and people (or place) I am studying that forms their world view. The crucial step here is that having done enough theoretical research to back my argument, my scientific conclusion accounts for the social



world as seen from these perspectives. What distinguishes this method from the inductive one is that my theoretical final account is grounded in the world view of those I have studied (Bryman, 2012, p. 401).

In a personal reflection on the usefulness of methodology I believe that since ANT considers that non-human actors should account for as much as human actors, ethnographic methods should also apply to any object of study which is made of human and non-human agency, as long as we find the traces that confirm non-human agency. By shifting my aim from studying the ‘people’ to study the ‘social which is made of humans and non-humans’ I have confidence in claiming that interviews were not the main focus because it was equally important to account for the other actors in this network and make them ‘talk’. With this in mind, I believe these traces were thus better found by a conjunction of theoretical reflections and different ‘sampling approaches’ (Bryman, 2012, p. 427).

### ***4.3. Case identification and scope***

Manuel Castells in “The Urban Question” (1977) points to the fact that ‘urban planning’ and ‘urbanistic plans’ should not be identified as the same because indeed very often the latter are no more than documents “*merely expressing a doctrine or an urbanistic point of view, without obtaining means of realization (and) are above all ideological texts*” (1977, p. 276). He states that the researcher choice on the field of investigation should bear rather on on-going operations in so far as their effect is nonetheless more direct than the case of master plans or white papers.

Having this in consideration, I have identified **Institute for (X)** as a fitting project for my discussion since it fits the ‘temporary project’ criteria through its laboratory, comprehensive and pragmatic character that favours function to aesthetics; its rapid physical transformation could only be made possible through effective design and building skills and knowledge; it was an experimental use of an urban area with the cooperation of the municipality (because of ECoC policy goals); and it was open to my participation through the collaboration with a smaller project I came in contact with, ‘Adopt-a-box’ – allowing me to develop fieldwork in the area and have a safe ‘gate’ for constant contact and attendance.

The opportunities that became available through this case choice were quite relevant: (1) I was able to test my theoretical hypothesis and beliefs (not for this thesis solely, but for my academic career); (2) I developed my fieldwork research skills, in the sense that this was the first effectively important fieldwork that I developed as an anthropologist; (3) my chosen methodology of ethnographic research was effective in answering my questions; (4) I believe

that my argument is stronger with the contribution of , not only theoretical readings, but also empirical data - stakeholders interviews, internet resources (namely Facebook) and field notes – and my own account of the experience, which allowed me to not only *study* the actors but also to *be* one for a period of time.

The combination of my work methodology, which implied different analytical layers in the treatment of my empirical data, also contributes to reaffirming my position as an ANT researcher.

#### **4.3.1. Document/ Article review**

Within some articles about Institute for (X)'s development, an article in *Scraper* magazine – A project under the creative direction of Alejandro Sosa – had two other very illustrative interviews with Mads Peter Laursen Stephen David Wallacy.

Despite only the latter was edited in English, all the other articles I found and saved are in Danish and I requested my friends and fellow students to translate what I could not understand on my own, which was a major challenge in this point. Similarly, as in my own observation and not-understanding of what people were talking about (while they were just relaxing), the language barrier was difficult to overcome.

The internet and the Facebook group were the major providers of this section's material because they were considered strongly relevant sources of information for my research as well as significantly evidential of on-going transformation processes in this area.

The media constitutes an effective way of perceiving public opinion. Several articles from Aarhus' newspapers were very helpful to understand how this project is influencing the city's urban planning and future projects.

#### **4.3.2. Interviews**

My key informants for a deepened knowledge of Institute for (X) were: (1) Pernille Madsen; (2) Hester Callaghan and (3) Mads Peter Laursen. Their kindness in giving me approximately one hour of their schedules to talk about the beginnings of their projects, of Institute for (X) and of their opinions on its tracings of agency in the city were crucial to my project.

Using a *semi-structured* interview (Bryman, 2012, p. 471) methodology, I did not follow the same script with the three of them, but I had some questions prepared. Indeed, the 10-question draft script was just a part of what they have talked about, as I let the conversation flow and escape to other areas slightly (the scripts I prepared for each are attached together with the interview transcripts in the annexes). The micro-ethnography (Bryman, 2012, p. 433)

directives, which are reflected in the exploratory tone of my investigation in the site, also verify that this somewhat simple approach to interviewing is enough for a master's thesis project.

The *flexible* nature of this chosen type of interviewing (2012, p. 471) was the most adequate for my particular situation as I started my research with a fairly clear focus (2012, p. 472) so more specific subjects could be introduced; and, giving the short time that I had with my informants, the findings of each interview were important to determine the next, and I adapted the scripts according to what I already knew and still wanted to find out, making the most of my available time (all interview transcripts can be found in Appendix C).

#### **4.3.3. Online Ethnography**

Within the network world-view, there is no reason to exclude cyberspace from my analysis. Also, there has been recent works which have given online ethnography a greater importance, since they are (1) usually more economical in terms of time and money; (2) they can reach a larger number of people very easily; (3) it is accessible by computer, so distance is no longer a problem; (4) data can be collected and analysed very quickly (Bryman, 2012, p. 658).

Indeed, I used this method by analysing Institute for (X)'s public Facebook in the hope that more pictures would be found (also, with better quality than mine, since a lot of photographers work there) and that I could have access to a better notion of who is involved, who is more active, where do most events happen and what kind of events they are. In addition and simultaneously, I could have a chronological perspective of this place's activity evolution and a visual aid for seeing how it had physically changed. I started by scanning the page since its first post, saving every picture (around 330 pictures with their respective authors and date of publishing – material fully presented in Appendix A), every event, and important comment.

Having been aware of some criticism to this type of research, my main consideration was to certify myself if anyone in the group did not agree with my use of their pictures, which positively, nobody did, providing me with the most important outcome of this online ethnography: the visual window (Bryman, 2012, p. 459) for the area's rapid transformation.

#### **4.3.4. Field notes**

Despite my research not needing intensive contact, my Overt Full Member status (2012, p. 441) – meaning I had full membership of Institute for (X) through Adopt-a-box – allowed me in, in the sense that I was clearly not a 'stranger' anymore. Some people knew I was doing

research and others just thought I would ‘eventually go away’ as I was a foreign student so there was really not many moments when I could have a relaxed conversation with the participants. I could, though, observe some things, so I started a field note diary. Every time I had a meeting down at Institute for (X), or an event, or just went there for a walk, I would write something of what I had experienced, seen or heard. My direct involvement and participant-observation in the project allowed me to not depend only on what my informants told me, but also to include the way I perceived the experience and reflected about it. Since it was hard to find informants, and my perspective is to let ‘all the actors talk’ it was also my way to give ‘voice’ to this area’s ‘silent actors’ (all the field notes can be found in Appendix D).

#### ***4.3.5. Chronological table***

In order to map all the events that I was able to trace, have evidence of, witness or attend, I developed a table in the form of a calendar so it was possible to visualize: (1) when things started; (2) who was involved in the beginning; (3) what kind of information is possible to analyse from pictures that were posted along the way; (4) what kind of events happened and when; (5) which of these are actually evidence of (X) affording new resilience mechanisms and (6) how is the process hereby traced a possible contribution to the rethinking of Aarhus, towards a Hybrid City scenario.

This table (found in Appendix B) has two reading purposes in my final analysis: (1) First, reading data in a chronological order allows this research to comprehend some of the processes that served as leverage for others; for instance, the release of each article in newspapers; workshops and their follow-ups (like Pecha Kucha, or Fresh Biochar, among others); it allows this research to understand **why** is an event or a workshop or an exhibition, that otherwise analysed solely would have no possible reading, a product of a previous process, in some cases, a **resilience mechanism**. This type of reading is one attempt to read data as an ANT researcher, understanding every dot, or every comma, as a part of a bigger, interconnected network, bringing analytical meaning to specific and single happenings in time; (2) The second reading is made by crossing an analytical proposal for temporary projects, which intends to comprehend which stakeholders take benefits from these types of urban interventions (Killing Architects, U.d.). Being so, the data gathered and assembled in this Chronological table was assigned to the four groups of people (local community; artists/urbanists; land owners; and governmental bodies) showing which networks are, to say the least, more active (this can have a number of reasons that may not be directly related to

benefits in some cases, being simply a consequence of access to the online platform, for instance – also, land owners and governmental bodies do not use this online platform for their internal communication and it was not this research's intention to analyse these two groups particularly, so these two stakeholder groups are not represented properly). This type of reading also has an ANT analytical perspective, in the sense that attempts to relate the processes analysed previously in time with the targets, enriching this project with an attempt to visually demonstrate the relation between the learning processes and **resilience mechanisms** being produced at Institute for (X) and the **community benefited** by their existence.

With these two readings in mind, conclusions regarding the mechanisms found at (X) are visually represented, helping their identification, under an adaptive resilience perspective (Folke, 2006).

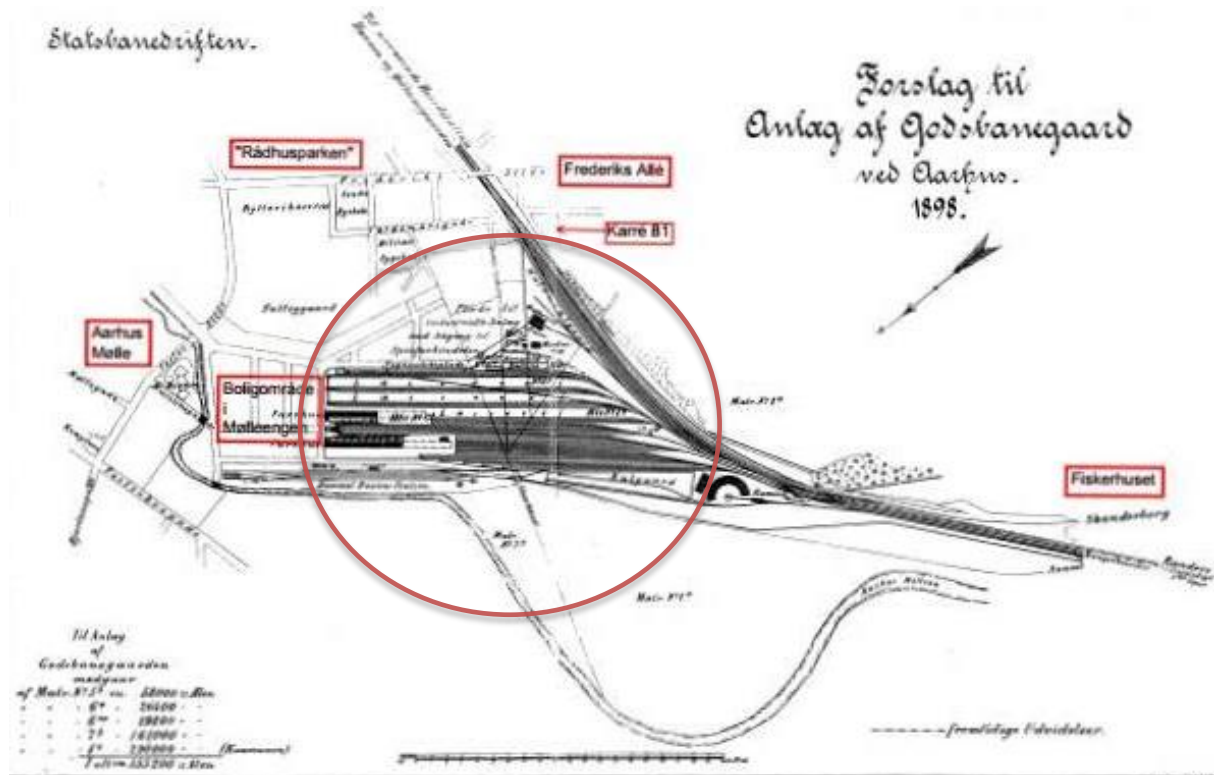


## Chapter V – Institute for (X)

### 5.1. Historical Background

Institute for (X) is not just a platform for young entrepreneurs. As the name states, ‘Institute’ means it is a place for learning and (X) means precisely an unknown variable (Madsen, 2014) borrowed from mathematics lingo. The idea is that this is an experience, a laboratory, a place to learn about whatever you want, as long as one is committed to contribute to this project.

The warehouses that are used by Institute for (X) today were given over to the Aarhus Kommune (municipality) by the DSB train company in 2000 – as shown in figure 1 – and the plan was to build a Culture Production Centre, Godsbanen, but ‘nobody knew how to do this yet’ (Wallacy, 2013, p. 24).



Forøslag til anlæg af godsbanegård ved Aarhus 1898/99. Godsbanegården indviedes 1923.

Figure 1 – [321] Plan of the old Godsbanen area, posted on 1<sup>st</sup> November 2013

Bureau Detours (the leader project that was invited to be the pioneer of this culture production centre to-be) were then called by the municipality to collaborate with them, in order to see what kind of cultural life could flourish from this space. The more projects they developed, the more people joined, generally on a temporary basis and that is how the need to create Institute for (X) arrived, to create a platform for future projects and events. Mads Peter (Laursen, 2013) notes that it was all pitch black before anyone came to this area, and they had to start by setting up some lights so the municipality made the deal that, if they set up the

street lights themselves, the bills would be paid. It was a good deal, as these street lights are now made in order to allow parkour aficionados to climb them and use them in their tracks (Madsen, 2014).

However, most facilities were still functional when this group of people first moved in, allowing the setting up of new studios relatively easily. As long as everyone pays their monthly rent, Institute for (X) plans to carry on. This is how it is currently organized, according to Pernille (Madsen, 2014).

### 5.2. (X) Marks the Spot<sup>11</sup>

Consisting of the surrounding area of *Godsbanen* (as seen in figure 2 below), a culture production centre, Institute for (X) started by being an extension of the project Bureau Detours but many others joined in.

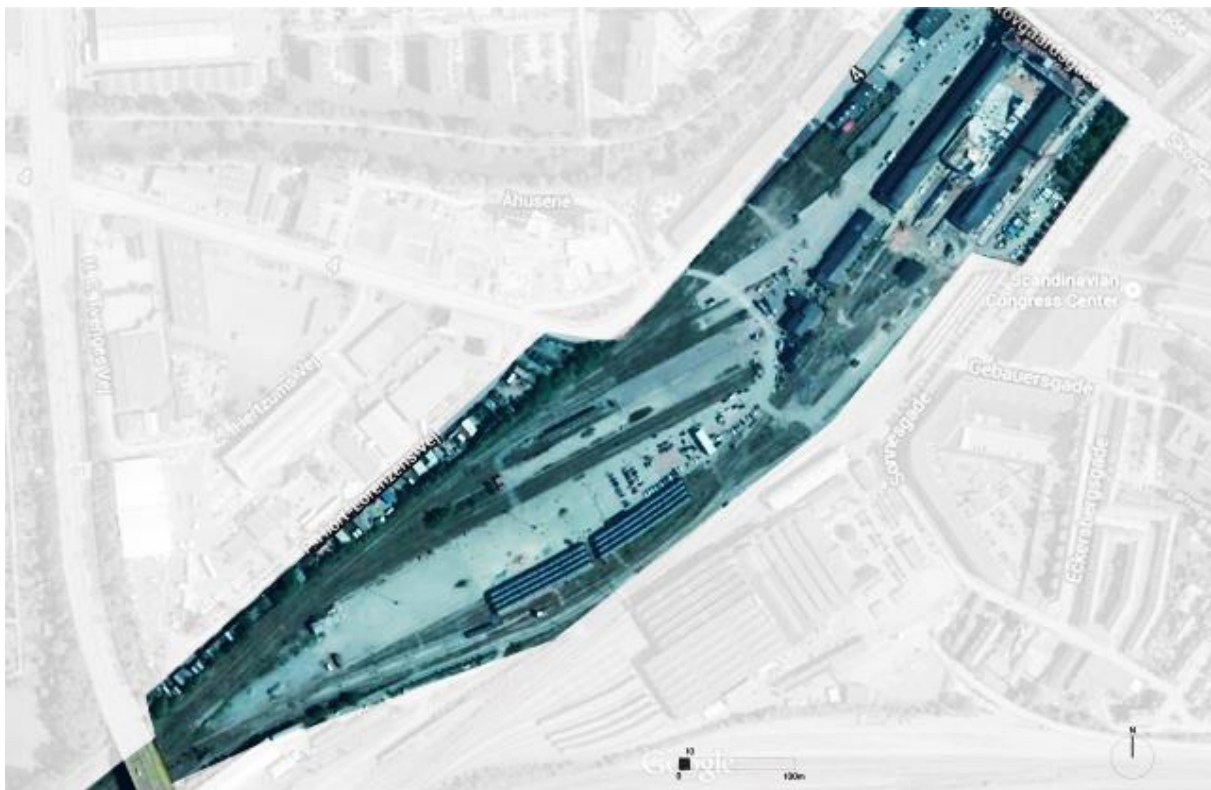


Figure 2 – Current Godsbanen area outlined for this research

As Mads Peter Laursen explains, this platform started out from a series of social and architectural projects that haven't stopped growing since day one (Wallacy, 2013, p. 24). Each of the buildings marked in red have their own letter (A, B, C, D, E, and F) and them all congregate different types of activities. According to my informant, Pernille – who was so

<sup>11</sup> Common 'catch-phrase' seen in many of Institute for (X)'s projects;



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helpful by drawing a sketch of Institute for (X) mapping all the different activities she remembered – the groups are the following:

Now there are over 40 ongoing projects and *circa* 200-300 people connected to these projects, in this area - from musicians, to designers, to Vikings<sup>12</sup>, to actors to green-lovers.

