Shiny Happy People

A governmentality analysis of climate adaptation planning in Skt. Kjelds Neighborhood in Copenhagen

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Abstract:

This thesis explores the urban planning strategy for climate change adaptation in Skt. Kjelds Neighborhood, Copenhagen, Denmark. The aim is to understand the power relations between citizens and municipality through a Foucauldian governmentality analysis.

Urban planning today is more than just creating a plan for the city's physical environment, including buildings, roads, parks, etc. It is planning for managing and directing citizens' behavior to address pressing sustainability, social and health issues. While planners can plan and build bike lanes and green open spaces, it is impossible to create livable cities if the citizens do not chose the bike over the car and the public spaces over the back yard. The social element is, thus, key in urban planning today as urban development is no longer mere plans for the city's physical condition; they also contain strategies for the city's social life. To achieve these objectives it is necessary that citizens are engaged in the process of planning, developing and implementing urban projects, as they will be the ones who in the end ensure the livability of the city.

This thesis, then, asks what consequences for the power relation between the municipality and the citizens this entails.

In order to answer this question, a governmentality analysis is employed by examining the different platforms from which the municipality communicates to the citizens in order to engage them. To do so, a thematic analysis methodology is employed, encompassing documents, strategies, visual elements and social media. Through Mitchell Dean's operationalization of governmentality, under the framework 'regimes of practices', the empirical material is analyzed through four dimensions: fields of visibility, technologies, specific forms of rationalities and the formation of identities.

The thesis finds that citizens are made governable through the communication between the municipality and citizen as well as the technologies and rationalities employed by the municipality. These create specific subject positions for the citizens by advocating an active, participating lifestyle where citizens take co-responsibility for the development of the neighborhood, by providing a framework under which the citizens can engage. By holding the subjects partly accountable, the municipality and the citizen unite in urban planning co-creation, through which green solutions for the neighborhood are developed. The citizens are thus free to contribute to the development of the neighborhood, but framed by the way in which the municipality envisions "the good life".

Keywords: Governmentality, power relations, climate change adaptation, urban planning, citizen engagement.

Word count (thesis): 13 972

List of abbreviations

SKN: Skt. Kjeld's Neighborhood (both referred to as area and project)

CM: Copenhagen Municipality

CCA: Climate Change Adaptation

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1. Introduction

The future will bring more rain and cloudburst events will happen more frequently (IPCC 2014). This presents a number of challenges to cities as the urban fabric is often characterized by paved impermeable surfaces and built areas, rendering absorption of rainwater difficult (Wamsler, Brink & Rivera 2012). During the past decade, funding for and political attention towards this issue have increased, and we are currently seeing a leap in urban projects aiming towards making cities more resilient towards the effects of climate change.

As a response to a cloudburst event in 2011, Copenhagen Municipality (CM) launched a new climate adaptation strategy (Copenhagen Municipality 2011a) and the 'Climate Plan 2025' (Copenhagen Municipality 2012) in order to secure the city from future flooding. The strategies were coupled with existing urban development and renewal plans for CM and the first project that was implemented in this frame was Skt. Kjelds Neighborhood (SKN).

Urban planning today is more than just creating a plan for the city's physical built environment. It is a plan for managing and directing citizens' behavior as well. Cities are not sustainable, healthy and livable in and of themselves. You can plan and build bike lanes and green open spaces, but if the citizens do not choose the bike over the car or the public spaces over the back yard, the city becomes less livable and social (Copenhagen Municipality 2012). The social element is emphasized in urban planning today as urban development is no longer mere plans for the city's physical conditions; they also contain strategies for the city's social life (Copenhagen Municipality n.d.a).

1.1 Motivation

My motivation for writing this thesis stems from wondering what attempts to include citizens in urban development looks like, and what role the citizen plays in achieving the plan's objectives.

In the past three years, I have been professionally working with climate adaptation projects in urban planning. From my practical experiences, I have gained an interest in what constitutes a 'good' climate adaptation project, and how these are implemented and perceived. This curiosity stems from seeing the success of these projects as often not being determined by the physical improvements they bring, but rather if the project is successful in engaging citizens and the citizens' subsequent perception of the project. Thus, in most cases, the municipality as the constructing partner will aim towards citizen engagement, blurring the lines between formal and informal authority. However, at the same time,

there is a very clear 'top-down' element to climate adaptation projects; the municipality has a strategy for what it is trying to achieve in a given context.

And so, I kept wondering how the power and authority embedded in this relationship manifests itself. How does the municipality impose its authority towards the citizens to achieve its goals? Surely, the power is not coercive or malign, but it is present. In conducting a literature review of power in social theory, Foucault (1991b) and Dean's (2010) conceptualizations of governmentality, I found an argument that fit the bill.

Foucault works with the concept of a 'historian of thought', which is a way to problematize the things we take for granted. Foucault *"(…) analyze*[s] *the way institutions, practices, habits, and behavior become a problem for people who behave in specific sorts of ways, who have certain types of habits, who engage in certain kinds of practices, and who put to work specific kinds of institutions"* (Foucault 2001: 74). This is not to say that the climate adaptation planning of SKN is a problem. Quite the contrary, as I think you will learn reading this thesis.

The conclusion of this thesis is diagnostic. It is a diagnosis of the effects of 'the taken for granted' practices and forms of knowledge that are associated with urban-planning today in the relationship between state and citizen. Judging whether SKN has chosen the right strategy or making recommendations for improvements does not interest me. Rather, it is my interest to illuminate how and with what consequences we control others and ourselves in urban planning. While the effects of climate change are unavoidable, the way adaptation is implemented in urban settings is interesting, as to what means, technologies and knowledge and how it affects the way citizens live their lives. While most people can agree that climate change adaptation (CCA) is necessary and it is positive that cities are moving in that direction, we should never stop questioning why and how. Governmentality is a helpful framework in this matter.

1.2 Research question

On the basis of the motivation above, this thesis explores urban planning as a means of public governance by conducting a governmentality analysis of the communication between CM and the citizens of SKN. In conducting this analysis, the goal is to uncover how power relations between government and citizens are created and how roles are established, through the research question:

How are power relations between municipality and citizen manifested in the SKN climate adaptation project?

Guided by Dean's (2010) conceptualizations of governmentality this thesis examines:

Who/what is being governed?

What technologies are being used?

What kind of rationalities are drawn upon?

Which identities are formed?

2. Case presentation: Skt. Kjelds Neighborhood

In the mists of the 2011 cloudburst events and subsequent pluvial flooding in Copenhagen, SKN was chosen by CM to be the first climate neighborhood in Copenhagen. SKN is envisioned to work as an exhibition and test area for CCA in the City of Copenhagen. By choosing this case, I will gain insights to how the current work with CCA and urban planning is developed in relation to the citizens.

Figure 1: SKN is placed in the north-eastern part of Copenhagen and covers an area with 24.000 inhabitants. (Copenhagen Municipality n.d.b)

The intention with SKN is to work comprehensively and holistically with the urban climate, health and active outdoor living in relation to three focus areas: meeting places, cooperation and activities among citizens. This is based on the assumption that more inclusive meeting places, closer cooperation and more activity is the best way to promote citizens' physical, social and mental health (Copenhagen Municipality n.d.c). With an overall focus on green solutions, the urban renewal project intends to *"find innovative technological solutions that simultaneously solves our challenges with the large quantities of water and thus makes our urban spaces greener for the benefit of the area and its residents."*[1] (Klimakvarter 2013: 12). In SKN the vision is to divert 30% of the daily rainfall via green and

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[1] All quotes from Copenhagen Municipality documents have been translated by the author to increase readability.

blue surface solutions. Thus, green streets, wedges and gardens help to steer rainwater away from the neighborhood during heavy downpours (Klimakvarter 2013: 14). The organizational structure of SKN consists of various municipal organs that together with the utility company (HOFOR) engage in various working groups and committees[2]. The project group who is in charge of the daily operation however is the Climate Quarter, a working group under the Technical and Environmental Administration of CM[3].

Before the cloudburst events, SKN was already a target for urban renewal in CM. In 2009 a social revitalization strategy was proposed for the neighborhood. Here, the focus was on health and movement (Copenhagen Municipality 2011b). But with SKN being elected as a climate adaptation testing ground, the funds for the social renewal were re-directed and merged in one pool.

The SKN project can be said to place itself within the communicative planning paradigm (Agger 2007) as the active role of citizens and citizen engagement are repeatedly emphasized in the strategies for the neighborhood (Copenhagen Municipality 2015).

"Copenhageners must be involved - also in local areas - to determine how the city should develop and how municipal services are delivered. Therefore, working with new forms of near and everyday democratic forms such as dialogue, and advanced IT applications is a key tool in service procurement." (Copenhagen Municipality n.d.a)

As the quote states the citizens play a crucial role, as it will be displayed throughout this thesis[4].

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[2] See appendix 1 for an overview

[3] Throughout this thesis, CM is referred to as one organ, to reduce complexity

[4] For further information about the development of urban planning in Copenhagen and the planning rationalities behind, see appendix 2

3. Theory: Governmentality

3.1 Power

Copenhagen Municipality has embraced a democratic planning approach were the citizens are closely involved in urban development projects, including Skt. Kjelds Neighborhood (Copenhagen Municipality n.d.a). Meanwhile, the notion that the relationship between municipality and citizen is equal and that the typical power relations are washed out, I find interesting to investigate further. What may appear to be empowerment of the citizens could also be a control technique employed by the municipality in order to guide the residents towards a specific "climate friendly" and "healthy" identity. This chapter provides a short introduction to governmentality and the inherent power structures that define this framework.

According to Foucault, power is embedded in all interactions (Haugaard 2002). Both state institutions and individuals are to be considered dynamic entities that continually position themselves in relation to each other. When these liquid entities interact, the interaction will always be permeated by power. Power cannot be held and is not permanent, but can only be observed when it is practiced in social relations (Foucault 2000: 219, 224).

Foucault is therefore less interested in locating power. The Foucauldian idea of governmentality deals with questions like: who governs what? According to which logic? With what techniques? Toward what end? (Dean 2012). Foucault describes a number of different approaches to the kind of power that have appeared between state and citizen throughout history; sovereign, disciplinary and finally governmentality. Sovereign power is to be understood as a repressive exercise of power; the idea of a centralized power above another, with established laws and punishment.

His description of disciplinary power follows the sovereign. An example of this is monitoring. At the mere risk of being watched, the monitored subject discipline themselves, as in the example of Bentham's panopticon (Foucault 1991a). This relates to the detailed inspection and monitoring of the individual bodily behavior. Power here relies less on direct control of the body and more on technologies designed to elicit 'self-regulation' as people began to act as if they were being observed (Foucault 1977).

