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THEATER FOR CHANGE IN PARTICIPATORY URBAN PLANNING- A FOUCAULTIAN APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

Negin Armioun: Theater for change in participatory urban planning- a Foucaultian approach
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Participatory urban planning has been struggling with a fundamental issue in urban planning: power structures. Although the efforts for new participatory processes and methods in urban planning have reduced the imbalances in the power structures of this field, yet the participation itself is questioned for not being inclusive of marginalized people and minorities. This research aimed to find a new participatory method and impact on the power structures in urban planning toward being more inclusive. Therefore, I reviewed power theory of Michel Foucault to understand the power networks in the society and especially about immigrants as my target group, I looked at theatrical methods of Augusto Boal as a successful method in challenging power structures and transforming society, and I also explored the participatory urban planning methods and researches to find the obstacles which cause exclusion. Then I proposed a new method that I called "theater for change" as a new possibility to use theatrical methods in participatory urban planning with the specific objective of including more marginalized people in the process. To evaluate the proposed method, I did three experimental workshops in the Hervanta neighborhood of Tampere city with the target group of immigrants. In the end, I analysed the workshops' outcomes and the method I used based on the power theory of Foucault. The result shows that benefiting from theater in urban planning improves participants' imagination, activates the bodies as a tool for communication, encourages people to transform the reality of urban spaces in their surroundings and disturbs the power imbalances in urban planning. This method introduces itself as a form of resistance by challenging the disciplines and norms in traditional urban planning methods and by liberating the bodies from subjectivity and submission. However, the findings indicate that this process more than its objectives effects on the democratisation of the research and transformation of researcher and participants.

Keywords: Participatory urban planning, Theatrical methods, Marginalized people, Theatre in urban planning, Power relations, Social justice

PREFACE

The basis of this research is stemmed from my background as a social activist and theater enthusiast as well as my studies in urban planning. This thesis has been written to fulfil the graduation requirements of the sustainable architecture program at Tampere university, but it also deals with my own fundamental questions about power and my experiences as an immigrant in Finland. Therefore, my search to find answers for the questions of this research was part of my search for a larger question in my life: "is change possible?" I was engaged in researching and writing this thesis from January 2018 to May 2019. This process has been a learning process for me with experiments and failures that led me to create a new method.

To conduct this extensive research individually was laborious, but the helps of my supervisor Prof. Juho Rajaniemi have allowed me to achieve the results I wished. I would like to thank him for his excellent guidance and support during this process and the fact that he has been always available and willing to answer my questions. I also wish to thank Ph.D. Nena Mocnik for her valuable contributions to the theater side of my thesis and her encouragements that kept me motivated to continue the process regardless of the difficulties.

To all the spect-actors, without whose participation in my workshops I would not have been able to conduct this research, to all collaborators specially Naapurijurtta team and Ph.D. Salome Tuomaala, to all translators and photographers of the workshops: I would like to thank you for your wonderful cooperation as well; This research was absolutely a teamwork and was not possible without you. I also benefited from debating issues with my friends whom I do not name here. My partner deserves a particular note of thanks: your wise counsel and kind supports have, as always, served me well.

I hope you enjoy your reading.

Negin Armioun

Helsinki, May 6, 2019

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Participatory urban planning has tried to deal with power imbalances and include different people in its process by different methods. However, it is still partially unclear if the way this participation has been practiced could guarantee equal participation for all people including marginalized groups. The obscure target group for participation has usually caused the exclusion of certain groups of people whose identities situated on the margin of power structures in the society; such as immigrants, LGBTQs, disables, elderly people and children, poor and unemployed people, etc.

Although, many pieces of research have been conducted on this issue and several innovative methods have been introduced to participatory urban planning, yet the core problem is not fully answered. Most of the researches either discussed the power-related problems in participation and participatory planning or tried to widen the palette of participatory methods with creative suggestions. The connection between the new methods for participatory urban planning with the power relations and exclusion/inclusion of minorities/marginalized groups is almost lost in the previous researches.

This research aims to find a new tool as a possible solution to increase inclusiveness in the urban planning processes by theatrical methods. The objectives of this research are to find the obstacles which cause exclusion in participatory urban planning, to suggest a new method to make participatory urban planning more inclusive and to provide an analysis of important aspects in working with marginalized people. These all together would cover the main question of this research: “how can we engage the excluded groups of people in participatory urban planning?”

At first, I start with theoretical studies on the power theory of Foucault and the power position of immigrants as my target group in society. I continue to study the theater methods of Boal which had been developed for marginalized people- or according to Boal “the oppressed”. I end the theoretical studies with an investigation in participatory urban planning methods and processes in order to find the obstacles based on a Foucaultian power analysis. Then I attempt to write a draft of my proposed method inspired by theatrical games of Boal to answer the obstacles in urban planning methods. I also experiment with this method in three workshops for the Hervanta neighborhood design with the focus of engaging the immigrants of the neighborhood. After the experiments, I explain the collected data from each workshop. I combine and compare this data with each other to give a general understanding of the information which can be achieved by this new method- theater for change. At the end, I discuss the possibilities of my proposed method in challenging power imbalances in urban planning and improving resistance based on the power theory of Foucault. I also provide a brief handbook of theater for change for who want to use this method in future projects and researches.

1.2 Problem

The story starts from when I noticed a problem in a participatory urban planning workshop for Hiedanranta development in Tampere. I was not there as an urban planner or organizer but as a participant. I could easily recognize what all participants have in common. They were all Finnish, adults, educated or have been involved in some related subjects like architecture, urban planning and design, arts, sociology, etc. Therefore, I asked myself where are "the others"? They could not have been heard when they did not have a voice and consequently, their needs were not taken into consideration in the development of that area.

It is important to specify the target group when we talk about the participation of people, citizens or residents. It is also necessary to engage specifically the excluded groups of people who have been marginalized because of their gender, race, sexual orientation, nationality, religion, physical situation, class, age, etc. They should be able to affect their living spaces, the urban strategies, and plans which mostly have ignored them and their needs. Despite the tools which have been developed and used until now in participatory urban planning, the actual practices show that the participation process is still far from the real inclusion of minorities and marginalized people. This question has been raised before in other researches in the field of urban planning, but I want to address it differently with a Foucaultian approach and theatrical methods.

Connecting participatory theatre and participatory urban planning make their considerable common aspects emerge. On the one hand, they have the same roots; They both face the question "by who and to whom" they are working. On the other hand, they share the same goals; They want to change the power relations and be more inclusive and equal for all. The interesting point is that their answers to this question and to reach this goal have been different and have rarely intersected. Though this collision would be challenging, it carries some possibilities and potentials for the problems that have not been addressed well in participatory urban planning.

1.3 Research Questions

This research aims to answer one of the controversial problems in participatory urban planning which prevents it to achieve desirable participation. The main discussion in my thesis is around one general question dividable to four sub-questions:

How can we engage the excluded groups of people in participatory urban planning?

1. What are the obstacles in the existing process of participation which make it exclusive?
2. What are the new ways to make urban planning more inclusive and open for everyone?
3. How can we encourage our target group to talk about their special needs?
4. Which aspects of the new method need more attention in order to be more inclusive?

1.4 Methodology

I never made a painting as a work of art, it's all research. —Pablo Picasso

The subject of this thesis is a multi-disciplinary topic and thus demands multiple methods to be researched. I will combine the art-based research methods with some other methodologies to enhance traditional qualitative approaches and to achieve a better understanding of the issue I am studying. The general process of this research is about using my understanding of power theory by Michel Foucault to criticize the theatrical methods of Augusto Boal and question the participatory urban planning methods. From there, I start to provide a new theatrical method to answer the obstacles I find in participatory urban planning methods. By putting the theater in an urban planning context, I aim to create a new method that I call "theater for change in urban planning". This new method is supposed to question the power relations based on the power theory of Foucault. This process is shown in the diagram bellow:

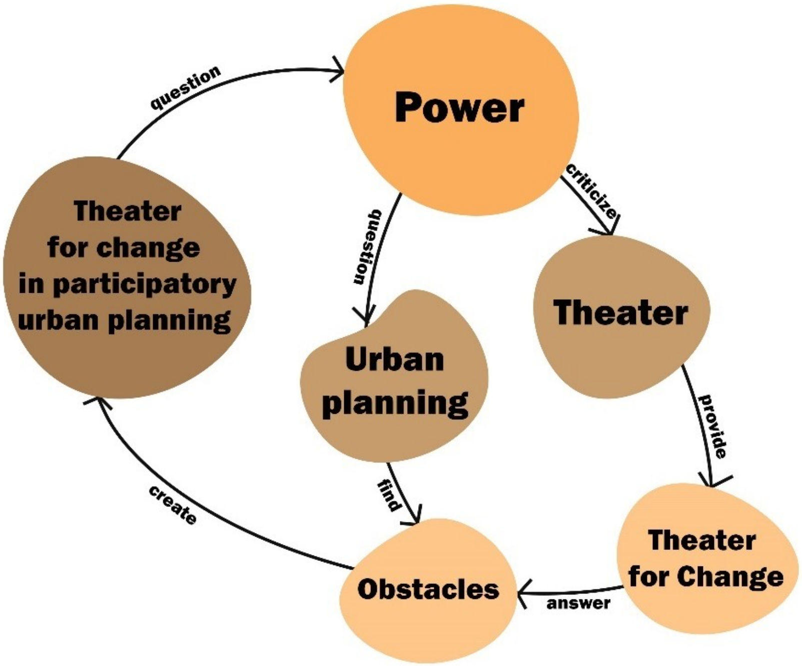


Figure 1: The research process

This process would help to find an answer for the main question: "How could we engage the excluded groups of people- immigrants- in participatory urban planning?". I divided this large question to four more tangible questions which I will try to answer each in one step of this research. Each step will be conducted using appropriate methodologies based on the question.

First, I will do a literature review about power, theater and participatory urban planning. I will use the power theory of Foucault for a critical analysis on the theater of the oppressed and participatory urban planning. From this analysis, I attempt to find an answer for “what are the obstacles in participatory urban planning?”. I review the similar researches and practices in participatory urban planning and discuss what makes them exclusive or unequal, how they do not touch the power relations and do not challenge them.

Second, I study “new ways to make participatory urban planning more inclusive” with advantaging from Boal’s theatrical games. The theatrical techniques that Boal created are a means of promoting social and political change. I will use these techniques to bring such changes in urban planning and reframe the power relations for participants. My target group of participants are “immigrants”; those who are – to some extends- oppressed in Boal’s terms but in Foucault’s words, they are already part of existing power relations. Although Boal’s theater is close to the aim of participatory planning, I need to find special ways to give the necessary tools to people, to use urban planning to change their city/town/neighborhood and in a bigger scale, their society and power relations. This idea needs to be developed in existing participatory methods. Therefore, in this second step, I provide a preliminary draft for the workshops’ plan using theater tools – as a possible answer to the second research question. (Boal, 1979)

Third, in order to examine the new method that I developed, I plan a case study in a specific group – immigrants- and in a specific neighborhood – Hervanta. I will hold three open workshops in Hervanta and gather the qualitative data from the workshops. I will explain more details about the workshops later in this thesis. My role in the workshops as a “joker” would be explaining the methods, observing the process, interacting with the subjects of research and gather data with photos, videos and taking notes of all the discussions, body expressions and interactions between participants. From the results of the workshops, I can evaluate if my proposed method is successful in “encouraging our target participants- immigrants- to talk about their needs” and impact on the urban planning process actively.

Forth, I will make a qualitative analysis based on previous stages, not only about the data from workshops – with description and classification - but also about the method itself. I attempt to develop the preliminary tools and to improve it based on analysis of advantages, disadvantages, benefits and lacks. By using theory and practices, I would explain “which aspects of the new method are important in the urban planning process in order to have a more inclusive process.” This research would result in a short guideline for architects/urban planners/ activists interested in new art-based methods in urban planning. I will create the “change theater method in urban planning” and explain it in concrete ways to be useable for other researches or projects and to be adjustable for different groups of participants. However, this research is only the first step of introducing this method to urban planning and it needs further experiments and deeper researches to be accomplished as an effective method that is applied widely in various urban planning projects with different target groups.