*“We are a group of cultural entrepreneurs; young people who have a passion for hands-on participation through projects and events. A lot of people are here because the bureaucracy process is quick and simple. It is not very complicated to get things done here. The lack of formal meetings allows people to make decisions by themselves and get their own projects done in the way they want to. It’s a lively cluster of ideas, students, musicians, designers and all types of creative people”* (Laursen, 2013, p. 25).

All the buildings are called ‘house’ and groups of buildings are usually designated by ‘quarters’ giving the area a ‘neighbourhood’ resemblance.



Figure 3 – Current area that Institute for (X) uses, enhanced for this research

The ‘A-house’ is where it all started (Wallacy, 2013, p. 24) and also the ‘head office’ of Institute for (X). It is where people meet in a common kitchen, with common bathroom facilities and it is also where DAK is. DAK means *Design, Architecture and Kunst* (art) and is responsible for projects being made after ‘project spaces’. It is also a workshop area. Bureau

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<sup>12</sup> A group of enthusiasts who practice and stage Viking style performances;

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Detours office is still there too and this area is also the home for photographers, graphic designers and software engineers. Even a small hotel is located here, with some spare rooms.

'B-house' is more directed towards music, sound and space and it is the home for projects like Alisababa band, 100% Max and Jazz Studio besides having an event area with a stage and a backstage studio which is shared by some bands and beat-boxers.

The 'C-house' is where interns and other artists in residence stay, and other projects like Air at (X) and a tattoo artist work. 'D-house' is directed towards garage culture, with more 'noisy and messy' projects. Re-ride, Adopt-a-box and the Vikings all have a space there because they need more storage room and a warehouse space to work. Adopt-a-box has also an outside greenhouse outside this building.

The 'F-house' is where the more entrepreneurial/ business oriented projects are, such as Kakao bar, Tetris Studios, Nordic Tales, Trae Mand, T-1000 and Mock-up. The 'E-house' and the 'G-house' buildings are part of the industrial quarter with project spaces, a road research project area, and blacksmiths (even though they are not identified in the figures, due to their very small scale and under-construction status).

Outside the buildings there is still a lot happening. In the landscape area, there is a Parkour site, with constructions resembling an urban gymnasium, in permanent change; there are Football and Volleyball courts; a field for the Viking's practices; a legal graffiti wall; a children's playground; a slackline; and shipping containers or old train wagons spread around the empty slots, for projects like bands, architects, electronic music studios, carpenters, among others. Among these smaller constructions, there is also a Mongolian tent, built by one of the artists; and a lake, with some ducks who live there and are fed by the community.

On the left side of the area, behind buildings F, B and A there are some other projects starting in new containers and a Beta-Park, with a Basketball court and a Skate park. It was extremely difficult to map these projects as they change regularly and since they are not official organizations, they have no official website or contact number. It was only through my first interview, with Pernille's description (Madsen, 2014), that I could finally realize this information and understand how the area is organized.

For this thesis purpose, I will not consider Godsbanen itself since it is not part of Institute for (X) as it is a more institutional and municipal-funded project. Nonetheless I believe it's worth mentioning that the Aarhus Rethink 2017 office is staying there, to be closer to the area where new plans will develop – this area is growing in importance with respect to what the city envisions for the 2017 European Capital of Culture events; there are several open workshops that artists can use, such as a laser-cutter, a laser wood burner, metal-related tools, ovens for

modelling and sculpture, textile rooms with sewing machines, photography studios, theatre stages, among others. These can be booked by organizations, classes or groups of artists for a period of time under a certain payment but are open to anyone. Moreover, the festival I helped organizing - Aarhus SustaIN Festival 2014 - was held in this area and used many of the amphitheatres and rooms in a successful partnership. A big warehouse was used for two of the markets organized by the festival, a swapping market and a second-hand market; and here was also the restaurant, the 'People's kitchen'.

### **5.3. The Future of (X)**

As Mads Peter says, *"If (X) continues to grow like it is now we could be more flexible and start moving to other locations around the city. Maybe we can still have this place as a base but most of our operations could be done in other areas"* (Laursen, 2013, p. 25).

As stated, the perception is that Institute for (X) works as a platform for exporting projects (into the city) and attracting people (to the events). Even more, the fact that it's creating a new centre inside the city – Stephen Wallacy (2013, p. 13) claims this new area will be called Aarhus K, (K = creativity), because of Godsbanen, Institute for (X) and the reallocation of the Architecture School into the area is also changing municipal policies.

From the drawings and project plans shared by some, on the Facebook group page, Institute for (X) can expand to include all the area covered in a blue layer, as illustrated in figure 2, even though today, it has only been developed as figure 3 shows, with the buildings market as red.

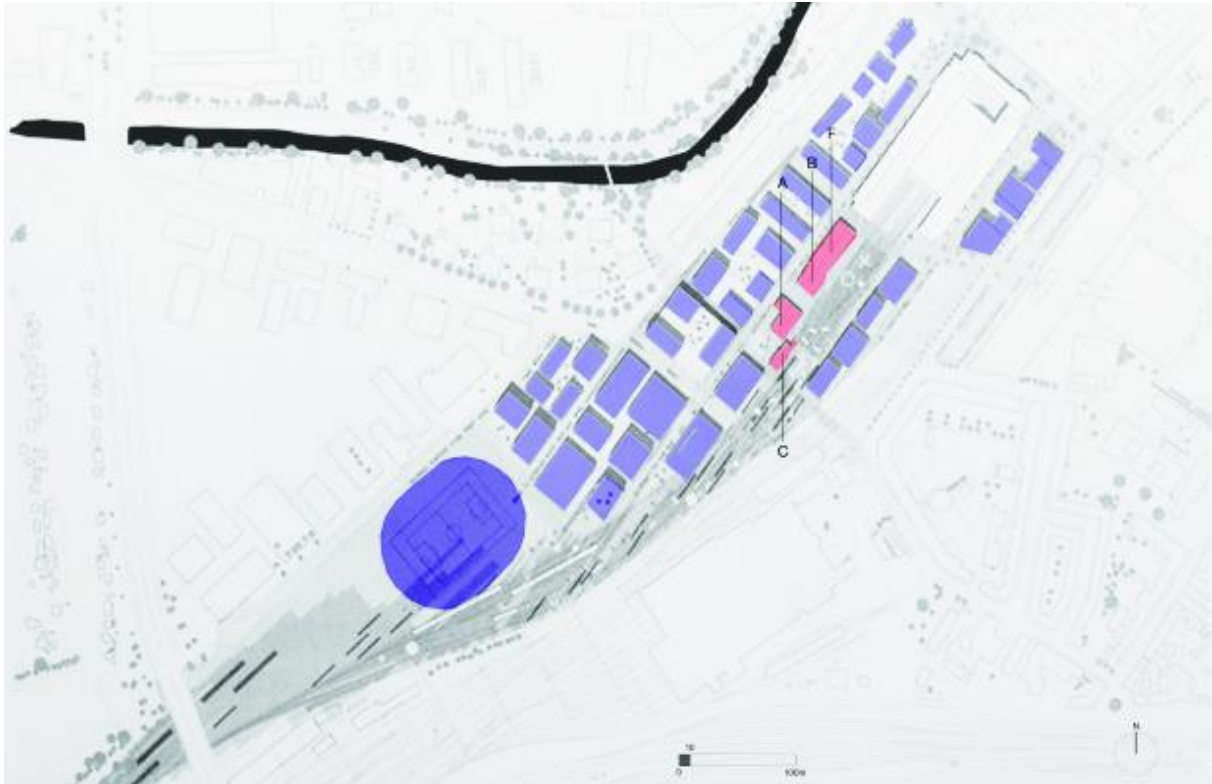


Figure 4 – Future plan overlaid with the current map, for purposes of showing future changes

According to Stephen D. Wallacy, this is the perfect location for the Architecture School (Wallacy, 2013, p. 14) because the roughness of this area is perfect for learning and experimenting with materials and solutions. Housing for students will possibly also be developed around this area, since students are roughly 1/4<sup>th</sup> of Aarhus' population. It is because of this view that figure 6 shows a plan for a multiuse pavilion to be constructed in the area as well.

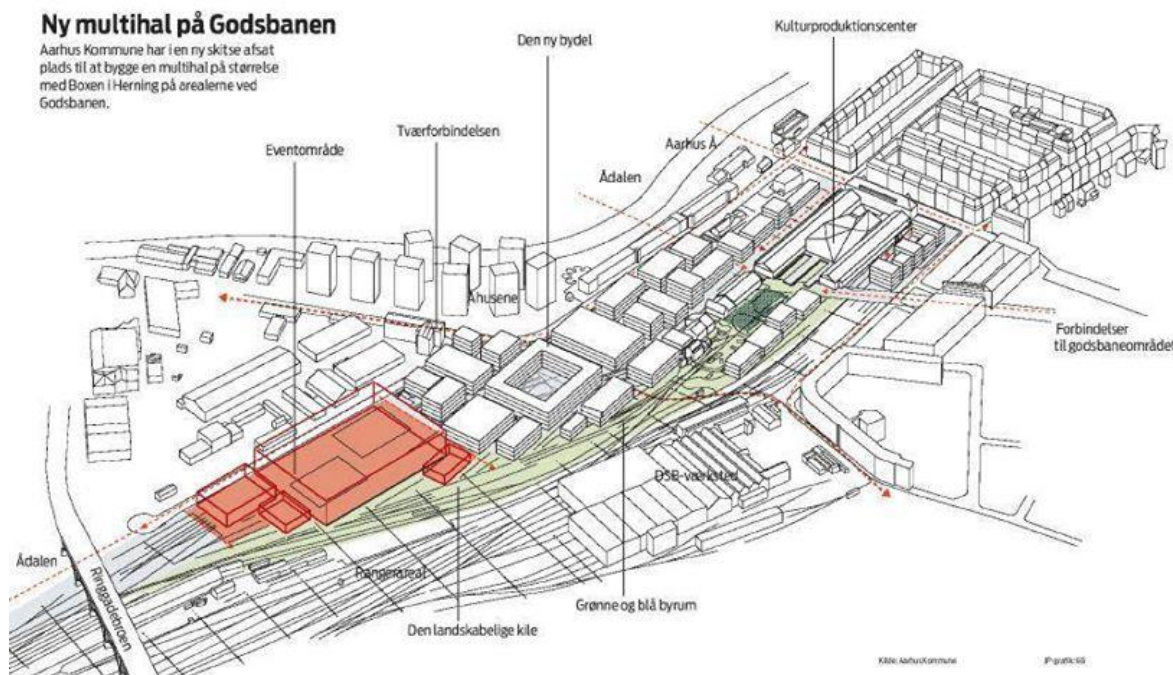


Figure 5 – [351] New plan for Godsbanen area, posted on 16<sup>th</sup> April 2014

#### 5.4. Fieldwork Experience at Adopt-a-Box<sup>13</sup>

Adopt-a-Box is a project<sup>14</sup> that aims to cultivate the city centre of Aarhus by bringing edible plants into an urban setting.

Starting in the Aarhus' Latin Quarter in 2012, Adopt-a-Box hopes to both decorate and provide food (for thought) for the people that use the area. The idea is that local businesses, cafés, residents, among others adopt 'a box' and give it a place to live on their doorstep, water the plants through the summer months and finally, reap the rewards at a community harvest in the autumn. In return, the boxes beautify the streets of the Latin Quarter and hopefully, give a sweet little something for the birds and the bees. The plants in the boxes get planted in the middle of March in order to let them grow to a decent size before releasing them into the big wide world. From March until mid-May they grow strong in the windowsills and backyards of the Adopt-a-Box team as well as at Adopt-a-Box Headquarters at Institute for (X).

According to the chairman, Hester Callaghan, Adopt-a-box "started in 2012 because we were a group of people in an organization called Himmelhaven, and (...) we weren't really doing anything so we got a bit bored – I certainly was a bit bored, not enjoying my bachelor's degree – so, we were trying to find something else to do and we had the idea of using a box that Tore had built for another event to have it out on the streets, and then thought they could have some potatoes in it, then we sort of developed the whole adoption thing so, yeah. We

<sup>13</sup> [http://www.adoptabox.dk/meet-the-team/;](http://www.adoptabox.dk/meet-the-team/)

<sup>14</sup> [http://www.adoptabox.dk/about-the-project/;](http://www.adoptabox.dk/about-the-project/)

*were already a group that wanted to do something with urban greening, and we just got more involved” (Callaghan, 2014).*

They chose to have their headquarters at Institute for (X) because *“Tore was starting his projects there anyway, and he had just done his internship as a pedagogue anyway and then he stayed there as the cultural handyman, so he’s just moved down there and he got something that had just been used for brewing so it had big windows and it seemed like the perfect place to settle” (Callaghan, 2014)* but soon they realised how they liked to be there and were happy to have made that decision because for her Institute for (X) is *“(…) a community of people, doers, handy-people... that’s how (X) funds itself, like they get funding for certain buildings that they have and some cultural projects is probably like a cultural hub for doers, I suppose I’d say. I don’t know... it gets compared to Christiania whilst that has more to do with anarchists and drugs and it’s very political. Institute for (X) hasn’t that political side of it; it’s more to do with initiative and projects” (Callaghan, 2014).*

As for my personal experience, it was only after becoming a member of Adopt-a-Box, that I started to realize the community’s habits and that people tended to gather and to hang out with known friends or co-workers, not very talkative to outsiders. It felt more assertive to make a low-profile entrance in the community and disclose to everyone immediately that I was only there to do research, also, because I wasn’t there *just* for that.

Just from being involved with Adopt-a-box<sup>15</sup>, I learned plenty of useful skills: I now know how to nurture seedlings before transplanting them into bigger vases; I know how to plant garlic, onions, carrots, among others; I know how to bring bees into city gardens; I’ve met a lot of people that share my concerns about the world, about sustainability;. I fell in love with the smell of fresh soil when I washed the left-over vegetables from previous planting sessions that we brought home and cooked a meal for two, completely for free; I now feel like I can get my hands-on-it and grow my own food; We built a compost box together, I learned how to do it, and how to use it; I taught others how to build it and use afterwards too; I met people from different countries, with different cultural backgrounds, who knew different sets of skills, and we shared them, many times, over dinner conversations. In all, I felt part of a group that cared for something and cannot describe how much I feel I gained, at a personal level, from taking part in this experience. From being able to *be* at Institute for (X), I understood first-hand the type of empowerment this kind of project might bring to its participants – and probably, the higher the commitment and involvement, the higher the reward.

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<sup>15</sup> Field notes [386] – [393];

## ***Chapter VI – Research Findings***

### ***6.1. Research Goals***

Discussing “How is Institute for (X) contributing to the rethinking of Aarhus; and how is this rethinking affording the Hybrid City?” demands that several concepts which are interlinked must be discriminated and understood, prior to their use. The idea of ‘rethinking’; what is a ‘Hybrid City’; how can a process ‘afford’ another. To better understand why they are all important for this debate, I must firstly reflect with the aid of an important article that has already debated the importance of the kind of research that I hereby propose to make.

In “*Territórios resilientes, criativos e socialmente inovadores*” (Freitas & Estevens, 2012), the focus on change and transformation of the action-system within the development of communities is anchored in the need to achieve a *collective agency*<sup>16</sup> in order to foresee *real utopias*.

This thesis’ idea of Hybrid City, aligns the real utopias defined by the authors as places of experience, in shape-shifting and transforming territories, provided that the relationships between the actors are free to change in order to meet their needs – hereby also defined as the ‘rethinking process’.

It is therefore necessary to ‘know and comprehend the changes and transformations in values and institutions that happen at creative locations’, simultaneously dynamic (economy), open (culture), negotiated (politics) and inclusive (social).

In the authors’ perspective, the desired real utopia happens through processes of transformative resilience and social innovation (Freitas & Estevens, 2012, p. 10). In order to achieve it, a creative environment that promotes this transformation must (1) break with the traditional governance models; (2) adopt a trans-disciplinary approach in recognizing and respecting the different types of actions to incorporate; (3) appeal to an on-going joint learning process; and (4) postulate a generative co-production of its own necessary conditions to exist (Freitas & Estevens, 2012, p. 11) – hereby discussed as the relationship between temporary spaces and the production of resilience mechanisms.

It is equally important to recognize the relevance of ‘networking’ and empowerment of the actor-network for the healthy development and maintenance of such territories. In contexts, places and territories necessarily in processes of transition - between the realities and models that are recognized as insufficient or undesirable and the models that are wished to

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<sup>16</sup> Collective Agency is a concept used by the authors which is used here as the potential of agency derived by the network of actors, as ANT conceptualizes;

experiment with, consolidate and generalize in the configuration of new realities – social innovation<sup>17</sup> brings a ‘boost’ of opportunities and potential mobilizing energy to this transition process. This process of transition is not ‘natural’ or ‘spontaneously generated’, however, and it is only through a strong promotion of autonomy and actor-empowerment that real utopias can be thought. The authors state that art shows here as a stimuli instrument to the creativity needed in this process of change and transformation inherent to social innovation – because art contains in itself ‘seeds of change’ that inspire, are inspiring and develop imagination and critical thinking (Freitas & Estevens, 2012, p. 12). As a collective practice, creativity – in this perspective – affords the improvement of a population quality of life, encouraging and promoting the construction of a participative and transformative city. Artistic creativity<sup>18</sup> is, then, a critical sight over the questioned reality and affords the creation of new collective places assuming multi-dimensional shapes (Freitas & Estevens, 2012, p. 12). It is through artistic creativity that the search for other possible futures is made, presenting itself here as leverage for the triggering of a bigger learning process and collective interaction – and it is this collective interaction that thus produces transformative resilience mechanisms, or, the possibility of change (Freitas & Estevens, 2012, p. 13) – this transformative process is the goal that can be triggered by projects such as (X).