The concept of governmentality is a third form of power, a collective term for power that seeks to nurture, cultivate and stimulate specific skills of the citizen (Mik-Meyer & Villadsen 2007).

The background for Foucault's governmentality concept is to be found in his studies of political governance in Europe during the transition from feudal society to the modern state. The formative event in this period was the construction of the citizens as a population whose prosperity, security and happiness the state was dependent on (Foucault 1988: 158). The population therefore becomes the object and subject of governance.

"The population now represents more the end of government than the power of the sovereign; the population is the subject of needs, of aspirations, but it is also the object in the hands of the government, aware, vis-a-vis the government, of what it wants, but ignorant of what is being done to it" (Foucault 1991b: 100).

This means that governance not only is to be based on knowledge of the population, its birthrates, mortality and diseases, it is also based on knowing the individuals and their hopes and dreams (Rose 2003: 181). This is what Foucault seeks to grasp under the concept governmentality.

The three manifestations of power are not to be understood as replacing each other in succession, from sovereign rule over an administrative disciplinary state to end with a governmentalized state, but as a triangle consisting of sovereignty, discipline and control (Foucault 1991b: 102). States do not solely work through legislation (sovereign power) or a raised finger (discipline), but also by structuring the environment in which the governed is capable of managing itself (Foucault 2008: 107). According to Foucault, the concept of governmentality should be viewed as a more subtle exercise of power in which the individual is controlled by controlling its management of itself.

3.2 Conduct of conduct

In order to understand the concept of governmentality it is essential to understand the notion of 'conduct of conduct'. This concept defines how Foucault views government and how the exercise of power relates to a management of possibilities:

"Conduct is the activity of conducting (conduire), of conduction (la conduction) if you like, but it is equally the way in which one conducts oneself (se conduit), lets oneself be conducted (se laisse conduire), is conducted (est conduit), and finally, in which one behaves (se comporter) as an effect of a form of conduct (une conduit) as the action of conducting or of conduction (conduction)" (Foucault 2007b: 193)

As the quote states, power is a way of managing the conduct of individuals. Furthermore, Foucault defines the art of government as *"a right manner of disposing things [and men] … to an end which is*

convenient for each of the things [or men] that are to be governed…" (Foucault 1991b: 91). This implies that power is not only managing the conduct, but also that power should be exercised to the benefit of those it is exercised upon. Government in this sense becomes an attempt to shape aspects of behavior according to particular a set of values for a variety of purposes (Dean 2010).

"Government is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through the desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs of various actors." (Dean 2010: 19)

In analyzing government, it is therefore essential to look at the instruments, forms of knowledge and technologies employed. Furthermore, it is most important to understand the governed entity and the governing party's conception of it (Dean 2010).

3.3 Power and the free subject

According to Foucault it is power that shapes us as subjects with special characteristics and interests; as men and women; as students and citizens. Foucault's analytics of power are tied to an anti-essentialist understanding of the subject. This means that the subject is in principle an empty vessel, which may take various forms depending on the context (Foucault 1980). Individuals can take on different subject positions in specific interactions, as I can be an urban gardener or a student or both.

Government, understood as conduct of conduct, then, presupposes that those who are governed are free; however, the ones governing are likewise free, meaning that when they govern, they use their ability to think (Dean 2010). In a liberal understanding of government, freedom thus becomes a technical tool that can help secure the ends of government (Dean 2010).

Freedom is a precondition for the exercise of power, but freedom is at the same time also the result of power. Freedom is indeed a subject position an individual can take on. The free subjects thus possess a number of technologies for self-understanding and self-management. The power that the individual exercises over itself, is what Foucault refers to as self-technologies (Foucault 1997), and it is through these technologies that governing is connected to the creation of identity.

Governmentality, then, manifests itself when power technologies (techniques, practices, instruments, etc.) are coupled with the individual's self-relation and thought, who chooses to accept a subject position in the given relation. In this way, subjectification becomes a form of government. Subject positions are imbued by meaning differently, in relation to norms, values and what subjects feel, they

know. It is crucial to modern government that specific subject positions are more visible than others. When one takes on a specific subject position, there are defined expectations to one's actions and attitudes, while the position also works as governing over how the subject sees itself (Foucault 1997).

3.4 Knowledge and power

In order to manage the "conduct of conduct", knowledge is crucial. Knowledge is, according to Foucault (2000), what empowers people. It is not only important that the public managers appear authoritative and knowledgeable, but also that they are able to dispense the 'correct' knowledge to the citizen, in order for them to successfully govern themselves.

Knowledge in this matter has many faces. One is the knowledge the government needs in order to govern (Dean 2010). Through the production of knowledge the objects of governance come into view. In scientific and social studies, the population, community, etc. become objects of governance, and the investigation of their relations makes them possible to govern. The idea is that, by providing context, dispensing knowledge and invoke motivation, citizens will be able to control themselves within the framework provided.

The citizen plays, as mentioned, an active role in his or her own personal development. This type of power relation tends to support the right to individuality but at the same time attack everything that separates the individual from "the pack". The power relationship between state and citizen *"is both an individualizing and totalizing form of power"* (Foucault 1982: 782).

This thesis inscribes itself in this understanding of how the modern (and liberal) welfare state controls free subjects by using knowledge and practices that seek to respect the citizen and his or hers own "free will" but at the same time increasingly interferes with the individual's daily life (Mik Meyer & Villadsen 2007).

3.5 A short detour to urban planning

While Foucault never wrote a dedicated book or article about urban planning, he used space and architecture as examples of the manifestation of knowledge, power and governance. He argued that architecture became vested in politics in the 18th century as literature on how a city should be constructed started to appear. With this, he meant that the political scene adopted architecture as means to govern.

Planning can be viewed as a strategy of governing the 'conduct of conduct'. Through a range of social technologies, the citizens of the neighborhoods that are being renewed are prompted to make the self

a subject of knowledge in new ways, in order to critically assess one's own goals and wishes, and to live one's responsible and free life. As Huxley describes it:

"To see planning as a form of governmentality, then, is to trace its connections to various normalizing discourses that seek to render subjects and the spaces constituted through them both manageable and free." (Huxley 2006: 145).

3.5.1 Agency and performance technologies

This is furthermore interpreted and contextualized by Mitchell Dean (1999) through what he refers to as *agency* and *performance technologies*. Agency technologies are applied when the state wishes to control individuals through their own empowerment and participatory capacities:

"The multiple techniques of self-esteem, of empowerment and of consultation and negotiation […]Technologies of agency also include the instruments of voice' and representation' by which the claims of user groups can enter into the negotiation over needs." (Dean 1999: 168).

These technologies involve us as active citizens. Within urban planning, agency technologies are employed when citizen's opinion and active participation is articulated as an important part of an urban plan's success.

Performance technologies, on the other hand, seek to include the individual as part of the masses and control them by making their behavior measurable (Dean 1999: 169). When the citizens become subjects of programs, they are monitored and divided into categories. Such performance technologies are designed to make the governed's behaviors and attitudes measurable and comparable, and to make it subject to constant optimization (Dean 1999: 169). This also ties back to the disciplinary power of Foucault.

3.6 Going back to governmentality

Governmentality thus becomes a mode of government analysis, as it does not refer to government, but to thinking about the nature of the practice of government as *"capable of making some form of that activity thinkable and practicable to its practitioners and to those upon whom it is practiced."* (Jones et al. 2004: 24).

While this attempt to become clear about how we think and act upon ourselves and others does not necessarily stem from any particular set of values or principles, *"It's true that certain people . . . are not likely to find advice or instructions in my books that tell them 'what is to be done'. But my project*

is precisely to bring it about that they no longer know what to do, so that the acts, gestures, discourses which up until then had seemed to go without saying, become problematic, difficult, dangerous." (Foucault 1991: 83–84).

Foucault's refusal to provide programs for policy or prescriptions for action is part of what makes his work difficult to operationalize. As governmentality was one of the last things he worked with before his death in 1984, there is not much original work on this topic. Much literature on this topic is thus interpretations of Foucault's work.

As referred to in this chapter Mitchell Dean is amongst those who have conceptualized governmentality as an analytical framework. Dean has a more practical approach to conducting governmentality analyses and it is his *regime of practice* framework and his way of operationalizing the term governmentality the analysis will built upon.

4. Analytical strategy and methodology

An analytics of governmentality takes as its central concern to investigate how we govern and are governed. Thus the *how* questions are emphasized. Foucault and his immense apparatus is hard to grasp and condense in a project of this scale. However, while governmentality includes many complex aspects, Dean (2010) has a more practical approach to applying the governmentality framework which this thesis utilizes.

Mitchell Dean (2010) describes an analytics of government as an examination of the condition under which *regimes of practices* come into being, are maintained and transformed (Dean 2010: 31). Foucault (1991b) defines regimes of practices as a *"fairly coherent sets of ways of going about doing things"* (Foucault 1991b in Dean 2010: 31).

"It examines how such a regime gives rise to and depends upon particular forms of knowledge and how, as a consequence of this, it becomes the target of various programmes of reform and change. It considers how this regime has a technical or technological dimension and analyses the characteristic techniques, instrumentalities and mechanisms through which such practices operate, by which they attempt to realize their goals" (Dean 2010: 31)

By understanding SKN as a regime of practice, this climate adaptation project becomes more than just re-organizing the physical space to absorb rainwater. Dean (2010) argues that regimes of practices can be identified when there exists a rather steady field of correlation of visibilities, mentalities and technologies that together constitute a kind of taken-for-granted way of doing things (Dean 2010: 37). With Dean's regime analysis, I put urban planning, the practical and instrumental aspects and their contingent character in focus.

This includes four levels of analysis:

- Fields of visibilities
- Technologies
- Knowledge
- The formation of identities

4.1.1 Fields of visibility

The envisioned space and the visual identity for SKN plays an important role in this thesis. As briefly touched upon in the last chapter, urban planning and the organizing of space can be viewed as technique of governing the conduct of conduct. The first dimension of the analysis is thus concerned with the forms of visibilities that characterize a regime; what is illuminated, what objects are in focus and what and how are other things hidden? Maps, charts, pictures and architectural drawings all are ways to visualize this:

"These all make it possible to 'picture' who and what is to be governed, how relations of authority and obedience are constituted in space, […] what problems are to be solved and what objectives are to be sought" (Dean 2010: 41)

In this section, I investigate the question on how photographs, visualizations and maps represent and envision the governing of certain citizens, in relation to the question "*Who/what is being governed?*"

4.1.2 The technical aspects of government

The second dimension of the analysis is concerned with what Dean refers to as techne of government (Dean 2010). In relation to governmentality this refers to:

"by what means, mechanisms, procedures, instruments, tactics, techniques, technologies and vocabularies is authority constituted and rule accomplished?" (Dean 2010: 42)

The central concern here is to investigate how the goals and agenda of the project are accomplished. If government is to realize certain ideas and values, it has to use technical means. By this Dean means the tools, models and instruments that steer government (Dean 2010: 42).

