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Strategies for inclusive place making

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to present a new approach to analyzing place making structure and processes, and discuss strategies for inclusive place making in urban areas.
Design/methodology/approach – The theoretical approach is based on social systems theory and organization design theory, representing a constructionist and socio-structural approach to inclusive place making. The methodology is based on a comparative analysis of three cases of inclusive place making.
Findings – The main findings are that place making systems today lack the necessary complexity in their politics and planning to secure inclusive place making and fail to organize for face-to-face interactions in place making processes.
Research limitations/implications – In a social systems approach we observe how place stakeholders and systems observe place making realities and problems, and construct place images. This introduces some degree of uncertainty into our analyses, but constitutes an effective basis for studying inclusive strategy development.
Practical implications – The findings indicate that observing how place stakeholders construct their opinions about the problems and possibilities for inclusive place making and face-to-face interactions, probably constitutes the best basis for practical support for inclusive place making.
Social implications – The paper directs attention to the fact that current urban development strategies and policies towards inclusion of groups with limited resources today lack the necessary knowledge bases and means to deal effectively with the complexity related to current inclusion problems.
Originality/value – The paper demonstrates that an approach, which supplements the basic governance systems with face-to-face interactions, can deal effectively with today's problems of inclusivity.

Key words – Image construction, place brand theory, face-to- face interaction, governance networks, self-organization.
Paper type – Research paper.

Introduction and research questions

During the past decades, cities and places have become sites of extensive redevelopment, where they have become patchworks of concentrated advantage and, in many places of the world, swatches of concentrated disadvantage. This has resulted in new urban crises and conflicts regarding issues of equality and housing affordability (Florida, 2017). In this paper, we question whether current place governance systems, in particular focusing on urban development in Norway, have the necessary capacity to secure effective and inclusive place making of relevant groups, and whether such capacity can be developed.

   Our discussion starts by asking what we mean by inclusive place making and calls for a conceptual clarification of what we mean by inclusion. Sociologists often distinguish between

system integration and social integration. The former is concerned with internal cohesion of differentiated systems, the latter with relations between individuals and social systems (Luhmann, 2012, pp. 16-17).

The integration of functionally and structurally differentiated place systems means that there has to be some sort of place structuring mechanisms, which provide a basis for functional differentiation and spatial integration. Such mechanisms may either be of conceptual nature, as exemplified by the use of various images and schemata, and/or simply be provided by the physical structure of a place and its buildings.

As regards social integration, Luhmann replaces social integration by the distinction between inclusion and exclusion. There is inclusion only if exclusion is possible. Similarly, Giddens (1979, p.76) also distinguishes between system integration and social integration, and emphasizes that social integration is primarily concerned with systemness (relations of autonomy or dependence) on the level of face-to-face interactions. He emphasizes that integration is not synonymous with "cohesion" and certainly not with "consensus". The special significance of face-to-face interaction, however, is not primarily that it involves small groups, or that it represents "society in miniature". Face-to-face interactions rather emphasize the significance of space and presence in social relations; in the immediacy of the life-world, social relations can be influenced by different factors than from those involved with others, who are spatially absent. As further pointed out by Giddens (1979, pp. 76-77), it is extremely important to emphasize that the systemness of social integration is fundamental to the systemness of society as a whole, and relates the smallest items of day-to-day behavior to attributes of far more inclusive social systems. Hence, a main question in our case discussions will be to examine the extent to which the place making stakeholders have been able to combine processes of functional and spatial integration with processes of social integration based on face-to-face contact.

It is our contention that the evolution of various place making systems, and systems of observation, in recent times, has ignored or failed to take into consideration the importance of face-to-face interactions, with consequent failure to deal effectively with the increase in environmental complexity and problems of inclusion of various groups.

Hence, in the paper, we seek answers to three basic research questions related to inclusive place making:

1) How does an urban planning system and local stakeholders observe their environment and develop images and strategies for place making?
2) To what extent and how do these strategies facilitate face-to-face interactions to deal with contradictions and conflicts?
3) What are the effects of these images and strategies with regard to inclusion/exclusion of various groups and social integration?

In the following, we first present a theoretical approach and model for mapping processes of inclusive place making. We then explain how we use this model for a comparative analysis of three cases, illustrating strategies for inclusive place making at different levels of urban organization. The main objective of this analysis is to demonstrate how processes of face-to-face interaction are necessary to secure the social integration needed to achieve inclusive place making. In the conclusion, we discuss the results of this analysis and its implication for practitioners.

Theoretical approach and model

Our theoretical approach and model are mainly based on the social systems theory of Luhmann (1995, 2012) and organization design theory (Galbraith, 1977, 1993; Weick, 1969). The social systems theory of Luhmann is not easy reading and presenting some of the main characteristics of this theory, which have relevance for place management and development, may be useful.

Social systems theory focuses on a specific problem – the problem of social complexity and the need for organized complexity. Luhmann (1995) defines complexity in terms of a threshold, in which each element of a system can no longer be related to every other element. Complexity enforces selectivity, which in turn leads to a reduction in complexity via the formation of systems that are less complex than their environment. This reduction is essential, without it, the world would be undifferentiated chaos.

For each system, the environment is more complex than the system itself. Systems lack the requisite variety that would enable them to react to every state of the environment. The system's inferiority in complexity must be counter-balanced by strategies of selection. Every complex state of affairs is based on a selection of relations among its elements, which it uses to constitute and maintain itself. In particular, with increasing environmental complexity, and internal contradictions and conflicts, the need to build up internal complexity and thereby transform unorganized complexity into organized complexity, becomes crucial.