I believe it is possible to identify some general directions of what Institute for (X) is doing to contribute to Aarhus’ rethinking, through reading some general characterizations of Institute for (X) that can give quite a good image of what this place is. For instance, Pernille’s (Madsen, 2014) description is very detailed: *“I would say (X) is an entrepreneurial cultural platform for creative and artsy people... so it’s a space where they are able to do their own thing, their own projects, because it’s temporary, it has a flexible frame where you can personalize your space and you can make it fit to your own needs which makes it a space to a lot of egos, people with their own agenda and you find a really diverse range of projects, both businesses, really, and start ups and musicians and bike mechanics and smiths... architects, designers, graphic designers, artists... Vikings! Yeah urban gardeners... so you have all this different things going on, it’s much more than these examples, it’s really diverse group. So it gives the space this certain dynamic and a specific character. And also the space is the reason why it looks as it looks it’s because of its pragmatic approach to design so it’s all sort of a result of a need, more or less. It’s all coming from something. And then maybe it’s been adapted but everything has a history, it’s not just made because it’s pretty but it’s made for a*

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<sup>17</sup> As Freitas and Estevens conceptualize it;

<sup>18</sup> As the authors conceptualize it;



*purpose and function. For examples, the lamp posts, they have an H shape because it's made for parkour, so they can crawl up to the lamp posts, so it's not just because it's pretty but because they can use it. It looks really cool but it's useful too. And then of course you add some design to it, to look in a certain way. (...) So that's one example of our design method. So it's all a result of something. The shed out there was a prototype for a project we did for BD, to use a year and a half ago, and then somebody else needed it for an outdoor kitchen so it was moved out there so that's why it's as it is. So there is small history everywhere."*

And there are no official directives or rules, at Institute for (X), of what should or should not exist. 'Only the person behind the project', Mads Peter Laursen (Laursen, 2014), who describes himself as being "(...) *Maybe like a compass. Like when the sailors, back in the old days, before GPS kind of gave a direction but didn't tell you how to sail. Very philosophical... But maybe that's it. I try to put some direction on something. Making sure their boat sails in the right direction*".

And coincidentally, the projects existing here all meet the Tactical Urbanism contours – the Re-Ride project; Bureau Detours; Adopt-a-Box; blacksmiths; musicians sharing facilities; architects and designers; start-ups, among others<sup>19</sup>.

## **6.2. Presenting the Findings**

I will read my data in two different ways: (1) First, with a look at all the years I was able to gather data from (2009-2014) and find developments that might be relevant for understanding how this kind of project evolves – what started to be done; what followed; where it is now; etc. (2) Second, I will use the scheme written by Killing Architects (U.d.) as they have already drawn some conclusions on the general benefits that temporary projects can bring to a city - therefore, helping its citizens to more effectively find solutions for the challenges presented today (Freitas & Estevens, 2012) – and observe if they parallel to those observed in this case. The latter is mainly an introductory way to contribute to understanding which actors and stakeholders at large<sup>20</sup> really emerge benefited by this type of experiment, which claims an intent to bring voice and empowerment to a local community.

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<sup>19</sup> All names listed are of groups or projects having their headquarters at (X);

<sup>20</sup> By distinguishing *actors* from *stakeholders* I intend to address the dimension of actors that have a more institutional and intentional interaction with the network – because even though this research is situated within an ANT conceptual cloud, the model used by Killing Architects mentions these four categories (designers, land owners, municipalities and the local community) of stakeholders;

From these two different readings of the same chronological table<sup>21</sup> I will then discuss my findings, while answering my research question.

The chronological table that served as the organizational platform for my collected data also serves to demonstrate this transformational process, from the beginning of (X) to the end of my research – this perspective is helpful in comprehending how can such an initiative be, eventually, transplanted, re-made, copied, translated or reproduced, in any way, in other contexts. By understanding the evolutionary process, the “what happens?” and “when?” one might be better prepared to recognize similar signs in different situations.

1. In 2009 the Facebook group is first created, but no pictures are posted. The process seems to be starting.
2. In 2010, the first pictures are posted<sup>22</sup>, showing the start of renovation and construction processes around the area – not so many people appear in these pictures – and a video<sup>23</sup> is released, showing light installations, ‘to-do’ lists and some rooms being re-designed. Also, a logo is created<sup>24</sup> and a first mention of a Pecha Kucha workshop<sup>25</sup> is made.
3. In 2011, more developments are evident. Sketches of ideas for re-using old pallets are posted<sup>26</sup> - probably deriving from the first workshop in 2010 (December 2010 to February 2011); and also the first pictures showing (X) at night<sup>27</sup>, with an already well installed lighting system, are posted. In April a video<sup>28</sup> shows how U.S.E. container is being used, in a project by Bureau Detours as a Teach Mobile Classroom. Some pictures<sup>29</sup> show the results of experiments with pallets, another video<sup>30</sup> explains ‘The People’s Kitchen’ concept and some music events and concerts are also advertised<sup>31</sup>. The first traceable article is written in September, regarding Dennis Design Centre on *Politiken*<sup>32</sup> a known newspaper and then, a considerable boom of events are advertised in October, November and December. Among the most outstanding are the several permaculture or sustainable living related workshops, presentations and DIY

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<sup>21</sup> See Appendix C;

<sup>22</sup> [192]-[202];

<sup>23</sup> [2];

<sup>24</sup> [190], [191];

<sup>25</sup> [1];

<sup>26</sup> [211]-[218];

<sup>27</sup> [204]-[219];

<sup>28</sup> [11];

<sup>29</sup> [220]-[227];

<sup>30</sup> [17]; [228];

<sup>31</sup> [15], [16];

<sup>32</sup> [26];

projects<sup>33</sup>; four calls for participation in community projects (a network for sharing ideas, research and experiments in partnership with Aarhus University and the Municipality, a festival for an experimental urban lab with the participation of architects, designers, creative minds, and all others interested – as a result from the Pecha Kucha event; a call for the development of a common garden; and a call for a Cultural House project)<sup>34</sup>. Also, during this trimester, the first Christmas Market is held<sup>35</sup> and two articles<sup>36</sup> are published, in *Aarhus Stiftsidende* and *Kunsten.nu* regarding the urban gardening projects and the Bureau Detours award for their creative and interventional urban projects.

4. In 2012 the first trimester is marked by a series<sup>37</sup> of workshops, meetings and talks regarding urban design, climate and energy issues, furniture design, ‘do-it-together’ projects about sustainability, and ‘grow-it-yourself’ kits; and another article release, about Godsbanen area, in *Aarhus Stiftsidende*. After what seems to be a ‘summer holiday’, more pictures are shared regarding furniture design made from pallets<sup>38</sup>, including an art installation<sup>39</sup> completely built from pallets called ‘By in by’ (*city in the city*) and the development of the garden is shown and debated, on a series of pictures<sup>40</sup>. On the 16<sup>th</sup> December, an important definition<sup>41</sup> appears, on what is Institute for (X), posted by Mads Peter Laursen: “*Institute for (X) is a Business and Cultural platform. The organization is organic and alive. The ‘x’ is defined and redefined. Rather than be seen as private workshops with an open attitude*”.
5. 2013 was a busy year, having numerous postings throughout the months. Two articles mention the Architecture School of Aarhus moving to Godsbanen area<sup>42</sup> and a promotional video, called ‘This is X’ is released<sup>43</sup> along with other events for think-tanks and experiments<sup>44</sup>. The second trimester is filled with events, and I shall only mention some of them: Film views, debates (one including an invitation to all Denmark’s municipalities to debate creative alternatives in urban areas), more

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<sup>33</sup> [18]; [27]; [23]; [33]; [34];

<sup>34</sup> [229]; [230]; [30]; [31];

<sup>35</sup> [203];

<sup>36</sup> [35], [36];

<sup>37</sup> [24]; [38]; [39]; [237]; [25]; [41]; [13];

<sup>38</sup> [241];

<sup>39</sup> [288]-[297];

<sup>40</sup> [243]; [239];

<sup>41</sup> [186];

<sup>42</sup> [382]-[384];

<sup>43</sup> [42];

<sup>44</sup> [278]; [340];

workshops and think-tanks as well as meetings<sup>45</sup>; future plans and designs are shared for debate<sup>46</sup>; new Facebook pages are created for several smaller communities within (X) communicate<sup>47</sup> – basketball, parkour, skate or graffiti lovers; and other articles are written<sup>48</sup> about projects for the harbour, or the new sports groups. Also, several festivals<sup>49</sup> show up in the page as partners now. From the third trimester on, it is noticeable that even more festivals and markets establish partnerships and connections to (X)<sup>50</sup> before the end of the year; there are calls for applicants, volunteers and collaborators for new projects<sup>51</sup>; and still, new articles<sup>52</sup> coming out every month now and more and more meetings, project launches and talks<sup>53</sup> related to not only artistic exhibitions or projects, but now more political, searching for leftist alternative perspectives.

6. The last year analysed here, 2014, is the year I was actually developing my own fieldwork, and along with my online research I was able to gather some physical elements<sup>54</sup> mainly about exhibitions schedules and descriptions of Godsbanen, write some personal observations (field notes)<sup>55</sup> and make my own interviews<sup>56</sup>. Even so, the density of what I observed in the first five months of this year was much bigger than the first five months of every year since 2009. In January 2014, three articles are published<sup>57</sup> regarding Institute for (X); four conferences/ talks<sup>58</sup> take place; and some video releases about ongoing projects<sup>59</sup>, a theatre piece<sup>60</sup> and some parties<sup>61</sup> also happen around this time. In February, three articles are published<sup>62</sup>, numerous projects

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<sup>45</sup> [44]; [283]-[287]; [47]; [56]; [189]; [184]; [277]; [314]; [328]; [338]; [59]; [185]; [279]; [70]; [181]; [182]; [187]; [380]; [74]; [84];

<sup>46</sup> [303]; [304]; [322]; [323]; [327];

<sup>47</sup> [58];

<sup>48</sup> [46]; [68]; [69];

<sup>49</sup> [45]; [60]-[64];

<sup>50</sup> [72]; [73]; [75]; [77]; [78]; [87]; [88]; [92]; [95]; [98]; [102]; [104]; [275]; [112];

<sup>51</sup> [96]; [103]; [104]; [109]; [72]; [86]; [274]; [274];

<sup>52</sup> [85]; [90]; [93]; [94]; [371]-[372]; [385]; [114]; [115]; [118]; [120];

<sup>53</sup> [74]; [76]; [10]; [82]; [91]; [301]; [100]; [101]; [298]; [106]-[111]; [188]; [308]; [116]-[117]; [119]; [122];

<sup>54</sup> [394]-[400];

<sup>55</sup> See Appendix A;

<sup>56</sup> See Appendix A;

<sup>57</sup> [52]-[55]; [381];

<sup>58</sup> [125]; [129]; [131]; [381];

<sup>59</sup> [130]; [132];

<sup>60</sup> [126];

<sup>61</sup> [128];

<sup>62</sup> [48]; [51]; [140]-[141];

seek volunteers or participants<sup>63</sup> and my interviews and exploratory talks also take place by the end of this month<sup>64</sup>. In March, three more articles are released<sup>65</sup>, now discussing the new student residences that will be built around (X); parties and concerts take place<sup>66</sup>, some within the context of festivals; throughout this month, there were some meetings for Adopt-a-box and therefore I was more present<sup>67</sup>. The month of April was also busy for (X): five articles<sup>68</sup> were written in this month alone, regarding the relationship between creative environments and residences for students, as well as debating the plans of the future of Godsbanen area; Sustain Festival happens during May so there is a release party<sup>69</sup>, I interview Mads Peter<sup>70</sup>, and exhibitions are happening nearly every day<sup>71</sup>. During May, my last month, maybe because of some festivals happening at the same time, there probably isn't much time for updates, even though the area is busy<sup>72</sup> and people seem to enjoy the outside garden a lot more now<sup>73</sup>, that the weather is better.

It is fair to say then, that a chronological analysis of the evolution of events at Institute for (X) contribute to the conclusion that (1) the amount of events and traceable data was increasing up until the end of my fieldwork; (2) the number of articles written (0 in 2009 and 2010; 2 in 2011; 1 in 2012; 13 in 2013 and 18 in 2014, only until May) about this experience was generally positive, contributing to a positive image of the project to the public opinion; (3) the consistent increase in events and partnerships, with festivals, artistic residencies and projects – experimental inside Institute for (X) in the form of workshops or exported to the city as exhibitions or art installations – can be understood as successful in the sense that they help one *recognize the relevance of 'networking' and empowerment of the actor-network for the healthy development and maintenance of such territories* (Freitas & Estevens, 2012).

In order to identify the verified benefits, which can be understood as resilience mechanisms, I cross my data with Killing Architects scheme as following: by relating every data point to one of the categories, it is more visually demonstrated who has *benefited* more from this project,

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<sup>63</sup> [134]; [142]; [370];

<sup>64</sup> [373]; [375]; [376];

<sup>65</sup> [49]; [50]; [156];

<sup>66</sup> [145]; [148]; [150]; [153]; [154]; [157]; [159];

<sup>67</sup> [149]; [362]; [388]-[390];

<sup>68</sup> [160]; [161]; [162]; [168]; [169];

<sup>69</sup> [117];

<sup>70</sup> [374];

<sup>71</sup> [163]-[167]; [170]-[172];

<sup>72</sup> [393];

<sup>73</sup> [178]; [349]; [350]; [352]; [353]; [365];

having in mind, of course, that I do not intend to do a statistical analysis here, nor depend on its results, but merely as an attempt to map all my collected data into general groups of action. This approach also allows me to take conclusions or reflexions from data that, without an ANT perspective, wouldn't be as useful.

***For the designers/architects/urbanists/artists involved:***

1. ***It offers a platform for designers to show their ideas and work*** – the purpose of the A-House, at Institute for (X) is precisely to provide a space for designers, artists and architects to work, show their ideas and discuss them with their peers<sup>74</sup>;
2. ***It can provide networking opportunities and the chance to form new professional relationships*** – as discussed previously, the networking and integrated feedback system provide an opportunity to form new professional relationships and partnerships; in fact, *SustaIn Festival* integrated *Adopt-a-box* in their programme, making it one of such cases<sup>75</sup>;
3. ***It can offer the chance to prototype and experiment with the way that different parts of the city are designed and get feedback on ideas from a wide range of people*** – it is mainly the work of Bureau Detours contributing to the existence of projects outside of (X), but their U.S.E. shipping container is a good example of such experimentations and installations that interacted with the city, getting feedback from society at large<sup>76</sup>;
4. ***Temporary projects can allow you to do the difficult work of politics – to build the contacts and relationships necessary to do further (perhaps permanent) projects*** – the involvement of Bureau Detours in the making of (X) was mainly due to the need

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<sup>74</sup> [205]-[210]; [211]-[218]; [11]; [17]; [192]-[202]; [228]; [21]; [12]; [190]-[191]; [1]; [3]; [18]; [27]; [30]; [229]; [230]; [23]; [5]; [7]; [20]; [22]; [28]; [6]; [14]; [32]; [33]; [38]; [24]; [25]; [13]; [309]; [42]; [278]; [306]; [326]; [340]; [129]; [130]; [132]; [133]; [366]-[368]; [135]; [136]; [139]; [143]; [341]; [344]-[347]; [354]-[355]; [360]; [147]; [150]-[152]; [154]; [158]; [362]; [364]; [369]; [242]; [9]; [43]; [44]; [57]; [184]; [277]; [303]-[305]; [314]; [322]; [325]; [328]; [65]; [185]; [279]-[282]; [324]; [327]; [8]; [66]; [70]; [180]; [181]; [299]; [320]; [323]; [163]; [165]; [167]; [166]; [170]-[176]; [351]; [178]; [348]; [365]; [241]; [74]; [77]; [330]-[337]; [80]; [81]; [83]; [84]; [85]; [307]; [10]; [82]; [87]; [91]; [92]; [244]-[271]; [301]; [314]-[319]; [385]; [288]-[297]; [19]; [243]; [239]; [186]; [96]; [99]; [100]; [101]; [103]; [298]; [321]; [105]; [106]; [107]; [110]-[114]; [308]; [115]-[122]; [123]; [339];

<sup>75</sup> [12]; [1]; [3]; [18]; [27]; [30]; [229]; [230]; [23]; [5]; [7]; [14]; [29]; [39]; [41]; [13]; [125]; [126]; [133]; [134]; [137]; [138]; [139]; [142]; [370]; [145]; [150]; [44]; [47]; [56]; [189]; [272]; [59]-[62]; [64]; [67]; [181]; [187]; [164]; [166]; [167]; [170]-[171]; [351]; [179]; [72]; [73]; [75]; [77]; [78]; [80]; [85]; [86]; [87]-[89]; [91]; [92]; [273]; [274]; [288]; [95]; [98]; [100]; [103]; [104]; [105]; [110]; [112]; [116]-[117]; [122];

<sup>76</sup> [205]-[210]; [211]-[118]; [11]; [220]-[227]; [17]; [192]-[202]; [228]; [21]; [1]; [2]; [4]; [18]; [30]; [229]; [230]; [23]; [5]; [22]; [31]; [29]; [24]; [237]; [25]; [41]; [13]; [278]; [340]; [133]; [341]; [342]; [354]-[355]; [370]; [147]; [149]; [152]; [361]; [362]; [364]; [189]; [327]; [180]; [181]; [182]; [187]; [323]; [380]; [165]; [166]; [175]; [348]; [352]; [365]; [241]; [330]-[337]; [84]; [307]; [274]; [385]; [288]-[297]; [99]; [104]; [109]; [188]; [119]; [122];

of the Municipality of Aarhus to develop partnerships with people capable of starting a culture production centre and the future plans for this area have the Municipality agreement<sup>77</sup>;

5. *Particularly in areas lacking other cheap space, temporary use can provide ‘incubator spaces’ for young not-yet-established people working in the creative sector – for the teenage band to play their first gig, young artists to have their first exhibition of work, etc.* – this is exactly what is happening at (X), as young start-ups are renting their space there now, in an open-air, creative environment with a highly active community boosting their own<sup>78</sup>;
6. *A temporary project can provide a ‘quick’ win in the long-term process of an urban development – where an urban redevelopment project can take years, the time necessary for a temporary project can be counted in months. These projects can help to demonstrate that something really is happening and starting to change the view of a site, or area* – compared to what the Municipality could have done in this area, this was the easiest and cheapest option, as David Wallacy says (Wallacy, 2013) and according to the popularity that this project has among citizens, revealed by the positive tone of the articles written in several newspapers, this seems to be moving towards long-term change in this area.