This dimension seeks to answer the question: *What technologies are employed for citizen involvement by the municipality?*

4.1.3 Knowledge

After uncovering the fields of visibility and technologies in the SKN, I look at the forms of knowledge urban planning draws upon. To investigate knowledge, looking at how it has a stake in legitimizing governing is essential. This is done by employing experts and research etc. to different types of knowledge such as health, architecture, environment, transport, etc. Governing is mutually conditioned by and conditions the emergence of certain types of knowledge, expertise and rationales: *"Rationality is simply any form of thinking which strives to be relatively clear, systematic and explicit*

about aspects of 'external' or 'internal' existence, about how things are or how they should be." (Dean 1999: 11)

In this section I look at how SKN view the world based on certain risk factors:

"*Risk is a way - or rather, a set of different ways – of ordering reality, of rendering it into a calculable form. It is a way of representing events in a certain form so they might be made governable in particular ways, with particular techniques and for particular goals."* (Dean 1999: 177).

What is important about risk is not risk itself. Rather it is *"the forms of knowledge that make it thinkable, such as stastistics, sociology, epidemiology, management and accounting"* (Dean 1999: 178).

This dimension seeks to answer the question: *How and what kind of rationalities are being utilized to the ends of government and how is governing being legitimized?*

4.1.4 The formation of identities

The last dimension of the analysis relates to the subject positions that are created on the basis of the visibilities, technical aspects and forms of knowledge. As mentioned in the theory section, subject positions, as a concept, relates to how the municipality of Copenhagen through urban planning provides strategic guidelines to allow citizens to govern themselves.

This dimension is concerned with *"[…]the forms of individual and collective identity through which governing operates and which specific practices and programs of government try to form"* (Dean 2010: 42). In the formation of identities, some types of conduct are appreciated while others are problematized. The formation of identities should not be understood as real individuals or subject or the only available option. Rather, regimes *"…elicit, promote, facilitate, foster and attribute various capacities, qualities and statuses to particular agents."* (Dean 2010: 43-44). What government seeks to instill in the citizens is the capacity of being able to identify a certain kind of citizen or belonging to a certain kind of group (Dean 2010: 44).

This dimension seeks to answer the questions: *What kinds of identities appear in the plan for SKN and what sorts of capacities are they expected to have?*

4.1.5 Sum up

This thesis inscribes itself in an understanding of how urban planning (and the modern welfare state) control free subjects. By applying Dean's practice regime analysis I will be able to describe:

- The characteristic forms of visibility, ways of envisioning

- Distinctive ways of employing techniques for involving the citizens

- Specific ways of acting, intervening and directing, made up of particular types of practical rationality 'expertise' and 'know-how')

- Characteristic ways of forming subjects, selves, persons, actors or agents.

(Dean 2010:33)

A Foucauldian analytics of these forms of power is not an attempt to correct, nor dissolve power in 'perfectly transparent communication' (Foucault 1988: 18), but to show the unwitting effects of regimes of practices, to break free of the common-sense acceptance of categories, to open up ways of thinking differently (Dean 2010).

4.2 Ontology and epistemology

An analytical strategy will, regardless of theoretical background, contain an element of contingency. By this I mean, that things can be done and observed differently depending on theoretical framework, ontology and epistemological.

I follow the social constructivist notion that reality is shaped and influenced, as I recognize it (Delanty 2005). This means that data is not just there to be uncovered. It does not constitute an objective reality that exists independently of my perception. The empirical data is shaped by my recognition, created in the context of this thesis and informed by previous scholarly research.

This understanding stems from post-structuralism. Belonging to the post-structuralist paradigm means breaking with philosophical realism and the view of history as rational totality (Simonsen & Hansen 2004). Poststructuralism has an ontological understanding of reality as discursively constituted (Stormhøj 2006: 33), and an epistemology that does not recognize the existence of true and objective knowledge. All realization is thus *"[...] associated with subjective, value-based, cultural, linguistic and historical conditions."* (Stormhøj 2006: 46). 'Truths' are to be understood as contextual and in post-structruralism there is no universal truth to be found. Language and context is what constitutes social life, which in turn constitutes reality.

According to post-structuralism, history is characterized by changes, reorganization, various discourses and is not determined by single large events or actions by individuals. Foucault argues that we have to pay attention to the constitutive process of the different kinds of knowledge (e.g monitoring) as the moving forces. Power, in this matter, does not start with oppression or domination in order to identify mechanisms that constrain freedom. Post-structuralism aims to provide tools for understanding regimes of power, their origin and relations with rationality and knowledge. This school of thought

aligns with Foucault and Dean in that it produces knowledge that can provide assistance to promote change and help problematize the 'taken for granted'.

4.3 Collection of data

The empirical base for this thesis is a purposively sampled (Bryman 2008) extract of official municipal documents and visuals directed towards residents in the SKN. As the goal of this thesis is to examine the power relations between municipality and citizen, the empirical material used is *only* the communication directed towards the citizens from the municipality. The data consists of visual elements and text documents extracted from four platforms: CM's website and the official SKN website, Instagram- and Facebook profile.

The data was collected through a comprehensive review of publicly available project documents, evaluations, reports, working group plans and strategies on the website and the visuals on the two social media platforms. The collected data was reviewed two times and relevant plans, photos, documents etc. were extracted.

The document data included one overall urban plan on mobility patterns and livability (72 pages), two project strategies in Danish (32 and 29 pages) and one in English (32 pages). The strategies are different in content and written in different years, but the structure and aim is similar. In addition to this, a neighborhood magazine (48 pages) was available online and the latest version was included as it was distributed in the neighborhood.

In addition to this, the website of the SKN was thoroughly reviewed for purposes of extracting data. Each initiative in the SKN project is described on the website subpages, and the text found here is included. The full project descriptions on each physical initiative was available in reports for download as well, however these were not included a part of the primary data, as they were mostly technical descriptions and would have more than tripled the sample.

In the table below, the total amount of collected visual in each platform or strategy is presented.

Source	Photos	Visualizations	Maps	Charts	Video	Other
Website	120	39	20	5	1	1
Instagram	44	0	0	0	6	1
Facebook	267	2	1	0	0	17
Strategy*	21+26+4	8 +13 +12	15+3++5	8+1+6	0+0+0	5+1+0

Neighborhood magazine	32	8	0	0	0	0
Urban life report	3	0	20	149	0	0

Table 1: Visual elements categorized. *Klimakvarter 2013; Copenhagen Municipality 2015; Copenhagen Municipality 2013[5]

It is important to note that some overlap occurs across platforms, e.g. a few pictures from the website have been posted on Facebook and Instagram. This nuance has not been corrected here, as I wish to display the total amount of data gathered from each platform, but in the analysis, the doublets will be taken out.

4.3.1 Categorization

Categories were developed in accordance with the concepts in the analysis strategy, with a particular focus on who and what is envisioned, how the logic is rationalized and what technologies are employed. In continuation of this, the approach to the documents would fall under the category *thematic approach* (Bryman 2008: 530) as in particular the visual aspects were scrutinized. Using Dean's framework as a starting point for identifying the themes, I look for repetitions (Bryman 2008: 555), topics and visuals, which recur in the material. In regards to the rationalization, I furthermore look for linguistic connectors (Bryman 2008: 555), to see if the logic behind the argument constitutes a rationalization of causality between two arguments, e.g. "climate adaptation" and "health".

4.4 Limitations and omissions

While the data examined here is representative of the municipal communication with the citizens, it in no way represents an exhaustive sample of the municipal urban planning strategies in general. The official strategies for inclusion, sustainability, climate adaptation are included to serve as background information, together with the materials related to the SKN project, but not analyzed as part of the primary data. Further, the scope of this thesis does not allow for a larger data sample, which means that newsletters, news articles, working tools from the webpage, flyers, posters, previous SKN Magazines are not included in the analysis.

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[5] The author will provide all data upon request

Conducting this study with a different analytical strategy than Dean's *regime of practices* might provide a different perspective, problematization or have revealed other aspects of urban planning. Furthermore, I do not conduct a historical analysis, as many governmentality studies otherwise would. A main limitation of this thesis is the inherent notion in governmentality theory to treat the "governing" as *one*. This means that the municipality in linguistic terms is presented as one mass, while the subjects can take on a plethora of positions. This sort of analysis does therefore not allow inclusion of the nuances and opposing goals that a large organization, such as Copenhagen Municipality[6] might face. This limitation can be attributed to working deductively, and thus examining a theory applied to a case with all inherent limitations in this approach (cf. Bryman 2008), such as being biased by looking for certain aspects of governmentality and thus missing other important aspects in the power relation between citizen and municipality. I have attempted to overcome this, by critically assessing the data at each point of review.

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[6] see organization diagram, Appendix 1

5. Analysis part I: Presentation of results

In the communication between municipality and citizens, certain standards for what characterizes "good urban life" can be traced through the regime of practice analysis framework as developed by Dean (2010). What, amongst other things, characterizes governmentality, is how certain norms become a way for the municipality to steer the citizens in order for them to be able to alter their behavior. Here, green infrastructure, climate adaptation and meeting spaces are emphasized. This can either be instilled through a picture, via certain engaging platforms or through a way of rationalizing a knowledge.

The first part of this analysis presents the data through the three first levels of Dean's regime of practice analysis; *fields of visibilities, techniques* and *knowledge*. While the three levels are separated in order to retain a clear structure, they are to be understood as interlinked. The section will primarily present the results of the findings and briefly link to agency and performance technologies. While this first analysis chapter primarily presents the data, the last part of the analysis incorporates the theoretical framework alongside the findings and provides an analysis of the identities envisioned and what is not wanted before concluding and discussing the findings.

5.1. Fields of visibilities

Images can convey powerful stories to those receiving the message. This part of this analysis is concerned with pictures, maps, and illustrations issued by the municipality as part of the SKN project. What they all have in common is that they in one way or another illuminate what relates to the first part of the research question: *what and who is being governed?*

First, illustrations and maps are analyzed in order to uncover how the space is imagined; secondly, I scrutinize pictures and illustrations to uncover who is envisioned living in SKN.