Social systems theory, as a theory of social communication, are oriented towards processing differences or distinctions. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that the point of departure for all systems theoretical analysis is the difference between system and environment. The theory accentuates the importance of self-observation, which means nothing more than handling distinctions. Accordingly, self-observation is the introduction of the system/environment distinction within the system, which constitutes itself with that distinction. Self-observation is thus the operative factor in self-organization.

Information reduces complexity insofar it announces a selection and thereby excludes possibilities. It can also increase complexity, for instance, by presenting a scheme of new possibilities, which make the formulations of system/environment relations compatible with greater complexity and interdependence.
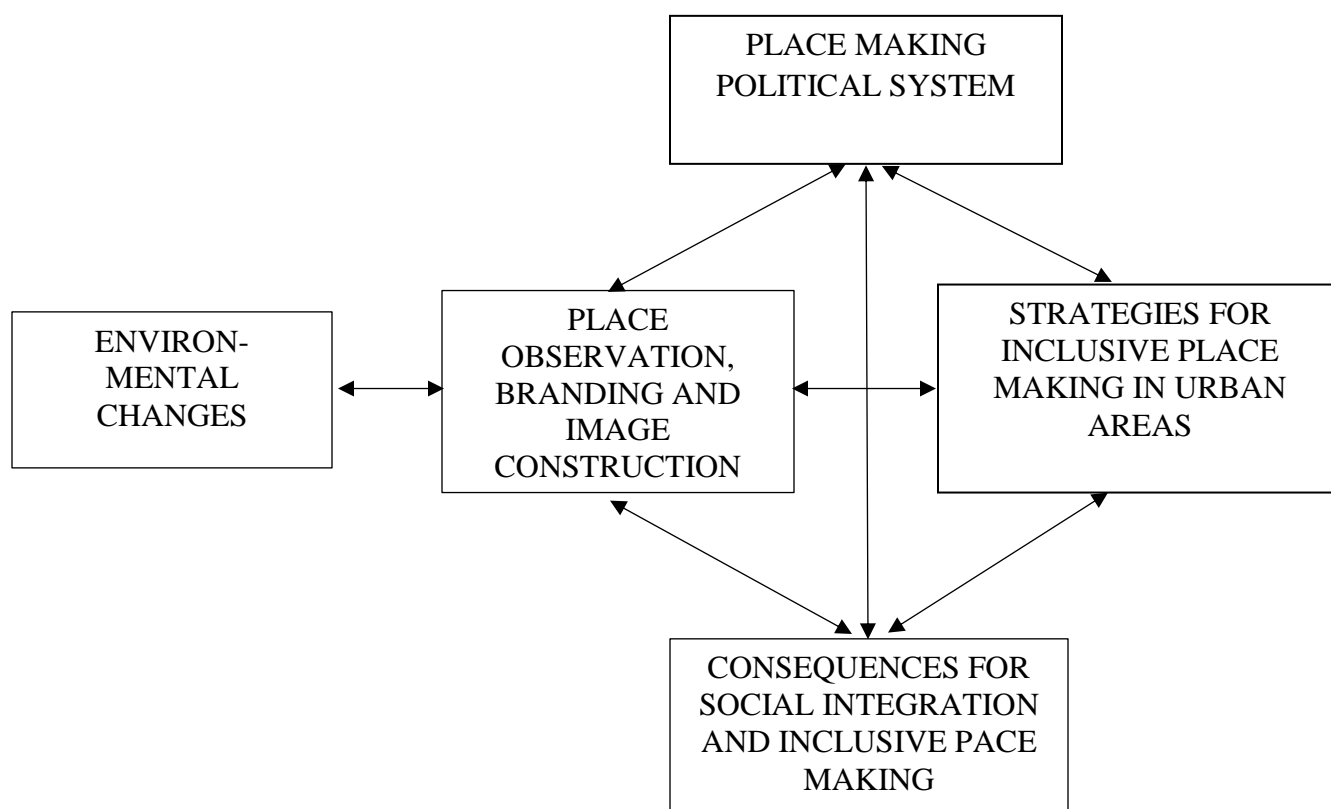
Contradictions and conflicts are inevitable consequences of the evolution of society and social systems, due to industrial development, functional differentiation, increasing fragmentation of social systems, and the need to include new groups. As such, contradictions destabilize a system, and they reveal this in the insecurity of expectations. However, one must guard against the widespread error of thinking that destabilization as such is dysfunctional. Instead, complex systems require a high degree of instability to enable on-going reactions to themselves and their environment, and they must continually reproduce this instability. The concept of contradiction implies that self-organization/self-reproduction based on unstable elements is necessary if a system is not simply to cease to exist.

Contradictions also result in the expression of conflict in communications, and lead to expectable¸ that is, structural insecurities. A society or system that constructs greater complexity must therefore find forms for creating and tolerating structural insecurities. This accentuates the role of interactions based on face-to-face presence among participants. Interactions serve to achieve structures that cannot be made congruent with a prevailing organizational form, yet equip it with complexity by building in differences. Only via this difference of organizational form and interaction, can an organization or social system acquire complexity.

Finally, social systems theory represents a constructionist approach to studying inclusive place making, based on how place stakeholders observe a place and its environment. We have to know which distinctions and images guide the observations. How do they deal with and attempt to reduce the complexity in their environment, and attempt include to various groups in their planning practices?