**For land/building owners:**

1. *They can raise the profile of an area, or of a particular site to help attract further investment* – David Wallacy believes this to be true (Wallacy, 2013) and according to some articles, this seems to be happening<sup>79</sup>;
2. *Temporary uses can help to change people’s perspective of a place, helping them imagine how it might be different* – Pernille, Hester and Mads Peter all believe this to be true as well (Madsen, 2014) (Callaghan, 2014) (Laursen, 2014);
3. *Where empty property is taxed, using the space for a temporary project until a permanent tenant can be found, may give exemption from this tax* – the deal that the Municipality provides water and electricity, as well as waste management for this area with cheaper prices than normal, confirms this point (Madsen, 2014), (Laursen, 2014);

**For municipalities/government bodies:**

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<sup>77</sup> [229]; [230]; [39]; [133]; [182]; [299]; [320]; [166]; [351]; [348]; [330]-[337]; [80]; [85]; [86]; [274]; [288]-[297]; [110]-[111]; [119]; [122];

<sup>78</sup> [374]; [376]; [373]; [375]; [371]; [372]; [401]-[405]; [386]-[393];

<sup>79</sup> [35]; [36]; [40]; [382]-[384]; [52]; [53]-[55]; [131]; [381]; [48]; [51]; [140]-[141]; [49]; [50]; [156]; [46]; [68]; [69]; [160]-[161]; [162]; [168]-[169]; [90]; [93]; [94]; [115]; [118]; [120];

1. ***Events can draw attention to areas of a city which are undergoing change and raise awareness of issues related to architecture and urbanism there*** – this was actually the goal of the Municipality in the beginning of this project (discussed in the presentation of this case);
2. ***They can help to educate people about planning and about how to get more involved with it*** – Some initiatives at Institute for (X) do seem to be open to everyone who wishes to be a part of this community, and learn from it<sup>80</sup>;
3. ***Events can help with effective community consultations. They can help reach a wide audience and attract attention for the launch of a consultation, so that it is possible to start a discussion about design proposals. Consultations need to coincide with the dates of an event, however*** – the many talks, workshops, film displays with debate sessions, meetings for open new projects already mentioned demonstrate how active this place is, in this regard;

***For local people:***

1. ***Temporary projects can add to the existing provision of public spaces and community facilities in an area*** – not only Institute for (X) but also Godsbanen have provided several new facilities for artists and interested citizens who now have new, free public spaces and rentable workshops, with constant events or shared facilities at a very low rate, lowering the barriers between good ideas and their concretization<sup>81</sup>;
2. ***Where building projects have been put on hold and sites remain unused and closed off by hoardings, temporary projects can help by giving the public access to land, opening up a greater number of routes through an area and improve its permeability*** – this project definitely helped to regain access to an area of the city that was not being used by the population; the instalment of lights at night, 24h life around the area and an active rate of events and new commuters and enthusiasts gave the city a new area to discover and walk through, pushing shady activities elsewhere (there are rumours this area had been previously an active interface of illegal activities – this

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<sup>80</sup> [220]-[227]; [30]; [229]; [230]; [5]; [31]; [29]; [39]; [41]; [278]; [129]; [133]; [354]-[360]; [370]; [58]; [189]; [184]; [303]-[304]; [314]; [338]; [185]; [66]; [69]; [70]; [180]-[182]; [187]; [299]; [320]; [380]; [175]; [351]; [348]; [330]-[337]; [80]; [307]; [274]; [385]; [288]-[297]; [99]; [106]-[107]; [110]-[111]; [119]; [122];

<sup>81</sup> [398]; [399]; [17]; [30]; [12]; [204]-[219]; [11]; [220]-[227]; [21]; [4]; [27]; [229]; [230]; [22]; [31]; [33]; [39]; [237]; [41]; [326]; [126]; [129]; [132]; [133]; [134]; [136]; [142]; [343]; [360]; [354]-[355]; [356]-[359]; [152]; [9]; [44]; [58]; [184]; [303]; [304]; [314]; [45]; [59]; [60]; [61]; [62]; [185]; [324]; [66]; [70]; [181]; [182]; [167]; [171]; [175]; [349]; [350]; [352]; [353]; [75]-[77]; [330]-[337]; [84]; [88]; [92]; [274]; [288]-[297]; [95]; [98]; [100]; [102]; [103]; [321]; [106]-[107]; [110]; [188]; [308]; [330]; [339]; [122]-[124];



was, nonetheless, not confirmed by a reliable source but simply a ‘word on the street’<sup>82</sup>;

3. ***When there is a strong community engagement aspect to a temporary project, it can have a big effect on the way that people view their local area, helping them to imagine that they are able to change things in the public space of the city, beyond their own homes*** – from projects that are born at (X) and transported into the city, maybe Adopt-a-box is one with more visibility; the way streets are now greener and box-adopters are now happy to contribute to having a little bit more nature at their doorstep definitely contributes to helping people reimagine life in the city in different, better ways – however, since I have not done interviews to the neighbourhood population, I cannot claim that those who are not involved understand or value any impact that these projects may be having in the city’s cultural development;
4. ***Temporary projects can help people imagine what an area will be like if a proposed project were to go ahead*** – the amount of designers and architects contributing to design ideas to the future plan of Institute for (X)’s and publicly sharing and debating these ideas points in this direction; also, the positive discourse newspapers have regarding this area’s future plans lead to the belief that the community (participants and neighbours) can imagine, and agree with, future plans.
5. ***Experimentation and prototyping in public space can help expand people’s design vocabulary, so that they become aware of a greater range of things that it is possible to do to improve public spaces – to go beyond requests for more cleaning and better street lighting (although these may be relevant as well)*** – for the community involved, there are many opportunities of learning such vocabulary and the cooperation with the students from architecture school is also helping some alternative ideas and experimentations to rapidly become part of mainstream studies because of their success rate in achieving the proposed objectives; from my particular experience, this has happened consistently.

Projects like Institute for (X) can positively change the present while also influencing the future. By analysing my data through its chronological evolution and by assessing which benefits can be drawn by the different stakeholders in this specific case, I can only conclude that events became apparently more frequent in 2013 and 2014; that the public opinion, based on the newspaper articles, is positive about this project; that the municipality and other

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<sup>82</sup> [204]-[219]; [192]-[202]; [2]; [4]; [204]; [22]; [306]; [303]; [304];

governmental bodies are active in participating and cooperating with this platform; and that by the 2000 members of the Facebook group page<sup>83</sup> the population seems to getting to know this place at a growing pace. I shall discuss in my final chapter my personal reflections and questions still unanswered regarding this data reading.

### **6.2.1. Which resilience mechanisms can be found at Institute for (X)?**

*“Sometimes there are a variety of projects happening and people from different parts of the city come and help out. These people contribute with materials as well. In the end there are always leftovers that can be used for other public projects”* (Laursen, 2013, p. 27).

Focusing on the section Folke describes as *Social-ecological resilience* its (1) characteristics are: interplay disturbance and **reorganization, sustaining and developing**; (2) its focus is on: **adaptive capacity, transformability, learning, innovation**; and (3) its context is an **integrated system feedback, cross-scale dynamic interactions** (Folke, 2006, p. 259).

The added value of the resilience conceptualization provided by Folke (2006) is that this framework incorporates several sources of knowledge and collective agency, relating resilience with the capacity for transformative solutions of ‘adaptive’ governance, through the mobilization of different actors and institutions, memories and social networks built throughout time, in different scales and different spaces (Freitas & Estevens, 2012, p. 7). This perspective justifies the capacity of people in a social-ecological system to build resilience through collective agency, understanding social processes like social learning, scenario building and adaptive capacity to *“achieve transformations towards more sustainable development pathways”* (Folke, 2006).

Because of these key-definitions, I focused my research on the resilience mechanisms that fit these criteria, meaning: I searched for processes that are of reorganization, sustenance and development; or that focus on adaptive capacitation, transformability, learning and innovation processes; provided the context has an integrated system feedback and affords cross-scale dynamic interactions, within the empirical and analytical frame presented throughout this research project.

1. Starting from my experience at Adopt-a-box, I identify mainly resilience mechanisms related with **learning** processes (learning how to plant several types of vegetables and flowers; learning how to build a compost box; learning about the importance of

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<sup>83</sup> On 11th September 2014;

- permaculture design in the city for attracting bees to pollinate the gardens, among others) or ‘how-to do-it-yourself’ inspiring events<sup>84</sup> (Callaghan, 2014);
2. The re-use of left-over materials<sup>85</sup> as stated by Mads Peter (Laursen, 2013) and investigated by this research, show the building of resilience mechanisms through a **transformative** capacity, of turning waste into resources and hence, through the artistic creative process, producing **innovative solutions**;
  3. Self-organizing **adaptive capacity** as shown by the fact that there is ‘no official direction of where Institute for (X) should develop towards’ (Laursen, 2014) and also demonstrating that there is a **an integrated system-feedback**<sup>86</sup>;
  4. A possible solution for the well-known *tragedy of the commons* (Hardin, 2010 [1968]) hereby shown in this research by the evidence of a strict self-supervision and **integrated system-feedback** of the shared facilities and resources<sup>87</sup> within the community;
  5. Other resilience mechanisms are related with the **adaptive capacity** of functionalizing all **transformations**, and giving them a creative use, as exemplified by the lamps that have an H shape in order to allow parkour sports-men to use them for climbing, or the U.S.E. container<sup>88</sup>;
  6. Successful **cross-scale interactions** such as the relationship between the leader group and the municipality are also important mechanisms because it provides this place with a ‘legal blessing’ to continue what they are doing, freely, according to their beliefs, as Pernille (Madsen, 2014) states;
  7. It is an inclusive<sup>89</sup> space (Madsen, 2014), that dodges the usual bureaucracy, giving projects the opportunities to **innovate, transform and adapt** much more easily; also giving minorities an arena for new trials – that in some cases wouldn’t even have a place to exist (Madsen, 2014) – due to cheap rents and an already cohesive community;

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<sup>84</sup> [27]; [5]; [28]; [239]; [65];

<sup>85</sup> [192]-[202]; [1]; [2]; [211]-[218]; [220]-[227]; [228]; [241]; [325]; [99];

<sup>86</sup> [17]; [223]; [24]; [38]; [86]; [25]; [307]; [309];

<sup>87</sup> [299]; [320];

<sup>88</sup> [11];

<sup>89</sup> [102]; [34];

8. During the process of establishing your own project, due to the Institute for (X)'s own characteristics, you also **learn** physical skills<sup>90</sup> – of building, installing electric circuits, re-using materials, etc. – because you will have to set it up yourself (Madsen, 2014), whether that is a room within a bigger building or a shipping container;
9. The community feeling created here (Madsen, 2014) through a physical networking platform is also an important resilience mechanism of **adaptive capacity** – since everyone needs **feedback**, eventual help or borrowed tools, or simply socializing – due to the *de facto* knowledge exchange and sharing;
10. This physical space, centrally located, knowledge sharing and **learning** platform also makes it possible for keeping gatherings physical, having ‘do-it-together’ workshops<sup>91</sup> or learning from watching others do (Callaghan, 2014);
11. The flexible open-air character of (X) provides for projects which are not suited to offices with a welcoming community and a creative place to be, contributing to **transform** and **innovate** in the city, through an artistic environment;
12. The outputs<sup>92</sup> that Institute for (X) brings to the city come in many shapes and they can be of **learning** character, like research<sup>93</sup>, **innovative transformations** or creative **adaptations** to public uses;

### ***6.2.2. How is the rethinking process in Aarhus being shaped by the resilience mechanisms found at Institute for (X)?***

#### ***Analysing resilience through three different thresholds:***

##### ***Resilience through learning***

The kind of resilience through learning that can be identified in the previous points 1; 2; 8; and 10 are mainly related to **learning** and **literacy** – either from workshops to learn a skill, from participation in groups like Adopt-a-box, from the re-use of left-over materials and upcycling, or from the inherent skills one learns by establishing their own project (building skills, mainly) - are all possible due to Institute for (X) form of physical (and online) platform for sharing and knowledge exchange. The possibility to bring citizens to an area, or to projects related to this area, is therefore important for the ‘rethinking’ process for a transition

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<sup>90</sup> [205]-[210]; [204]; [203]; [4]; [340]; [182]; [354]; [355]; [365];

<sup>91</sup> [230]; [23]; [39]; [237]; [41]; [278]; [44]; [283]-[287]; [185]; [324]; [66]; [181]; [187]; [87]; [106]; [107]; [108]; [110]; [119]; [129]; [135]; [142];

<sup>92</sup> [21]; [30]; [31];

<sup>93</sup> [189]; [13]; [288]-[297]; [189]; [314]; [59]; [330]-[337]; [93]; [274]; [188]; [115]; [120]; [122]; [132]; [166];

towards a resilience future. By affording a higher level of informed participation in an experimental, creative area in the city, the learning processes provided here are a key to a population who knows-how-to adapt their places to their needs – also, by learning how to do-it-together (and not just ‘yourself’) the community feeling is enhanced, allowing better cooperation in future projects.

### ***Resilience through Self-organizing and Feedback skills***

Successful **cross-scale interactions** such as the relationship between the leader group and the municipality are also important mechanisms because it provides this place with a ‘legal blessing’ to continue what they are doing, freely; Self-organizing is an **adaptive capacity** afforded by **an integrated system-feedback** (previous points 3; 4; 6; and 12). By understanding self-regulatory procedures and how to take care of shared facilities and resources together, an important step is taken towards resolving the *tragedy of the commons* (Hardin, 2010 [1968]) problem, in the sense that by **learning** through a community, community mechanisms are also learned.

Self-regulation here is achieved through a healthy relationship with the municipality, the city, and even international collaborations, shown by the identified outputs like projects, research or **innovative** transformations of public use of facilities.

When asked about international collaborations, Mads Peter (Laursen, 2014) thinks it is important to note the residency programme because it has an “*inbuilt reach out*”, in a way. The B-house events attract a lot of international musicians and designers and this residence programme allows them to live in a creative environment for a certain period. Also, most Bureau Detours projects aren’t even happening in Aarhus, but somewhere else, like Paris or Hong Kong. “*It’s like projects go away but people come to make them*” (Laursen, 2014).

To him, this pushes some understandings and spectrum of possibilities in new directions: the municipality, for instance, has for the first time written into their cultural programme that there should be more possibilities for the use of buildings (Laursen, 2014): “*don’t bulldoze it, find some use for it. This is now official policy and it’s because of Institute for (X)*”. Seeing that it is possible, and people don’t just destroy it, city developers are now thinking this place has ‘character’ that is missing in other parts of the city. “*They don’t know yet how to do it, but they want to learn it*” (Laursen, 2014). This also brings new questions for Mads Peter, like ‘how should a new city look like?’ or ‘is it supposed to just be beautiful and recreative or should it also be pragmatic and functional?’ or ‘a platform for humans?’

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For Mads Peter it's also important to have a good relationship with the municipality (Laursen, 2014) *“a lot of people don't know about (X). This is still kind of an urban secret; which is fine, because it's important for cities to have secrets to discover and places like this, with un-understandable agendas are important for the diversity of a city”* but it's also important to maintain a good relationship with the municipality so that the image of (X) stays positive (Laursen, 2014).

But the relationship with the municipality is very tricky and should keep being loose, according to Mads Peter (Laursen, 2013, p. 25). There are rules but sometimes they are 'bent' for the sake of creativity and the artist community tries to show that a lot of cultural projects can be done without the need of corporate sponsors (Laursen, 2013, p. 25). *“By being in these warehouses, we are showing that leftover industrial space can be a functional space where many creative projects can be made. Through this new approach the city can be improved allowing the public to use it more frequently”* (Laursen, 2013, p. 25).

And the municipality recognizes this, by allowing Institute for (X) to stay there with very cheap rent, helping with provision of water, waste collection and electricity. This is enough to keep (X) running 24 hours for 7 days a week which means anyone can work at any time they want, without worrying about closing times or breath-taking bills at the end of the month.

But this doesn't seem to be quite enough yet, as Mads Peter says that what he would really like to see in the future horizon of Institute for (X) is a complete backing up from the municipality, so (X) could continue to grow with the city. It would be important to have people from (X) involved in the decision-making process since decisions are being made about the future of this place in order to keep outsiders, with an eye on potential business, away (Laursen, 2013, p. 27).

Since this project is not intended to make money off the valorisation of the surround land only, but it is also about the development of human life without thinking about it.