5.1.1 How the space is envisioned

"Greener streets, florid courtyard gardens, rich fauna and landscaped streets that carry storm water away from the neighborhood are ways in which we avoid water damage when extreme rainfall events occur." (Copenhagen Municipality n.d.d)

When examining the maps it becomes apparent that SKN is built around a blue and green infrastructure. In the envisioned SKN, the current straight traffic lanes are winding and there is a mixed use of public spaces. In most of the visualizations, there are no cars driving and there is a strong emphasis on pedestrians and bikes.
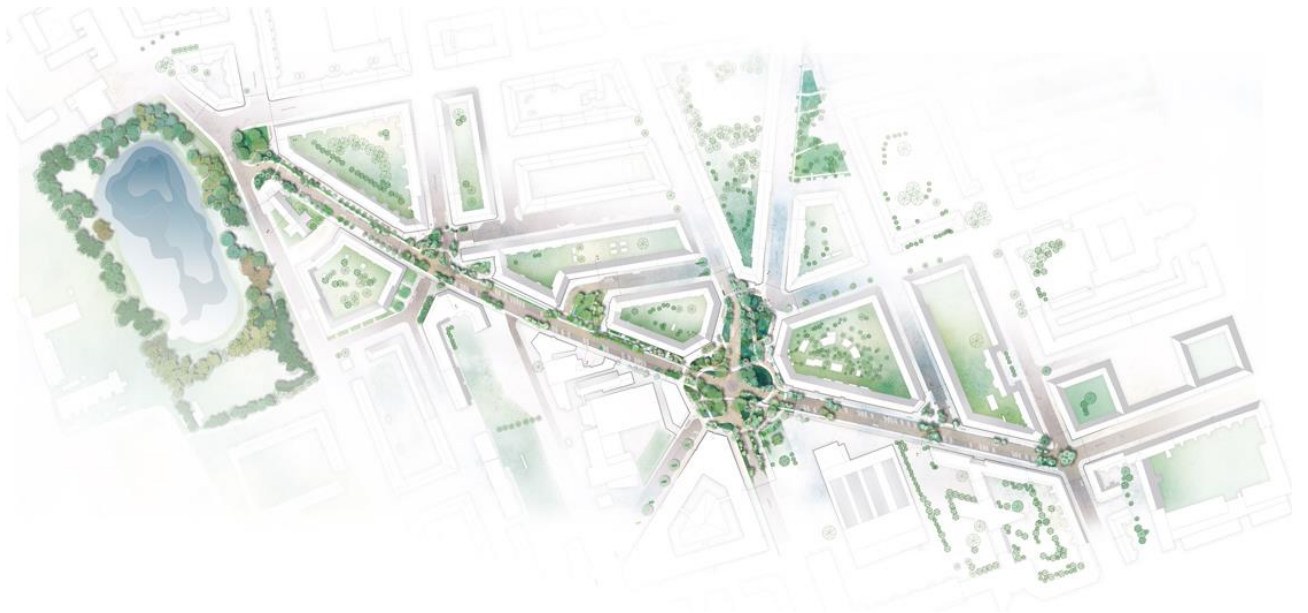
Figure 2: Map of the envisioned SKN (Klimakvarter 2013: 6)

Furthermore, some maps depict how most of the spaces are intended to support social and recreational life. Beyond shining a light on the green infrastructure, the maps show how the new mobility patterns are connected to public spaces. When biking or walking through the neighborhood, the roads take you through different public spaces, and one becomes a visible part of public life, despite being on the move.

In addition to the green and blue infrastructure maps, most of the envisioned space is depicted as public or semipublic spaces. There is only little focus on buildings or apartments, and more on spaces where people meet. This can both be public spaces, pocket parks, courtyards and cafés.

Figure 3: Collage of visualizations from website

A common denominator for most visualizations is the 'wilder', untamed and less trimmed nature that is introduced to the urban setting. Elements seen from more rural settings like meadows, fields, forests and gardens are now incorporated in the urban fabric.

"We have been working with letting the grass grow wild on purpose in order to discuss biodiversity; we have celebrated the solstice with an artificial sun to discuss how we can create life in the city in the winter; and held an urban furniture festival to test how we move and sit" (Copenhagen Municipality 2013:18)

As the quote states, the area works as a testing ground for various green urban solutions. The experimental solutions are furthermore displayed on the website through an interactive map where citizens can create their own walking and sightseeing routes in the neighborhood.

Figure 4: Interactive map (Copenhagen Municipality n.d.e)

The projects highlighted here are all related to green solutions where the citizen to some extent is part of a public social life. Furthermore, when comparing the initiatives it becomes clear that only one out of the twenty-four projects described is unrelated to greening a street, space or courtyard and only six are not directly related to climate adaptation.

In addition to this, the plan and vision for the neighborhood is being presented next to the current situation (Copenhagen Municipality 2013). These pictures are depicted in grey, standing in contrast to the bright colors in the visualizations of the envisioned SKN. The impermeable surfaces and the wide lanes draw attention to how the current state of the neighborhood does not favor a green infrastructure.

Bryggervangen today

St. Kjeld´s Square today

Tåsinge Square today

Figure 5: Current state pictures (Copenhagen Municipality 2013: 16, 20, 24)

In the images, the greening of the neighborhood is furthermore coupled to a current suboptimal use of the space, both through the black and white pictures, but also through the maps that show how the current use of public space is wasted on traffic.

5.1.2 Who are the citizens envisioned?

The pictures and visualizations depict an active population. In many cases, groups are portrayed playing, running, biking, skating and walking. The primary transportation vehicle appears to be the bike as most visualizations of the public spaces portrays one person or more riding a bike.

Figure 6: Collage of visualizations and pictures from website

Healthy living is promoted, as we see in the images above. In addition to this, there is a focus on eating and gardening in many of the depictions, either in community gardens or at community dinners.

Figure 7: Collage of pictures from website

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As the graph below shows, there are many pictures emphasizing collective gardening projects. Not only growing vegetables and eating them, but also maintaining, planting and working with the soil together as community. Furthermore, many pictures show how it is not only gardening, but working collectively with the neighborhood and its green infrastructure that is important.
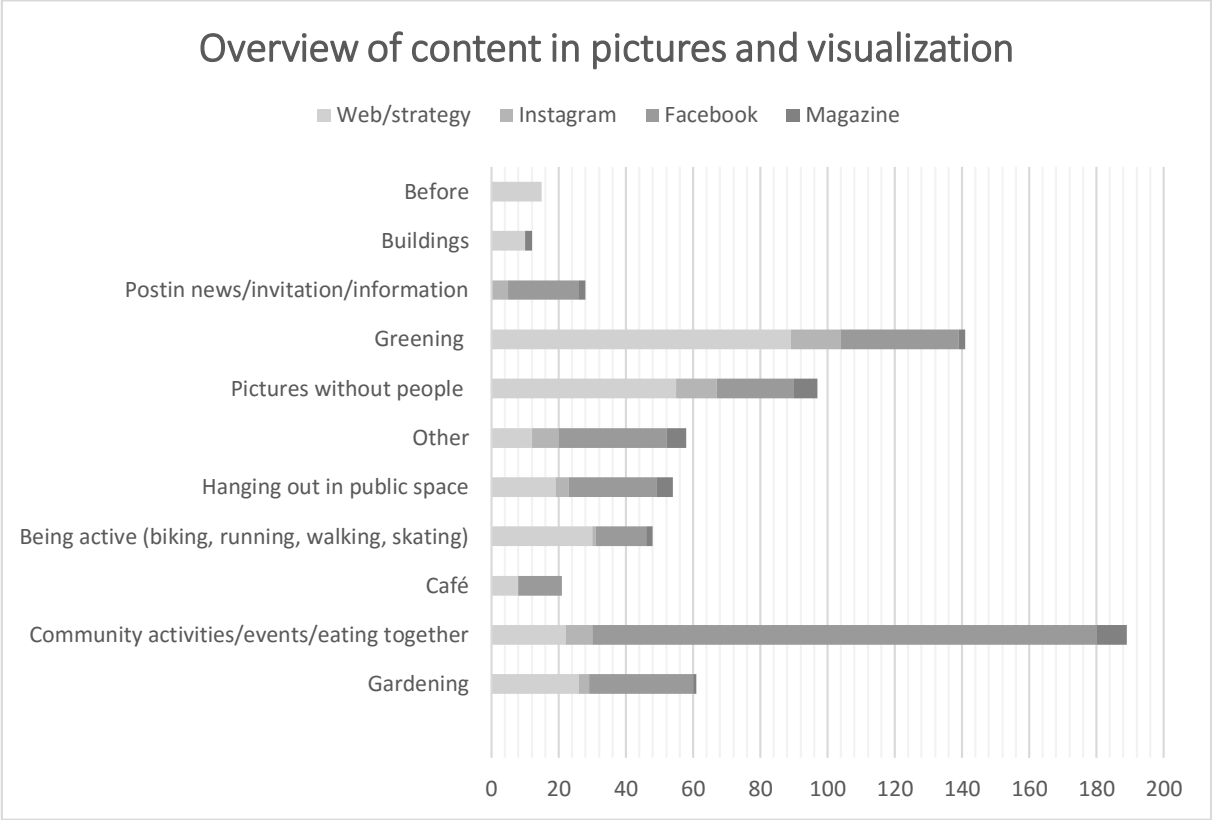

Figure 8: Graph of content in pictures and visualizations[7].

A further aspect of socializing is café life that is promoted through several emphasized visualizations: drinking coffee, hanging out and eating out, which underscores that the citizens envisioned have a certain degree of purchasing power.

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[7] Urban Life report not included

Figure 9: Collage of visualizations and pictures from website

Citizens are in general pictured living everyday life on the streets and using the urban spaces for activities such as eating and drinking and other communal activities which are normally confined to the privates sphere. At the same time it is emphasized that the local business community is targeting the citizens, making sure that the ground level shops are not just offices, but also restaurants, bars and especially cafes.

5.2 Technologies: Maps, meetings and puppets

This section describes technologies for citizen involvement, which encompasses the different platforms where the municipality tries to engage the citizens.

5.2.1 On the ground: involvement of the citizens

A major aspect that the municipality emphasizes, which is also depicted in the illustrations, is how the planning process has focused on involving the citizens.

"It is important that the residents are involved in the process of developing the urban space. In that way, we can create a more place-specific urban room, which is adapted to the specific conditions and lives lived in the area. The process is also important in order to give the residents knowledge and ownership of the project, in order for them to feel safe during future building disturbances, and so they use the green areas as their own when the project is finished" (Copenhagen Municipality n.d.f)

This has been done through public meetings and hearings, working groups and workshops - see table below. As a further technology, the municipality has been arranging events in the neighborhood, including exhibitions, guided tours or physical activities. The events can be seen, simply, as a way of showcasing and presenting how the neighborhood is developing. However, the events can also be observed as a technology that creates transparency and, in this sense, helps to improve the legitimacy

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of the municipality. As the table below show, this has not been achieved through one or two meetings. Rather, a vast number of different meetings and groups have been established in cooperation between the municipality and the citizens.