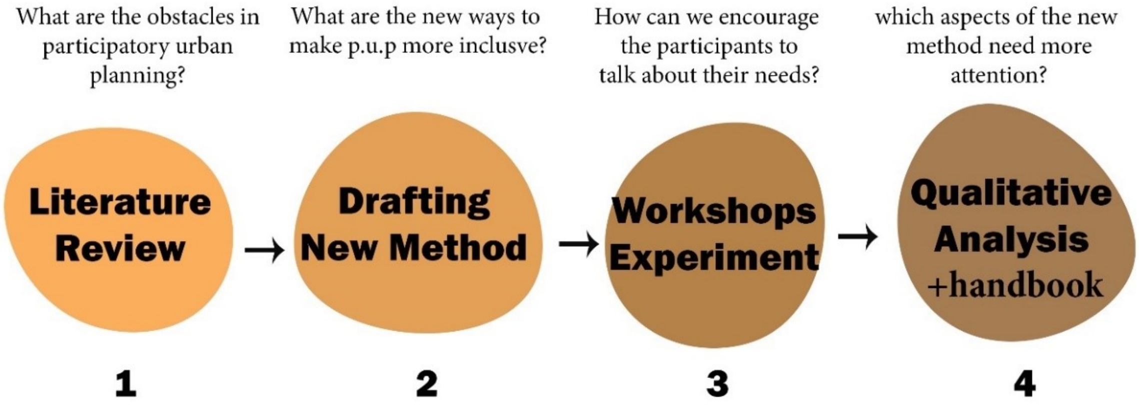

What are the obstacles in participatory urban planning?
What are the new ways to make p.u.p more inclusve?
How can we encourage the participants to talk about their needs?
which aspects of the new method need more attention?
Literature Review
Drafting New Method
Workshops Experiment
Qualitative Analysis +handbook
1
2
3
4

Figure 2: The four steps of this research

From the second half of the 20th century, new paradigms in methodologies emerged that widen the research-methodology palette with creative ways of investigations. Though there is not still enough reflections on art-based methods in academies, these methodologies have become more globally accepted and successfully adapted to different research areas. (Gwenda van der Vaart, 2018)

Art-based research could include diverse dimensions based on what art genres have been in use and the ways these genres have contributed to the research: as a method, a way of data collection, for analysis or for communication and aesthetic elements. In this research, I use theater and theatrical games of Augusto Boal in different stages of my research process from methodology to experiment and conclusion. Art-based researches like this research, are usually categorized within a qualitative research tradition. This research aims to produce a new method in investigating people’s needs, problems, wishes and views on urban planning. Thus, this research uses the same method to examine the efficiency, advantages, and disadvantages of that in the research process and specifically in data collection. (Gwenda van der Vaart, 2018)

There have been studies about the benefits of creative and art-based research methods in different researches and projects. I name a few of these advantages that generally art-based methods bring to research that convinced me to utilize it in my research. First of all, these methods can open fresh perspectives rather the conventional methods and questionnaires. In order to have better questionnaires, arts can help research with its own special way of “imagining, understanding, articulating, and inquiring”. This has more importance when it comes to sensitive or complex subjects which are more difficult to be investigated deeply with traditional questions and answers. Second, creative and art-based methods can access to the “emotional and symbolic aspects of people's experiences” and go beyond the verbal and written information and provide further data. Third, these methods are open and flexible to different understandings and are participatory in nature; these characteristics make art-based methods suitable for participatory or community-based researches. Previous researchers truly argued that these methods help the research to change power imbalances. This power relation exists in all researches between the researcher and those who are the subject of research and it is in contradiction with the participatory research goals. Art-based methods have the potentials to democratize research processes. I will analyze this aspect based on the power theory of Foucault more precisely later in this thesis. Finally, art-based methods within the academic context "tend to resist categorical or binary thinking". By challenging pre-defined meanings and assumptions about research, knowledge and impact in the academy, these methods demonstrate their ability to do so with other norms in practice. (Gwenda van der Vaart, 2018)

Beside the pointed advantages, there are also challenges that have been discussed within other researches that worth mentioning. One of these challenges is about engaging the community in the research process. As previous researchers explained, this process is often difficult and energy-consuming. Even if the participants give positive feedbacks after their participation, it initially needs considerable effort to find participants and usually a low level of participation is reported in similar researches. (Gwenda van der Vaart, 2018) Second, there are usually uncertainties about the details, impacts and conclusions in art-based researches. This uncertainty is not only for the researchers whom extra pressure applies on, but also for the participants. The art-based process puts participants more "in charge" of what can happen in the research. This important role beside confusions may cause a reduction of participants during the research process. Finally, Cormans and Hannes highlighted the fact that art-based methods have time-consuming nature and added that the costs of conducting these researches – depends on the art genre - can be another practical limit on these methods. (Hannes, 2017, p. 43) In my research, using theater enables me to overcome some problems but it also can create other difficulties. Acknowledging the challenges and accepting the boundaries of these methods, I will try to practice, introduce and produce one of the art-based methods – theater for change in urban planning. Later in this research, I will reflect on the specific advantages and disadvantages of this method besides possible solutions to make it more beneficial.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Power

Where there is power, there is resistance…- Michel Foucault

Michel Foucault is a philosopher who is mostly known because of his researches in power. This research benefits from a Foucaultian approach to analyze the power structures in participatory urban planning methods and possible forms of resisting them. However, Foucault himself claims that the reason he studies power is the question of “subject”. (Foucault, 1982, p. 777) “Subject” is in the center of Foucault’s work. From discussing the situation and the position of “subject” in modern society, he arrives to fundamental notions of “power” and “discipline” and through that, he discusses architecture and space in modern cities. Foucault asks how knowledge/power defined the “subject” in modern society. For him, the “subject” has two meanings: “subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge” which both of them, carry a form of power. (Foucault, 1982, p. 212) In this part, I will start with introducing the main ideas of Foucault about power, resistance, disciplines and biopower. Then I will try to investigate the space and city structure and immigrants’ position in that, by borrowing from thoughts of Foucault about the relation of the subject with power and discipline. I would also put some questions forward to expose my opinion and assumptions about immigrants in the urban society of Finland.

2.1.1 Power

In this research, I want to use the power theory of Foucault to understand, criticize and change the power structures in participatory urban planning methods, though Foucault himself argues that his work is not a "theory" of power, but “analytics” of that. (Foucault, 1978, p. 82) I do not try to prove there is “power” in urban planning since according to Foucault “power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere.” In Foucault’s view, power is like Oxygen flowing in human societies. Society does not exist without power relations. Any kind of human interaction is a kind of and an overall effect of power relations, so is urban planning and decision-making processes. Power is connected to and is a creator of production and knowledge and without power, production and knowledge do not exist. (Foucault, 1978, p. 93)

However, to understand better this phenomenon flowing everywhere and coming from everything, I would try to investigate the general theme in the understanding of power, to see if it is a correct understanding or I need to wash the minds from the limited definition of power. Foucault discovers that power in the western system of thoughts had been considered as “a power to say no; in no condition to produce, capable only of posting limits, […] basically anti-energy.” (Foucault, 1978, p. 85) This negative representation of power disables power to produce, act and react and have live dynamics. Furthermore, power is usually perceived in its very embodied forms such as institutions, laws, dominations and sovereignty. (Foucault, 1978, p. 90) As regards, power is neither an anti-energy nor embodied forms of dominations.

Foucault clarifies that power "[…] is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with" (Foucault, 1978, p. 93) None of the ideas that equal power with institutions or mechanisms or general system of domination, forms of rule, authority of the states or formulations of law and different social hegemonies, is in fact power. These are only the final embodied forms representing power in different situations. (Foucault, 1978, p. 92) So, the question of the quiddity of power still remains.

In short, Foucault understands the power in the struggles and confrontations of strategies, "as a mobile field of force relations, wherein far-reaching, but never completely stable". (Foucault, 1978, p. 102) Therefore, power is a matrix of energies interacting with each other and impacting on each other. In every moment, the interaction of these forces makes a very temporary balance in power's field that in the next moment, it creates again imbalances and seeks for a new stability. In Foucault's opinion, power is defined within this realm of force relations where they transform, strengthen, support or reverse each other. (Foucault, 1978, pp. 92- 97) This more comprehensive definition of power makes possible better analytics of the power's mechanisms.

2.1.2 Resistance

Foucault explains power as an effect of the divisions, inequalities, and disequilibrium in "economic processes, knowledge relationships or sexual relations"; but at the same time power is an inherent part of them and not in a superstructure position. (Foucault, 1978, p. 94) In other words, socio-economic imbalances are tied to power; they are both created by power disproportions and also creates other power disequilibria. Although it may seem hopeless when Foucault says: "there is no escaping from power, that it is always-already present", (Foucault, 1978, p. 82) and so inequalities and divisions, it is not the whole story in the field of force relations. He continues and adds "Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power." (Foucault, 1978, p. 95)

The reciprocal relationship of power and resistance occurs in the general power network of society. Applying power on the subjects of modern society and their interactions incites the resistance from and in those interactions. Foucault defines three types of resistance or struggle: "against forms of domination (ethnic, social, and religious); against forms of exploitation which separate individuals from what they produce; or against that which ties the individual to himself and submits him to others in this way (struggles against subjection, against forms of subjectivity and submission)." (Foucault, 1982, p. 781) In fact, he puts the existence of power relationships in a conditional position to the existence of multiple points of resistance. Furthermore, by considering both power and resistance in the same power network or matrix, he fades the binary between oppressor and oppressed. It means that even when people take different power positions, they all serve that general field of power if we look at the root of power relations and recognize the scene they play role in. (Foucault, 1978, p. 94)

Resistance for Foucault defines itself in multiple and mobile points in the power matrix trying to impact on other existing forces. Although, he acknowledges that in some cases there are “massive binary divisions” or “great radical ruptures”, in most cases what we face is a plurality of resistances. He explains the moves, transitions and transformations of these points are highly dynamic and the effects of them on individuals and groups emerge in their bodies and minds. (Foucault, 1978, pp. 95- 96)

Looking at power relations and the resistance inherent to it in modern society and state, Foucault tries to define the tactics the modern states use to apply their power. The modern state is not a super authority above people, ignoring their identity and being, but it is a complex structure that tries to transform individuality to a submissive form of being and identity. In modern societies “individualizing tactic” emerged as a series of powers: “those of the family, medicine, psychiatry, education, and employers.” (Foucault, 1982, p. 784) In other words, he recognizes individualization as a form of exercising power by modern states which need to be confronted by resistance forces. Foucault concludes that “the political, ethical, social, philosophical problem of our days is not to try to liberate the individual from the state and from the state's institutions but to liberate us both from the state and from the type of individualization which is linked to the state.” (Foucault, 1982, p. 785)

2.1.3 Disciplines

“Discipline” is another power-related notion that Foucault defines to explain the operation of power. Disciplines are the blocks of regulating and arranging “technical capacities, the game of communications, and the relationships of power”, where they come to act. “Technical capacity” is the power which is applied to the objects and make them able to be transformed, used or deconstructed. This comes from the ability of the body or the ability which is transferred to the tools. In short, the technical capacity of each person is about to what extent they can transform the reality surrounding them. “The game of communication” is a set of communication that transfer data and information from one point to another by different means. These means could be any system of signs or symbols such as languages. “Power relations” is an “ensemble of actions which induce others and follow from one another”. These three which form a disciplinary set should be clearly distinguished from each other. These three types of relationships are at the same time separated and interconnected. They mutually reinforce one another and make the general concept of the discipline together. To determine discipline and its function, it is a process to make coordination between productive activities, communication resources and power relations in order to become more rational and economical. Disciplines and the process of dictating them have maximized by controling and monitoring of society in the modern state. (Foucault, 1982, pp. 786- 787)

One example of disciplines and their impact that Foucault describes is about how new rules of propriety affected the games of communications. It happened by hiding some words and policing of statements in communications. It had the same effect in power relations by controlling “where and when it was not possible to talk […] in which circumstances, among which speakers, and within which social relationships.” (Foucault, 1978, pp. 17- 18) However, He considers all these vocabulary censorships in a secondary position, because what is the most important about disciplines is actually the ways that make them “morally acceptable and technically useful” (Foucault, 1978, p. 21)

2.1.4 Bio-Power

“An art of human body” as a very specific outcome of disciplines in power sought not only to develop skills and to intensify the subjugation of bodies but also to develop a mechanism-based relationship that could make the body more profitable by its obedience. Consequently, disciplines have produced obedient and disciplined bodies that Foucault calls “docile-body”. This process includes both strengthening the abilities/technical capacities of a body to make it more profitable and at the same time weakening those forces to a make obedient body. Foucault explains if economic exploitation divides force and product from labor, disciplines make a limited connection between enhanced capability and enhanced domination. (Foucault, 1980, pp. 137- 138)

Investigating the force of disciplines on bodies leads Foucault to a tool of power in modern and ancient societies: “the right to life”. This right for the supreme power has changed from an absolute form to a more relative one in modern societies. One mechanism of power in ancient ages was more based on seizure, and so it was for life. Therefore, power had this privilege to seize “things, time, bodies, and ultimately life itself”. However, all the transformations in power in the West changed the position of this mechanism as a major form of power to only one possible way of applying power among the rest. If power is no longer about seizing and suppressing life, in what other ways does it impact on life? Foucault answers that in modern societies, power applies its right to life more by “generating forces, making them grow, and ordering them.” (Foucault, 1978, p. 136)

In short, Foucault brilliantly formulates that “the ancient right to take life or let live was replaced by a power to foster life or disallow it to the point of death.” (Foucault, 1978, p. 138) In other words, power more than ever, “is situated and exercised at the level of life.” (Foucault, 1978, p. 137) Therefore, I think the issue of the right to life can explain well also the immigration policies and struggles. When power is exercised in the level of life, the right to live in a certain geopolitical region, the issue of race and immigration and the large-scale control of population would become significantly important issues for power.

What Foucault calls as “biopolitics of the population”, is actually an organization of power over life that has been created between controlling the bodies by different disciplines and regulating population by different means from the seventeenth century. (Foucault, 1978, p. 139) This could not happen unless going through the development of different disciplines in education systems as much as political practices and economic observation over life-related issues. Consequently, the questions of “birthrate, longevity, public health, housing, and migration”. This overall process and the increasing importance of the bodies’ subjectivity and populations’ control began an era of what Foucault calls "biopower." (Foucault, 1978, p. 140)

In this era, power is not anymore in the territory of death, but at the level of life, dealing with living beings. What puts “body” as a central element in the biopower era is actually the shift in focus of power from death to life. (Foucault, 1978, pp. 142- 143) Biopower, as a consequence, increases also the importance of the norms in comparison with the juridical system. Foucault considers a normalizing society as “the historical outcome of a technology of power centered on life.” (Foucault, 1978, p. 144)

Indeed, the purpose of disciplinary technology, wherever and in whatever form it operates, is to create docile-bodies that are ready to be subjugated, used, transformed and improved. (Foucault, 1980, p. 198) In other words, power is implemented in and by a variety of disciplinary technologies that emphasizes that “power relations can penetrate deeply into the body, without even depending on the mediation of the subject’s own representations.” (Foucault, 1980, p. 186)

2.1.5 City, Space, and Power

Foucault’s views about architecture and urbanism have been investigated from different aspects; either in terms of how architecture impacts on social relations, or in terms of body politics/biopower or in terms of space and its aesthetics. (Fontana-Giusti, 2013, p. 13) In this part, I look at Foucault’s views about the organization of space in relation to biopower and the effects of it on disciplined bodies.