Figure 1 represents a model, which indicates some processes that influence social integration and have consequences for inclusive place making, and which we will comment in the following.

Figure 1. Processes related to inclusive place making

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                        ┌─────────────────────┐
                        │   PLACE MAKING      │
                        │  POLITICAL SYSTEM   │
                        └─────────────────────┘
                          ↗↑↓↖

┌──────────────┐   ┌──────────────────┐   ┌────────────────────┐
│  ENVIRON-    │   │     PLACE        │   │  STRATEGIES FOR    │
│  MENTAL      │←→ │  OBSERVATION,    │←→ │  INCLUSIVE PLACE   │
│  CHANGES     │   │  BRANDING AND    │   │  MAKING IN URBAN   │
│              │   │     IMAGE        │   │      AREAS         │
│              │   │  CONSTRUCTION    │   │                    │
└──────────────┘   └──────────────────┘   └────────────────────┘

                        ┌─────────────────────┐
                        │  CONSEQUENCES FOR    │
                        │  SOCIAL INTEGRATION  │
                        │  AND INCLUSIVE PACE  │
                        │       MAKING         │
                        └─────────────────────┘
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Environmental changes
According to social systems theory, the evolution of modern society is characterized by functional differentiation, where each functional system (law, politics, science, economy, etc.) is characterized by operational closure. That is, they observe and produce information about themselves and their environment, but are not dominated by any other system, although they may be influenced by each other or structurally coupled (Luhmann, 1995, 2012). Although functional differentiation in principle implies a society that is all-inclusive, in reality, it is left to the functional systems to regulate inclusion. Society no longer offers individuals any social status that also defines what the individual "is" in terms of origin and quality. They now have to be able to participate in all functional systems, depending on the functional system with which they are communicating. This has made inclusion dependent on highly differentiated communication

opportunities and specialized resources. The new order of inclusion consequently brings dramatic changes to the self-conception of individuals, as they no longer belong to any stratified part of society, and self-realization becomes a problem.

Place observation, branding and image construction
Social systems theory represents a constructionist approach, where the construction of reality is based on the perspectives or frames of reference applied by the observer. In the process of observing place environments, the mass media today play a decisive role. The term mass media includes all the institutions, which make use of copying technology to disseminate communication without social interaction, as different from non-technological mass communication (such as public speeches, concerts or other public events) where interaction among those co-present can take place.

   As argued by Zukin (2010, p. 316), we cannot consider power to control urban spaces, usually seen as the economic power of capital investors and the legal powers of authorities, without considering the cultural power of the media, including new media such as wikis and blogs, and that of economic tastes. In recent years, image has become an important part of the city branding process, marketing cities as creative, interesting and attractive places. Urban renewal strategies based on neighborhood concentration, place branding and place marketing merge developers interests and consumer desires with officials' rhetoric of growth, as branding tries to make each city appear different from and better than the competition. The result, though, when all cities pursue the same modern, creative image is an overwhelming sameness. The same goes for smaller cities, which do not want to be excluded from these global branding games, and build cultural cities, which in the end they cannot afford.

   In the branding literature, city branding is suggested as the appropriate way to describe and implement city marketing, based on the construction, communication and management of the city's image (Kavaratzis, 2004). The object of city marketing is not the city "itself", but its image as the result of various, different and often conflicting messages sent by the city. City branding provides, on one hand, the basis for policy to pursue economic development and serve as a conduit for city residents to identify with their city. According to Kavaratzis (2004), it also provides a basis for addressing urgent social issues, like social exclusion and cultural diversity. This enables us to tackle not only the city itself, but its meaning in a symbolic and ideological context. In this way, the multi-cultural city represents an imaginary city, constituted by a plethora of images and representations.

   In addition, surprisingly little theoretical or empirical evidence has been published on the role of residents in place branding (Braun, Kavaratzis and Zenker, 2013). The challenge, of course, is that residents do not constitute a coherent group but include a multiplicity of stakeholder groups of people that are bound to have varying and conflicting preferences, desires, or attitudes. A form of place branding that integrates the views, oppositions, and desires of the residents across every stage of the place branding process is warranted.

   This calls for a focal change from the current communication-dominant approach to a participation-dominant-approach of city branding and marketing, and some recent attempts at rethinking place brand theory to deal with these issues have been made (Kavaratzis and Kalandides, 2015; Ntounis and Kavaratzis, 2017; Zenker and Braun, 2017). However, in our opinion, these attempts of theory development are not particular promising, and fail to document substantive results. The generative mechanisms leading to place brands as a synthesis of associations and expectations, are not identified in any operative detail, and the place brand literature mostly fails, in any convincing manner, to address the problem of contradictions and

conflicts between various groups. Documentation of substantive results regarding competitive position, industrial development, and town center regeneration, is wanting.

   Hence, the image of a multi-cultural city remains an image or rather imaginary, having no actual existence, existing only in the imagination of the planners and the place brand marketers. It represent a continuation of what may be called a structural-procedural orientation, which characterizes much of today's urban planning, and which, as indicated, does not promote democratic and inclusive place making. This kind of urban planning approaches problems of social inclusion and collective action through spatial and physical orientations, instead of planning for facilitating social activities, and then arranging for physical and spatial arrangements, which can create social life and social inclusion. Urban planning today gives the impression of being oriented towards procedural and representative democracy, but public participation is most likely limited to exchange information about planned projects, and only to a limited extent used to get new ideas, start new discussions, or exercise self-criticism. Urban planning, in other words, lacks the capability to deal with the differences and lack of agreement constituting the basis for participation and democratic legitimation of urban planning practices, or being capable to work with the multi-faceted urban life. In both cases, this powerlessness is the result of planning discourses which instruct practice, but where the planning is mostly oriented towards social life through spatial considerations and concepts alone (Pløger, 2013).