Type of involvement	Number of meetings	Participants in total
Steering committee	19	265
Project groups	37	347
Working groups	52	1391
Public meetings/hearings	34	1852
Events	17	3420
Presentations	35	2057

Table 2: Citizens Involvement in 2013 (Copenhagen Municipality 2015)

Furthermore, the latest edition neighborhood magazine, 'Skt. K', (2016) contained headlines such as "*Get in the game*", "*Consider your neighborhood*" "*Co-creation*" and "*The citizens saved Copenhagen*". Along with the headlines, there are pictures of people engaging in activities such as photographing the neighborhood and co-designing adaptation solutions. Here, again, the citizens are being emphasized as co-creators of the neighborhood.

5.2.2. Online involvement

The interactive online map can in this context also be viewed as a technology employed by the municipality. This is what Dean would refer to as an agency technology, in that it is an interactive platform that somewhat highlights the citizens' active role in urban planning. Simultaneously, this constitutes a technology that provides specific guidelines for how the citizens can be co-creators of their neighborhood. The citizens cannot upload their own solutions freely as the frame is set by the municipality. This shows how the municipality is allowing citizen involvement and engagement, but within the project framework.

5.2.3. Puppets and social media

Apart from communicating through the website, strategy documents and magazines, the municipality also communicates and engages the citizens through social media (Instagram and Facebook). The Facebook profile[8] has 1124 followers and the Instagram 344[9].

These platforms can be observed as technologies that seeks to personalize the citizens' relationship to SKN by asking them to provide their personal portrayal of the area or comment on the different "posts". Whereas the Instagram profile only has 51 uploaded pictures, there are more than 386 pictures with the hashtag "#klimakvarter", showing that people engage with SKN through documenting their own experience of the neighborhood.

A particular technology employed be the municipality, is of interest here. This is a puppet named 'Urban Olsen', that portrays a stereotype of the "apprehensive citizen". A video on Instagram shows a public hearing, where the puppet says "Why is there a tree here? Who decided that?" The puppet even has its own Instagram account[10] where he raises questions about the neighborhood, such as 'will the utility company tell me when they start digging in the streets?' The person steering the puppet is portraying this behavior as grumpy, and is condescending towards it. In this we understand, that this is not a behavior that is socially acceptable in these meetings. The citizens are meant to be constructive, and we see how the greening of the area is not debatable.

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[8] https://www.facebook.com/klimakvarter

[9] https://www.instagram.com/klimakvarter/

[10] https://www.instagram.com/urbanolsen/

Figure 10: Picture from Urban Olsen's Instagram account

This puppet appears in pictures on the Facebook page and on the Instagram pictures in other settings as well. The municipality account will then answer his questions in the comment section. This is also seen in matters where they recommend cafés, recycling stations and green activities.

These platforms for citizen engagement shows us how the municipality is actively using agency technologies (Dean 1999) to activate participating citizens.

5.3 Knowledge: Risks and solutions

Knowledge is a way to legitimize a strategy, or a regime of practice. Expertise in different fields such as architecture, engineering, biodiversity and economics all have a stake in creating a strategy for SKN. The project is, as stated, concerned with more than just climate adaption. The municipality has engaged cross-sectoral working groups, including cooperation with other departments, different experts, engineers, architects, universities, etc., from whose knowledge they shape the strategic direction of the plan. This third part of the analysis thus answers the question: *How and what kind of knowledge and rationalities are being utilized and how is governing being legitimized?*

5.3.1 Risks

In contrast to the agency technologies as described in the previous section, statistics and modelling are focused on preventing situations and conditions based on certain risk factors. This is predominantly in relation to climate change and the potential of flooding in the neighborhood, which is presented

through various maps and models developed by engineers showing the different risk zones, and through this legitimizing climate adaptation.

Figure 11: Maps illustrating risk zones and cloud burst boulevards (Klimakvarter 2013: 10)

The maps illustrate the necessity of climate adaptation in the neighborhood. As is evident in the quote below, the risk of flooding is the starting point, and thus legitimation, of the project:

"The heavy rains have caused damage costing several billion Danish kroner. The residents of Østerbro have experienced flooded basements, have seen items of sentimental value wrecked and have faced higher insurance premiums. With the Climate-Resilient Neighborhood project we will future-proof the neighborhood, so that we can gain control of the rainwater and minimize the damage caused by future downpours." (Copenhagen Municipality n.d.g)

Another rationality that relates to risk is the current suboptimal use of space in SKN. Here, architects and engineers cooperatively, through models and maps, illustrate that there are many opportunities for implementing a green infrastructure, as the existing streets and lanes are too wide increasing traffic, and the permeated surfaces do not absorb the rainwater and thus makes the area prone to flooding (Klimakvarter 2013: 12; Copenhagen Municipality: 8).

Lastly, together with the different technical maps, there is a financial incentive emphasized in the data:

"To expand the sewage system so it can contain all types of rain, will be a very expensive solution. An expansion of the sewers will also require that large parts of the city are dug up and Copenhagen would have construction sites to the same extent as metro construction has created - for several years to come" (Copenhagen Municipality n.d.g)

Furthermore, there is an apparent emphasis on the fact that by creating new innovative solutions on the surface and putting them on display in the neighborhood, it will create economic growth and new

jobs in Copenhagen. This because Copenhagen is often used as an exhibition for solutions, that are to be sold to cities around the world, that aim to become more 'green'.

The municipality is trying to legitimize their authority by highlighting not only the economic benefits, but also by creating a "burning platform" about the current situation by pointing out the high risks associated with a lack of climate adaptation. This is done through various experts possessing expertise to make such judgements. In this, we understand that the municipality is using experts to establish and legitimize their policies. Expertise can, in this instance, be understood as a powerful tool, because few people have the specific capacities, skills and thus expertise as the municipality, which can make authoritative claims, because of its ability to incorporate engineers and urban planners. In this, we see how the municipality not only uses risks as scare tactics for legitimation, but also how these risks can be turned into opportunities, further legitimating the municipality's authority.

5.3.2 Urban planning can solve social problems

Another aspect of the knowledge that informs the strategy is urban life quality reports. Here a direct connection between mobility in the area and health is established, as well as direct connections between public spaces and mental health.

By planning a city that encourages an active lifestyle, you can steer the health of citizens in a particular direction. This link between urban planning and health is articulated through a cause-effect relationship between particular transport choices, inactivity and diseases. Furthermore, there is reference to different reports and experts stating that if the environment is of a "high quality", it will lead to better physical and mental health.

"Urban nature is a new type of nature in the city. [...]. Urban nature has both a practical function and an aesthetic function. It can solve a lot of the problems our cities face today - from overheating and pollution, cloudburst management and climate change adaptation. But it can also make life worth living and inspire new social communities, foster creative power, active and healthy forms of life." (Copenhagen Municipality n.d.h)

Again, the social aspect is tied back to the maps of how the space is used sub optimally.

In addition to this, every year an urban life report is published where the mobility patterns and social meeting places are monitored (Copenhagen Municipality 2014).
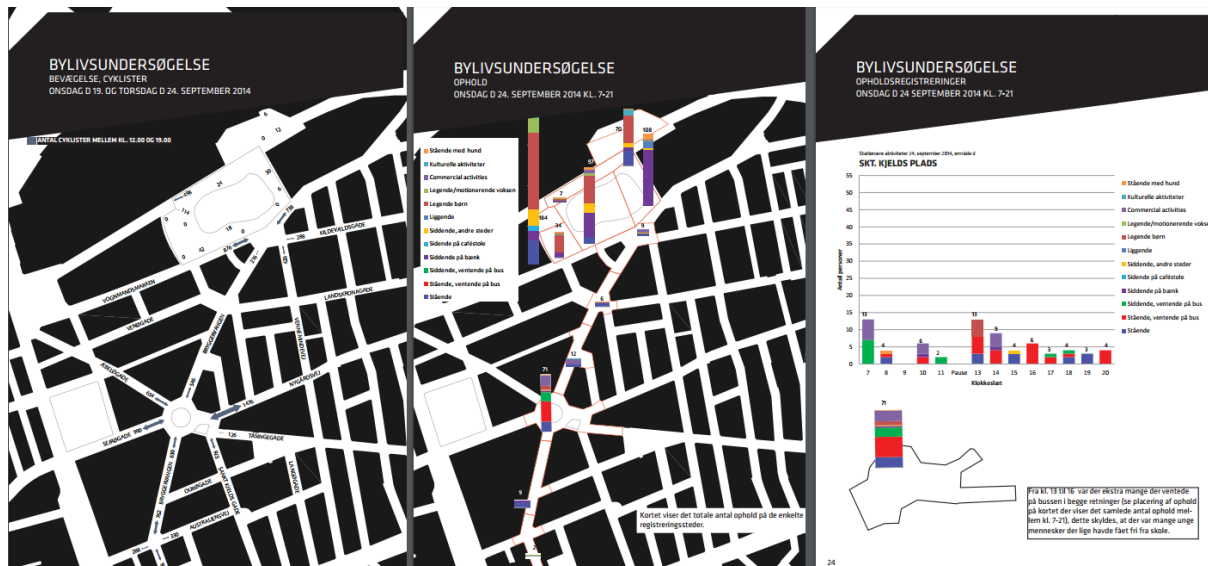
Figure 12: Maps and graphs from the Urban Life Report (Områdefornyelsen Skt. Kjelds Kvarter 2014)

In reference to the statistics, e.g. mobility and inactive transport, the municipality emphasizes the risks where citizens either are or may become part of this statistic. Furthermore, by referencing other case studies proving the positive effects of "healthy" lifestyle choices it becomes clear that it is ultimately the citizens who need to engage in the mobility patterns to ensure their own health. This ties back to the performance technologies described previously, by making the citizens generic subjects that are measurable and categorized.

This section has served to show, how promoting specific knowledge is employed as an active means in steering the citizen. In addition to knowledge, this first part of the analysis has presented empirical data through the first two levels of Dean's regime of practice analysis; fields of visibility and technologies. The data presented here, will be employed in the second part of the analysis to show what is the end towards these means are employed.

6. Analysis part II: The wanted and not, the free and the framed

This section examines how citizens are invited to take on certain subject positions in SKN. As Dean argues: *"to ask how governing works, is to ask how we are formed as various types of agents with particular capacities and possibilities of action"* (Dean 1999: 29). In this vein, I ask what subjects and identities that are formed in the interaction between fields of visibilities, technologies and forms of knowledge, as presented in the results above.