Power in Foucault’s view is everywhere but also distributed more specifically in local centers. Therefore, power from the perspective of Foucault is exercised in various places/locations, in many forms and by different actors (individuals, institutions, and organizations) at different times. For him, space is fundamental in all forms of community life and so in all forms of power. In the late eighteenth century, architecture has been involved with the issues of biopolitics: population, health and urban issues. Architecture became the subject of space arrangement for eco-political purposes. (Foucault, 1980, p. 148) At this time, new questions related to a new understanding of politics and power raised in urbanism: how a city should be, how to consider the requirements for protecting the orders, how to avoid epidemics and rebellion, how to maintain a clean life and moralities, etc. The city was not anymore, an exception between agricultural lands, forests and roads. Instead, cities played the role of models for “governmentality” and rationality with all the issues they created and with their particular forms and shapes. (Zieleniec, 2007, p. 130)

In simple terms, governmentality represents a marvelous expansion of the scope of government practices which began in the mid-eighteenth century and has continued to grow to recent days. This expansion extends to all human activities and all fields of activity and includes both individuals and collectives that must be structured, manipulated or controlled. Since space has to answer the functional requirements of power; cities emerge and are developed as a new set of practices and procedures for increasing the governmentality of bodies. (Zieleniec, 2007, p. 131) In this process, architecture allocates people in certain places, determines their circulation in the space, dictates the ways they can “be” in or “use” space and actually code the relations between people. (Fontana-Giusti, 2013, p. 15) Furthermore, for Foucault space is where the “discourses about power and knowledge” change from subjective ideas to objective power relations. “Space is not neutral or empty but a space of social relations.” (Fontana-Giusti, 2013, pp. 123- 124)

Space (space divisions and spatial controls) beside time (time management) have had a fundamental role in applying power and knowledge over all spheres of society. Disciplinary techniques require both individual control over time and control over space. For instance, Foucault explains how the timetable model of old institutions such as the monastery or the army could be transferred and adapted to new ones like schools, prisons and factories. (Foucault, 1977, p. 149) However, this is not the only way that disciplines intersect with architecture. One aspect of this relationship is about the rules of discipline that constantly exist in the whole internal organization of a building and space is preoccupied with the question of disciplines. (Foucault, 1978, pp. 27- 28) Another point is about the external space as a space of experience and relationships where affects our power positions the same as disciplines. (Fontana-Giusti, 2013, p. 137)

Foucault explains the function of supervised spaces to “eliminate the effects of imprecise distributions, the uncontrolled disappearance of individuals, their diffuse circulation, their unusable and dangerous coagulation”. Controlling space or constructing disciplined spaces has been a strategy of power against “desertion, vagabondage and concentration”. The goal of this strategy is to make all interaction calculable at first and then maximize profitable communications and minimize useless presence and activities. “Discipline organizes an analytical space.” (Foucault, 1977, p. 143)

In conclusion, all human activities including working, studying and paying fines were arranged by and through monitoring of time in the related disciplined spaces. In this regard, Foucault considers the concept of the "docile-body" as the “subject of power, authority, and practice of numbers of disciplines” that built a kind of "anatomopolitics of the body" as a way of controlling bodies in space. (Zieleniec, 2007, p. 132)

2.1.6 Immigrant bodies, disciplined space, and power

The body is used, manipulated and trained in time and through space by the means of disciplines. Movements and everyday activities were coordinated with the exact time that sought to build the body socially, economically and politically useful, subjugated, responsible, kind, able, healthy, trained, calm, savage, and productive. The "social body" metaphor was a defense against the representation of human beings as a machine. This representation like other models, illustrated society as a whole including groups and individuals that characterized them with specialized functions. This social body was not only subject to general public health, but it is also subject to the moralities of a society and its spatial regulations.

Nevertheless, the everyday activities of individuals or groups can be in contrast with the values, norms and meanings of the 'space', and challenge them. This can happen just because these spaces are the areas of social and cultural interactions. What is considered an appropriate activity in a particular space, represents the meaning of this space for individuals and groups at different times. The question that how these are a representation of some of the ideals in culture and society, is the result of differences and violations process that can shake the authority of a disciplined and appropriate space. Prescribing and defining specific political, social, leisure and recreational practices, as well as prescribing and limiting certain social groups to others, change space into a potential area for conflict; an area in which normalizing values through discipline and regulating the space against the vitality and passion of many popular practices turn into a new forum for social struggle.

I want to return to Foucault's definition of discipline and its three components (the technical capacities, the game of communications and power relations). Foucault said these three concepts, although coordinated, are not the same and continuous. That is, they are not always applied to the same extent and in the same way, but in each particular society, depending on the different places and the various situations, these three are applied according to their particular pattern. However, I think concerning immigrants, this discipline and its trilogy elements are applied to the maximum. "The technical capacities" of immigrants should be matched by the quality and the level of development in the host country, and actually upgraded to that level. Immigrants are, at the sight of the host countries, a person with disabilities or with less ability than the technical capacity of a European person. They should be “enabled” or “empowered” to a certain level of skills and ability by work classes, schools and certain courses, etc.

Applying discipline through the game of communications is also maximized to immigrants. They should not only learn the language of the host country, but they should also learn and internalize the signs and symbols of the new community. In my opinion, this aspect of disciplines overlaps with the norms and demands of a normalizing society. For example, If the allowed or “normal” distance between two people in a home country of an immigrant is less than one meter, they have to learn that in Finland the "personal space" of each person is two meters and violating that means an act of intimidation. If certain intimacy of bodies in a particular culture – like hug – is an everyday practice of life, they should learn not to hug their colleagues in Finland as an intern. Talking or asking about certain topics follows certain norms and as Foucault discusses it is under the question of who, where, when, in what circumstances, etc. To name a few topics, one could say job and salary, political opinion and religion.

Furthermore, Immigrants are more clearly under control in terms of power relations than any other spheres: fears of deportation, fears of police, double susceptibility of labor office about unemployment, double check of passports in airports, rules of a romantic relationship, investigation of relationships to be categorized as real or unreal, the permission of living, traveling and rituals of buying tickets in vehicles, etc. The immigrant body is considered undisciplined and uncontrolled. It is a potential threat to the existing order of the host society. It is an uncalculated factor in formulas of biopolitics and population control for maximizing the economic profit. It should either be disciplined by any means such as power relations or should be removed. And again, this fact only happens at the level of life.

The collection of these issues, which may be the daily routine of living in Finland, is a set of disciplines for immigrants which is definitely reflected in the city and in urban space as well. Understanding the culture of recreational spaces from pools to clubs needs immigrants to learn a set of rules and signs: from nudity in the sauna to observing the distance in the swimming pool, swimsuit, and so on.

Foucault's analysis of the modern space emphasizes on how specific spaces are created, designed, constructed, controlled and arranged by disciplinary discourses and power/knowledge technologies. They had specific functions with the general aim of creating and manipulating the docile-bodies, both as individuals and as masses of people, in the form of population. As a result, Foucault's analysis of the emergence of modern disciplinary society is an analysis in which power, knowledge and space fuse to form physical perspectives, and architecture is also one of the important tools for structuring relationships. The dominant discourses mark meanings and values that seek to determine the functional and efficient use of space for specific purposes as well as for specific populations and activities. This can be clearly seen for some groups of immigrants. Refugee camps are an example of quarantine plague cities in the past centuries. “Other” humans who do not have the standards of a normal European human-being / citizen, must be screened and monitored to find the right to live in a European city/ society. They should find the right to live in this community in terms of ideology and background as a normal citizen. They will be questioned if they have mentally belonged to "terrorist" groups or thoughts, if they are completely healthy in terms of physical and mental health if they are clean of viruses and mental and physical illnesses of another world, etc. This is a precondition for entry into the world without the plague of today, and until when it is proved they are quarantined.

After ending the quarantine period, the education system with a set of disciplines starts to work for creating a normal citizen and a docile-body. The "integration" project is actually a project to “cure” one of “the others” who should be a human/citizen of “our” world. The state and the system do not deny their individuality but are consistent with their education and monitoring system to integrate them into the natural patterns of the host society. To the extent that these patterns are accepted and obeyed, the earlier they become closer to Finnish citizenship and European identity and closer to the disciplined and civilized body.

This is also the case in the city. The set of spaces in the city, from the police, surveillance cameras and the law, to the glances of the blaming citizens on the bus and in the office, is to ensure that the immigrant body of yesterday and a half-citizen of today does not depart from the edges of rationality and value system of the Finnish society. Immigrants are potentially lacking a bus ticket, passport, permission and qualifications unless they prove it in front of the eyes of “big brother” or established power. Even attempts of inclusion by “integration plans” for immigrants look unrealistic for both the Finnish community and the immigrants who know that there is a kind of division, who know that they are called “the others". A dark-skinned man who kisses his black-haired partner in public is a strange species of plague/citizen, a rare and of course, semi-successful one in integration to the society.

From the studies of power theory and the analysis of immigrants’ situation, I want to open the discussion to the next chapters of this research. I discussed the power relations and disciplines in the society, but where to find the resistance?

2.2 Theater

that is the role of art – not only to show how the world is,
but also why it is thus and how it can be transformed- Augusto Boal

“Theater of the oppressed” is neither the first interactive theater – since Spex or Speksi theater has been known as the very first form of interactive theater- nor is the first political theater. Nonetheless, Augusto Boal created TO (theater of the oppressed) in the 60s and 70s, crisis time of Brazil as a tool for political action by the oppressed people which then found its way to parliament as a tool for legislation. In the 1990s, Boal linked one of his methods with political decision-making and invented legislative theater. When he got elected as a city councilor in Rio de Janeiro, he used that method to let citizens draft laws which in the end, 13 of these laws were passed by the city council. (Lerner,2013, p.187)

He explained that “The argument about the relations between theatre and politics is as old as theatre and … as politics”. (Boal, 1979, p. 1) Political theater and as such TO is born of interactions between contrary forces and demands, “suspended between a critique of what is and a display of what is possible”. (Cohen-Cruz & Schutzman, 2006, p. 23)

Theater presents “a vision of the world in transformation” and to do so, the theater has to show also “the means of carrying out that transformation or of delaying it”. All the transformation process of the world is necessarily political and so theater is. (Boal, 1979, p. 2) The fact of considering theater as political action, transforms it to a public arena where actors and spectators- or in Boal’s terms spect-actors- are able to be involved in political issues of the society. In this way, theater can affect the lives and make a change to the world. (Cohen-Cruz & Schutzman, 2006, p. 24)

TO methods as a non-conventional theater has inspired many practitioners, educators, and activists around the world. It has been used for community-based problem solving, democratizing organizations and raising the voice of marginalized people. As Boal defines the aim of this method to transform reality, many benefited it to analysis the problems and to find ways of transforming them. This method talks of marginalized people – their problems and their possibilities- with them, by them and to them. Boal invented this participatory theater to emphasize on theatre, not as a monologue show/performance but rather “as a language accessible to all”, a dialogue. Boal introduced TO as a “weapon” to transform not only the reality around people but also people themselves. When people transform from a passive spectator to an actor in the stage of the theater, they get activated in their everyday lives. Therefore, this weapon- TO- has become an appropriate method for the project focusing on power relations, bottom-up approaches and targeting the oppressed/marginalized people. (Sierz 2009, thegaurdian.com.)

In this chapter, I discuss the theater of the oppressed in the context of power with the Foucaultian approach. I attempt to investigate the different aspects of TO and redefine them if necessary, in order to update the method with Foucauldian definition of power. I will discuss several main concepts such as “Joker”, “Protagonist”, “Spect-actor” and “games” and then, I will look at two experiments with TO methods in social sciences and urban planning. In the end, I will note the important points need more attention in future possible experiments with theatrical methods.

2.2.1 TO and Power

Boal defines that “all theater is necessarily political because all the activities of man are political”. (Boal, 1979, p. 2) I want to bridge this quote to Foucault when he says that “any kind of human interaction is a kind of and an overall effect of power relations”. (Foucault, 1978, p. 93) In other words, the theater is inevitably political and a kind of power relations. However, Boal and Foucault have different understandings of power.

Boal invents TO methods against the hierarchical structure he could see in traditional theatre. He criticizes the elite theatre which “[…] was made by those who have money, to be seen also by those who have it.” (Boal 2008 [1974], 136.) Instead in TO, participants play roles and create their own theater. Theater of the oppressed aims to simulate the power structure which Boal defines as a division between oppressors and oppressed. Therefore, in TO they try to experiment different solutions against that power structure. He assumes an authority above people that needs to be invaded by the people. Power for Boal is a set of prohibitions applied on people’s lives and people should release themselves of those by any means such as theater. Boal believed that “to speak is to take power: whenever we become the speaker we are empowered.” (Boal 2008 [1974], xx.) So, the reason he wants the audiences to speak is to make them take power. This means that power for Boal is something that can be seized, possessed and taken by a force from another one.

In contrary, as I discussed in the previous chapter, Foucault understands power as a fundamental notion of society that comes from everywhere. It cannot be taken from or given to, because it is already there and everywhere. He recognizes no division in power structure between oppressors and the oppressed, rather he defines a power matrix embracing both established power and resistance power in the same field of force networks. In other words, Foucault admits the existence of resistance against applied power on that, but not in an exterior position to the power structure. Furthermore, power is neither a set of prohibition and an anti-energy nor an institution, authority and state. Foucault considers these only as final embodied forms of power.