   As our case discussion will show, in Oslo we are witnessing how the city experiments with new and different forms of participation. However, as participation is always carried out within a procedural framework, we seldom find planning processes that manage to create an exchange of new ideas or visions. Rather, several place making projects seem to be part of a commercial strategy where a mix of private property investments, architecture, town area design, art, culture, and creativity are supposed to create attractive urban areas. The objective is to attract creative people and tourists. As a result, it is the tastes and life styles of the upper middle class, which today dominate the cultural representations of cities like Oslo, influencing strategies of urban renewal based on opera building, museums, concert halls and shopping centers. However, there is no documentation that this is a good strategy, and the whole thing risks ending up as a showroom for urban tourism and the economic elite (Aspen and Pfløger, 2016). These images of urban good life also camouflage a basic conflict between supporting private development of housing for the upper middle class and providing affordable housing that will help preserve communities. Like the situation in most other western countries, they also camouflage changes in inclusion/exclusion practices, privileging the affluent middle class and excluding people with less income or without work (Zukin, 2010).

Place making political system
According to Luhmann (2012), it is the nature of modern social systems, that they have the character of inclusivity, and that their communications have relevance for increasingly diffuse and interconnected social operations. In the political system, the necessary increase of inclusivity is a process, which is commonly interpreted as democratization. Democracy is premised in a high level of differentiated inclusion, and it is characterized by the encompassing of the entire population in the performances of the individual function systems of society. Of crucial importance in this development, however, is that each function system only integrates the total population in those sections of its mode of living, which are functionally relevant to its own communications. The conditions of inclusive democracy can be maintained, consequently, only on condition that the economic system integrates people as sellers or buyers of property, that medicine integrates people who wish to remain or to become healthy, that politics integrates

people in those sections of their life where they require collectively binding decisions, etc. (King and Thornhill, 2003, pp. 82-83).

Hence, inclusivity only founds democracy where each system is defined adequately and rationally, and where it includes only that sphere of communication to which that particular system can meaningfully react. Wherever modern society tends towards an undifferentiated inclusivity (that is where systems are made accountable for themes which are not their own), the basic principle of inclusivity, on which democracy relies, becomes unstable.

As an example, we shall look at the problem of inclusion of immigrants in Norway. A central question with regard to inclusive place making today is how to include the great number of immigrants that in recent years have been crossing our borders. Based on a survey (second-order observation) of the Norwegian policy towards inclusion of immigrants and how it has evolved in recent years (Ihle, 2017), we analysed the corresponding political semantics, identifying the main meaning elements (various types of distinctions or themes) for a number of periods, as shown in table 1.

Table 1. Evolution of a national semantic of social integration and inclusion.

Period	Form	Function	Efficacy	Problem	Means
1987-	Maintaining Norwegian values and norms	Learning immigrants Norwegian values	Degree of conformity	Alien culture as a deficiency	Providing individual social service
1991-	Multicultural orientation Focus on living condition	Increase social participation	Amount of available resources for immigrants	Dependency on social support Social costs	Emphasizing immigrant rights and claims for justice
1996-	Social affiliation	Increase participation in Norwegian social life	Degree of participation	Feeling of powerlessness Language barriers Discrimination	Inclusion based on education and work life participation
2011-	Sustainability of the welfare state	Activation and work participation	Having income and paying taxes	Fear of radicalization and conflict Parallel societies	Job training Improving individual competency

In this table, *form* indicates the main distinction and principle regarding inclusion. *Function* indicates the purpose of achieving inclusion, and *efficacy* indicates how to measure the effect of the policies. Finally, *problem* indicates the main problems facing the authorities with regards to

inclusion or experienced by immigrants, and *means* the practical means to influence inclusion and participation.

As can be seen, a characteristic of the Norwegian integration policy is its emphasis on integration and inclusion as synonymous with preserving society through common norms and values, which of course means Norwegian norms and values (Ihle, 2017). There obviously was increased tolerance for a multicultural orientation and respect for immigrant culture around 1991-1996, but this seems to have more or less evaporated. Today, the emphasis, again, is on participation and affiliation, based on Norwegian values and norms. The main characteristic of this semantic is its focus on individual support and training as means to promote inclusion. There is no mention of the importance and effectiveness of inclusive place making, ignoring the fact that social integration inevitably implies a place for place making. In the opinion of many, the policy towards immigrant inclusion has largely failed, and there is increasing questioning of the sustainability of the welfare state, in addition to increasing fear of radicalization and development of parallel societies.

One consequence of such cases where the political system confronts itself with improbable levels of inclusivity, or with forms of complexity that are regulated directly by politically binding decisions, is that the system must produce a more effective bureaucracy with greater complexity. For Luhmann, the greater the complexity the political system encounters, the greater its internal complexity must be. The internal complexity of the political system is largely determined by its ability to engender new resources for collectively binding decision-making, that is, new administrative or bureaucratic networks (King and Thornhill, 2003, p. 84).