In the strategy and communication between the municipality and citizens, certain standards for what characterizes good urban life are given. Below I will unfold the characteristics that are sought to be fostered in the creation of the good citizen, and which characteristics that simultaneously, but tacitly, are emphasized as more problematic. This relates to two aspects of governmentality: **1) the wanted and not wanted subject and 2) the subject being free and framed at the same time.**

In this section, I will look at what is wanted and not in SKN, both in regards to the physical infrastructure as well as the citizens. Finally, I analyze how the municipality, by virtue of their subject formation of the citizen, positions itself in framing the action space of the citizens. By examining these subject positions (citizen and municipality), and how they structure the action space in a certain way, it becomes possible to illuminate the power relations between the two.

6.1 Physical space: What is wanted and not

As was emphasized in the presentation of data, SKN is a green neighborhood that is designed to withstand climate change and at the same time serves as a setting where the citizens can meet each other.

6.1.1 The old vs. new

When examining the maps and pictures, the greening of the neighborhood is coupled to a current suboptimal use of the space, both through the black and white pictures, but also through the maps coupled with expert knowledge that show how the current use of public space is wasted on traffic and poses a risk of flooding.

What is interesting about the maps and illustrations is their ability to not only to speak in geographical terms, but in temporal. By this, I mean that maps and illustrations open up for the possibility of speaking about what is perceived as good/bad urban planning, what is the old vs. what is the new.

In the maps and illustrations, we saw how certain norms are emphasized; the green new infrastructure and public meeting places, and thus how CM show what is important in this urban planning strategy. What furthermore makes the maps and illustrations interesting is the way in which they frame the area and thus create a mentality on what the optimal use of the space is. The "before" pictures are depicted in grey, standing in direct contrast to the bright colors of the illustrations in the strategy (Copenhagen Municipality 2013. This is coupled with a rationalization, as described in the knowledge section, on how the impermeable surfaces and the wide lanes draw attention to what is not wanted in SKN, but also how impermeable surfaces pose a risk of flooding as they cannot retain the water. It might seem like an obvious trick to depict grey public spaces with no human activity in contrast to bright maps and colorful pictures with lots of public life, but it can still be tied to how the municipality through pictures and rationalization instill a mentality of how the neighborhood today is unsafe, unattractive and at the same time holds potential in becoming a colorful green neighborhood.

Foucault and Dean's practice regime analysis helps us understand what is not being illuminated through these illustrations, maps and the knowledge behind. Before SKN became a CCA experimental neighborhood it was a target area for social renewal, as mentioned in the case presentation. Under the headline "a neighborhood in movement" (Copenhagen Municipality 2011b) it had a different focus than the current strategy. Comparing the old maps with the current, it becomes evident that the primary focus beforehand was on public meeting places as social generators for the community. These socioeconomic maps highlight the composition of residents, unemployment rates, mobility in the area, lack of proper sanitation and a strong general focus on the social aspects of urban planning. CCA is mentioned once in the 64-page document, as a side note to courtyard renewal. In SKN today, it is no longer just the social dynamics and meeting places that are given emphasis through maps and illustrations. We now find a stronger focus on greening the neighborhood as a way to create public meeting places and at the same time ensure the neighborhood from flooding. At the same time, there is now very little focus the apartments, and none on the sanitation and indoor living conditions. This shows us why the temporal aspect, as mentioned above, is important in understanding how changes in the planning strategy over time has an impact upon SKN.

Just as the old strategy potentially could become steering for the citizens by highlighting the challenges in the neighborhood, the present-day strategy can potentially become steering as the greening of the neighborhood becomes constitutive of a good urban life. This because it solves a wide number challenges related to climate change and at the same time changes the neighborhood from being grey and dull to happy and colorful.

6.2 Formation of identities: Who is wanted and not?

6.2.1 The innovative sporty coffee lover communal citizen

This section analyzes the different subject positions in SKN. These can be seen as embodied in one individual, but also as separate positions. They are therefore not mutually exclusive. It is possible to solely be an active citizen or urban gardener, but also possible to be both. Therefore, we shall treat them separately in this section.

Sporty and healthy

As was described in the results section, the envisioned citizens of SKN are active. With a new and improved infrastructure that connects the area with a focus on pedestrians and bikes it becomes up to the citizen to leave the car behind and engage in a healthier and more environmentally friendly life style. This is not only portrayed through the pictures in the fields of visibilities, but also argued through maps and reports, where there is an emphasis on how it is more convenient and at the same time good for the citizens' physical and mental health.

As mentioned in the theory section, Foucault (1997) describes self-governing technologies in relation to subject positions. The idea is that, by the municipality providing context, dispensing knowledge and invoking motivation, citizens will be able to control themselves within the framework provided. A picture in this matter is a way for the municipality to lay out guidelines for citizens to govern themselves in a particular direction by establishing specific standards. This is furthermore legitimized through the municipality dispensing knowledge to the citizens through statistics as described in the knowledge section.

What applies to both active and healthy living is that these are primarily promoted through pictures and statistics, not words. Whereas 'sundhed' (health) in the old strategy for SKN is mentioned 30 times in 64 pages, it is only mentioned in passing and in few quotes in the new strategies. This ties back to the understanding of power relations in governmentality as not telling the citizens what to do and think, but rather to steer them through pictures and knowledge in order for the citizens to conduct themselves. Here the power relation between the municipality and citizens manifests itself when the citizens choose to accept the framework and knowledge provided. As governmentality is governing the mentality as well, we can see how the municipality does not use sovereign power by telling what can be done and not, but rather by creating a framework in which the citizens can picture themselves.

Coffee and cafés

The envisioned citizen is seen as one that is performing everyday activities in the urban space, rather than within the home. This particularly involves activities surrounding preparing and eating food. The strategy shows how cafés and restaurants are seen as integral to this. This entails that the envisioned citizens have a certain purchasing power, and is putting that to use in the local community, and thereby supporting local businesses as well as providing a livelier urban space.

Communal urbanist

The focus in SKN is on more than the built environment and ensuring the area from flooding. While this might be the starting point for the project, the prevalent element in the examined material is the citizens and their engagement with the community. Being communal is related to creating a green infrastructure as it involves the citizens participating in creating the solution. The social commitment is furthermore articulated a as a step to achieve a higher quality of life. If the citizen wants to obtain a higher quality of life it requires socializing with others: you have to cultivate the collective capabilities. The illustrations and photographs in the fields of visibilities pictured how the urban planning is intended as a framework for social interaction between the citizens. The subject on the pictures is a community-oriented individual, as we saw above in the envisioning of everyday activities moving from the private sphere to the urban space.

The citizens are thus encouraged to identify themselves with participating in the community and putting their ability to act and create change in the center. Through different engaging platforms, as described in the technology section, the 'good citizen' exhibits social commitment and interest in the community. SKN is thus an example of a governing rationality focusing on and talking to the participatory capabilities in the community to achieve its goals.

The innovator

Alongside creative skills and capabilities, the envisioned subjects also act rationally based on risk assessments. The citizens are directed to promote solutions under the rationale of climate change. The risks thus concerns the neighborhood and city as a whole - not just the individual. Risk, then, becomes a way for the municipality to legitimize its authority as it through 'experts' establishes a number of threats to the neighborhood, in this case the risk of flooding. The citizens cannot cognitively carry all the world's problems, and so the municipality picks the problems and then dispenses that knowledge to the citizens. Here the power of knowledge and thus governmentality becomes elucidated by providing an argument that shows the citizens, that the municipality knows what they should be afraid of, but that they also know how to fix it. In this, the municipality provides the citizens with a specific knowledge and framework, that the citizens themselves should use in the right manner. The innovative

individual participates actively in the management towards a better city, as it is in everyone's interest. The concept of governmentality is a form of power, that seeks to nurture, cultivate and stimulate specific skills of the citizen (Mik-Meyer & Villadsen 2007). By providing context, dispensing knowledge and invoking motivation, citizens will be able to control themselves within the framework provided for innovation.

Furthermore, this subject position holds the citizens responsible for their own environment. By participating in the process, the citizen is simultaneously partly held responsible for creating and shaping the development of SKN. The idea, then, according to governmentality, is that responsible citizens will steer themselves to follow the designated guidelines, since they themselves are involved in deciding or creating them.

6.2.2 Who is not wanted?

Active and healthy living, where the citizens engage in community activities and where the urban space is being utilized for hanging out, drinking coffee and gardening is how the municipality envisions good urban social life in SKN. It becomes clear that a framework for what a good urban citizen is, exists. Taking from Dean, meanwhile, we can also understand what is not being illuminated or who stands in the shadow.

Performance technologies governs the citizens by dividing them into categories and making these measurable, as well as employing disciplinary governmentality technologies (monitoring) to make the citizens govern themselves to become healthier and part of the community. Thus, SKN offers the citizen a role in a community; the sustainable, active and social, who together constitute "the sustainable development of the neighborhood" and who stands in opposition to the marginalized groups on the outside; the inactive and private citizens. This way of dividing social groups is dubbed dividing practices, under which the subject is made an object through the distinction from other individuals (Foucault 1982 in Villadsen & Mik-Meyer 2007: 19). What is not wanted is, however, not directly formulated in the SKN strategy, as there are no intimidation tactics employed.

There is a separation through the planning of space between the active and socially engaged citizens from the inactive and uninvolved. A citizen who bikes, walks and runs and participates in urban gardening, is favored over the citizens who take the car to work and spend their spare time in the apartment watching television. As mentioned in the chapter on theory, the power relationship between state and citizen "*is both an individualizing and totalizing form of power*" (Foucault 1982, Dean 1999: 213). This is an example of how the municipality controls free subjects by using knowledge and practices that seek to respect the citizen's free will, while increasingly interfering with the

individual's daily life (Mik Meyer & Villadsen 2007: 19). This interference is furthermore emphasized through the example with the puppet 'Urban Olsen'. The puppet's behavior is somewhat accepted as an attitude towards SKN, but at the same time ridiculed. The puppet dares ask questions about greening and parking for his own car. In this, we clearly see which attitudes are welcomed and which are not.

Diversity is mentioned as a central element in the old urban renewal strategy. That being both immigrants and descendants from immigrants, which represent almost 24% of the residents living in Copenhagen (Statistikbanken 2016), people outside the labor force (24% for SKN), people living in small apartments (31% for SKN) and people without toilet facilities in the apartment (12% for SKN) (Copenhagen Municipality 2011b). Meanwhile, it would be a stretch calling the citizens in the pictures diverse. While it is hard to tell whether the people pictured live in small apartments without proper toilet facilities, there is a strong emphasis on families and café life, and it is hard to imagine that these people are to be found outside the labor force with limited purchasing power. There is diversity in age groups and gender, but it appears to be a very homogenized in terms of ethnicity and interests. It becomes apparent that it is not all citizens who are envisioned in the strategy. One might ask where the beer drinkers, unemployed and non-creative are represented in this strategy?