However, with all the differences in Boal’s and Foucault’s understanding of power, they share mutual attention to contradictions as a base for realizing power and theater. Foucault (Foucault, 1978, p. 102) comprehends power in struggles and confrontations of strategies and Boal (Boal, 1992, p. 42) sees the essence of theatricality in the conflict of wills. Although they try to redefine contradictions, they admit the impact and importance of it; Foucault by considering a field, a matrix or a network of joining contradictions while remarking power in there and Boal by suggesting new roles against the contradictions such as “joker” and “spect-actor” while finding theater there in contrast of subjective and objective goals.

2.2.2 Joker and Protagonist

Boal (Boal 2008 [1979], 157-160.) defines the presence of TO between two different systems; The first one is “protagonist-chorus” and the second is the “joker” system. He aims to destroy the barrier between protagonists and choruses. He wants all participants to be chorus and protagonist at the same time. By doing so, he invented the ‘Joker’ system. (Boal, 1979, p. xxiv)

Boal (Boal 2008 [1974], 152-153.) explains that the invention of Joker raised from a basic need in any theatre performance. Theatre needs to reveal the text to the audiences from a special perspective. To do so, different solutions have been developed in theatre which “joker system” is one of them. Therefore, Joker acts beside spect-actors and as a person -rather than character- needs to intervene when there’s a need for “fable” or “lecture” and avoids extra explanations. It means Joker would add some theatric imagination aspects or some hints on the complexity of the issue when it is needed. (Boal 2008 [1974], p.153.)

Boal explains the function of a joker as a system that contains all theatric styles in order to give freedom to participants or spect-actors to choose. They can pick the style or genre which fits the best to the conflict they have in each episode. However, he does not consider theater separated from social reality and so, he also wants to choose the theatric genre within the outlines of social analysis. This freedom and flexibility of the joker system are needed because also the eality is in transition and the perfect, finished and unmodifiable styles and tools cannot answer this need. Boal clarifies that “these structures clamored for their own destruction.” (Boal 2008 [1974], 145.) Instead, he suggests the joker system that provides tools in transition with reality and social conflicts.

Furthermore, Boal by suggesting joker aims to argue the assumptions about “fate” and what describes the world as an unwanted and unchangeable destiny. He claims that human’s actions are able to change it and so theater by using joker methods. (Boal 2008 [1974], 153-156.) In Foucaultian words, the joker system emerges as a resistance point in the moment power strategies are applied for the goal of protecting the current situation. However, Foucault does not consider power relations as stable as Boal considers. For Foucault, power imbalances can be disrupted and bend to the other side by resistance forces. As a result, the joker system primarily is neither resistance nor an anti-power action. It can be understood as a force to change the power imbalances in either way.

This understanding of power also shows up in a story that Boal tells. He considers power as its very embodied version in a lawmaker that faces the freedom and improvisation that existed in TO. The lawmaker talks as a reified power: “There’s good … in what’s been written down and read by us, before being sung by you people … You showed the people [by TO] that each can think with his own head, choose his own words…” (Boal 2008 [1974], xiv.). Then he concludes that TO reach its goals by challenging this opponent/power. He ignores the fact that this relative freedom can serve to a contrary strategy because they are only forces in transition in a very changing power relation field. What makes the joker system as a resistance form depends on which role it takes in which strategy within the power relations.

2.2.3 Spect-actor

Boal (Boal 2008 [1974], xi.) talks about different dualities in theatre such as duality between the actor and the Mask behind which the actor is hidden; the dichotomy between actor and character which prevents the actor to reveal the “real unruly protagonist”; and the most important one the dichotomy between the actors/characters on the stage and audiences. (Boal 2008 [1974], xi) He claims that the stage should not belong only to the dramatists and the characters to reveal their own thoughts. Therefore, the stage remains as private property, their space, and their territory” (Boal 2008 [1974], xx.). To trespass this territory and to overcome this duality, Boal asks for destruction of the barrier between actors and spectators: “all must act, all must be protagonists in the necessary transformations of society” (Boal, 1979, p. xxiv).

As I mentioned earlier, he is not the first one to develop a process whereby audiences could stop a performance and suggest different actions for the actor; but inventing spect-actor is more than that. He goes further by putting himself in the shoes of the audience and asking of domination system on the stage: “Should actors and characters go on dominating the stage, their domain, while I sit still in the audience?” Then he answers: “I think not. I think we could go much further: we need to invade!” (Boal 2008 [1974], xx.). This is the point that “spect-actor” comes to existence. I understand this more than a type of interactive theater and art, I would consider it a challenge emerging in front of power relations in theater by resisting against the disciplines, again in Foucaultian words.

He encourages the audiences to liberate their bodies, to intervene, to replace the actors and to do what they think is right beyond any script or dramatist’s will. By “intervene” or “invade”, he means to possess the stage and “transform the images that are shown there” (Boal 2008 [1974], xx.). Although he emphasizes on the possession of the stage by spect-actors, he also includes some aspects related to disciplined bodies that need to be liberated. When the spectator transforms to the spect-actor, she/he can democratically oppose to the other members of the audience and show them that they are also free to invade the scene and “appropriate the power of the actor”. Thus, he returns to power to determine the role of spect-actors but in his own understanding of power. He considers similar to possessing the stage, spect-actors can possess the “power”. Instead, for Foucault the struggle with power is not a matter of possession; it is an "agonism" within power relations and “a permanent political task inherent in all social existence” (Rabinow & L. Dreyfus, 1983, p. 223).

Since theatre for Boal is a way of liberating from oppression, he wants the audience to participate in the rehearsal and deal with the conflict on the stage with their hearts and minds, the same way they deal with their everyday conflicts and to affect the story through collective thinking. (Boal 2008 [1974], xx.) In other words, he connects real life to the story on the stage. Furthermore, he also makes this connection vice versa, the stage to life after experiencing the transformations on the stage. “The stage is a representation of the reality, a fiction. But the Spect-Actor is not fictional. He exists in the scene and outside of it”. Therefore, by invading the stage, spect-actor show their existence and “by transforming fiction, he is transformed into himself.” (Boal 2008 [1974], xx.) Actually, for Boal becoming a spect-actor is a process of identifying one from a passive spectator to a responsible actor, a process of transforming from a silent eye and a receiving mind to a speaking mouth and a thinking mind. (Boal 2008 [1974], xx.) Boal emphasizes the importance of invading or “trespass” as “if we do not trespass … we can never be free”. He believes trespassing is necessary for freedom; trespassing the stage for a free theatre and trespassing the norms, limits and laws for a free life. (Boal 2008 [1974], xx-xxi.) Likewise, Foucault considers the norms and disciplines as a way of exercising power in a normalizing society. However, Foucault does not imagine a “free life” if it means free of power. He clarifies that a society without power relations cannot exist (Rabinow & L. Dreyfus, 1983, p. 223).

“The game is spect-actors—trying to find a new solution, trying to change the world—against actors—trying to hold them back, to force them to accept the world as it is.” (Boal, 1992, p. 244)

2.2.4 Games

Games are an important part of Boal’s theater since he does not aim to practice only with professional actors but plays games also with ordinary people/non-actors. The games he proposes have special characteristics and goals which are at the same time simple to play and hard to define. James Carse categorizes all games to finite and infinite: “finite games are played for the purpose of winning, infinite games for the purpose of continuing the play”. (Carse, 1986, p. 3) On the one hand, theatrical games of Boal with this definition, are infinite. Participants do not play to win, because a game is nor a competition neither a form of proving who is playing the best way. As I discussed, the theater on the stage would continue in the real life of spect-actors. Furthermore, in Boal’s games, there is no question of eligibility. The fact that anyone who wants can join and play the games makes these games infinite. (Carse, 1986, p. 7)

On the other hand, “in infinite games there are no spatial or numerical boundaries” and even they can be defined only internally. In this sense, theatrical games are finite because they are played in a specific place- which can be anywhere- and depends on the situation, it also has limitations in the number of participants. These limitations are also defined externally for the participants. However, if we consider the continuation of games, it would have no limitation. Another factor Carse notes for infinite games is that “it is impossible to say in which world an infinite game is played, though there can be any number of worlds within an infinite game”. (Carse, 1986, p. 7) The games that Boal suggests are played in both the fictional and the real world. In result, Boal’s games can be considered both finite and infinite, with a flexibility to move within the spectrum of finity and infinity and never reach an end of it.

For Boal, games are important because when people accept the idea of ‘playing’ they lose some of their prohibitions. (Boal, 1992, p. 165) He suggests many games or excercises which are mostly independent from the use of verbal communications, because he is looking for something that cannot be expressed through the words and also he wants to liberate the bodies. He categorizes the games in four: muscular exercises, sensory exercises, memory exercises and imagination exercises. With each game, he aims for improving an aspect related to body, memory, senses and imagination or challenge some disciplines, assumptions or prohibitions. Each exercise, game or technique of Boal has specific objectives of its own and at the same time, it contains the totality of the process. Boal wants spect-actors to “understand” what they experience in each exercise, so he asks about the experience after every game. He explains that only feeling the game is not enough. (Boal, 1992, p. 36)

In very early exercises Boal notices that emotions cannot be expressed as freely as he wished, because the instrument of emotions manifestation- the body- is “mechanized, automated in its muscle structures and insensible to 70 percent of its possibilities” he claims. He explains how a mechanized body blocks the emotions and even is frightened by expressing emotions due to the behavior patterns and set of disciplines it has learned and internalized. (Boal, 1992, p. 29) However, later he adds that this mechanization is not only in “purely physical form” but there are also “social masks” which control the whole process in more complicated ways. This social mask is what Foucault also talks about and formulates as “docile-body” that includes the physical mechanization as well. Boal brings an example of a worker who “always carrying out the same movements” and tries to “execute these movements as efficiently as possible”, transforms to “an extension of the machine” (Boal, 1992, p. 30). Again, this can be understood in the frames of biopower which seeks for maximizing the efficiency and technical of bodies beside maximizing the obedience. Therefore, Boal starts with “de-mechanization” the bodies through the games.

2.2.5 Image Theater

The question of using verbal communication is present in Boal’s games and techniques. He explains that words work as vehicles or tools by which meanings, feelings, memories and ideas are trasferred. These words even for people speaking the same language do not mean necessarily the: “the word spoken is never the word heard”. He also investigates words in a larger context related to social situations. This means that any word with its meaning is invented in a concrete society and history which may differ or lose its meaning completely when the society changes. He concludes that we need to invent “neologisms”. Boal explains that while working with people, we should not understand words with their meanings in dictionaries; but we should seek for a connotation or the meanings in the hearts of participants. (Boal, 1992, p. 174) To do so, he invents the image theater technique.

In image theater, he tries to access the feelings, opinions or memories that can never completely be presented by the words. In this technique, Boal asks the people to make images of simple words that carry a deep and different connotation; for example an image of their family, their boss, their desires, their country, etc. He clarifies that images are neither a replacement for the words nor a symbol of ideas. Instead, Image Theatre is a “sinaletica (signage) method” which means that the signifier and signification are the same, an image of love or fear is that emotion and not separable from that. In fact, he was trying to create a language of images, those images cannot be translated into words, "the meaning of an image is the image itself"; "they are a language in themselves". (Boal, 1992, p. 175)

Considering image theater as a language makes the rules of Boal's techniques flexible and evolving as a living language. As Carse discusses, this would "guarantee the meaningfulness of discourse." (Carse, 1986, pp. 9- 10) This aspect of image theater makes it again closer to infinite games and more importantly, suitable for the purpose of entering and playing role in discourses such as power. Nevertheless, image theater is not only about silent and static images, but Boal also adds movements and even words to that later and all together create a system for image theater. (Boal, 1992, p. 175)

2.2.6 Two Experiments with TO

TO in working with immigrant women

Erel and Reynolds (Erel & Reynolds 2014.) started a project on ethnically diverse migrant mothers to question the misrepresentation promote by media about immigrant mothers. These women are usually considered as "outsiders to the nation", "threats to social cohesion" and "abusers of social services without having contributed to them". The authors argue that media reports are "problematizing migrant families" but they successfully explicit the real everyday stories of a migrant mother and how they practice citizenship through caring for children. (Erel & Reynolds, 2014.) Through these stories, Erel tried to reframe the immigration question from "integration" to "engagement with citizenship" (Erel, 2015.). As multi-disciplinary research with different aspects of identity, power and ideology, Erel, et al. needed a special analytical and practical tool to understand and show the power structure in a society which excludes migrant mothers in very different and complex ways. They chose black feminism as the theory and Boal's participatory theatre as the method to give a voice and a chance of dialogue to those who are at "the margins of citizenship". (Erel & Reynolds, 2014.) They held some workshops where these mothers could share their stories on the stage (Erel, 2015.). Through these stories, the authors discovered how migrant mothers bring their care over their own families to their communities and do plenty of voluntary works and "actively shape the society". After sharing stories about their everyday conflicts in family, community and society, they tried different solutions for dealing with them. Therefore, they not only presented their real situation, but they also imagined the possibilities to overcome their problems. (Erel, 2015)

They tried two different techniques: "Playback" and "Forum theatre". The playback theatre developed by Fox and Salas was mostly used to create a feeling of community to participants since the group of migrant mothers was not a pre-existing group. (Erel, et al., 2017) Although inviting ethnically diverse people without any previous relationship to the workshop has some positive aspects, it may cause some complexities worth considering. Not only it takes extra time and effort for the researchers to build the community, but also it may result in a situation that the group divides to some smaller groups of women who feel more similarities in their background and language. Furthermore, inviting people to an unknown space in a group of unknown people may lead to the feeling of "unsafety" and "insecurity" of participants to share their personal stories. Additionally, it can probably make the role of "Joker" or facilitator slightly different and unequal to the others and divide the workshop to organizer/follower or host/guests which is far from the goal of participatory theatre. On the other hand, if this multi-cultural and multi-lingual group continues to work after the research process, the project will reach a significant result beyond its pre-defined goals.