The learning of self-organizational skills is a key resilient mechanism for a constant process of 'rethinking' a city that requires a consistent power relation between citizens and policy-makers – bonded with the appropriate literacy, the more autonomy stakeholders have in making their own projects, the less bureaucracy and supervision needed, leading to a self-developed, self-thought, almost self-made possible rethinking pathway towards the Hybrid City.

### ***Resilience through the conception of a Creative Environment***

*“It is through artistic creativity that the search for other possible futures is made, presenting itself here as leverage for the triggering of a bigger learning process and collective interaction – and it is this collective interaction that thus produces transformative resilience mechanisms, or, the possibility of change”<sup>94</sup> (Freitas & Estevens, 2012, p. 13).*

As demonstrated in points 5; 7; 9 and 11, being an inclusive space, for all minorities, all ages and all types of projects, Institute for (X) escapes the usual bureaucratic steps, giving all an opportunity to bloom according to their own time and effort investment. By being an innovative space, allowing new trials, also develops critical and rational thinking, providing its actors with a common creative but pragmatic approach.

The knowledge and experiences shared through dinner time or common breaks also provide a heterogenic **feedback** on the projects being developed, allowing the participants to shape them in real time, while still under development. The capability of changing in real-time, if faced with a challenge a peer has pointed out, gives these participants a much better ‘school’ in problem-solving. Also, the physical platform allows a tool-sharing that wouldn’t be possible if these projects were scattered around the city.

The environment created through this creative **feedback** and pragmatic sharing of ideas, skills and tools provides these participants with another important asset, which is that of being able to bring **innovative transformations** in a rethinking process, which are at the same time doable, upcycled and pragmatic in the use of resources.

Institute for (X) is, therefore, contributing to the rethinking of Aarhus through the production of resilience mechanisms from **learning new skills, working in a creative environment** or adapting processes in real time, due to a **self-organizing community that provides cross-scale feedback**. It is only through such resilience mechanisms and objectives only that a ‘rethinking’ process can bring a city and its citizens closer to having the ability to constantly transform, improve, or be agents of their own future.

### ***6.2.3. What are the evidences of an emergent Hybrid City in Institute for (X)’s rethinking?***

*“Probably (X) itself, just the idea that you can have this place exist in the middle of the city is quite amazing. Various communities can coexist with each other in the same place. The parties and events here are quite interesting, probably the most organic form of co-civilization I have ever seen. There were no lights back in the day; so you had to be careful when you walked around late at night. It was like a post-apocalyptic space, full of potential” (Laursen, 2013, p. 27).*

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<sup>94</sup> My translation;

This rethinking process, derived from the several different kinds of resilience mechanisms being built at Institute for (X), is perhaps one that is bringing the idea of the Hybrid City closer. If (3) *the hybrid city can eventually be mirrored in temporary urban projects* (p. 27) and the idea of Hybrid City is one of constant transformation, blurred limits, with a central focus on the levels of interaction and always searching for better solutions; then Institute for (X), with its creative environment promoting the learning of self-organization skills, D.I.Y. and D.I.T. skills, community feedback and support skills, knowledge and skills sharing and networking – or, empowering mechanisms for a better future resilience – can certainly be said to mirror the Hybrid City. Like Pernille said, *“I concluded that there is sort of parameters that partly give citizens another space where they can just visit and its **unplanned** and everything is **shifting** so it’s a visual experience... like ‘oh this is nice’, and you can explore and use your senses in unexpected ways and the materials, and it’s an **ever changing** area... and you will also see other types of people which is important for a city structure... and also this space gives room to **minorities** or smaller groups that have a specific need, both unions or sort of sports, different types of sports... also small entrepreneurs, that sort of thing... and It gives.... **Another perspective on how to make cities in general**, like, how to think of architecture in another way, sort of, you can incorporate methods from here to another spaces... and the last thing is that **people behind it are really a powerful resource** for the city so they should start collaborating much more with these people in order to **find alternative solutions**... because they are really good for the city... so instead of hiding them away they should really start close collaborations with them and also give them another frame... because the temporality gives other possibilities of other rules and restrictions than you would have in normal architecture because **it’s all temporary**. So you are allowed to **experiment much more**, which results in much more interesting structures”* (Madsen, 2014). So if the Hybrid City is the direction we are moving towards, if we wish to live in a more sustainable future, then the rethinking process we are building through this type of temporary urban experiments is perhaps the right way forward, as it opens doors to a constant, maintained and consistent platform for innovation through creativity and skills learning processes. If a Hybrid City is one that lives of this constant rethinking, its constituents should gaze at projects like Institute for (X) for inspiration.

#### **6.2.4. How is Institute for (X)’s agency affording a shift in focus, from aesthetics to function, in the city of Aarhus?**



## Towards a Hybrid City: Rethinking Aarhus through an Institute for (X)

According to the city architect, Stephen David Wallacy in an interview to *Scraper* magazine (Wallacy, 2013), Institute for (X) is an example of how a city can still develop even during a recession (p. 12). *“Development projects, specifically cultural ones have a big impact in the local economy of the city. (...) creative businesses (...) also promote life in their own neighbourhoods”*. That is what is happening to this area through a revitalization process where left over industrial buildings and surroundings are being used by local businesses and grass roots initiatives.

Also, the rough appearance of these spaces can create a bridge with their old industrial character and also promotes an environment that can welcome creative and entrepreneurial individuals (p. 13).

The city architect also acknowledges that having a dialogue with the people working and living in the area is important, and that is what Institute for (X) is doing, with its grass root organizations, which create a lot of energy and bring a new way to look at the city (Wallacy, 2013, p. 15). Besides wishing that this project will stay for a long time, S. D. Wallacy thinks this is a good example of what can be done with abandoned industrial areas and names a few more which could learn from what is happening down at Aarhus K.

Congratulating the use of shipping containers due to their mobility, he calls Institute for (X) a *“(...) sort of mobile cultural platform”* (p. 14) which he believes is exciting due to its potential of creating life in areas where traditional building structures wouldn't make sense. These mobile uses can become a *“(...) catalyst for innovative entrepreneurial attitude that creates life and architecture in the city”* (p. 14).

During my interviews, this matter was also addressed, and when asked about what would be (X)'s agency, Hester (Callaghan, 2014) for instance, said that *“It's itself its own body and it's held up by certain key figures, like Mads and Mads Peter and Tore, so it's like a self-sustaining system. And then the next circle of organization supports the x and makes it stronger, like Adopt-a-box is part of this circle... but because of the strength it has on itself can become an agent and have the consistence to help smaller organizations”*. And this might just be, as Mads Peter reaffirms this through claiming that (X)'s greatest accomplishment is *“Itself. Yeah. And by this I mean that I'm quite amazed at how the pace has grown without a vision or a set direction or a goal... And that it hasn't fucked up. Nobody burned it down, nobody is angry at each other, the municipality is happy, the neighbours are ok, except for the noise during weekends... the place has grown without a plan. I'm amazed that a space can grow to this without a master plan or a vision”* (Laursen, 2014). The fact that Institute for (X) has proven its agency through its influence on city plans or in Aarhus citizens' lives - by

making itself an open platform for the learning and experimenting of new resilience mechanisms and skills – and its creative, pragmatic approach points in the direction of re-functionalizing spaces, opposed to beautifying them, I believe it is fair to claim that Institute for (X)'s agency has contributed to a shift in mind-sets, in city planning, that being also a product of the rethinking process behind it, contributes to a new way to think cities. Mads Peter agrees, when he says this 'agency' is experienced even in the small interactions that happen daily: *"Yes, it has this agency, it makes things happen. Makes me saying hi to everyone possible – waves to people around – this wouldn't be possible, because he is here and I am here, and makes this happen. This connection between humans. They happen. And that's (X). And that wouldn't happen if all the projects were scattered around. They would exist but the interaction between the projects wouldn't. And that's very important"* (Laursen, 2014).

The ANT perspective in this conceptualization is ultimately linked with its own perspective and approach to experimentation and innovation – everything acts at Institute for (X). All human and non-human actors play a part, the network hereby studied has an impact in the city not only because of the community behind the ideas, but also because the results – the objects, the projects, the parks, the garden, the buildings, the solutions, the lamps, among others – *tell* us, the observers, the policy makers, the stakeholders, that these solutions *work*. They play a part in the way Institute for (X)'s agency contributes to Aarhus' rethinking process by demonstrating effectively how the 'alternative' city could work and how it could help us, dwellers, to grow – as opposed to 'develop'.

The philosophy is that of a city that enhances its population's (and all elements integrative of its ecology) quality of life, while it constantly 'rethinks' itself, finds better solutions. Either through projects which can be urban laboratories of experimentation, or the creative use of flexible structures, it is then shown this is the main contribution of this project's agency in potentially providing new function possibilities for the future city management.

### **6.3. Drawing Conclusions**

If Utopias are only constant through constant change (HARD Talk David Harvey Academic Geographer New York, 2012) then I am confident that projects such as Institute for (X), which have a flexible and experimental nature, might be a window to comprehend tendencies for the future. And these tendencies can be, and are demonstrating to be, very positive with respect to empowering communities to build their own lives. So:

*“How is Institute for (X) contributing to the rethinking of Aarhus; and how is this rethinking affording the Hybrid City?”*

To answer this question, it is necessary to understand how this particular analysis affords the wider discussions herein presented. After a theoretical conceptualization of temporary urbanism, and in particular, Institute for (X) as **(1) an agent in producing resilience mechanisms** ; and **(2) a conceivable preview of what the Hybrid City, through their long-term agency**, might look like, then:

*What resilience mechanisms can be found at Institute for (X)?*

By analysing the chronological evolution of this project's collected data, one of the main conclusions is that, after a period of settling in, Institute for (X) has continued to develop new partnerships, new projects, involving more and more people, to date. It is also possible to read, from the articles written in some newspapers, that the general opinion is positive, and that new plans are being thought for the future, such as student residences, a multi-hall, a new architecture school, among others that may come.

This also led me to conclude that the relationship with the Municipality of Aarhus is good and prosperous for both sides. This is important because it says that there is a positive relationship with the governmental bodies and society, meaning positive influences and changes can be well-received. The more positively active interactions are, the more likeability temporary urban projects have of becoming permanently present and promoting long-term changes (Killing Architects, U.d.).

Moreover, another reading helps this project to have an idea of which stakeholders are benefiting from Institute for (X), even though the correlation established merely serves as a basic frame. Being aware that there are several analytical dimensions that are not being considered in such reading, such as (1) direct contact with the non-artist population who use this space; (2) the possibility that the artists and community involved are more active in publicizing their work, so leaving more traces of it; and also, despite harder to analyse in a

short-term project like this one, (3) what are the benefits for the rest of society: what can citizens gain from having a cultural production centre with a neighbouring urban experimental laboratory; and how can a social analyst find the tracings?

Nonetheless, I believe the connection of a time analysis with the network affected is sufficient for showing this temporary urban project has been able to help its community build resilience mechanisms; and that its rethinking process now has the possibilities to use these mechanisms in the transformation of Aarhus, thus potentially improving the construction of a better future. From the amount of traceable activity ongoing at (X), it is possible to say there are constant sources of learning processes at work, boosting innovation and cross-scale interactions and feedbacks (identified in pages 64, 65 and 66 – points 1 to 12), and hence one can also conclude that Institute for (X) is contributing to transform the way to make city, because, according to this research conclusions based on its previous theoretical discussion, it can then be observed that (1) the skills learned through the involvement in their own projects (2) allow those connected with this network to innovate through a new acquired transformative capacity, namely to re-use materials or develop new artistic projects; (3) the self-organizing adaptive capacity allowed this community to not only (4) overcome the *tragedy of the commons* but also to give purpose to (5) their own creative ideas and projects in a laboratory environment; (6) the successful cross-scale interactions give this space a legal place of experimentation for new urban solutions making this place a more (7) inclusive environment; the (8) physical skills learned make this network a platform for the development of (9) shared knowledge and exchange of ideas with a purpose of building new things, in open workshops (10) that integrate the remaining city community; and the (11) creative environment here observed allows this place to provide (12) outputs to the city, like artistic installations or research, opening these innovative transformations part of the public sphere. I therefore accept that there is enough evidence to claim Institute for (X) is producing resilience mechanisms, albeit the different distribution of groups targeted.

All four groups (local community, artists involved, municipality and land owners) are benefiting from Institute for (X)'s agency, as far as this project could investigate.

**So if (1) the rethinking process starts with a search for a transition towards a resilient future; (2) resilience is the ultimate goal of the rethinking process towards a hybrid city; (3) and it is only through ANT's concept of agency that the present actor's networks can be agents in the future cities, having the potential to produce resilience mechanisms:**

*How is the rethinking process in Aarhus being shaped by the resilience mechanisms found at Institute for (X)?*

By conceptualizing a future Hybrid City as in a constant rethinking process, this means its communities, its population and all involved need to have developed sets of skills and resilience mechanisms that allow the city to continue, no matter what adversities may arise. The way I can see it, put simply, is: there are nodes, communities, all connected, all interacting; we can choose which pathways to move within these networks (consequently shaping reality). Not only we can choose them, we can shape them. Anything and everything shapes them. If one builds a bridge – or transforms another – to reach the next node, all elements count, the material the bridge is made, the *engineers* who designed it, one's pace to walk it through, the direction of the wind at the time of the crossing, the amount of people who are walking in the same direction or the powers struggling against the stream. This doesn't mean it is possible to foresee what lies on the next node. This will be built as well, the same way this bridge was; the fittest<sup>95</sup> the bridge, the fittest the node – the fittest the rethinking process, the fittest product, or the fittest Hybrid city. And this is precisely where adaptive resilience is necessary: to provide the tools for this process to be the fittest, the best adaptation possible to the present context, which may change at any time.

From this analogy it is only intended to explain briefly part of the argument this thesis and perhaps future projects explore or will explore. The rethinking process in Aarhus is being shaped through the existence of Institute for (X) in the sense that, after demonstrating the different types of resilience mechanisms produced, the resulting process can only also be more resilient.

This means there are strong possibilities of such project shaping Aarhus' rethinking journey for the future. And how can (X)'s agency in the city's rethinking – assuming now it is affording a shift in focus from aesthetics to function in urban management – provide any clues for the emergence of a Hybrid City?

*“How is Institute for (X)'s agency affording a shift in focus, from aesthetics to function, in the city of Aarhus?”*

Given that the Hybrid City still is, and always will be under construction – its multiple dimensions at work, through a constant rethinking, shall never be said to be ‘done’ or ‘final’ – the idea of flexibility is inherent to this conceptualization.

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<sup>95</sup> For the conceptualization of *fittest* I use the same meaning as Charles Darwin, in the sense that survival is not for the strongest but for the best adapted;

Temporary urbanism intends to bring precisely this flexibility in form, materials, function, uses, target users, special localization, etc., to an established city, with a static urban tissue. This side of Institute for (X) is (1) one of the evidences that it is contributing to afford a vision of a Hybrid City; another dimension, and more explored here, (2) is its capability of empowering its users by providing the context to learn resilience mechanisms that will be useful for making cities more democratic organisms, with ‘bottom-line’ stakeholders now apt to understand, act on and plan their own future and life in the city; also changing paradigms from waiting for projects to be *beautiful* and working for projects to be *useful*. In times of scarcity, of capital, of time, of solutions, ideas that innovate, that are creative and that *solve problems* are valued above all.

The central role of ANT in this thesis was, therefore to expose **(1) how a focus on agency affords a shift, from aesthetics to function, allowing a new horizon to develop – the hybrid city; (2) the different genesis of agencies within cities, which affords a more clear assumption that a temporary urban project can change a city through its agency; (3) how related to this approach is the conceptualization of hybrid environments shaping the urban form.**

By answering “how is Institute for (X)’s agency affording a shift in focus, from aesthetics to function, in the city of Aarhus – towards a Hybrid City?” the intention is precisely to discuss all three bullet points stated previously, in the sense that it is the ANT perspective that allows a future idea of city to be Hybrid, to be a product of mixtures, a product of experiments, constantly rethinking its way and depending on every single element to build and transform its future. Institute for (X) is serving Aarhus as a safe place of trial, of debate, even if only for some; and the city of Aarhus should feel proud to have successfully embraced such project, which, after this research, is to me a preview of what a Hybrid City might turn out like.

And when thinking an emergent Hybrid City, then, can I state that **(1) there is evidence that cities are moving towards the hybrid city; (2) the hybrid city can be conceptualized; (3) the hybrid city can eventually be mirrored in temporary urban projects?**

*What are the evidences of an emergent Hybrid City in Institute for (X)?*

I believe my chosen methodology, of doing ethnographic fieldwork and getting involved in the projects myself, can be very open to criticism, minding that anthropologists can *go native*<sup>96</sup> and lack some distant perspective on events. But I also believe that only through this

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<sup>96</sup> “Anthropology is a personal undertaking and in its best sense, “going native” refers to the process of learning, adjusting, expanding, and accepting that goes on as anthropologists deepen their

so very personal experience and what I have learned as an individual, from this community throughout time, can help me realize what the real evidences of an emergent Hybrid City in this Institute for (X) are; also because this is a very personal conceptualization that is still under development.

Because of these fragilities in the eyes of who may follow a more positivist approach, I intend to leave these two questions up for debate, discussion and further deepening.

In conclusion, in order to comprehend the interrelations between the premises of this research's question, it was relevant to show how the analytical framework and conceptualizations argued here allowed this investigation to bring innovative interpretations to the empirical data analysed. The case of Institute for (X) has herein demonstrated evidence that temporary urban projects can trigger the rethinking process towards the Hybrid City through the learnings of resilience mechanisms. Furthermore, the Actor-Network Theory conceptualization of *agency* provided the key linking elements to reach these findings, opening the possibility of prosperous inter-disciplinary horizons within Urban Studies.