Strategies for inclusive place making in urban areas
As we have seen, a political semantic is a collection of themes and images, which indicates how the political authorities observe and construct their conception of political and social realities. This represents a codification of problems and opportunities, which constitute premises and criteria for the making of collectively binding decisions by the planning and regulatory administration. However, with the need for greater internal complexity and resources, we are witnessing a transition from government to governance, where cities and municipalities are under pressure to collaborate in networks with private developers (Fimreite *et al.*, 2005). This transition dates back to around 1990, when we were witnessing a rapid expansion of the international literature on governance (Pierre and Peters, 2000; Rhodes, 1997).

The term governance has been used to designate a wide variety of governing forms (Rhodes, 1997). Hence, governance can be conceptualized as a combination of various coordination mechanisms, usually based on hierarchy, market and network mechanisms, which have evolved after the last war. Osborne (2010) distinguishes three different governing regimes:

- Public Administration (1945-), emphasizing governing based on law and rule based bureaucratic administration.
- New Public Management (1980-), where the political system formulates principal goals, and leaves it to the various subsystems to realize them within given resource frames.
- New Public or Open Governance (1990-), representing a supplement to the two previous governance regimes, and based on inter-organizational cooperation between public institutions, private sector stakeholders, and voluntary organizations. This kind of governance can be looked upon as a reaction to the specialization, decentralization and fragmentation that were the result of New Public Management.

However, it is our contention that much of today's urban planning is still influenced by a neo-liberal orientation, which characterizes both New Public Management and New Public Governance, and we are witnessing local governance systems, which are increasingly characterized by diverse networking and fragmentation. As an example, results from the Norwegian City Research program (Fimreite, *et al.*, 2005) show several trends, which contribute to making governance increasingly fragmented, creating situations where a variety of interests and stakeholders produce their own plans and analyses, which then have to be subjected to political evaluation. While local and regional development was previously based on broad consensus regarding the rebuilding of the country after the war, today there is less consensus, making collective action difficult, if not impossible. There is a greater variety of local interests and objectives and many of them are contradictory, as for example objectives related to preserving the environment versus objectives related to economic efficiency. Normally, several types of networks can be discerned, among them (Fimreite *et al.*, 2005):

- A variety of networks, which may be characterized as *protest networks*, composed of ad hoc groups or various forms of organized protest movements.
- *Producer networks*, which may be groups of economic stakeholders that organize themselves and seek to form alliances with other stakeholders to promote their interests.
- *Professional networks*, which may be established in connection with the planning and implementation of large development programs.
- *Consumer networks*, which may be alliances between people working to influence the consumption of particular products, which they consider either beneficial or detrimental in some sense.

The question is whether such forms of networking constitute forms of open governance that are better suited to facilitate accountability, transparence and secure collective interests and inclusion. Many have voiced doubts about this. In addition, it is clear that not everybody who participates in these kinds of networks can considered a rational actor, but rather shows cognitive limitations and behavior characterized by bounded rationality. Some of the participants are active and persistent with great knowledge about city planning, even if they represent special interests as private property developers. Others are sectorial fanatics who are using every opportunity to promote their particular cause (Fimreite *et al.*, 2005). This has resulted in a division of labour regarding urban planning, which do not function. There is a need for new institutional systems, which can facilitate forms of open governance and take care of collective interests and inclusion (Healey, 2002, 2002; Ellefsen, 2003; Fimreite *et al.,* 2005; Omholt, 2015a).

Case methodology
Our case methodology is based on a comparative analysis of three cases of place making strategies, which represent place making at different place levels, and involve the inclusion of different types of place stakeholders:

a) The case of urban planning in Oslo, illustrating methods of urban governance and networking.
b) The case of a town center development, illustrating the use of action research interventions to produce face-to-face interactions.

    c)   The case of an immigrant restaurant cluster, illustrating self-organizing processes of inclusion.

The following discussion is structured to produce the information needed to answer our research questions presented in the introduction of the paper. However, a final answer to the questions is deferred to the conclusion at the end of the paper.

The case of urban planning in Oslo
Recent urban planning in Oslo has focused on two main themes or planning orientations:

    a)   The Water Front Plan.
    b)   The overall city plan for the period 2015-2040.

Both plans demonstrate the problems of current urban planning methods with regard to inclusive place making, and how planning in recent times has been dominated by concepts and images like " transformation", "high density", and "attraction". Transformation, as a place making process, relates to the change of existing, often derelict, buildings and areas to create better utilization of such areas and place for new urban functions. Areas of transformation in many cities are often previous industrial and waterfront areas.

In the case of the Water Front project in Oslo, the planning authorities decided on the main planning principles and then left it to private sector developers to translate the plan into build form. The project was based on a vision of an attractive waterfront, with a continuous promenade along the whole harbor. However, transformation projects of this kind are often non-linear with unintentional consequences (Fain, 2012). This should come as no surprise when the implementation of the plan is left to a multitude of political authorities and various stakeholder networks, operating on various decision levels. As a consequence, we are left with a water front area characterized as the result of what many has termed fast-forward urbanism (Cuff and Sherman, 2011). The elimination of all previous buildings and fast construction of new ones with little variety invariably leads to standardization (Jacobs, 1961), with luxury apartments and a type of commercial buildings that was popular before the financial crisis in 2009 (Wergeland, 2013). Most of the image attributed to this new waterfront is aimed at financially well off people who prefer cultural attractions concentrated at one place, and not too avant-garde cultural expressions. As such, this kind of planning results in homogenization rather than cultural manifold, and attractions focused on the interests of the cruise industry (Wergeland, 2013).