The second technique, “Forum theatre” is one of the theatrical forms in TO methods developed by Boal. Erel et al. (Erel & Reynolds, 2014.) used this form as the main body of their workshops to explore the mothers’ conflicts and to encourage them to actively respond and change their own situation. When they agree on one of their experiences to play and enact, all participants or “spect-actors” could “intervene”. That means they could stop the rehearsal and take the role of any character in the play whom they wish to be different. (Erel & Reynolds, 2014.) The theatre-based workshop has been especially suitable for working with immigrants because it gives a possibility to participants to express themselves with their bodies beyond the language skills they may lack of. In addition, it enables participants to express things that are hard to verbalize. On the other hand, searching for a problem/solution in a large social context needs a considerable amount of simplifying. The authors warn the danger of reducing the complexity of the issue and the solutions to an individual issue which needs better personal dealing skills rather than a real social change. (Erel, Reynolds, & Kaptani 2017.)

As Erel et al. (Erel, Reynolds, & Kaptani 2017.) have indicated, the participatory theatre-based workshop enables researchers and participants to work with each other very closely and “develop shared-knowledge and understanding”. This is how researchers can value others’ voices and exchange the necessary knowledge and power for social change. They can enlighten the hidden power relations in some concrete situations more easily when they materialized it together. In addition, it “democratizes the research process” and increase participants’ abilities to take social actions “within and beyond the research” because as the authors discuss, “participatory theatre is an open-ended process”. (Erel, Reynolds, & Kaptani 2017, 308-3012.)

This experiment indicated TO’s ability in terms of promoting the marginalized people -immigrant mothers-to negotiate their rights to the city. It also reminds the power of people and the hope of changing society to its participant.

TO in Hong Kong Urban Planning

J. Chan and Y.Y. Chan (J. Chan & Y.Y. Chan 2015.) tried to make participatory theatre and community design meet. They discussed these two fields can result in a method that would be useful when it comes to politics in public spaces. Therefore, they started a course including theatre education and architecture students to make a dialogue between them and fill the gap between two fields. They justified the necessity of their work by arguing the top-down attitude of the government in property development in Hong Kong and “the urge for a redefinition of the identity of Hong Kong” through a democratic planning. (J. Chan & Y.Y. Chan, 2015.)

Same as the previous project discussed in this chapter, they chose playback and forum theatre from participatory theatre methods. However, in this one they have given a voice to “landscape” to talk from its users’ mouths; because they found the landscape of Hong Kong is the oppressed one. The authors propose a “Landscape theatrics” which means “to add a spatial dimension to community theatre approaches”. The main facilitator of their workshops tried to “illustrate the collective vision of the urban landscape”. Using Boal’s terms and ideas, they define landscape as “protagonist” which can have a voice through participants’ “interventions” and “Joker” or workshop facilitator is also able to represent it through “improvised performance”. (J. Chan & Y.Y. Chan 2015.)

The workshops were held around the predefined urban elements. Though this approach gives a basic structure to the workshops which were needed for an academic course in university, it limits the freedom of participants to discover the problems or conflicts in the situation with their own lenses.

To relate these two fields, they used both community design methods (mapping, drawing, discussion of imageries) and theatrical methods (Playback and Forum Theatre techniques, improvisation in responding to urban images and sounds) in the workshops which obviously were successful in using beneficial parts of both. However, this experiment is still far from a real mixed or combined method of planning and theatre. A participatory theatric urban planning supposed to be more than a simple sum of the methods from each field, but to give birth to a qualitatively new method.

J. Chan and Y.Y. Chan claim that these workshops extended the “traditional boundaries of art and planning” and was also a learning process for students who participated in them. In addition, such an approach can benefit both fields from each other while promoting cross-disciplinary collaboration among students. (J. Chan & Y.Y. Chan 2015.)

The second experiment shows one of the several ways, TO and architecture could be combined and the effectiveness of the method, even when it was in a learning process, to the experts in both fields. Furthermore, it enabled the facilitators to easily get the people’s narratives, experiences, thoughts and wishes during the sessions.

2.2.7 A New Theater?

Although Boal’s techniques have lots of potentials that have not been fully used- especially in urban planning- it is very bounded to a more traditional understanding of power, though it is trying to get far from traditional theater. He thinks traditional theater is a form of domination which needs to be deconstructed by people. This is partially true but as I discussed, it assumes people against a very embodied power while in Foucaultian understanding, these all are always acting and reacting, weakening and strengthening each other on the same field of power.

When Boal talks about social codes, he assumes again as a way of prohibiting or limiting people or basically an anti-energy form, a power to say no. Then he calls these codes as rituals; “a code which imprisons, which constrains, which is authoritarian, useless or, at worst, necessary as the vehicle for some form of oppression”. (Boal, 1992, p. 195) In contrast, Foucault explains that in modern societies, social codes are part of biopower, more focused on allowing a body to live a normalized and beneficial life rather than prohibiting. Therefore, if I want to bring Boal’s methods in the context of biopower, I would need a new method, responding to the current types of power and resistance in society. This method should have life and body in the center and act as a point of resistance not against power but to be an emerging power itself. However, in order to connect these techniques to participatory urban planning, I require investigating the existing methods in participatory urban planning and recognizing the flaws.

2.3 Participatory Urban Planning

Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody,
Only because, and only when, they are created by everybody. -Jane Jacobs

The role of architects requires them to keep a critical position especially about social issue. Architects have been involved in many procedures affecting people's rights and freedom at various times and to different extents. Perhaps, the intervention of architecture in "people's lives and the way people use and occupy space" has been clearer in the realm of urban planning and design. (Fontana-Giusti, 2013, p. 14)

Talking about participation is talking about an essential human need, an opportunity to be able to affect your surroundings and your life. There have been studies that show how participation is necessary for "the psychological health of individuals and communities". (Butterworth, 2019) Participation in decision making processes on any scale, from neighborhood to whole society, has proved its importance from different aspects. Regard to previous researches, the importance of participation for protecting the idea of participatory democracy, for strengthening social cohesion, for increasing the value of planning process and for ensuring the quality of results at the end of the process has been discussed. Undoubtedly, meaningful participation is more important when it comes to the decisions that can affect – directly or indirectly- people's lives. Some researches like Timmermans and Cilliers argue that participation "…is an integral component of their sense of being sufficiently empowered to have some influence over the course of events that shape their lives" (Timmermans & Cilliers, 2014, p. 417). Although, the aim of participation has been defined very differently – that I will discuss later- there is an agreement that people need to be active in "demanding their sense of belonging", "debating the quality of the built environment" and the socio-cultural aspects of where feel they belong to. (Butterworth, 2019)

In recent years, there has been more attention toward inclusivity and innovation in participatory urban planning. Many other researchers have been discussed the importance of participation, and moreover, innovative participatory methods. For example, Soholt (Soholt, 2004) explains how the "conventional way of planning should be turned up-side-down" and instead of that, how we need to make a more controversial planning process. This need is because of the increasing necessity to create inviting spaces for people and consider people's needs and behavioral patterns. Likewise, Elizelle J Cilliers and Wim Timmermans (Timmermans & Cilliers, 2014) talk about place-making as a socio-cultural process of bringing "meaning" and "livability" to space through human experiences. As they mention, this process starts by planners, but people's everyday life and needs have a significant role in what that space could mean. People, individually or as a group, can affect the space and get affected by it during the process of appropriating the space by "creation, choice, possession, modification, enhancement of, care for, and/or simply intentional use of" that. The fast change of society and people's needs compared to the built urban environment makes the authors conclude the importance of engaging people in place-making process. (Ciliers & Timmermans, 2014, pp. 413-429)

Despite the agreement about the importance of participation, there have been obscurities about the definition of participation, the aim of participation, the real practice and the result of it. Whereas it differs from one point of view to another one, I would try to review some conflicting ideas in order to reach a better understanding of benefits, problems and obstacles in real practice of participatory urban planning. One of very early efforts to clarify the meaning of participation is Sherry Arnstein's article in 1969 called "A Ladder of Citizen Participation". At this time, many thinkers and philosophers such as Michel Foucault were questioning power relations and tyranny of governments and in theater, Augusto Boal was demanding people's power and participation in decision making. Arnstein claimed that participation usually takes occur in very lowest levels which is closer to tokenism rather than real participation which gives power to people. (Arnstein, 1969)

However, Arnstein's definition of participation can be understood as a very exclusive version by targeting only "Citizens" for participation. "Citizenship" has become a more and more controversial issue within geopolitical researches. In this research, I would argue only the participation of one group of people who are obviously excluded from the citizen group: immigrants. As regards, I admit that a conservative definition of a citizen as a white, middle class, heterosexual, healthy, productive, adult man excludes many other groups of people. In this chapter, I will discuss some of the related researches in the participatory urban planning area to find out the position of participation, the questions around it and by referring to Foucault power theory, I try to discover the obstacles existing in the participatory methods that prevent them to change power relations.

Kaza (Kaza, 2006, p. 258) explains that the participatory approach in urban planning or other public spheres has become institutionalized in contrast with the rational hierarchical approach and has been introduced as a better planning practice. Especially public participation has become more popular in community planning for including a large variety of interests and preferences. Following, he argues that participatory methods are meant to be established against power imbalances by allowing wide participation in the planning processes in the public realm. However, referring to Foucault's understanding of power, there is no power outside of the existing power matrix to be against power imbalances. (Foucault, 1978) All the forces play and serve in that general power matrix which has no binary. Therefore, participation is one of the forces that started to expand and impact on other forces. As a result of this change, all power relations and imbalances would change but we cannot say that it is an answer to that. In any moment, all the forces are in a kind of balance but at the same time, changing and looking for a new balanced situation.

Whereas, some thinkers like Forester (1999) argues that "planning by its very nature is politically deliberative and not entirely personally reflective"; So, looking from his point of view, participation is always there when there is a planning issue. Then the question is, to what extent this participation occurs and how it ensures the equal space for conflicting forces within the power network. As Foucault (Foucault, 1978, p. 95) mentions: "there is no power that is exercised without a series of aims and objectives." This results in recognizing the conflicting nature of planning besides its deliberative nature. In other words, it is completely predictable to see forces representing different interest groups looking for different objectives in the power relations of a planning process. This view is also defended by Schön (1983) that he demonstrates the necessity of listening to “conflicting positions of different interest groups” for planners. He defines a task for facilitators in the participatory planning process which is “to observe the dynamics of group formation and organizational manipulation”. (Kaza, 2006, p. 257)

Other questions that have been raised by Kaza is about the lack of documentation and critically analysis of the public participation effect. If the result of the participation process is formal documents such as plans, wherein informing planning and policy procedures and formulating goals, the public will is represented. He emphasizes that this point is more important especially about marginalized individuals or groups. In other words, public participation usually starts only after when many decisions have been already made by authorities. Furthermore, there has not been enough evidence that show how different groups’ desires have emerged in the final plan and even if the final plan really is an agreement of all different demands, is it even favorable to make all different groups arrive at a position of consensus? He continues to ask that in such an unclear representation of public participation, which groups are claimed to be represented? How do we ensure if marginalized groups were allowed to participate? And if their explicit needs have been taken into account. (Kaza, 2006, p. 258)

Looking for a definition of participation, Kaza looks at participatory methods similar to communication methods as processes to produce and share information about different priorities and desires of different people in a way that involves everybody for a common goal. Moreover, he adds that transferring information is not usually happening clearly and directly due to “systematic distortion”; especially when it comes to “a planning or a political setting”. He claims that these distortions are able to either hurt the communication or enrich it in case we recognize them. (Kaza, 2006, p. 262) Similarly, Foucault discusses distortion in communication in terms of existing control over statements. Hence, for him, this systematic distortion is more about the content and the context of happening rather than the forms of communications. Certain issues have been more strictly defined that “where and when it was not possible to talk about, in which circumstances, among which speakers, and within which social relationships.” These areas were determinate to represent either by silence or by consideration and precaution. (Foucault, 1978, pp. 17-18) In this context, many ideas and preferences of specially marginalized people could be lost within a participatory communication and information transmissions. (Kaza, 2006, p. 262)

2.3.1 Outcomes of Participation

Not all the perspectives about participation are as challenging as what I have been discussed before. Though, it is a need to keep those questions in mind during participatory processes. Some other researchers focus more on what participation can provide to different engaged groups. For instance, Cilliers and Timmermans think that in a participatory process, stakeholders also get involved in the plan or design of space they want to. Their hypothesis is that “by introducing and creating participation tools, planners would be able to attract stakeholders, community members, and local residents and enhance their willingness to partake in the participatory planning process, thereby strengthening the quality and comprehensiveness of the results and outputs of the participatory planning process itself.” (Timmermans & Cilliers, 2014, p. 421) Therefore, this process for the stakeholders results in a feeling of belonging and connection to that place and so, they become “promoters and defenders” of that place. However, not every type of participation could enhance community interest; to achieve this goal, the participatory planning methods should be creative and innovative. (Timmermans & Cilliers, 2014, p. 421)

Creative participatory planning methods encourage a creative way of thinking. While conventional methods of participation lead people to give certain conservative answers, creative methods are able to release the potential of the imagination of people. The creative participation tools expose the priorities, desires, and future perspectives of different stakeholders. Therefore, it is not only about inviting and encouraging people to participate, but it is also about the method itself to be encouraging and inviting. Innovative methods can increase people’s will to be an active part of the planning process. (Timmermans & Cilliers, 2014, pp. 4255-426)

The definition of public space and urban environment as where benefits all people eventuate that it should be open for all people to take part in decision making for that space. Talking about all people is not equal to talking about the majority. Including minorities and excluded groups of people is an important part of what “all” means. Accordingly, Cilliers and Timmermans pay more attention to specific groups and their special needs to ensure all different concerns are considered in the decision-making process. They mention both the complexity of including such a diverse target group in the process and the good result of truly engaging people. They explain by doing so -even if it is challenging -, planners make the rest of the process easier to do because then people feel a part of the development. Authors suggest being clear from the first stage that to what extent which group of people need to participate.