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*involvement with their hosts and their hosts' cultures through long-term fieldwork and participation. This process of absorbing another culture is psychologically challenging” (Tamakoshi & Cross, 1996).*





## ***Chapter VII – Final Reflections and Further Research Needs***

### ***7.1. Research Challenges***

Regarding my ethnographic research, despite being officially a public space, I quickly realized that in the case of Institute for (X), that didn't exactly mean "open access". A few months in, after making myself a member of Adopt-a-Box, I started to realize that people tended to gather and to hang out in closed groups, not very talkative to outsiders (even though between groups that "belonged" there, more openness was verified). Eventually, the language barrier was also bigger than I thought: I couldn't just sit in the park and listen to people's conversations; I couldn't talk casually to people about their projects without having to tell them what I was working on there.

It was common for people to be confused about the reason of my presence. I learned to deal with it by only telling people one reason for it: the Adopt-a-box meeting. This effectively opened some doors in the sense that some people didn't feel like it was a one-side conversation anymore; they could count on me to help them now, because I was there like them, and not as a researcher. I became a bit more included in the community and knowing more and more about it, with time. But this took me nearly a school year.

My expectations were very different, I thought because it was a place of artists and open-minded people, they would actually be pleased to know I was using *their* work as a case study, but I soon found out I was wrong. The pragmatism inherent to Institute for (X)'s projects<sup>97</sup> also includes the people. After a while, I came to realize the only people who stop by are actually people who are a part of it, and if they are not, they will ask around, see some stuff, but not stay. (This was, I must say, in part because of the weather. During the winter month's people won't go outside and hang out in gardens, like they do during summer. After I officially finished my ethnographic fieldwork, it became apparent to me that more and more people were actually using the common areas, as also these became more and more ready to use).

Eventually I realized it could be interesting to take pictures, because every time I went there, the place looked different, there were always changes in the looks or the disposition of the area. And I took some. Every time I had a meeting, I would write some notes and take some pictures. But the pictures didn't look so good. I was disappointed, they didn't show the soul of Institute for (X).

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<sup>97</sup> As Mads Peter Laursen says, during his interview (Laursen, 2014);

I realized, then, that maybe I couldn't read everything on the *Facebook* official group page but I could collect the pictures I needed – these were artists' pictures, after all. Mid-fieldwork I became more of *complete* observer (Flick 2002) and this showed me a whole new insight over the past 5 years of Institute for (X)'s life. I've now collected more than 300 photos of the area, of people, of some events and projects; and also some videos and links, all made by professional artists.

My ANT perspective became extremely useful in the sense that all the data collected through my online research only makes sense having in mind that non-human factors – photos, documents, interviews, etc.; are only actors when one makes sense of them, and am able to develop my conclusions from what I learn from them – correspondingly to the way an archaeologist does his work by making sense of scattered remains. This has raised some doubts in me, nonetheless, as it is a very controversial theory: what if I'm misunderstanding it? What if others don't see the potential I see in it? These ethical reflections, allied to my difficulties in finding a profitable way of doing fieldwork, which however gave me more strength and know-how for my next project, were definitely my main research challenges.

### ***7.1.2. Thoughts on this Research Project within Urban Studies***

Upon a recent web search, I found out the Hybrid City concept has been thought in parallel by other researches, even though in a way that is more connected to media and IT.

I look forward to develop further this vision of the Hybrid City, and even though this is to be my focus in a possible PhD follow-up of this research, it is clear to me, that I'm running the risk of this weakening my argument's consistency. I'm positive, though, that given the chance to effectively carry out such a task, I will be able to make the Hybrid City a consistent scenario for the future and a strong contribution to Urban Studies.

Had I started writing this dissertation now, knowing all I had to search for it, and had the possibility do repeat it all again from scratch, perhaps I wouldn't have been so ambitious, in the sense that I would have focused solely on some of the aspects that I hereby discuss. Despite these reservations, I am confident in the importance of this work for the Urban Studies and any studies whose substance concerns thinking better quality of life for citizens, better policies for decision makers and better democratic processes in city making so that every single individual feels empowered enough to have a 'hands-on' approach regarding their own future.

### ***7.1.3. ANT and the Urban Studies;***

How can ANT ever be fully translated into urban matters? Was it even apparent in this research project? After writing this thesis, it became apparent that some ties must still be strengthened, such as the ANT connection with the Urban Studies. Archaeology, as it studies material culture, relies mainly on documents, artefacts, or fossils that have been left behind, as the only surviving witnesses of what happened in the past. The way archaeologists have to interpret their world of study is, therefore, through non-human actors (Latour, 2010). Gehl architects (Gehl, 2010) on the other hand, have developed some research on reading these non-human actors in the city today, affording new ways to perceive and study the city and allowing city makers to have more into account than they did before. The way one reads a city has infinite possibilities yet the way cities are built, transformed, thought, and re-thought must not stay still and rely on the same guidelines that were thought 50 years ago, or 10 years ago, for the challenges we face today are radically different – it is essential that we, as urban students, keep trying to find new ways to analyse urban life and contribute with our studies in an active way, with an intention to help city makers improve their policies and people to improve their capacity to live more independent lives. By thinking cities' material culture as active agents in their own future, numerous possibilities can be found, if scholars provide the intention to change things for better.

### ***7.1.4. The Hybrid City as a joint process;***

Although the Hybrid City isn't clearly defined yet, one of the main points is that it should be a joint process. I therefore invite, any peers and other enthusiasts that might find this idea interesting to join me in this quest, of finding out what this 'Hybrid idea of City' can be. The very democratic process inherent to this scenario must start in its design, in its rethinking, as everything else I herein claim central.

If temporary urbanism is the preview today of what things could be tomorrow, I understand it would be interesting to collect, from all around the world, similar projects with similar ideas in mind, so that by analysing them together scholars could find more confidence in their argument, by finding in their shared knowledge more enriched experiences, examples, and conclusions.

### ***7.1.5. Analyse other 'rethinking' processes in non-European cities;***

The same call is for non-European cities, to help academia think outside our universities standards. Are projects like these possible without any funding or support? Is there really no

support, just because our idea of the “under-development” society lets us think the west is the only who ‘cares’ about defining minimum levels of comfort and urban quality of life? Can constant rethinking exist, when political interests go beyond social contracts and focus on economic return? Can this ever happen, in reality? And if it is, happening, how is it happening, outside of “our reference framework”?

***7.1.6. Continue to follow Institute for (X)’s contribution to the rethinking of Aarhus as a ‘monitoring’ process of an urban laboratory;***

Lastly, I believe Institute for (X) to be a great example for any city, of how an experimental urban laboratory can be. A continuous study on this place would provide a lot more information and a better insight on how this development turned out: is this ever going to end? Do projects like this naturally die after their thriving times? What happened in other cases? What will happen to Institute for (X), if future city planners decide it is no longer necessary? In order to remain realistic and not fall into vague, naïve ideologies and dissertations, I believe intentionally positive projects like mine need to keep monitoring their cases, so that solutions can still be found in time and that the timing of the matter of study doesn’t fade away. To really provide important tools for city development, these must remain adapted, informed and positive.

***7.2. Final reflections***

When analysing how Institute for (X) can contribute to Aarhus rethinking process, understanding that this rethinking requires a resilient network of actors, capable of understanding the effects of their actions and interactions and conscientious about the impact of non-human actors in their daily networks is a complex task. The intention of this research project is therefore simply to contribute to a body of work that has been already started by many others, and does not intend to confirm or reject any previous theories. I believe that my experience and the contacts with people who have mentored me throughout my journey have merely provided me the tools to begin with small steps to imagine possible ways to rethink cities and urban life, towards a post-neoliberal paradigm. The resilience mechanisms that this project has found may be contributing to making Aarhus a more adapted city for future needs but is one project enough? After my fieldwork I also realized not many people understood the concept of this place, maybe even some of the people involved in it didn’t understand its full potential in helping the city think new pathways towards the future. Does this limit any potential agency for change? Is an ideological opportunity worth in itself, if it doesn’t have a

full support from its community? Isn't claiming so, the direct opposite of helping people regain the strings of their future? Will the rethinking process still happen, despite people's obliviousness? **Can this constant rethinking ever be possible?**

And what about the evidences of a Hybrid City, when this model or idea hasn't been fully developed? Is this, maybe, a too ambitious goal to claim? Even though it has only been one of this research's aim to discuss if Institute for (X)'s agency was affording a shift in focus, from aesthetics to function in urban planning – being this one corner stone of what will one day be defined as a Hybrid City – are these all very conceptual dimensions perhaps too hard to translate from real-life observations?

When gathering information about this temporary urban project, I have not found any information regarding its non-acceptance, despite some minor concerns that my interviewees reported from some people, thinking (X) could turn out to be Christiania II. Does this lack of opposition bring to this community a sense of non-criticism? How can one prove an idea's worth if it is not subject of critic? Was I possibly too positive about this project, leading me to disregard oppositional information, as a researcher? Even finding the evidence that there is an influence of (X) in Aarhus Municipality's policies, how much can a city change? How will today's cities turn out in 100 years, even though so many scholars, technicians, practitioners, politicians and involved citizens work now to provide a better future for all of us? And how can cities one day move towards a Hybrid City in real terms? **Will the Hybrid City ever exist?**



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**APPENDIXES**

***Appendix A – Field data Guide***

In order to verify the data collected, namely videos, online articles, pdf files, Facebook posts, events advertised, and also the interview audio files and transcripts as well as pictures, the Appendix A is in the form of a CD-ROM so that everything is accessible.

Inside this CD, the organization is the following:

1. A Microsoft Excel file named **Ethnographic table** (also presented in Appendix B) has all the data organized chronologically;
2. A folder named **Documents** has all the **newspaper articles** and **paper documents** collected;
3. A folder named **Interviews** gathers all the **audio files**, **interview transcripts** (also presented in Appendix C), **interview drawings** and also a copy of the interviews collected from **SCRAPER** magazine (only presented in CD-ROM);
4. A folder named **Field notes** has the documents written throughout fieldwork (also presented in Appendix D);
5. And the last folder, **Online Research**, compiles all the **photos**, **articles**, **video links** and other relevant Facebook **posts** used for this research, such as **event links** or **festival links** (only presented in CD-ROM);

Because of the extension of the collected data, and the methods for a specific number attribution was made according to when each was collected, it is suggested that whenever a specific point is up for verification, that it should be located on the first **Ethnographic table** and further found within its category folder.

***Appendix B – Chronological Table***

Towards a Hybrid City: Rethinking Aarhus through an Institute for (X)

**PDF**

**PDF**

Towards a Hybrid City: Rethinking Aarhus through an Institute for (X)

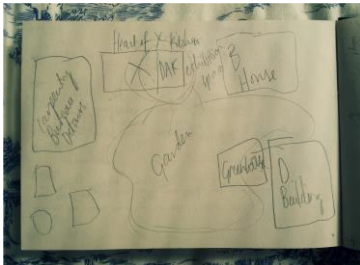
**PDF**



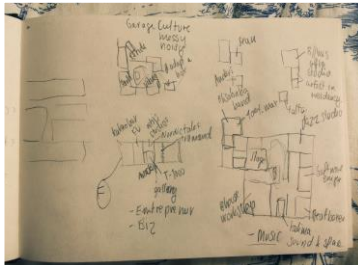
**Appendix C – Interview Drawings & Interview Transcripts**

Interview Drawings [401]-[405] & Interview Transcripts [373]-[376]

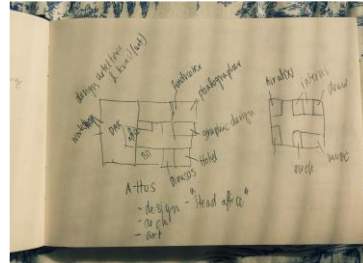
Hester Interview Drawing 1 [401]



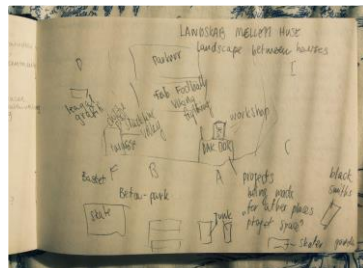
Pernille Interview Drawing 1 [402]



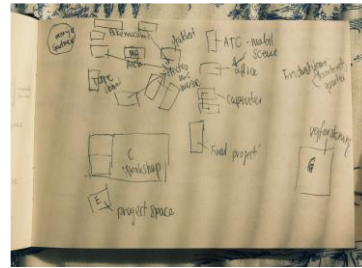
Pernille Interview Drawing 2 [403]



Pernille Interview Drawing 3 [404]



Pernille Interview Drawing 4 [405]



Pernille Madsen Interview 25<sup>th</sup> February 2014

*Introduction with a brief explanation of what Pernille is working on, some personal questions*

**Carolina: How can these temporary spaces can bring something completely new, or can they be reproduced? That's the questions. Is this a one-time thing or can you reproduce this in other cities?**

Pernille: Well I argue that this is dependent on a few people that are able to live for the job. There are a lot of people that will participate but others will be the leaders. And they need good collaboration with the municipality. People who are not usually considered a resource so I'm sort of arguing that people that are doing it anyway, like they do it because they want to do it. Sometimes it's illegal but they still do it because they have a motive, ideology that is based on their practical experiences rather than their theories. So they have the hands-on-approach and they know how the city works because they live in it and they use it... so that sort of...

**C: So to start, what is your role at institute for (x)?**

P: Right now I don't really have a role to be honest, because I've just done the thesis and I was like I just need to relax. But before that I was doing all these different small things and a

bit of communication, a bit of other things but I think I just got a general knowledge of structures, and how it works and...

**C: So you were already involved with the project before you decided to write your thesis about it?**

P: Actually I started as an intern and then I was just on projects and sort of got involved in the whole knowledge behind Institute for (x).

**C: And where were you doing your internship?**

P: Here, for Bureau Detours.

**C: And why did you choose to write about (X)?**

P: Yeah why did I choose..? I was writing about (X) but more as in the general role of unplanned spaces where this is just one example. There were loads of other examples but the reason why I chose this space is partially because I know this one and also because it works really well and it has a really good collaboration with the municipality. Other places are either... (When they occupy... what's that called? When they occupy a space... occupy movement?) Anyway, either that or you would have a really bad collaboration and were sort of just about to be kicked out. So this is the most interesting part of (X) being part of the city development of the space, the area as well.. And then also the placement of it... if that makes sense.

**C: Yeah of course! And what would you say were your main conclusions from your research? What was your research question? Your interest...**

P: Basically I just wanted to know how a space like this or the people behind are able to contribute with another city structure or, like, how this influence the whole city... sort of what is it, what's interesting, like, what does it do when a city gives space that are unplanned?

**C: And what did you conclude?**

P: Oh well... (Giggles) I concluded that there is sort of four parameters that partly it gives citizens another space where they can just visit and its unplanned and everything is shifting so it's a visual experience... like oh this is nice, and you can explore and use your senses in unexpected ways and the materials, and it's an ever changing area... and you will also see other types of people which is important for a city structure... and also this space gives room to minorities or smaller groups that have a specific need, both unions or sort of sports, different types of sports... also small entrepreneurs, that sort of thing... and It gives.... Another perspective on how to make cities in general, like, how to think of architecture in another way, sort of, you can incorporate methods from here to another spaces... and the last thing is that people behind it are really a powerful resource for the city so they should start

collaborating much more with these people in order to find alternative solutions... because they are really good for the city... so instead of hiding them away they should really start close collaborations with them and also give them another frame... because the temporality gives other possibilities of other rules and restrictions than you would have in normal architecture because it's all temporary. So you are allowed to experiment much more, which results in much more interesting structures. Also on a personal level...

**C: Did you collaborate with other groups? Or just BD?**

P: I've worked with a few different people, depending on the projects... but mainly the B-house when I'm doing projects because it's kind of focused on BD but also the communication department is here...

**C: Are you currently involved with any of them on a long term, after the thesis?**

P: No, I've stopped and now I need to figure out what I want to do...

**C: And do you plan to keep in touch?**

P: Yeah of course.

**C: And why do you think it's so important for these projects to be in (X)?**

P: All of them? Ok. Because it gives another... it's like minorities you find here, people with specific needs. That's one of them and also you'd find people that explore and push the boundaries, therefore you need a space that is flexible and is... where you can change things rapidly instead of having to go through the municipality, or getting approvals, you have to get this and this and this before you get anything... this sort of space gives you an opportunity to do it instantly which makes it more fluid, dynamic...

**C: Would you think that some projects wouldn't be so successful if they weren't here?**

P: I'm not sure if they would even exist, to be honest. Because they wouldn't have a space for it. Some of them would but, it's difficult to say, I think, but a lot of them are able to actually be what they are because of this space. Because they have... they would do it anyway because of these people are makers, doers, they do because they want to and you can't stop them but I'm not sure if... Because it's a really cheap rent and you have these containers and industrial quarters over there... a lot of them are small businesses and I'm not sure if they would exist. I don't know.

**C: Do you know what the process is in order to be given a space, here? What do you have to do?**

P: Talk to Mads Peter. Call him or e-mail him, hey I really want to be here. And he'll schedule a design and economics meeting. To decide what are you going to do, have you thought about the space you are going to be in? Have you thought about economics? Do you

have skills in building? Because you will have to do it on your own... and then he talks to you about the social structure, and the space and how that works, because you are sort of on your own basically... you can get a bit of help but you have to do it on your own... he is asking about your project and what are you going to do. From that usually people are either keen if the project is suitable. But if people don't come it's because they don't fit in, they can't carry it out on their own... so this kind of selects the people.