The new city plan for the period 2015-2040 has as its overall objectives to make Oslo a greener, warmer, and creative city with room for everybody (Oslo Kommune, 2017). The plan reflects recent trends on how to deal with pollution and immigration, where a key concept is the need for concentration and high-density development, in addition to the elimination of private cars from the city center and increased use of bicycle for daily transport to reduce pollution. The planning authorities seems to be ignorant of the fact that in 2040, most, if not all cars, will be electric, making bicycling less necessary.

Most of the planned construction of high-rise apartment buildings will, in some districts require the elimination of small family houses with private gardens, forcing families with children further out in the suburbs. Again, leaving the construction of elevator apartments to private developers will invariably result in housing for elderly households in Oslo with high income, contributing to the development of several district centers with less variety and vitality than before (Jacobs, 1961).

High density may be a necessary requirement for creating innovative milieus. However, as pointed out by Florida (2017), high-density creative and innovative districts are characterized by a mixture of old and new buildings. They are places to meet people with different, but interdependent competencies. They are also districts where the development of an innovative milieu has been based on organic growth over several years, and not the kind of fast-forward urbanism we are witnessing in Oslo.

As regards inclusion, some proponents of the kind of urban planning we see in Oslo may argue that inclusive place making is a question of participation and of being heard. The proposal for the 2015-2040 city plan has been mailed to all inhabitants with a registered e-mail address. In addition, various meetings and hearings have been arranged, including a public meeting in the city hall, as well as contact meetings with representatives from various groups including elderly people and immigrants.

Nevertheless, we are inclined to characterize this kind of participation as less effective and inclusive, as the participants are presented a more or less finished proposal, without having been able to participate in the preparation of the plan, and without being able to be involved in discussing alternatives.

As contended by O'Neill (2015), some optimists think that new communications technologies make participative democracy and inclusion possible for large groups. However, as pointed out by her, this is implausible, for many reasons. First, those with fewer resources may not match he rapid expansion of access to these technologies among the richer part of the population. Second, even those who are free to spend many hours communicating with many others often prefer to spend that time on other types of communications, rather than on political communication with others. New technologies cannot secure dialogue, because they cannot ensure that inclusive (or even less-than-inclusive) audiences grasp or even notice what others seek to communicate, let alone participate in discussions of public affairs. Where dialogue is the aim, those audiences must be able to respond and be heard, and must actually do so (O'Neill, 2015, p. 142).

We will also argue that place making based on democratic participation and consensus is an unattainable requirement and probably not necessary for securing inclusive place making. Democratic participation only solves problems of participation; it does not necessarily solve problems of inclusive place development or collaboration. It often results in compromise solutions, at the cost of solutions, which exploits opposing but interdependent ideas needed for innovative solutions to problems of inclusivity.

Consequently, we have to look for other forms of participation to supplement governance systems in order to facilitate inclusive place making, in particular forms of participation based on face-to-face interactions.

The case of a town center development
This case is based on a research program, which was aiming at the restructuring of a town center as a regional destination via the inclusion and collaboration of various stakeholders in the place making process (Omholt, 2013). An analysis of the town social communication system, as it was presented in various conversations, texts, documents and plans, revealed that the various stakeholders had limited ability to observe and reflect upon themselves and their environment, and see new possibilities for developing the town center as a competitive destination:

- The public planning system was based on simple schemata for area use, without the necessary functional differentiation as regards retail formats.
- There were no systematic survey of regional competition and shopping behavior.

- The local culture had no schemata or concepts for dealing with and integrating different operating or institutional logics.

The main methodology of this research program was based on orchestrating a variety of action research interventions, facilitating what may be termed organizational interactions to deal with the uncertainties and lack of inclusion of various groups in the place making activities. The first intervention was a so-called democratic dialogue conference (Gustavsen and Engelstad, 1986) with broad participation, working on developing a vision for the town as a regional center, and solving the structural and cooperative problems facing it. The results of the conference showed broad consensus regarding the future of the town as a leading regional center, but produced little or no consensus regarding the functional and spatial differentiation of the center.

Further interventions demonstrated how a structure plan for integrating differentiated and competing retail formats could contribute to uncertainty reduction and inclusive place making. This resulted in the start of a self-organizing place making process, facilitating inclusive and collaborative town center development.

It illustrates how the problems related to inclusive place making can be overcome by:

- Using organizational interactions to secure effective face-to-face-interactions.
- Introducing relevant schemata to construct a structural place image or structural model, which create sufficient structural complexity (indicating possible external and internal interdependencies), or system integration in order to facilitate place making that includes all relevant stakeholders.

It is the combination of these mechanisms as a supplement to the basic governance structure that have proven effective to secure inclusive place making in cases based on action research interventions, and contributed to the development of place competitive advantage (Omholt, 2013).

The special significance of face-to-face interaction is not that it involves small groups, or that it represents "society in miniature". Face-to-face interaction rather emphasizes the significance of space and presence in social relations (Giddens, 1979). Organizational interactions (Luhmann, 1995) are a type of social system, which assumes presence and face-to-face contact between members of the local place making system and organizations, representing the various functional subsystems, and where the social communication is referring to the problems of inclusive place making.