Furthermore, they criticize the normal tools and ways which participatory planning is conducted with and they propose several creative tools such as: “guerrilla gardening” to garden communally on a land with no owner, “extreme experience” to raise awareness by generating an issue in people’s everyday life, “meet my street” to encourage youth to film their neighborhood from their own perspective, etc. In these methods, they could successfully question ownership and property, norms and what is called “normal life” and involve different perceptions of the neighborhood.

Playing games and using innovative methods could enhance the result and participation interest undoubtedly. As Salen and Zimmerman (Salen & Zimmerman, 2004, p. 80) describe games “as systems in which players engage in an artificial conflict, defined by rules, that results in measurable outcomes”. Games are able to present players only information which is needed and only when it is needed, instead of overwhelming them with extra information. (Gee, 2007) Additionally, games help to overcome the technical language barriers between experts and people and providing more understanding of the “rules of the game”. There are usually limitations that are applied by technical aspects which are in conflict with the demands that are made by local democracies. Games are able to reduce the gap between them and make them closer. (Chaskin, 2005) However, yet the main questions have not found their answers. How do games make participation more inclusive for marginalized people? How do games encourage those participants to talk about their special needs? Which aspects of these games make them succeed in involving their target groups?

2.3.2 Challenges of Participation

Timmermans and Cilliers claim that it is generally accepted that urban public spaces should be planned and designed in a way that ensures the benefit of society as a whole. However, they truly mention that we have to explicitly define which specific groups we are interested in, otherwise we would be in danger of ignoring the particular needs of certain groups. (Timmermans & Cilliers, 2014, p. 417) Furthermore, only the presence of certain groups of people is not enough to demonstrate the wide inclusive participation, but it matters that to what extent the methods in participatory urban planning engage them and their needs. Stout argues that these methods suffer from lack of creativity and innovations and are usually limited to questionnaires and what is in planners' reach. In Stout's opinion, if planning relies on its formal essence and only on expert knowledge rather than using all social groups' insights, it could not be comprehensive in understanding the existing complexities within different social relations. (Stout, 2019, p. 24) Nevertheless, innovative approaches in participatory planning processes are expanding and should expand more. (Stout, 2019, p. 33)

Josh Lerner gives an example of Rosario Hábitat which is a public housing project in Corrientes and Las Flores. In this project, they had to start the whole process of planning from the beginning, because even if they had tried participatory methods, they failed to engage people actively in the process. He describes how residents became used to "participating passively- sitting in their seats and paying little attention". As a result of this kind of participation, the residents only did as they were supposed to, signed the papers without raising questions, but later the disagreements and conflicts emerged. He explains that this is a high price that planners should pay if they do not invest in the true participation of people. If people get used to moving, interacting and engaging actively in the participation process by creative methods, they are more likely to continue in this way with their later activities. (Lerner, 2013, p. 193)

In addition to the methods of participatory planning, some researchers like Kaza mentions the importance of the place where participation is practiced. He argues that those kinds of "public meetings" in "the city halls" are under the question of being equally public for all different groups. The "collectively organized groups" can easily dominate the place by their presence, when "the others" are not there. (Kaza, 2006, p. 261) However, this is not the only effect the place of participation has on the process. Foucault also noted that in "architectural layout, the rules of discipline, and their whole internal organization", there is a "constant preoccupation" of certain questions. (Foucault, 1978, p. 27)

As I mentioned before, the "exclusivity of participation" is in fact, an issue of the majority's power. However, the definition of "majority" in contrast with "minority"- as Robert Dahl wrote- "suffers from a question of majority of what units within which boundaries". (Kaza, 2006, p. 259) Minorities have been excluded by majorities in different scales, from local communities to democratic setting of society, though they can be in a majority position in another scale. Even in a neighborhood scale, there are different and conflicting interests but there is always a tendency to separate irrelevant orientations. exclusivity happening in neighborhoods. Groups of majorities can exclude the rest of people "with non-conforming backgrounds and orientation such as race, convicted criminals, etc". (Kaza, 2006, p. 260)

While participatory planning needs different groups to come together and try to agree on some issues for the sake of public benefits, it is not spontaneously able to solve the contradiction inherent to what is called as "general will". In fact, defining the general will through a participatory process usually relies on the formation, interactions and transformations of "opportune groups" in the field of force relations. Kaza points out that it can also happen because negotiations are usually easier when the planning process is being conducted with the participation of "organized collectives" rather than "individual actors". (Kaza, 2006, p. 264) Though I accept this problem is real, as Foucault said: "Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power." (Foucault, 1978, p. 95) Therefore, within the same field of force relations in urban planning, there is an opportunity to raise the resistance of marginalized people/minorities.

In addition to the inviting process and including marginalized people, the process of getting the consent of these people is also affected by power relations. Kaza explains how consent can be achieved by different mechanisms fueled by coercion; "such as coercion by explicit physical or moral force, coercion due to the social power structure, coercion of the better or more persuasive argument, and coercion of moral compulsion due to mutual trade of consent on different issues." However, I agree with Kaza that from all of these, in most cases, consent is achieved by coercion through established power structures. This fact emphasizes on the importance of questioning power structures through participatory planning. because this consent is able to either strengthen or weaken that power structure that it is exercised in. The process of gaining consent is typically position-based bargaining. In order to achieve it, antagonistic issues are ignored or avoided. Therefore, Kaza claims that this consensus is not reliable, because it is fragile and closer to manipulation. (Kaza, 2006, pp. 265- 266)

Nonetheless, Kaza also discusses whether "consensus" is the final goal of participation or the aim is "persuasion of a position". Participation can be considered as a process that leads to clarifying and understanding groups' and individuals' preferences; so it can provide opportunities for "coalition formation". Although he admits that participation has this advantage over other institutional practices that allow this coalition to happen, he concludes pessimistically that participatory decision-making is not able to resist or establish itself against the power structures. It does not overcome the power imbalances or make improvements "in terms of cost, reliance on knowledge, or opportunities for radical views to be heard." (Kaza, 2006, p. 267)

In summation, power is an unavoidable part of participation; although power means differently for Kaza and Foucault. Kaza assumes that "power is held by a group" that present it or embody it by information about their own preferences. (Kaza, 2006, p. 265) In contrast, Foucault claims that power is not "something that one holds on to or allows to slip away; power is exercised from innumerable points". (Foucault, 1978, p. 94) Redefining the participatory process and consent formation from Foucault's point of view, consent is affected by the various compulsions through power structure, but power is also exercised by those people whose consent is achieved by force. I think here is the point that gives my research the space to practice participation in a different form within the power structure. Here is the point I stand on to increase the opportunity for marginalized people to be heard.

2.3.3 Games and Theater in Urban Planning

As I discussed before, “Theatre of the Oppressed” or generally theatrical games of Augusto Boal have had a large impact on various areas and fields of theory and practice. Perhaps initially, the social movements in Latin America and around the world were inspired by these games “to establish goals, determine tactics, and plan collective action”. However, this impact has not been limited to social movements. Games have become increasingly an important tool for all kinds of actions, campaigns, meetings, workshops, etc. The flexibility of games makes them suitable for different aims and in different stages; from “physical icebreaker and team-building games to mapping simulations and contests”. This trend or tendency has also found its way to planning. Nowadays, architects are trying to make participatory urban planning processes more “gamelike”. Although many of these practices have not used games directly, they have applied what Lerner calls “Game Mechanics”. This means that they benefited the common game elements, structures, and processes. (Lerner, 2013, p. 187)

I would come to a conclusion by looking at one of the gamelike practices in urban planning inspired by Boal’s games. Josh Lerner writes about his experiment in holding participatory planning workshops in Rosario Hábitat project. In these workshops, he asks the participants to “identify the main problems and address them” in a way they want. Therefore, he gives the participant freedom of thinking, discovering and addressing the issues. He also tries to change participants’ routines and inspire them with games. He explains about different games he creates with puzzle pieces and cartoon images of neighborhoods, colorful papers, etc. He defines “three basic game mechanics: vibrant visuals, sound effects, and enjoyable core mechanics”. Through these games, he makes residents to actively find problems and likely solutions and to brainstorm together. According to Lerner’s findings, the games are able to first, “get the participants out of their seats” and participate actively, secondly make speaking and sharing ideas easier and thirdly help people to “get to know their neighbors and create a collaborative feeling”. Besides all of these, finally, games make participants question other perspectives and open their minds to new ideas. (Lerner, 2013, pp. 191- 192)

Lerner also explains that the games not only effect on workshop’s result, but they also impact on people’s senses. By playing games, “people would participate not only with their eyes but also with their ears and bodies.” These workshops, he claims, teaches the participants to speak. By using the language of games, they can also change “the political culture” there. As a result, whenever new community issues emerge, people expect to have participatory workshops. They know how to start by discussing and continue by engaging residents, establishing rules, negotiating disagreements and achieving concrete results. He notes that this is a learning process about urban development, city government and negotiation for both the staffs and the residents. Lerner considers Rosario Hábitat project as a project for developing “both the city and its citizens.” (Lerner, 2013, p. 198)

This experiment which seems successful in many aspects raises many questions to me. First of all, does not the idea of “developing citizens” remind the modern disciplines that Foucault argues about? Then, as Lerner also quickly pointed, participants in the mentioned project have not proposed deep changes or have not expressed “disagreement with the basic program goals and approach”. Although he knows that this might be “a sign of the agenda-setting power of the state, keeping certain questions off the table”, he does not seek a solution for it. (Lerner, 2013, p. 192) Furthermore, his experiment neither goes beyond the card games nor realizes the potential of the theater or theatrical games of Boal which he starts with. Moreover, he does not clarify if games make a change in power imbalances or make participation more inclusive. The main question of my research is still unanswered: How can we engage the excluded groups of people in participatory urban planning? In the following, I will conclude the obstacles of participatory methods based on the studies in this part that I have done on the previous researches and practices.

2.4 Obstacles in Participatory Urban Planning

To begin, I want to clarify that I am not seeking for the best blueprint for urban planning and the best formula for inclusive participatory processes. Undoubtedly, every project should be studied with its own challenges and opportunities, within its own limitations and necessities based on its target groups, involved actors and stakeholders, local structures and resources, cultural aspects, etc. Therefore, when there are different questions and problems in every project, there will not be only one answer for all of them. (Timmermans & Cilliers, 2014, p. 427) What I want to do is to give a more clear understanding of some shortcomings in participatory urban planning that I came to realize by this research. In the following, I will categorize and discuss these flaws. This would be a base for the rest of my study and experiment. I assume that to overcome or at least to decrease these shortcomings, would make my suggested participatory process more inclusive. These flaws concern all aspects of the participatory process from people’s access to the workshops to people’s feelings about being involved, etc. Boal said (Boal, 1992, p.175) “A message does not exist without a sender and a receiver. And both, receiver and sender, integrate and are contained in the message: they are part of it. The same applies to the place where the message is sent, and the means of transfering.” By considering all stages of participation and previous discussion about challenges in participation, I came to four questions:

1. How do people get informed about the urban planning meetings/ events/ workshops? (Invitation)
2. How does the space of that event welcome people? (Space)
3. Who are the organizers/facilitators of the events/ workshops and how they affect? (Facilitator)
4. What are the methods and how do those methods offer people the freedom to be actively involved? (Methods)

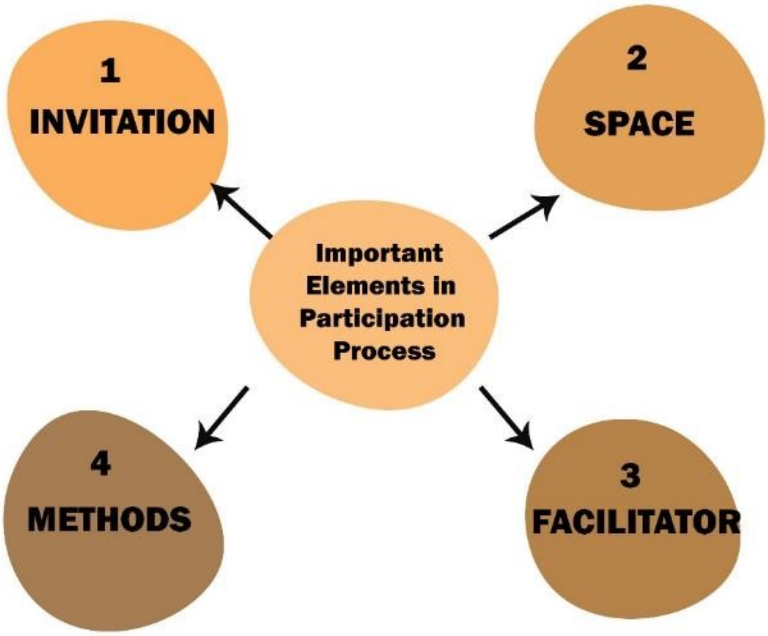


Figure 3: Important elements in the participation process

2.4.1 Invitation

All participatory processes start with inviting or informing people. It is clear that if people do not know about the project and opportunity of participation, they will not be part of it. Thus, the first step of a participatory process is so crucial for participation strategy and approach. If certain groups of people do not get properly informed for any reason, they are excluded from the process since the very first step. Timmermans and Cilliers also pointed out that written communication is often used to inform stakeholders, but they believe that "actual interventions within the space" is the best way of informing individuals. Though they pay attention to the invitation part, they do not explain further how this written communication or actual intervention work. (Timmermans & Cilliers, 2014, p. 419) The invitation usually suffers from a language barrier. Especially taking immigrants into account, many of them do not know well the official language of the country they are living or at least it is their second language. This case is also true about Finland. Based on Finland's statistics of 2017, around 360 thousand out of approximately 380 thousand people with foreign backgrounds use other languages than domestic languages (Finnish, Swedish and Sami). (StatisticFinland, 2019) Yet, authorities mostly use the official languages to inform people about urban planning projects. However, it is not only about the language, but it is also about the channels of communication. As I discussed before, it has been easier for authorities to reach those "opportune groups" or "organized collectives" by their usual means of communication and work with them. I claim that other groups of people do not have access to official channels of communication to get informed. It can be argued that this inaccessibility is both ways, so authorities do not have access to for example immigrants through their official channels neither. Looking out of the box, it would not be difficult to reach people within their own communities. I think NGOs and local communities should be an important part of the invitation in participatory processes. Without involving the communities of excluded people and recognizing their language issues, they will remain excluded.