**C: Do you get any help from the municipality to start your project though?**

P: No not at all, we pay a rent to the municipality. A small one, but that's it. We get a bit of help with a few things; they've just started sweeping the streets here, but other than that, no funding. So it's completely independent. We can of course fundraise though.

**C: And what do you think is more important for people, as individuals, to be involved in a project here? What can one gain?**

P: Ham... they can have a space where they can do their own thing. Personalize their space and do their own thing. And at the same time they have a community where everybody is doing their own thing. So we have this saying where this is a community of egos, everybody is selfish doing their own thing... but because of that everybody loves the space. A community is almost created because of that because you can't do your project on your own anyway so you need help... so people start networking, and becoming friends and talk together and you need skills exchange to do something and they might need your skills... it's an exchange of knowledge and sharing... But it's very much about giving space to do your own thing... as soon as you become too much of a part of this community and you have to participate in a lot of things and... it takes power away from you. So you have to be in it on your own terms and you have to contribute with just what you want to contribute and that makes you part of the community.

**C: Would you say that there are events who establish who is part of the community or not? Or is it open...?**

P: Yeah it's pretty open; it's much more on an everyday basis. Nobody is expecting anything from each other expect respect the use of facilities.... You clean after yourself and your office, and that's it. The events just come...

**C: So in a way everybody has to learn how to use the common spaces?**

P: Yes.

**C: How would you say that the people who are involved in this project would describe this place to their friends?**

P: Well it's really different. I've heard so many different versions... In the beginning I was like "no that's not how it is" but then I realized I didn't know anything... it took me half a year to understand what this all about! Because in the beginning I was hearing all these different versions of what it all was... But maybe I realized they were right. A little bit moulded but the experiences you have. The x is variable, anyway so it's much more about what you are doing so it's much more about whatever you want. So that's a part of it. But I think some of them don't even know the structure. Like who is leading or... but I think it's because people are focusing on their own thing... like an onion ring, your awareness has different layers... You have your personal space, then outside, and then a bit more and more, so it's always you see it from your own point of view. This makes it difficult to understand the whole structure sometimes.

**C: And how do you think people who are not a part of it, describe this place?**

P: I've heard loads of different... Some say it's Christiania, but no... (Giggles). What else... some say it's just a backyard... some think it's rebels down here, or occupants... squatters? I don't know the word... It's just more like they come down here and they think this is so interesting but they have no clue... and we are trying to improve that in some regard but it's not easy to communicate what's going on down here because it's so many different things...

**C: And how would you describe (X) to someone who has never seen it, has no clue about what this is...?**

P: I would say (X) is an entrepreneurial cultural platforms for creative people and artsy people... so it's a space where they are able to do their own thing, their own projects, because it's temporary, it has a flexible frame where you can personalize your space and you can make it fit to your own needs which makes it a space to a lot of egos, people with their own agenda and you find a really diverse range of projects, both businesses, really and start ups and musicians and bike mechanics and smiths... architects, designers, graphic designers, artists... Vikings! Yeah urban gardeners, so you have all this different things going on, it's much more than these examples, it's really diverse group. So it gives the space this certain dynamic and a specific character. And also the space is the reason why it looks as it looks it's because of its pragmatic approach to design so it's all sort of a result of a need, more or less. It's all coming from something. And then maybe it's been adapted but everything has a history, it's not just made because it's pretty but it's made for a purpose and function. For examples, the lamp posts, they have an H shape because it's made for parkour, so they can crawl up to the lamp posts, so it's not just because it's pretty but because they can use it. It looks really cool but it's useful too. And then of course you add some design to it, to look in a certain way. But that's

why we have parkour, because they came down and asked if they could practice here. So that's one example of our design method. So it's all a result of something. The shed out there was a prototype for a project we did for BD, to use a year and a half ago, and then somebody else needed it for an outdoor kitchen so it was moved out there so that's why it's as it is. So there is small history everywhere.

**C: Ok we are almost done; can I ask you to draw a map of institute of x?**

P: Oh I'll need a bigger picture! Oh well... let's try. Ok so this is Godsbanen. It will not be a pretty drawing... This is building D. And that's a container there, and a garden... And you have skralt (garbage)... and the Vikings here and adopt a box here, they have a greenhouse here, and re-ride, and that's the Vikings store house. This over here is F, Kakao bar, F... which is the municipality but they are having these youth clubs for kids like after-schools programme, they have a building here, so that's interesting when the municipality, within that frameworks, and it's renting a space here, from 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> grade kids... then we have T... studios and that's mock-up, t-tusind... and Nordic tales, and a gallery which I can't remember the name of... and then in here we have traemand, which are carpenters... alright so that's F. Ok so that space is not really anything, well it is, but, I think there's another project here, some bike mechanic thing but I'm not sure what that is, and then we got the next space which is... Then we have Guantanamo, that's what this bit is called... ok so this is the B-house kind of thing, not really... Alisababa band, and 100%max, perhaps? I think it is... they have a studio in there, a rehearsal space for their music. Yeah they both share this space... And D-space is Garage Culture, this sort of is about things that are messy and... noisy... That sort of thing... and this is more sort of entrepreneur... and I guess it's actually the way they describe it, but kind of like business oriented... and then we have B-house, and that's sort of music, mainly. ... what else, I have these two spaces here but I can't remember who's in it, upstairs you'd have more spaces as well, where Shawn and Anders and... it's called soundscape, he is a music manager and Anders is in that building, as a carpenter, make furniture, carpentry workshop. But he is also taking care of the volunteers at the B-house. And then there is another space being built here so... but I don't know. So this is the B-house. And then we have the big space where you have the tech room, and the stage, and other spaces for wardrobes and stuff and then the garage, which is the b-house's workshop, because everything is built and we need workshops here, wood workshops and stuff to build and paint things, drill... all that. Having the tools... so of course B-house has spaces for this. And then you have... a few things, and then the jazz studio, I'm not sure but also a few toilets I think and also a space where software engineers will be and a beat-boxer, and there is also a space

here where Kalimar is? Which is a sort of a reggae something... there might be one more band in there. And upstairs you would have no-way, which is sort of, B-house where they control things, like an office and also studio... and then you'd have artists in residency and a tattoo artist and... And the B-house would be music, sound and space. Because B-house, what's interesting about that is at least the people running it have a strong focus on the music experience is not just being standing in front of a stage with a beer, looking at someone performing it, so combining the sound experience with the visual experience, so they built some scenography with wood boxes that you can mix and match every time, and then every time you go to a concert the space looks different. So they are trying to erase the line between the performer and the audience. So they are focusing on that. And that's also the common area for the whole building and also F, actually, so the kitchen here would be shared for everybody there. Then we have the A-house, which is the building we are in, that's DAK, Design, Architecture and Kunst. It's a sort of a working space, meant as an exhibition space, but nothing really stands still and it's normally where it is, just, it's a working gallery, open to public but nobody will explain to you what are you looking at, and it's never the same every time you go. And in here you also have, Mads Peter, and Frederik and others... architecture, design, other stuff going on in there. So they think in there and then go out and build stuff. And we have a photographer as well, and a graphic design team, and then that's toilets and stuff, and then we have the Bureau Detours office, and then we have Dimsos, sort of electronic geeks, building everything and small electronic things and doing a bit of programming, one is an electrician and one is a programmer and then they combine doing all these projects, and also the place electrician is in there. Then there is a hotel, for people visiting, not a really hotel, people don't pay money, but if people are visiting the place from somewhere, doing a project, knowing somebody here, or playing at the B-house, then you have a space where people can sort of sleep for a few nights. Now we have an Icelandic artist in there because she is the mother of another girl who is working here. So that's A-house. Upstairs we have artists in residency called AR@X and a few studios... so people doing things, an architect and a musician, and she draws and that's interns, and I'm not sure who is living here... And also just a common area where people can just sit and relax... And also the communication or the head office is here. Like if people need to know anything, that's where you go. Right, so, we are getting closer! So then we have the E-house... Some people live here but not officially, but they would sleep in their offices, and then they can use the bathroom facilities... And then there is a container out here I think... Ok so E is sort of a project space but not used in winter because it's ice cold in there. C is the carpentry house,

like a workshop. That's a real wood workshop, where you have all the tools and stuff you would need. And then Nicholai who lives out here, is a carpenter as well, so they all use the space for a lot of different people all paying rent so... here is where I was writing my thesis, it's from three students from the design school, taking their final project. And then this is Rikkard's container which is an office for albot(?) Container, like a mobile scene, and that's the office... and then we have Sjakket, a rap, reggae hip hop kind of band, a few electronic musicians... And that's also this one, and that one. And then we have Tore, he is building in here, that's his space just outside the green one with the thing on top, and then there is a bike mechanic... and... not sure here, and then there's Manjo, and he is a gardener and he is sort of taking care of the area around and having a plant school, he is an intern. Yeah he lives in a Mongolian tent outside, which his father built, because he is from Holland and... I don't know (giggles). ... And then we need one more, this is building I down here, which is... I'm not really sure, but it's the road research project where they are taking all the signs and things you know from when they do road work and then they change it a little bit so they can block a street off and transform it into a public space where people can enjoy it, and then they remove it again and it's back to a normal street. And then, yes, it's a collaboration between x and municipality, they agree and they fund some of the materials too. Industrial quarter, and then the parkour is here, and the football track but it's mostly Viking fighting... And then slackline over here, that's a line you place between two trees or something and you have to balance on it. And it's also Ollie (?) with the sand, and the children playground thing... And then you'd also have a few graffiti walls, a legal graffiti... And then you have the terrace of Kakaobar. Here is another project space... that makes it sort of working space, sort of private but it can be also public with the kitchen... and then we have the skate park over here. And basket. Bezzer parker? So this part is Landscape and huset (?) Ok I think we are getting there... there's a few containers, project spaces, and then you have a smith's space, a blacksmith, and a skater and a small garden. And then a few more containers with junk, mainly. Alright, I think this is it!

**C: Thank you! Do you know what the USE container is?**

P: Yeah that's also a part of the workshop in here, but it's been there for quite some time and it's been used for interns, part of Tore's school, for people who don't know what to do with their lives... they build stuff and he's running it and I think he had 4 or 5 students but then they can do projects, speakers, and wood things, trying to carve something... they're just doing different things and then cleaning the area, participating in other bigger projects too...



**C: Last thing that I'll ask now, can you just name a few of the most important projects that keep the place going on?**

P: Well, Bureau Detours, of course, being the founders, B-House, and the whole music collaboration going on there and... Mads Peter, everything happening in DAK, Vikings, because they are a link to another world, kind of, like they are just, it's the first time they have a space for them and they exist for more than 20 years. So they have a place to grow as a community now, and themselves... so that's important as well. And the industrial quarter because it's another way of thinking project spaces, because it allows for another much cheaper version of project space where you are able to completely control it yourself and everything is mobile... So 4 pages of drawings!

**C: Well, thank you!**

P: Yep, if you have any other questions let me know!

**C: Alright will do! Have a nice day!**

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Hester Callaghan Interview, 25<sup>th</sup> February 2014

**Carolina: Ok so, what is your role in (X)?**

Hester: I run a project that has rents a space in (X). So Adopt a box is just a separate project. So we pay a monthly rent of 900kr so that we can be there. They expect in return of us to be active, we can't just be there as an office, we have to do something.

**C: And what is the project that is hosting this project?**

H: Well, we share a building with the Vikings, and with a bike taxi company and a glass waste thing, artist.

**C: Ok and how did adopt a box start?**

H: That's a good question. It started in 2012 because we were a group of people in an organization called Himmelhaven, and then I was a member for a couple of years before and that's where I met Tore, Villus, Ida, they were all part of the original group. And we weren't really doing anything so we got a bit bored, I certainly was a bit bored, not enjoying my bachelor's degree so, trying to find something else to do so we had the idea of, Tore had built a box for another event and we weren't sure what to do with that box so I sort of started thinking for the holidays that we could having it out in the streets, and then thought they could have some potatoes in it, then we sort of developed the whole adoption thing so, yeah. We were already a group that wanted to do something with urban greening, and we just got more involved.

**C: And what was Himmelhaven?**

H: It was an organization that tried to promote urban greening. But then there was a bit of a conflict of interest, with the chairman because he had a big project and wanted a platform to apply for money and we were just a bunch of people who wanted to actually do something with our hands and the meetings had gotten a bit theoretical and a lot of talk and few projects to practice and then we wanted to get our fingers in some dirt... So for a couple of years it was part of Himmelhaven and now it just got out on its own as a separate organization.

**C: Ok cool! And why did you choose to go to (X)?**

H: Well, Tore was starting his projects there anyway, and he had just done his internship as a pedagogue anyway and then he stayed there as the cultural handyman, so he's just moved down there and he got something that had just been used for brewing so it had big windows and it seemed like the perfect place to settle.

**C: And do you have other organizations that collaborate with Adopt a box now?**

H: Not with the whole organization. We share tools with the Vikings and we have been involved with some of their exhibitions, but then it's just sort of individuals, like Pernille who is a digital designer, who has been doing her internship there... so she helped a couple of times and then we just... talk to people really, there hasn't been any official collaborations.

**C: Ok and do you think that these small collaborations, the tool sharing, to you think it's because you're there or did you know these people previously?**

H: No, that's because they're there. That's a really cool thing about (X). Is that people are there a lot, so it's kind of natural, organic, like people talking without the need of researching and networking... it's like they just ask "do you want a help with that?" it's a physical base, and then people just help each other out.

**C: And nowadays what do you think it's the biggest outcome for Adopt-a-box from being there?**

H: I believe the working thing is really useful because a lot of people are already following (X) on Facebook, and it's physically central in the city so it's a great place to hold our workshops. Because then a lot of people come and attracts a good amount of attention. It's also a place we want to go and it's not just us there. Because before it was just us, in a room and there wasn't another space for the plants except for our windowsills. There is a real entity around the area.

**C: So an area to do stuff. And do you think that you have gained something as a person from working there at (X)?**

H: Well I don't know, it's fantastic place to be, really inspiring, I feel very motivated when I go down there and I really like I want to go and I feel moved to. Because there is so much

going on and I like that way to working... and especially if you come from an academic background, there's so much thinking and you can get so bored! And you actually don't do anything. And you come down there and everything is a physical act, there is stuff happening and it's so refreshing. You feel really connected with what you are doing and it's a fantastic place to be.

**C: And when do you hear people that are not a part of (X) what do you hear them say about it?**

H: That there are a lot of hippies and occupiers...

**C: So a negative view?**

H: No, not necessarily, I think they see it as a very interesting place but they have certain prejudices against what is being done down there. I think if you are there you get respected... I mean there is a mutual respect from you being there. So and like a couple of my people from work came for our opening event at the greenhouse and they were like "oh I don't know if I could be down there, all the hippies and homeless people" and stuff... and actually not at all, but I think it's because it used to be a bigger punk group down there... or at least I thought it was. So they thought I didn't deserve to be there... but actually it's really nice.

**C: And how do you think people who are a part of it, describe it?**

H: There's not much talk about it, I see them on a social base so we don't really talk about what it is... but just the fact that there is so much going on all the time, that's the point, I really like that and that translates into this entrepreneurial paper, Aarhus Affairs, and they were talking about the value of entrepreneurialism and doing stuff and they always mention (X) but the funny thing is it's not planned. They don't go and philosophy about what we are going to be doing and we need big brains to start... they just fucking do it. And that's so refreshing you know, in comparison to everything else, there's so much talking and planning you lose motivation for everything. But then they don't talk about it. The things that they do are because they'll do them, not talk about them...

**C: Yeah I understand. And how would you describe this community to someone that has never heard about it?**

H: Well, a community of people, doers, handy-people... that's how (X) funds itself, like they get funding for certain buildings that they have and some cultural projects is probably like a cultural hub for doers, I suppose I'd say. I don't know, it gets compared to Christiania whilst that has more to do with anarchists and drugs and it's very political. (X) hasn't that political side of it, it's more to do with initiative and projects.

**C: Is it ok if I ask you to draw a map of I for x? Not very complex, just indicating what are the most important organizations of (X), for you.**

*Hester starts drawing a map*

H: This is X and then there is a Carpentry thing, where is Bureau Detours, and they're like the heart of it, and they're kind of the bigger deal I think, they were the ones that started it... Then there is DAK here, an exhibition space... then there is garden... and then this is us! The D house... then here is the V house which is more of an external thing... I think this is the most important building... A lot of people who hang out in the garden don't have anything to do with X so... The B house is the most important building and the people who have something to do with it, mainly hang out here because you only go into a building if you know...

**C: Does Godsbanen play any part in the development of x?**

H: There is some interaction but it's two separate entities because Godsbanen gets funding and x doesn't... I think x rents the space from Godsbanen... I don't really understand. I think the Danish railways own the land and then... I don't really know, I think Godsbanen attracts people to it but a lot of people think x is just the garden of Godsbanen.

**C: Yeah I realize not a lot of people know about it...**

H: Yeah because it's sponsored by the council they have a lot of money for PR and advertising and stuff... and x is like, we don't spend any money on advertising. I think people who are interested come to us. It's my experience, you know, you found us, Laura found us... I haven't asked anyone to be involved. And I think we don't advertise to people to come and settle in. Because the dynamism comes from people that want to do stuff and people who have drive will get to where they want to. So maybe that's why people don't know about it, people don't want to go and find out themselves.