Organizational interactions based on face-to-face contact have several advantages over interactions taking place *within* the participating organizations, among other things:

- Reveals the significance of perceptual processes, which can create great complexity in absorbing information.
- Simultaneous and rapid information processing.

Supplementing basic governance systems with organizational interaction is a particularly effective strategy when we have place making organizations with conflicting interests, systemic contradictions, and elements with different needs and operating logics. Such contradictions may appear as paradoxical, but can be overcome by introducing schemata or interpretive schemes, which function as means of deparadoxification or overcoming the systemic contradictions. For

example, by illuminating and exploiting external and internal interdependencies, which have been overlooked, or have been difficult to deal with within the hierarchical place governance system.

Experiences with organizational interactions also show that place making based on democratic participation and consensus is an unattainable requirement and probably not necessary for inclusive place making. In Norway, place making projects based on democratic participation and dialogue have largely been inspired by the writings of Jürgen Habermas (Habermas, 1984; Gustavsen and Engelstad, 1986). However, as pointed out by O'Neill (2015), Habermas' account of the conditions of participation in dialogue says little about norms of reasoning or norms of effective strategy: the requirements on which Habermas focuses are the requirements for *participating*. The problem with participative decision-making, as we have mentioned in the previous case discussion, is that gaining acceptance through participation may destroy the polarized responses that aid adaptation and meaningful reorganization (Weick, 1969), and hence the basis for development of the structural complexity or variety which is needed for inclusive place making. This again underscores the importance of organizational interactions as a main strategy to secure effective inclusion with regard to place making.

Based on a variety of action research interventions, organizational interactions have been used in other inclusive place making projects with great success (Omholt, 2013). Complexity implies uncertainty, and organizational interactions can be used effectively to deal with most of the uncertainties facing place stakeholders, if it is combined with the use of images and schemata producing the necessary structural complexity.

The case of an immigrant restaurant cluster

A central topic regarding more effective forms of governance, has been the possibility for developing what may be called self-governing networks. These are types of networks, that can take care of collective interests without constant political monitoring. Political monitoring and control will be based on value mobilization within the network. Basic values will be communicated to a group of major actors, which in the next round will further communicate these values to other stakeholders and participants. This way of public guidance becomes a part of the value based common goods in a network, and the values will be further transmitted through socialization and learning.

However, a problem with this form of guidance is that it is difficult to get hold of, and even more difficult to oppose (Fimreite, *et al*., 2005), resulting in less openness. Under this kind of governance, the welfare state will appear to be standardizing, paternalistic and totalitarian. Besides, socialization and internalization of values as a basis for coordination, in our opinion represents a rather naïve perspective on place making, as it assumes some kind of value consensus. Like Giddens (1979), we consider social actors to be knowledgeable actors, but we have to explain what kind of knowledge is needed to secure collective and inclusive action in a governance system based on self-organization, in addition to other conditions for the development of self-organizing place organizations.

To illustrate the conditions for self-organizing and inclusive place making, we have looked at a study of the evolution of an ethnic restaurant culture and cluster in Oslo (Omholt, 2015b). In the course of a few decades, a boundary crossing, exciting, and cosmopolitan attitude to food has evolved among the residents, who have acquired new eating habits and a multicultural way of dealing with food that indicates both acceptance and curiosity (Krogstad, 2006).

This development can be attributed to the location, concentration and connection of ethnic groups with immigrant background, providing opportunities for culinary entrepreneurship. Oslo is probably the most divided capital in Scandinavia, with a pronounced social and economic

difference between the affluent western part and the relatively poor eastern part. The eastern part has a strong overweight of non-western immigrants, but local conditions have improved considerably in later years, in part due to gentrification and municipal renovation efforts. It is probably no coincidence that, while the population in Oslo with immigrant background nearly tripled in the period 1994 – 2014, the number of restaurants also nearly tripled, from 983 in 1994 to 2525 in 2014. Most of this increase took place in the eastern part of the city, and particular in the district of Grünerløkka, which is a district saved from total renovation in the 1970s. It has managed to preserve its original working class buildings and making low-rent premises available for culinary entrepreneurs.

There are several reasons why this ethnic and multicultural concentration has been beneficial for culinary entrepreneurship and inclusive place making in a city like Oslo (Krogstad, 2006):

- The local food serving industry is characterized by extensive cooperation, both within and between different ethnic groups. The cooperation often takes place between establishments, which are located in close proximity. Cooperation between different ethnic groups is also prominent in the kitchens of the various restaurants
- The strong concentration of restaurants in Oslo makes it simpler, less time consuming and cheaper to manage a restaurant. In addition, there are other, operating advantages. You could some time find that chefs and waiters, literally speaking, crossed the street and obtained food from nearby restaurants, or wine from a common cellar.

This gradual evolution represents a form of self-organized place making, which has had little or nothing to do with the planning apparatus or support of public authorities. It has forced itself ahead, despite bureaucratic obstacles. Contrary to many other types of arenas and meeting places between different ethnic groups, food has not provoked counter reactions. While eating may represent a conservative way of living, it also has a radical element, an element of openness and innovation, which can increase the repertoire for individual and inclusive development, and contribute to sustainable, liveable and connected coexistence.

The culinary revolution in Oslo is not only a place-based development, but also a network-based one. In many establishments operated by ethnic minorities, family and friends represent an important resource network. The network compensates for the weak position that many immigrants have with regard to access to capital, information, education, political power, and influence.