2.4.2 Space

I explained before how certain kinds of architectural layout could dictate certain disciplines to the users according to Foucault. Furthermore, I mentioned those city halls- the place usually urban planning meetings happen- is under the question of domination by “opportune groups” while the others are not there, according to Kaza. (Kaza, 2006, p. 261) (Foucault, 1978, p. 27) However, the place can affect the process through other ways as well. Ownership and public/private consideration of space have a significant role in how people perceive space. Although city halls could be categorized in public spaces, they are owned by authorities and the authority impact on the accessibility of the space. City halls are not the place people usually use or even allowed to use on their everyday basis and for everyday usage. City halls have been kept as a special space that is used for special meetings, with special groups of people with an invitation. I think having city halls as a place for participatory urban planning meetings make the process exclusive because of pre-existing signs of the space. These signs could apply their power on the participatory process and limit the participation of certain people. It is not unexpected that immigrants perceive these spaces differently; those who have been more through the authorization process and their presence in and their access to a certain geopolitical area and certain spaces have been questioned more. This power imbalance which I discussed it is an inherent part of participation that could be strengthened or weakened with the choice of the place. I declare that asking people to come to a certain place for a meeting or workshop, instead of going to “their place” to have a talk, would put the whole process in a different position of power within the power matrix. Nevertheless, it seems crucial to invite people to a place they feel that they are allowed, they are welcome, and they are the owners of or at least there is no owner of the place. In other words, as Paulo Freire- who influenced Boal’s work- described (McLaren, 1999, p. 51), it should be a space that unforced interaction can be created.

2.4.3 Facilitator

The role that has been discussed less in previous studies is the role of facilitator. The organizer or facilitator of the participatory urban planning meetings or workshops could impact on the inclusive or exclusive approach of the workshops to a large extent. In fact, facilitators are usually the representatives of authorities in an urban planning project. They are usually experts that have a specific role and subsequently specific power positions in a project. The hierarchical division between teacher and learners have been questioned for a long time by many thinkers in critical pedagogy such as Paulo Freire. Since then, the idea of having a facilitator in learning environments instead of teacher has raised. What makes Freire's work different, is his focus on people who are on the margin of power. He complained that critical pedagogy should not be only about learning processes and divided from social critiques. He emphasized on the role of learners/ participants instead of the powerful role of a teacher who had the truth or had the power to keep certain social critiques off the table. (McLaren, 1999, pp. 50- 52) Though, even the role of facilitator as an observer or who only provides guidelines put this role against those who are observed or receive the guidelines. This is also an inherent contradiction in the participation process that Boal also tried to overcome by creating spect-actors and joker system. (Boal 2008 [1974], xxiv) However, this challenge cannot be reduced unless the facilitators realize it and consciously try to fade the barrier between themselves and participants.

2.4.4 Method

Probably, the methods that participatory urban planning is conducted through, is the most important part to define the exclusiveness or inclusiveness of the process. Thus, this part is the focus of my thesis and the inclusion I am seeking, would mostly be answered by the method. As I discussed before, some methods in participatory urban planning are used to make participants agree on something or get consent from them by force. This force is mostly applied through social power structure and it is usually merged into the methods. Methods guide participants about what to discuss, how to discuss and even who should discuss. The unmodifiable methods that focus only on the architectural solutions, do not let the participants bring their issues in and discuss them. Similarly, Boal discussed traditional methods in the theater which are not able to answer the current needs; because "to examine a reality in the process of modification" we need very flexible methods, allowing all creativity of participants come out. (Boal 2008 [1974], 145) Furthermore, the methods which demand certain skills or knowledge or background from participants subsequently would filter the others who lack those requirements. Returning to the definition of participation, as a way of interacting and communication to collect data, language is again momentous part, especially while working with immigrants. The ordinary methods are often relied on verbal communication and thus demand a high level of language skills. Although it would not be possible or at least it would be fairly arduous to remove the use of verbal communication completely from participatory methods, it is possible and also necessary to give space to other forms of communication. This need does not arise only from the language limitation, but also from the need of paying more attention to the feelings or other human experiences that are hard to be expressed through words. In brief, a method can be considered inclusive if it is simple enough for everyone to understand and use it, if it is flexible enough to be adjusted to different groups of participants, if it is wide enough to include various means of communication, if it is receptive enough to allow different issues to be expressed and discussed freely and if it is interesting enough to attract diverse people to use it and be part of it. Such a method may ensure an inclusive participatory process and thus is able to focus more on the process itself rather than the result and falling into the seek for consent or agreement of participants.

3. WORKSHOPS

3.1 Theater for Change- Neighborhood Design Workshops

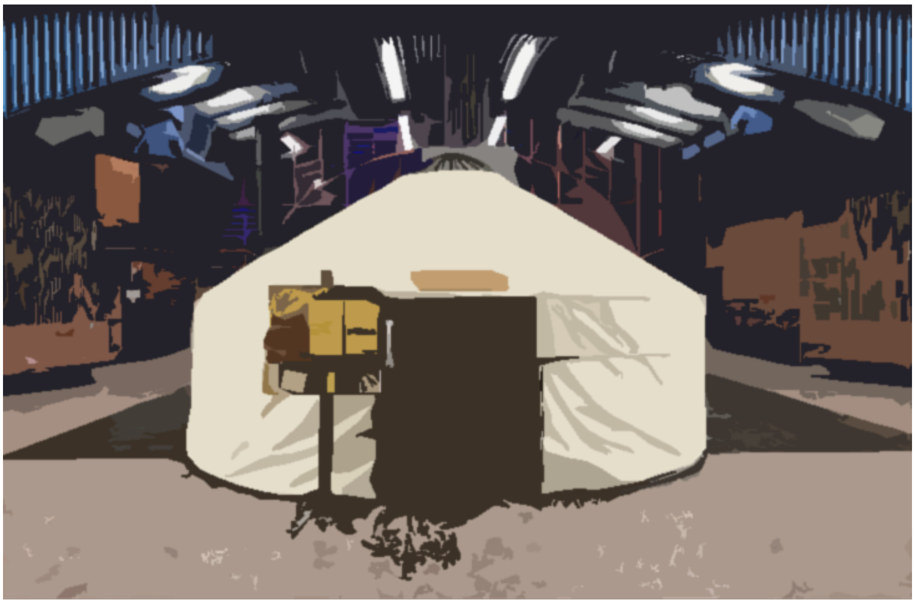
According to the previous discussion about obstacles in participatory urban planning processes, I categorized these problems to four main questions. I attempt to answer these questions in the process of my experimental workshops in order to give people better access to the workshops and also make people feel that they are really involved.

1. How do people get informed about the workshops? (Invitation)
2. How does the place welcome people? (Space)
3. How does the joker/facilitator of the workshops affect? (Facilitator)
4. How does the method of theater for change offer people the freedom to be actively involved? (Methods)

Although the focus of my thesis is on the method – theater for change- to improve the participatory urban planning workshops, I try to fulfill the other requirements for a more inclusive experiment. In this part, I explain how I answer each of those mentioned questions. At the end of this chapter, I provide a draft of my proposed method based on the theoretical studies on power, theater, and participatory urban planning. That drafted plan for the workshops would be tested as a solution to including immigrants in designing Hervanta.

3.1.1 Place

For the place of holding workshops, I wanted to choose an informal and public space. During the search, I came across “Naapurijurtta” or “the neighborhood yurt” project. This project includes a team of researchers and artists touring around the Hervanta neighborhood with a yurt. This place as a temporary space with no direct authority from the city suit the purpose of my workshops and research. The space of yurt because of its circular shape could give people a sense of community and provide adequate space for group exercises during workshops. “Sense of community reflects the symbolic interaction in which people engage as they use aspects of the physical environment”. (Butterworth, 2019)



picture 1: The place of the workshops- the neighborhood yurt

The cozy, friendly and modest atmosphere of the yurt helped participants to feel at ease, to be themselves and reduced the formality and hierarchical codes in the workshops. Yurt's interesting appearance could also catch attention and improved visual advertisements. The circle shape of the yurt played an important role in many theatrical games – it placed people in a circle facing each other and eased communication. I think the yurt's identity as a temporary space in the neighborhood also made the space more welcoming to people from all backgrounds.

During workshops, Naapurijurtta was at DUO shopping center where is considered as the center of Hervanta by many people. DUO is a place where everybody in neighborhood use for shopping or other everyday activities. It is well known and accessible for people so anybody could find the workshops. Furthermore, it is one of the very few public indoor spaces in Hervanta, though it is owned by a private company and so is not "public" in the purest sense of the word.

3.1.2 Date and Time

I wanted to have different timing in working days and weekends to allow people with different schedules (workers, students, housewives, mothers, …) find a suitable spot for themselves and participate in the workshops. After doing necessary arrangements with Naapurijurtta project, I chose four days for four workshops during the fourth week of January 2019. I preferred to have a free day between workshops so I could have time to document the previous workshop and evaluate it in order to improve the plan for the next workshop. The chosen times and dates were as it comes below:

21.01.2019 Mon 18:00-20:00
23.01.2019 Wed 13:00-15:00
25.01.2019 Fri 10:00-12:00
26.01.2019 Sat 15:00-17:00

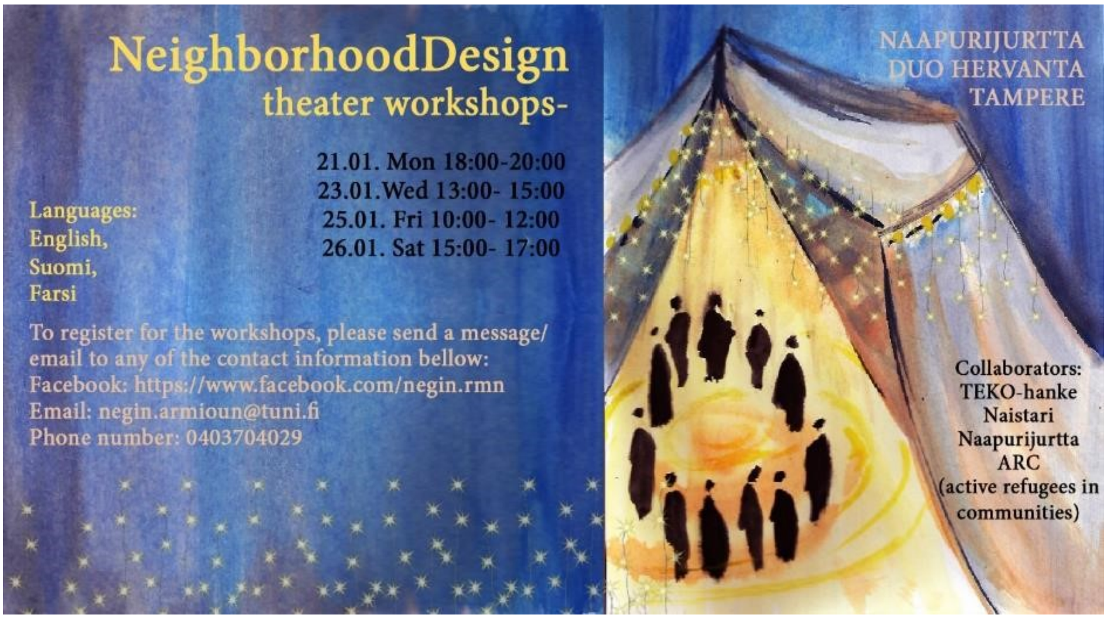
However, I had to cancel the second workshop at the end due to not enough registrations.

3.1.3 Collaborators and advertisement

To access people and especially immigrants in Hervanta, I decided to collaborate with existing communities for immigrants in the neighborhood. These NGOs helped with inviting people of their networks and advertise the workshops through their connections in the neighborhood. Beside Naapurijurtta which collaborated also with providing space, three other communities helped with advertisement and informing people:

- TEKO-hanke Hervanta (integration project in Hervanta)
- Naistari (for immigrant women in Hervanta)
- ARC (active refugees in communities)
- Naapurijurtta (research project in Hervanta)

It was a challenge to reach a large variety of people. Even harder it was to encourage them to register for the workshops, and finally to participate. I advertised mostly through social media (especially Facebook) with the help of friends, groups and the mentioned NGOs.