**C: Would you say that the projects that are there now would still be as successful if they didn't have x?**

H: No, I don't think so because the renting structure is standard, we pay 900kr a month, we get a certain space and then we have electricity and water. And it's generally the same, although it may depend on the size of the organization. So some organizations wouldn't have the money to function if the rent weren't so cheap. They wouldn't find anything like it. Godsbanen tries to offer some cheap office space but we don't want office space we need garden, a green house, and then the Vikings they need a massive arena to play... and you wouldn't have that in a traditional office space.

**C: I've heard the municipality has an office at x, do you know about it?**

H: Yeah close to Kakao bar, I think so yeah, but I'm not sure... Like Tore works with kids and he has his space there but I think that's nothing to do with it.

**C: Well, thank you Hester, I think it's all I needed! Now I'd just want to ask you something maybe a bit more opinion-based. Do you think one could say that x has a certain type of agency? In the way that it facilitates interactions?**

H: Yeah I'd say so. It's itself its own body and it's held up by certain key figures, like Mads and Mads Peter and Tore, so it's like a self-sustaining system. And then the next circle of organization supports the x and makes it stronger, like Adopt-a-box is part of this circle... but because of the strength it has on itself can become an agent and have the consistence to help smaller organizations.

**C: Do you know any other projects that might be similar to x?**

H: I'm sure there must be something... maybe in Germany... you have some urban gardening projects but... it is a pretty big place and very different and Aarhus should be proud of it but x doesn't need to thank Aarhus for its existence... Godsbanen would maybe claim that they do, but actually not... The municipality recognizes the value because they're the perfect example of what they are trying to achieve with temporary, entrepreneurial, voluntary projects and they have nothing to do with it. And as soon as they try to reproduce this, they can't because you can't sort of tell anyone to be voluntary and entrepreneurial. And they don't ask permission but the result is fantastic... so it's kind of a "don't ask questions" dynamic.

**C: So yeah, is it possible to recreate this?**

H: Through deliberate action? Top-down, I don't think it is... You can just appreciate it, and look at different settings, and growth layer and... you can show that there is strength in it. There is a 16 years-old kid at x and he was on a work exchange thing at school... he has his own sound container and he rents it to other bands... and he wasn't so successful at school so x just helped him blossom and find himself... so it's a platform to do different and innovative stuff. It's difficult to put it in categories. They get an awful lot done but there is not any type of planning, so it's difficult to quantify.

**C: Is there anyone living there?**

H: Not officially but yeah, I think they just "pull all-nighters" because for that rent... yeah...

**C: Ok thank you for your time, this has been really interesting!**

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Interview with Mads Peter Laursen on the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 2014

**Carolina: Hey, so first I would like to ask you, there is a youth cub run by the municipality here, isn't there?**

Mads Peter: Yes, there was, but now it's on a time out. Because they had difficulties fitting the municipality into (x), they had some things where they collide, and we want to solve it but that would mean that we would have to fire someone from (x) to serve the municipality. And it takes a lot of time and man power and they would have to hire us to do that and they can't. Somehow that's not within the understanding of their own agency. To do that, they're not used to. Normally they have a structure, a house or a building that is supposed to service them but this place is not supposed to service them so, neither is the building.

**C: So they, retracted?**

MP: No, they said, ok let's take a time out and think how do we do this? So now they are taking about getting like a container because they can get around their own system if they have a container, being a mobile unit, they can be anywhere. And so they can get around their own system.

**C: And before, they were sharing a space?**

MP: Yeah they were at F, they had a space there, and somehow they still have that but are not using it. They are still at (x) we just don't know "how" right now. It's maybe a task for one or two more months.

**C: I read an interview you gave to Scrapper magazine, so I have covered the basic questions, but I would like to know how would you describe your role here at (x)?**

MP: (laughter) ah... maybe like a compass. Like when the sailors, back in the old days, before GPS kind of gave a direction but didn't tell you how to sail. Very philosophical... (Laughter). But maybe that's it. I try to put some direction on something. Making sure their boat sails in the right direction.

**C: And what do you think, (x) started in 2009...?**

MP: Yeah.

**C: And what do you think that has been (x)'s greatest accomplishment?**

MP: Itself. Yeah. And by this I mean that I'm quite amazed at how the pace has grown without a vision or a set direction or a goal... And that it hasn't fucked up. Nobody burned it down, nobody is angry at each other, the municipality is happy, the neighbours are ok, expect for the noise during weekends... the place has grown without a plan. I'm amazed that a space can grow to this without a master plan, or a vision.

**C: Because this is a temporary project, right?**

MP: Yes. It started one day and then one week and then 3 months, 9 months, then 1,5 years, 3 years, 7 years, so...

**C: And it's still growing!**

MP: Yeah, still...

**C: Ok and how do you think that (x) is received and perceived by the city of Aarhus?**

MP: As the municipality of the inhabitants?

**C: If you think it's different, then both.**

MP: Yeah I think so because you have the inhabitants where you have like 300 000 inhabitants of Aarhus and maybe 10 000 has heard of it, and the rest hasn't. Nobody knows about this place and it's pretty big and noisy and there are a lot of things going on. But it's still a bit of a public secret. But the municipality, everyone knows about it. And it's fine because I think it's very important for cities to have secrets of hidden places you have to discover. If it's all laid out, it gets boring pretty fast. So I think these hidden spaces and un-understandable agendas in cities are important to make up a good city. So when you ask how is it perceived by the citizens, I think the ones that know about it are in general very positive about it.

**C: So in general, you think it's a positive outcome?**

MP: Yes, very positive. For the citizens it is, and for the municipality it's very positive.

**C: Ok and some people that I have interviewed, or talked to, believe that without (X) some, or all of these projects wouldn't be possible. Do you agree?**

MP: I think some projects would still exist. Like Adopt-a-box, they would still exist. Maybe smaller or not so visible but they would still exist. Maybe not in such a good constellation. The Vikings would still be training in the forest... A lot of things would still be going on but they would be less serviced and they would be more invisible to other people who didn't know about them. But I know that I wouldn't be here if (X) wasn't here. A lot of things that BD does it wouldn't be in Aarhus if (x) wasn't here.

**C: Where?**

MP: Somewhere where there was a platform like this. Like Copenhagen or Silkeborg, or Hamburg. The B-house wouldn't be here. Because some things wouldn't be, but back to (X) itself and the lack of (X) would be bad for Aarhus.

**C: In what way?**

MP: Well the space and this area that has this attitude in Aarhus, it's good. And some projects wouldn't be here if (X) wasn't here and didn't bring the city this attitude. And that would be bad. If you zoom into all the projects they would exist somewhere else but they wouldn't make (X).

**C: So you think (X) is something on itself?**

Towards a Hybrid City: Rethinking Aarhus through an Institute for (X)

MP: Yes, it has this agency, it makes things happen. Makes me saying hi to everyone possible. (Says hi to people around us) this wouldn't be possible. Because he is here and I am here, and makes this happen. This connection between humans. They happen. And that's (X). And that wouldn't happen if all the projects were scattered around. They would exist but the interaction between the projects wouldn't. And that's very important.

**C: How do you think that affects the liveability of the city to be more open to innovation, open to resilience... how do you think (X) interacts with the city in that sense? Does it? Or it doesn't?**

MP: I do think it pushes the understanding and the spectrum of possibilities in some new directions. Hum... For once the municipality has written into their cultural program that the possibilities should be larger with the use of buildings. Don't bulldoze it; find something to use it for. That's now official policy and that's because of (x). They saw that it's actually doable and it doesn't fuck it. Some city developers are now thinking it's ok that ok, city design is neat and nice but they lack attitude. They lack stuff. They come here and think "ok there is something here, something going on..." how to take this into our model designs? It looks shitty but it has character. They don't know yet but they want to learn that. In terms of also pushing it, also how does a new city should look? What's supposed to do? Is it just supposed to look beautiful and be recreative? Or is it also supposed to be pragmatic and functional, a platform for humans... and... stuff like that. So...

**C: And what would say that were the key actors for (X) to be like this? What do you think that are the key-elements that make (X) this platform? Teaching-learning space for the municipality to understand new ways of make city?**

MP: I don't know... It's extremely complex and in my mind (X) it's like this... It's made out of grey scales. So I'm finding it difficult to say that there are things that are more important.

**C: Ok but what do you think that are the projects that are more active? That is always here? What do you think are the key-actors that are more active, that make more projects, people that are always here.**

MP: Oh, that would be DAK, Bureau Detours, the B-House... and the crew around the building F. And then it's all the small units and the Vikings.

**C: I've heard about them a lot, everyone mentions them! I'm looking forward to see one of their training sessions.**

MP: Yeah they train every Sunday and Tuesdays I think, around 14pm... They are an important actor, too. Somehow.



**C: And do you think that, because you are this compass, if you had to step down now, (X) would still move on, and grow? Is it on a steady course now?**

MP: I've thought about it and I haven't got to an answer. That would depend very much on who would move with me. So if nobody moved with me, they would be fine and it would move on. But let's say half of BD and half of DAK moved with me, then it would change to something else. I don't know what but it would change. If I died tomorrow stuff would still happen... it's 180 people involved... maybe economy people would think it's Mads Peter business...

**C: So there are around 100 people here?**

MP: It depends on how you count. If people who has their work here and are here more than 37 hours or more a week then it's maybe 40. But if it's all the people who have a key to something here then it's more like 200 or 300. But it's only people who come here maybe like once a week. And then if you count all the people who are connected and come here as a social space, and come more rarely then it's even more people.

**C: And what do you think that are the main international collaborations with (X)?**

MP: I think it's the residency programme; it has this inbuilt reach out. The b-house has a lot of musicians here that come from abroad. Hum... there is a lot of designers, artists, this residence programme allows you to come to this space and stay here and live here for a week, a month, it's your area now for a short time. So that's reaching out and another thing there is this projects that goes away from here. Like most of BD projects are not happening in Aarhus, they are happening somewhere else... we had workshops in Paris or other cities... so a lot of these projects are not here they are planned and prepared here but executed somewhere else. So it's like sending projects away... like a rocket. And then the magnet pulls other people to the place. Projects go away and people come.

**C: Ok and what are the main projects of BD, or the most recent one, as an example?**

MP: The most recent one was in Hong Kong; it's also the furthest away... And right now we are planning something for an event...

**C: And what will you be doing in this new one?**

MP: We are doing a piece of furniture for the 100 years birthday of some designer... some old dude that is very popular (laughter) those classics...

**C: Alright, well, and would you say that, as you said some projects that go out and make the project somewhere else, what do you think are the biggest interactions with the city of Aarhus? Which ones left (X) to Aarhus?**

Towards a Hybrid City: Rethinking Aarhus through an Institute for (X)

MP: Yeah well, Adopt-A-Box and then a lot of the BD projects are connected to the municipality so we do a lot of projects for kinder gardens ... the biggest interaction with the city is the B-house, it's not sending projects into Aarhus but it's the music stage that has another agenda than Train or other ordinary spaces... and that's what most people know.

**C: And how would you describe (X) to someone who has never heard of it?**

MP: It's a platform for business and culture. It's the shortest version.

**C: And if you were describing it to your friends?**

MP: It's the same, and the name in itself tells what it's about. Institute means a place for learning and (X) is the variable for projects... so learning about stuff.

**C: And if you had all the resources, all the funding and work force, what would you have in vision of (X)?**

MP: More buildings, larger and better structures for people to do projects. Not necessarily bigger but better space. More insulation, more signs that tell what's going on... maybe two blocks of living spaces, like an 18 story high slim tower somewhere in the garden for all the projects and living... and offices...

**C: Is there a project happening by the harbour?**

MP: Oh no we aren't doing anything there... it sounds like a good idea! I'm talking a lot about expansion of (X) and it would be cool to start up more spaces maybe to do something else like the youth club. It would be nice to do a youth cultural house that has some ideas like (X) does but for youngsters. And the harbour would be a good place to do. So I'm trying to tell the city that before they bulldoze spaces they should use it for the youth club. They only have two more spaces in central Aarhus.

**C: So do you know what the plan for the harbour is?**

MP: I think it's just going to be '*nicefyied*' there is only one iterating building they haven't bulldozed yet. That's the one that before they just do another building that just looks nice they should think about doing another building that just has attitude instead of just looking nice... (Laughter) and they think that's maybe a good idea.

**C: I see that (X) has already moulded some of the municipality's policies...**

MP: Yes, they are starting to see that maybe attitude and character in the city is good. Maybe 5 years ago they wouldn't consider it and now they think it's a good idea...

**C: Ok thank you, I don't have any more questions! This has been really interesting!**

MP: You're very welcome! And if you have more questions, try to catch me!

**C: Ok, have a nice day!**

**Appendix D – Field notes**

[386] Entry #1

Monday, 24.02.2014

1. First day of field diary although not in the field yet – it was hard to find a date to start, so went for ‘right now’;
2. Things that I remember more clearly so far:
  - a. The area changes so fast;
  - b. It’s hard to keep track of who did what;
3. There is a Facebook group for Institute for (X) – they have pictures and events!
  - a. Facebook group analysis:
    - i. It starts November 2009;
    - ii. On the 29<sup>th</sup> of April 2010, someone asks why the name ‘Institute for (X)’ and Mads Peter answers;
    - iii. There are so many activities and invitations happening!

[387] Entry #2

Tuesday, 25.02.2014

1. First interview with Pernille, went very well;
2. So many projects I wasn’t aware of;
3. Such an informal environment, people coming in and out of the kitchen, using the bathroom so freely, saying hello, asking what we were doing...
4. Peter, a guy that works at (X), sat at the table after our meeting and said his project boomed very recently – I wondered if it’s because of (X)...
5. Interview with Hester, went very well, but was very fast;
6. Interesting to know who are the biggest ‘actors’ there, I should talk to Tore:
  - a. Send message to Tore;
7. Went distributing pamphlets for Adopt-a-box with Driton: found out not many people know about Institute for (X), when we said we worked there.

[388] Entry #3

Saturday, 01.03.2014

1. Tore didn’t answer my message, but I saw him – he said he would contact;
2. Meeting with Mads Peter went very well – but he was one hour late and didn’t take me so seriously;
3. Funny how he called (X) an ‘Urban Secret’ and said it was a place with attitude; Also called himself a compass – to point in the right direction;

4. He really waved at real people while demonstrating how informal the environment is;

[389] Entry #4

Monday, 03.03.2014

1. Tore didn't talk to me yet;
2. My type of field notes is 1 and 3, page 170 – an introduction to qualitative research, Uwe Flick;

[390] Entry #5

Sunday, 09.03.2014

1. Today we had an Adopt-a-box early plating meeting;
  - a. It was fun learning how to plant garlic and onions and taking them home to take care and nurture the seedlings;
  - b. Mads Peter came in asking questions and asking us what we were doing and how we were going – I guess he really is onto what happens;
2. Saw the Vikings practice for the first time – I would describe it as noisy, messy and funny;
3. Don't forget – 3<sup>rd</sup> April, deadline for methodology project description;

[391] Entry #6

Saturday, 04.04.2014

1. Another Adopt-a-box planting meeting;
  - a. Tore didn't say anything about the interview – I will give up;
  - b. It was so nice to be down there, with the weather getting better now;
  - c. Loads of people were just chilling in the garden;
  - d. Two international students, girls, came into the greenhouse, asking us what we were doing – they were a bit intrusive to me, but nobody else seemed to be bothered by that;
  - e. A father and a daughter also came asking questions, we let her try and do some planting – so cute;

[392] Entry #7

Monday, 06.04.2014

2. While scanning Facebook, collecting pictures and links, I've realized a lot of people use it as a note-board, or something within this line – they ask all kinds of things, from “where is the party tonight” to “does anyone have some specific tool that I can use for this”;
3. SO MANY EVENTS!

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4. There are a lot of 'lost and found' posts – the majority seems to be successful;
5. Group also used to denounce misuses of equipment – the community really looks after what they built and cherish it, no vandal act goes unnoticed;
6. Many announcements for season openings or closings;
7. This community seems to share leftover cheaper beer bought by batch, special brewed beers or harvestings – other than adopt-a-box, some keep their own small farms;
8. In the kitchen we always cooked together and usually it was never more than 5/40 DKK; Also, there was always leftovers for some who weren't part of the meeting; Always healthy vegan or vegetarian cooking and very fresh;
9. A lot of things are built with wood – apparently, someone was saying that a lot of that wood is bought by bulk or donated because it is 'flawed' or of a 'useless size' for selling – pretty much all the constructions here are a form of recycling or upcycling;
10. Back to Facebook: So many adds for rentals, offices, containers to be sold, garages, collectives...
  - a. This works as an update wall for each project, sort of.

[393] Entry #8

Sunday, 17.05.2014

1. After Sustain Festival:
  - a. Aarhus Rethink 2017 office is moving outside Godsbanen! More visible, edgy;
  - b. I could have taken more pictures of this... but it was all inside Godsbanen;
  - c. Our sustainability handbook won't be published...
  - d. Yes, and I have witnessed the detachment from Institute for (X) to Godsbanen – Hester was very mad at Laura from Sustain, because they didn't let Adopt-a-box have a stand at the festival for free – understandable, a sustainability festival should embrace all grassroots initiatives that wanted to participate!
  - e. Sustain went bankrupt – I think it was because they wanted to be this 'Executive sustainability' type-like, arrogant towards smaller organizations; very neo-liberal minded – all business oriented; People at Institute for (X) didn't seem to like them; Also they charged everyone to enter Godsbanen that day, very high prices, I think that kept the people that actually care aside;
  - f. Watching Sustain from up close, I think the most important innovation that is happening is at organizations like Institute for (X) and they left it out! They wanted something that is not sustainable...