6.3 Framing platforms

By examining the different platforms for citizen engagement it becomes apparent that what was problematized in the last section, the diversity in interests, again here is pre-defined by the municipality. These different activities all somewhat presuppose that the citizens are willing to be creative or skilled in their engagement, which raises questions about who has social capacity to engage in the process.

The interactive map, public hearings and social media all become agency-technologies in that they engage the citizens by providing different platforms for expressing their opinions and participating in community activities. I argue that the citizens step onto the governing side and, hence, become co-responsible and co-accountable for the development of the neighborhood.

"*Tåsinge Street's residents have shown an impressive commitment and after only three meetings founded the association Green Tåsinge Street and thus … now leads the process in cooperation with area renewal [municipality]. Local enthusiasts … is a key element … as the project will not be anything without their engagement*" (Copenhagen Municipality n.d.i)

The different working groups and public meetings work as agency technologies by placing the citizen as a visible public part of the dialogue. For a moment, it seems as if the traditionally controlled citizen is the one controlling. The involvement of citizens can thus also be observed as a means for legitimizing the decisions that have been made in terms of planning, as the citizens have been actively involved during the process.

These platforms thus illuminate the participating role of the citizens in urban planning. Meanwhile, these platforms also control the citizens by providing specific instructions for how this participation should take place and framing for what can be talked about, how citizens should act and take responsibility. Certain frameworks control the dialogue and the citizens' action space, and it is thus a predisposed platform. A further dimension is how the municipality through engagement of citizens in the process somewhat control their knowledge production by providing specific frames for what can be created. By developing a map that focuses on green public solutions, the debate will not include e.g. the potential of greening your own balcony, or improving sanitation, which could also be discussed as possible solutions to achieve sustainability, economic growth and higher quality of life. This ties back to Foucault in an understanding of governmentality as a means of creating a platform from which the citizens can control themselves, and enjoy a feeling of freedom by being co-creators of knowledge and solutions, but simultaneously being confined to the frames provided by the governing.

6.4 Knowledge about the masses

Where citizen engagement in the technology section was described as an agency technology, citizens are also *objects* of governance. This is what Dean refers to as a performance technology. By dividing and viewing the citizens as groups and categories by making them measurable, the citizens are steered in a direction to control themselves.

Here knowledge becomes empowering in the sense that the municipality dispenses the "right" kind of knowledge to the citizens in order for them to govern themselves. The knowledge and the rationalities behind form the strategy, where statistics, reports and experts prove that it is in the interest and benefit of the citizens that the risks (environmental and social) are reduced. The municipality legitimizes its authority by articulating its decisions within the logic of minimum risks for the population. As analyzed previously, this is closely linked to quality of life as well, and through statistics the municipality can legitimately intervene in social life, as it is in everyone's "best interest".

At the same time the citizens become objects for monitoring, which refers back to Foucault's disciplinary power through the annual mobility and urban life reports, that acts as a way of

communicating results to citizens and stakeholders. The statistics can act as a disciplinary power as the citizens and their mobility patterns are being monitored for the compilation of statistics, and by the mere risk of being monitored, the citizens might begin disciplining themselves (Foucault 1991: 201). While the citizens under study here, are not imprisoned and likely to be disciplined like those in Foucault's (Foucault 1991) studies of prisons and Bentham's panopticon, the fact that the area in itself is being measured and being judged on the basis of these metrics can make agents discipline themselves towards the municipality's desired norms and behavior.

Figure 13: Traffic counters in SKN.

Furthermore, the neighborhood magazine 'Skt. K' can be viewed as technology of engaging citizens by showing and communicating the different possibilities for neighborhood engagement. Simultaneously in the magazine we find interviews with different experts. One interview worth mentioning is with an associate professor at Aalborg University who works with action research, citizens and their level of engagement in the community: *"Research indeed shows that when people say they do not have time to engage, it is not true per se. We just spend the time with the family and watching television."* (Skt. K 2016: 17). This quote highlights that not only, as we have seen in the reports, is it in your own interest to be a part of the community as you get healthier physically and mentally, but that you actually also have the time to engage. The fact that this specific knowledge is communicated shows how the municipality is employing its range of communicative media to portray a desired lifestyle. Furthermore, the statement could be argued as using guilt as a motivating ethos, again tying back to the notion of dividing practices, by portraying those that do not make "the right" decision to engage in the neighborhood as down-prioritizing it.

By examining these rationalities it becomes clear that the municipality's role here is not to change and to respond to the citizens' stated input, as it was the case with the agency technologies and the engaging platforms, but rather to proactively reduce environmental and social risks. Here, knowledge becomes empowering in the sense that the municipality dispenses the right kind of knowledge to the citizens so they can govern themselves, in alignment with Foucault and Dean's notion of dispensing knowledge in governmentality.

The exercise of power requires knowledge. As we have seen in this section, through the production of knowledge, the objects of governance come into view. In scientific studies and through use of experts the population, community, etc. become objects of governance, and the investigations of their relations makes them possible to govern. Another side of knowledge is knowing the needs and desires of those who are governed. Here we can see the how the municipality uses both agency and performance technologies in the strategy for SKN. Citizen involvement and statistics are both technologies that relate to knowledge.

6.4 The lines between governed and governing

Citizens are both dependent on the state to provide them with knowledge in order govern themselves while at the same time a more independent, self-managing individual is promoted through the agency technologies. The classic governmentality strategy where the governing from a decentralized position attempts to make citizens govern themselves by dispensing the 'right' kind of knowledge is clearly visible in the case examined here. However, another nuance is also detected. The municipality is moving closer to the citizen and a more collective strategy is fostered. With the lines between governing and governed blurred, the municipality potentially gains access to other aspects the citizens' life:

*"When we work on creating Copenhagen's first Climate Neighborhood, it is crucial that the citizens are part of the project. Our vision is that Copenhagen's greenest neighborhoods consists of both green urban spaces, street spaces and yard spaces, and that the **citizens think and act green** in their everyday life. Therefore it is essential that the citizens feel ownership towards the project."* (Klimakvarter 2013: 18, author's emphasis)

Through this quote it becomes clear that the municipality has an explicit goal of not only wanting people to be social, healthy and innovative, but also to influence their behavioral patterns in more private aspects of their lives.

Governmentality, understood as the art of government that seeks to shape and regulate the "conduct of conduct" of the population is clearly taking place in SKN and, in this sense, expresses a radical view of power in that it seeks to act on what can be considered the private matters of citizens' lives.

Through the various agency platforms, it is possible for the municipality to intervene in the participating, active citizens' self-reflection, as the citizens via "dividing practices" are to reflect on "the antisocial/inactive" within itself, and thus instills a picture of what is socially unacceptable. The interactive map likewise is an example of how the traditional view of the managerial role of the municipality has shifted, and now the involvement of the citizen can be viewed as an active participant rather than a passive recipient of urban planning communication. In this, we again see how the line between governed/governing becomes blurred.

6.5 So the municipality is manipulative?

In this analysis and discussion, I have highlighted possible consequences of how Copenhagen Municipality employs governmentality in the SKN project. My thesis inscribes itself in the story of how citizens today are seen as contributors rather than recipients and shows that this trend has also found its way into the regime of urban planning. This section serves to provide a discussion of the municipality's role based on the analytical findings.

Based on the examined empirical material, the municipality might seem like a controlling and manipulative institution. But if we step back for a second, and take a look on what it is they are trying to steer the citizens towards, it is not necessarily negative. The positive effects for citizens, in particular, will help them navigate an increasingly complex society where the climate is changing and where lifestyle and psychological diseases are becoming an increasing issue. While the tactics employed may be of a manipulative nature, we understand that it is not just for the public good, but also for the good of the individual – if we can assume that citizens want to live a longer, happier life. The municipality is therefore basing its efforts on a general notion of what is good for psychological and physical health. As we have seen in this analysis, governmentality is not only based on knowledge of the population, its birthrates, mortality and diseases, it is also based on knowing the individuals and fostering their capabilities to live a good life. This links to a long tradition of the state and municipalities having a deep involvement in the private lives of citizens in the Scandinavian countries. Through paying taxes, citizens surrender responsibilities to the welfare state, which is expected to provide services from cradle to grave. The price is, beyond taxes, increased government intereference.

The negative side to this, might be that governmentality in its subtle design is creeping into more areas of the private sphere. Citizens may not be aware of this, and must prepare to hand over private areas to public scrutiny. For the municipality this on one hand means that by interfering with the citizen's lifestyle and bringing these matters into urban planning, it establishes a closer relationship with the individual in a way that is best for the state. On the other hand, since the control works through the participation of citizens, the municipality will have to set aside resources to ensure that the activation and mobilization of citizens continues to take the form of allies and not enemies. Therefore, the case examined here, does not only have consequences for the citizens' freedom of action, but also for the state. In this, we understand that some citizens may find it hard to accept, that the government has found the key to a generalizable notion of "the good life". That can be completely different things to different people, and the governmentality approach is thus basing the entire operation on assumptions that may not be right for all.

When the city's development and ensuring against climate change is made into a joint project between the municipality and the citizens, it is of course possible that opposition may arise. On the one hand, the municipality might be mobilizing citizens to govern themselves in accordance with the goals of the strategy, by instilling of a sense of responsibility in them. On the other hand, one can imagine that with citizen involvement and personal commitment, a platform can be created from which alternative contributions and strategies of resistance can be formulated and implemented. In SKN this is limited by making the contribution platforms framed and demarcated in certain ways that limits questioning elements of the strategy. The task of preventing opposition from taking shape is likely to be even more important and require more resources from the municipality, if co-creation becomes a general approach in the future. The mobilization of active citizens requires a similar mobilization of resources from public institutions. This links back to Urban Olsen and his complaints about parking lots, noise, etc., where we see how the municipality seeks to confront opposition, by ridiculing it to become a non-issue. It is clear, that engaging and mobilizing citizens is a large task, due to the resources required for meetings, online presence, etc. The municipality does not wish to waste further resources, by discussing matters that are beyond the pre-determined strategy.

The municipality has many faces in this case. It is not just the citizens whose identities are formatted in a specific manner, the municipality too occurs to take on specific positions as a result of the power technologies used and their associated rationalities. On the one hand, the municipality acts decentralized by being an intermediary of risk assessment and statistics and thus supplier of the performance technologies within which citizens must govern themselves. On the other hand, the municipality acts as a direct facilitator through citizen involvement platforms and agency technologies.