As regards implications for practice, this case study supports the general results from studies of cluster organization and industrial districts (Best, 1990; Crewe and Lowe, 1995; Porter, 1998), and underscores the importance of the local entrepreneur, processes of exchange of knowledge and other resources, and dependence on a local catchment area. It also underscores the necessity of knowledge exchange and learning to secure inclusive place making in the ethnic restaurant case. The ethnic restaurant entrepreneurs were eager to learn from others and to experiment with crossover types of food.

None of the entrepreneurs received any assistance from public institutions and support networks. Public institutions and bureaucracy was rather a constant source of frustration and resignation, considered to be regulating powers that constantly enacted new rules and regulations. It reflects that restaurants have not been considered to be an important part of the urban and local economies, compared to such basic activities as auto plants and software developers, because they do not create capital. Nevertheless, they are part of a large and growing service economy, particularly with regard to employment. As pointed out by Ellefsen (2003), there is a need for

planning institutions, which can better secure collective interests with regards to urban development. This implies planning for more culturally diverse and differentiated places, and require urban planners to have access to more diverse and differentiated, probably multiple knowledge bases.

The implications for society and social development are considerable. The case study shows an ethnic culinary culture and restaurant world, which has evolved and succeeded without any organized marketing efforts or support from local and regional authorities, and despite opposition from national retail chains. It represents an evolution, which has contributed to solidarity within and between ethnic groups, contrary to what can be experienced in urban situations in other countries. It represents possibilities for inclusive place making, which are needed in a period when we are facing increasing influx of new waves of immigrants.

Conclusion: Consequences for social integration and inclusive place making
In the first part of this paper, we have presented a theoretical approach for analyzing place making systems and processes, and discussed observations of an evolution in place making, characterized by:

- Differences in the evolution of functional systems, in particular the increasing dominance from the economy and the mass media, which have resulted in faster pace in place making development and a focus on large-scale prestigious place making projects for the middle class.
- Increased use of private property developers implies projects exploiting economies of scale and standardization, contributing to less variety and possibilities for inclusion.
- Development of a place branding and destination culture that camouflages inclusion related conflicts.
- Mass media production of information and public opinion with less reliance on face-to-face-interaction and inclusion of various groups.

This indicates, that the main problem regarding inclusive place making, is the need for an increase in complexity in the ways that place making systems (including public opinion, politics and public administration) observe and construct their conception of place realities and problems. This increase has to match the increase in environmental complexity and increasing stakeholder variety that urban places are facing today (Ashby, 1956, Luhmann, 1995), as previously explained in the section on our theoretical approach. The current place making practices also indicates an evolution with less reliance on face-to-face interaction, contributing to further reduction of the available place making complexity.

In the second part of the paper, we have presented three cases providing information to answer our research questions.

As regards research question 1, all three cases showed that the political/administrative governance systems lacked the capacity to observe and deal effectively with urban development projects in a way that facilitated broad inclusion. The urban planning in Oslo was based on concepts and images that did not provide the necessary functional differentiation, and favored networking with private developers, which reduced place variety and vitality. In the case of town center development, the political/administrative authorities initially were stuck with the same problems as in Oslo, but participated in action research interventions that facilitated face-to-face interactions of main stakeholder groups. This produced the necessary structural and social variety

needed for effective inclusion. In the restaurant cluster case, the political/administrative authorities more or less ignored this kind of inclusive place making, but luckily saved the district from fast-forward urban development. This provided the necessary structural variety based on an existing variety of buildings and cheap premises, and made it possible for the local entrepreneurs to observe, find, and exploit locational interdependencies.

As regards research question 2, it follows from reasons stated in the case discussion that having a form of urban planning, where the only form of participation is based on so-called hearings related to a finished plan proposal, more or less eliminates possibilities for effective and inclusive face-to-face interactions. This was also the situation in the town center development case, but the subsequent participation in action research interventions radically changed the urban planning procedures and facilitated face-to-face interactions. The case of the restaurant cluster needs no further comment, as it was in itself based on face-to-face interactions between the local stakeholders, including native customers.

As regards research question 3, we are inclined to conclude that current forms of urban planning do not facilitate the inclusion of many groups that are affected by urban development plans. In some cases, inclusion of various groups seems to be considered a nuisance (Fimreite *et al.,* 2005). The case of town center development shows that inclusion can be achieved when the traditional forms of urban planning are combined and coordinated with interventions or arrangements that facilitate face-to-face interactions. The restaurant cluster case shows that inclusion follows when local stakeholders are left to organize themselves in place environments, which promote interactions based on proximity.

Based on these results, it is tempting to postulate that the ultimate aim of strategies for inclusive place making is to combine system and social integration in a way that facilitates self-organization based on face-to-face interactions. Dealing with complexity requires place making practitioners to orchestrate a variety of interventions to deal with the various uncertainties and needs for information (Camagni, 1999) which they normally will experience in situations of increasing complexity. Effective inclusion implies place making as an interplay between:

A) The creation of images and use of schemata which structure (functionally differentiate and spatially integrate) urban places, and,
B) The use of interventions based on face-to-face contact, which facilitate social inclusion and motivate innovative behavior, given those structural constraints and interdependencies, which follows from A.

This kind of interplay underscores the importance of the mutual dependence between structures of communication and organizational face-to-face interactions that is the condition for social evolution. Today, we are in many ways witnessing an alarming and increasing gap between these two types of social systems, contributing to a possible evolution towards more divided place societies.

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