This double subject position of the municipality, constructs a unique base for governing, as it not only acts as a knowledgeable planning authority through its communication of statistics.

The questions examined in this chapter are important to shed a light on. This thesis helps us to have an open, critical discussion of the scope of the state intervening in peoples' lives - even when it comes to what is best for society in terms of sustainable development. Governmentality is a very helpful framework in this matter as it provides critical lenses through which we can scrutinize the things that we as individuals in society sometimes takes for granted.

8. Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to provide an account of how Copenhagen Municipality has employed governmentality strategies in the Skt. Kjelds Neighborhood climate adaptation project. Under the research question: *how are power relations between municipality and citizen manifested in the SKN climate adaptation project*?, I have employed a thematic analysis of official documents, social media and online communication through the theoretical frameworks of Dean (1999) and Foucault (1991).

The thesis finds that while the power relations are more subtle and cooperative than in a traditional principal-agent relationship, the power relation as shaping subjects and infrastructure is very much present nonetheless.

Through the empirical material examined, I find that there is a clear idea of envisioned subject positions as communal, outgoing and active. Through the fields of visibilities the municipality shows the type of desired characteristics it wishes the citizens to have. Furthermore, there is a distinct notion of what is not wanted, apparent in the way the municipality portrays the "old" SKN as grey and dull, and how it employs a caricature, Urban Olsen, to ridicule unwanted behavior. Simultaneously, it seems important for the municipality to instill a sense of freedom and co-creation among the citizens, as well as engaging them in providing new solutions. However, those elements are taking place within a clearly demarcated framework, through the engaging technologies created by the municipality. The municipality furthermore uses knowledge, such as risk assessments and expert statements to legitimize the strategy, as "the only way".

The subjects are thus *free* and *framed* at the same time. While this strategy may seem covert and manipulative, the goal of this thesis is not to criticize the municipality's role. Rather, the goal has been to provide an understanding of these strategies, to open up a discussion about how the municipality is deeming some subjects wanted and others not. Simultaneously, I find that the power employed by the municipality is not a negative, nor a coercive one. It is a positive power, with a wish to ensure healthy lives of the individuals. Perhaps, however, a discussion of what constitutes the good life and who is entitled to such a life before employing such a strategy, is warranted.

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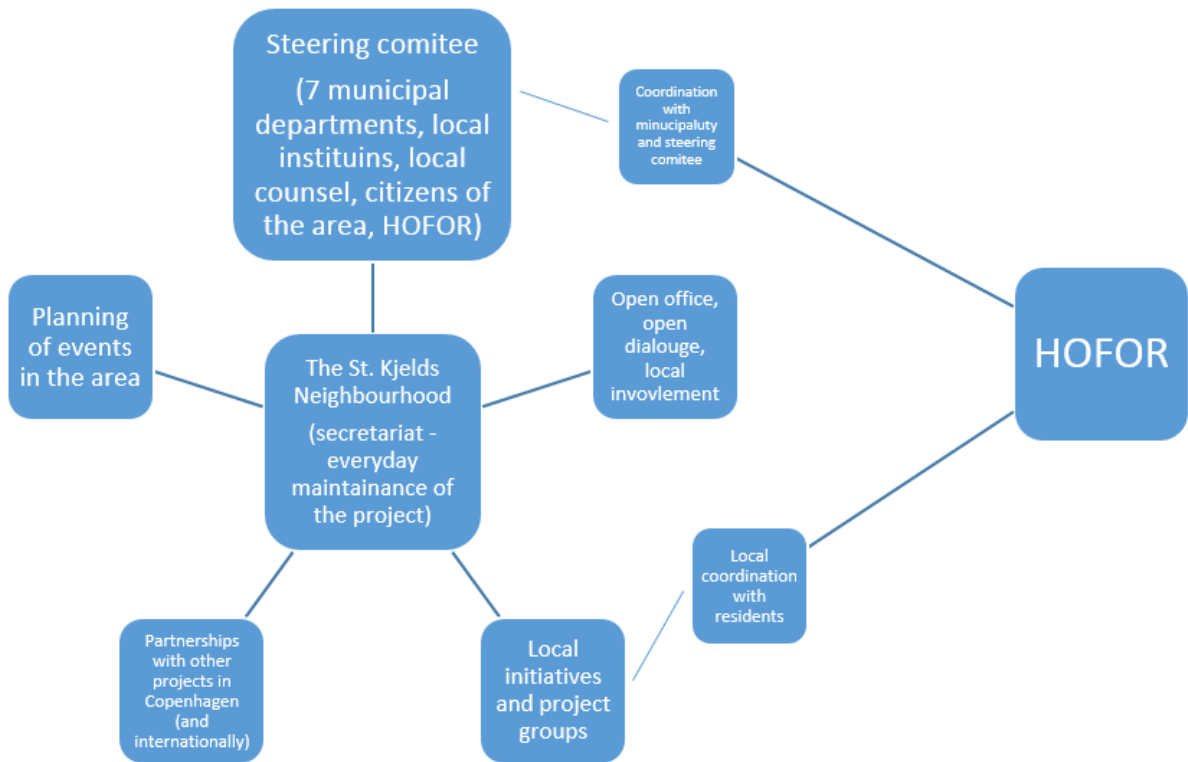
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Appendix 1:

Caspersen, M.; Steensberg M. & Rasmussen, K (2015) *The St. Kjeld's Neighborhood: A Critical Assessment of the First Climate District of Copenhagen.* Paper handed in at Lund University.

Appendix 2

Background:

A paradigm shift in planning practices

The Danish as well as European and Western societies in general, have undergone a transformation in the way cities have been planned during the last century. Moving from the post-industrial period and into a more democratic planning paradigm, the next section will provide a brief overview.

The history of urban planning: rational planning

Following the industrial revolution, lasting until late 1960s, the rational planning movement, characterized as 'comprehensive', top-down modernistic, instrumental planning had its blossoming. It emerged as an offspring of architecture and concentrated on the larger scale of spatial development, also known as 'masterplans'. The movement had a strong focus on improving the built environment as the key to solving a number of physical and social problems. Examples of these include solving sanitary infrastructure in Denmark, planning for an increased number of motor vehicles, standardizing housing units, creating green spaces as a proximity to where you live.

With this functionalistic way of planning, the municipality was reliant on highly specialized technicians, including architects and engineers. Thus it was characterized by quantitative assessment, modeling, and design.

Perhaps most famous from this period is the modernist Le Corbusier and his Charter of Athens (1933) arguing for a centralized and organized, top-down approach to solving the problems of the industrialized cities (housing for families, problems with smog, ensuring leisure, etc.). Behind planning concepts, such as the Tower in the Park, communities arose placed close to highways or railways, surrounded in a uniform landscape and in high-rise buildings.

Due to the highly technocratic character of these methods, however, they failed to provide an avenue for public participation. In both theory and practice, this shortcoming opened rational planning to claims of elitism and social insensitivity. Because of this, rational planning declined during the second half of the 20th century. With a strong focus on design and functionality provided by a technical elite, rational planning lost touch with the public it hoped to serve.

Moving towards a communicative paradigm

Over the last 50 years, urban planning has repeatedly changed according to different prevailing paradigms of which none has managed to become dominant as rational planning was in the first half of the 20th century. John Friedmann (1987) identified four types of planning practice that have been partially dominant in Danish planning history during the last 50 years.

During the 1970's centralized efforts to plan welfare for low-income groups under the movement of social reform (Friedmann 1987), reminded somewhat of the technocratic approach found in rational planning, but with a stronger focus on social welfare. In a time of where activism had its blossoming in Denmark the top-down controlled planning culminated with the social mobilization (Friedmann 1987) movement, as bottom-up initiatives like Christiania, environmental movements and the windmill cooperatives saw the day of light (Jensen et al. 2009).

In the 1980's new public management and the neoliberal rationale became somewhat dominant in planning welfare and housing, and the public authorities emphasized creating the right frameworks in which the free-market could prosper. This is what Friedmann (1987) identifies as policy analysis, as the planning was centered on creating market-based instruments for steering the management. Parallel with the new public management approach, the paradigm of communicative planning and social learning slowly started to take root in some of the 'softer' sectors. While this might seem contradictory, it highlights how planning is used as an instrument to solve different sets of problems.

The paradigm of social learning and communicative planning, also described as 'democratic planning', became dominant in the 90's and continues to be today. Examples of this are the inter-sectoral implementation of Agenda-21, new transparency charters in the public sector and a strong emphasize on citizen involvement. This way of planning is also what dominates the urban planning in the Technical and Environmental Administration of Copenhagen Municipality today and thus the process of planning SKN.

Urban planning in Copenhagen and communicative planning

In this section I will briefly touch upon communicative planning, the approach that seems to characterize urban renewal efforts in Copenhagen today. As mentioned above, communicative planning has gained ground in urban planning since the 1990s (Agger 2007: 33). The SKN can be said to place itself within the communicative planning paradigm as the active role of citizens is repeatedly emphasized in the strategies for the neighborhood (Copenhagen Municipality 2011). Furthermore, CM address the need to involve citizens in the process of urban renewal in general (Copenhagen Municipality 2011).

Communicative planning emphasizes "*(...) the potential that the involvement and mobilization of public resources constitutes and qualification of the planning process*" (Agger 2007: 31). It is about involving the citizens' resources, including their local knowledge, in planning processes in order to simultaneously achieving greater ownership of local projects for the citizens (Agger 2007: 31).

"It is important that the residents are involved in the process of developing the urban space. In that way, we can create a more place-specific urban room, which is adapted to the specific conditions and lives lived in the area. The process is also important in order to give the residents knowledge and ownership of the project, in order for them to feel safe during future building disturbances, and so they use the green areas as their own when the project is finished" - Project manager, Områdefornyelsen Skt. Kjelds Neighborhood, Louise Molin Jørgensen (Copenhagen Municipality n.d.a)

The thoughts of the communicative approach is largely inspired by the philosopher Jürgen Habermas, who with his theory of communicative action and rationality (1984) advocates for an application of a collaborative model of decision-making as a tool to achieve the democratization of wider society (REF). Habermas, according Annika Agger (2007) points to "*(...) it is important to have a public dialogue that is open to different types of knowledge and forms of cognition"* (Agger 2007: 36). This approach reflect the change from reasoning by one (or selected few), as it was the case in rational planning, to reasoning within interactive processes (Healy 1996) with multiple stakeholders, where "scientific" measures of rationality in decision-making is replaced with measures that are founded in democratic argumentation.

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