NeighborhoodDesign
theater workshops-

21.01. Mon 18:00-20:00
23.01.Wed 13:00- 15:00
25.01. Fri 10:00- 12:00
26.01. Sat 15:00- 17:00

Languages:
English,
Suomi,
Farsi

To register for the workshops, please send a message/
email to any of the contact information bellow:
Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/negin.rmn
Email: negin.armioun@tuni.fi
Phone number: 0403704029

NAAPURIJURTTA
DUO HERVANTA
TAMPERE

Collaborators:
TEKO-hanke
Naistari
Naapurijurtta
ARC
(active refugees in
communities)

picture 2: The poster of the workshops

In total, the event was shared in Facebook 52 times and 500 people were invited. I also put printed posters in Hervanta library, DUO and Tampere university campuses. I used different medias like videos, texts and pictures to get attention of people, to explain the goal of workshops and what participants could learn there.

3.1.4 Event description:

Event description was translated to 9 languages: English, Finnish, Farsi, Swedish, Arabic, French, Spanish, Greek and Chinese. All of them were shared in social medias and within the native speakers of that language. The description in English is bellow:

****

Dear people of Hervanta!
Welcome to theater workshops for neighborhood design!
I'm an architecture student in TUT and writing my thesis on theatrical urban design methods.
Now I'm organizing workshops in Hervanta and looking for participants.
In the 2 hours workshop we discuss, plan and design our beloved Hervanta with some theatrical games. No previous theatre or urban design experience is needed. Residents from all backgrounds, ages, languages etc. are sincerely welcome. All you need is 2 hours and an open mind!
The main language of workshops is English but translation to Finnish and Farsi/Dari is possible.
The workshops are free of charge. Snacks and drinks are available.
Please choose one workshop suitable for you from the options below:
21.01.2019 Mon 18:00-20:00
23.01.2019 Wed 13:00- 15:00
25.01.2019 Fri 10:00- 12:00
26.01.2019 Sat 15:00- 17:00
To register for a workshop, please send a message/email (including your name, the date you want to participate and the language you speak) to any of the contact information bellow:
Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/negin.rmn
Email: negin.armioun@tuni.fi
Phone number: 0403704029
**You don't need to be living in Hervanta. It is enough If you are working or studying there, or even you have just some ideas about Hervanta.*
**These workshops are parts of my thesis and all the information (the content of discussions, photos, etc.) will be used in the thesis with participant's permission.*
**Every workshop is open for 8-12 participants, so please register to the one is suitable for you.*
Collaborators:
TEKO-hanke Hervanta
Naistari
Naapurijurtta
ARC (active refugees in communities)

3.1.5 Language:

The main language of the workshops was English, but there was a Finnish translator, and I also did translate to Farsi when it was needed. Besides these three languages, there was a group of Arabic speaking people who could communicate with the spontaneous help of another Arabic/Finnish speaking participant. I could also hear some participants speaking in Spanish with each other. Furthermore, there were some participants with other mother tongues whose languages were not spoken during workshops

3.1.6 People:

1- Joker or facilitator
2- Assistant (if it is possible)
3- Photographer
4- Translator for Finnish-English
5- Spect-actors or participants (8- 12 in each workshop)

3.1.7 Facilities:

1- Consent letter should be printed beforehand
2- Printed maps and pictures of Hervanta
3- Some small objects to represent Hervanta (boxes and cubes, rope, branches, etc.)
4- Small colorful note papers and markers
5- Snacks and drinks for break
6- Camera for documentation

3.1.8 Objectives

- Being inclusive especially for immigrants who are related to Hervanta
- Creating the sense of community in workshops (the feeling that everyone can be who she/he/they is)
- Creating a safe space to express their problems in their neighborhood (by the body or by talk)
- Creating a safe space to express their wishes from their neighborhood (by the body or by talk)
- Building together some solutions and ways to solve their problems and reach their wishes (by the theatre)

3.1.9 First Draft of Theatre for Change Workshops

First Step: Games: (**50 min**)

1- Explaining the workshop and taking the consent of participants for documentation of the workshop, explaining the process of the workshop, what is this theater, who are spect-actors, etc.- by joker (**10 min**)

2- Small oral questionnaire: (**5 min**)
  - Has anybody participated in urban planning workshops before? If yes, how was it? If not, why?

3- Play to get to know each other- by everyone, led by joker: (**10 min**)
  - Names and characters: all people stay in a circle and say their names, in the second round they say their names plus an adjective, a noun, a facial or

a body expression that tell something about their character. The third round all people repeat the name and character of each person after them. (Ice breaking and knowing each other)

Joker should observe: Does this help people to know each other or remember the names? Is it hard for people to show their character? Does this character continue in the rest of the games?

- Shapes: people together try to make different shapes like circle, road, tree, etc. This exercise improves their team work and imagination for the next step.

  Joker should observe: How do they do the first teamwork? Are they self-organized? Do they bring their own ideas or just follow the orders?

4- Play to learn how to use the body and face to express feelings (**10 min**)

- People stay in a circle and joker asks them to show different feelings like happiness, sadness, anger, anxiety, etc.

  Joker should observe: Are they confident or shy about using body and face? How do they feel to do this exercise? Are they better in showing some special feelings?
- People divide into two groups; each group decides to show an act or a concept (related to the neighborhood) in the scene with no talking to the other group. They should try to be understandable for the other group. These exercises prepare spect-actors for the next step.

  Joker should observe: What kind of concepts they choose to show? Do they benefit from using bodies rather than talking? Can they understand each other? Does it make some conversations around the issue naturally?

5- Decorate space with simple things to represent Hervanta- by spect-actors, guided by joker: (**10- 15 min**)

- People look at the maps (or without maps), identify the main elements in Hervanta like roads, lakes, shopping center, etc. and use simple objects to represent those elements. After they put the objects in their places, the space inside the yurt turns to a scene showing whole Hervanta on small scale. Make the scene as big as possible, put empty spaces for themselves if they want to play a role as a building, road, tree or a person in Hervanta.

  Joker should observe: how people identify their neighborhood and what the most important things are. What they choose to show with what kind of objects. Do they agree about the scene?

Break. (**10 min**)

Second Step: Image Theater: (**60 min**)

Explain The second part, the process of three steps: problems, wishes, solutions (**5 min)**

1- Participants stand on the point they live, work, study or use in any way. They talk about or show the things which are in their surrounding (what they see, what they don't like and what they like) They can also talk in role of a building, a park, etc. to say if they have problem with their users- by spect-actors, joker makes note (**15 min**)

Joker should observe: To which parts are of Hervanta people are related to? Which parts have the most likes and dislikes? What are the problems? Do people mention the same problems or have different ones? Do they use the body and still emphasize on feelings or prefer talking and pointing the urban or architectural issues?

2- One group or one person of spect-actors starts to show her/his/their wishes (How they wish their neighborhood looks like, how is the ideal Hervanta, or what kind of things they wish to happen- it can have very fantasy aspects) with changing the location of elements, adding something, removing something or asking people to take role in the scene. They can play a role as a person or not. They should show with their bodies how that place looks like or feels. The others should recognize that place and discuss if they agree about the appearance and feeling of that place. Focus on the problems. Other spect-actors can intervene and stop the process or change it afterward to what they wish, or think is a better solution. (**15 min**)

This process should continue until nobody has any other alternative but here because of timing Joker can cut the process when necessary.

Joker gives explanations, asks questions but does not give any opinion about the solutions or wishes. Joker should remind them that they don't have to be realistic. They can have imaginary ideas. In this part, many discussions can be made naturally between different interests that Joker should observe.

Joker should observe: Does the new face of Hervanta look happier, weird, stranger or what? How they shape their wishes (in a group or individual)? Are they imaginary or realistic? How they present an ideal Hervanta? What are the feelings there? Do they express their characters through their wishes?

3- In the last part, spect-actors try to fill the gap between real problems of the neighborhood with the ideal neighborhood they wish. What has to be done? With Image theatre, people express their needs and practice their solution freely in the scene (where represent the reality) and receive the reactions of their neighbors right away. Therefore, while searching for solutions they are in the role of city authorities or urban planners and they face real problems. (**15 min**)

Joker should observe: Can they agree on some solutions? Did the previous steps help them to come with better ideas? Do they really accept the role of authorities or acting like citizens? Do they feel empowered to make decisions? Do they really get enough courage to take their solutions out of the workshops in real life?

4- Brainstorming about solutions and wishes, how was their experience, what was easy or hard to do, did theater helped them to imagine, express their feelings and go beyond the boundaries- joker facilitates the discussion and takes notes

Small oral questionnaire about how the workshop went, a few questions for evaluation of workshop (**15 min**)

Joker should observe: If anybody is eager to participate in these workshops in the future, or want to do something in the neighborhood based on what has been discussed

5- Final game for recovering from the discussion and leave the workshop with a good mood:

Everybody in the circle, hands up, start from the left-hand counting and waving until 8, then right hand, then hips, then left leg, then right leg. It continues to 4, 2, 1 and each step level of energy should increase. **(5 min)**

3.2 Experiments

3.2.1 First Workshop 21.01.2019 Monday 18:00-20:00

In the first workshop, 13 people participated with different ages, languages, and backgrounds. The group was so diverse and at the same time, they could communicate well during the workshop.

The purpose of the workshop was explained, and people signed the consent form. Except one, the others have not participated in any urban planning workshop before.

There was an Arabic speaking group with refugee backgrounds (were invited by ARC) who couldn't understand English nor Finnish well. But another participant helped with translating from Finnish to Arabic for them. It just happened very self-organized and participants found out themselves how to help each other.

The first game about names and characters went well. Everybody could use their body and face to express their characters. Nobody had problems with understanding the game or showing a character. The characters were different as well: Curious, thinking, lovely, energetic, bored, strong, etc. From the first game, people got so close to each other and a friendly atmosphere was made.

The second game was a teamwork to make a road, a tree, and other things together as one body. People could easily find their role in the team, some people faster and some slower, some wanted to lead the others and others wanted to follow, some people wanted to have central and special role and some not, but all people got engaged based on their own personality and there was no pressure in game for anybody.

picture 3: The spect-actors trying to form an image of "tree"

The third game about expressing feeling revealed also some part of people’s personality and background. For example, while showing “Happy Feeling” one of the participants started dancing with this explanation that in their culture happiness, celebration and dance are closely tied concepts. Another participant showed her anger with shouting extremely and when everybody laughed her partner admitted that she gets angry really like this. This game made some discussion around topics that people usually share with their close friends. Therefore, it made the space and the group safer for everybody to express themselves freely.

picture 4: The spect-actors exercising the expression of feelings

Until here, people made a sense of community. Then in the next game, they divided into two groups. One group discussed and decided to show some housing and apartments with different shapes and heights in the neighborhood. The other one presented a bus station and people waiting in line with personal space. This also showed that what are the factors people pay attention to them in the neighborhood or what cultural differences they experience every day in their neighborhood. All these subjects can be discussed in the group if joker finds it close to the goal of the workshop with time consideration. In this game also, everybody played an active role. They could show their concepts with their body and no need to talk and another group could easily perceive their ideas. They successfully made the first step to image theater.

picture 5: Teamwork of the spect-actors to present a concept of "neighborhood"

In this game, people got closer to urban planning by looking at the maps and pictures and trying to make the neighborhood in a small scale inside the yurt. The way they collaborated, identified buildings, shared tasks and add on the general result was completely self-organized and went smoothly. This game provided good data about what buildings and services are more important for people, what are the main elements and what places are invisible. Nature and public buildings and services like DUO, university campus, swimming pool, playgrounds, library, vesitorni (water tower), police museum and some restaurants were among the important places people knew well the location and the forms. When they stayed where they feel related to, it showed that participants were from all around Hervanta and related to different parts, buildings and services which brought a large variety of experiences and knowledge about the neighborhood. In this game, participants initiated to discuss with each other about what Hervanta lacks and even shared the things they discovered in the neighborhood which the others didn't know about it: some beautiful places, parking space or some NGOs and communities.

picture 6: the spect-actors building the neighborhood on a smaller scale

After the break, people came back to talk about the problems in Hervanta. At first, they agreed that there is no big problem in Hervanta. There was a discussion about drug abuse and drunk people in the neighborhood which most people said it's not true anymore in Hervanta and neighborhood is completely safe. However, when I asked what could be better in the neighborhood, what you like or dislike in here they mentioned several things:

Likes	Dislikes
Playgrounds for children close to residential areas	Lack of urban life and urban feeling
The international people and atmosphere everywhere from kindergarten to university and public places	There an invisible wall between east and west of Hervanta where the industrial region is divided from the residential region
Peaceful but still lively feeling	Lack of artwork, street arts and galleries
Good connection to the city center which gets better with tram line	There are no beautiful urban landscape or fine architecture people want to picture it
Accessible facilities and services in neighborhood	Ugly and similar apartments are copied everywhere
Developing its own identity separately from Tampere	It's not appealing
	The industrial and working atmosphere is shadowing on the rest
	There are not many things happening

Identity of Hervanta was the subject participants agreed on to discuss more. On the one hand, they thought Hervanta didn't have any identity, it is a suburb growing separately from Tampere with no related identity with Tampere. On the other hand, they thought actually Hervanta is developing its own identity which is still in progress but soon will find its own identity separate from Tampere which can be even better than that because of international potentials in it.

picture 7: The spect-actors standing on the points of neighborhood where they feel related

After that, they started to add, remove and change things in Hervanta in order to make it their ideal neighborhood. In this process they discussed and collaborate, they protected their beloved places and removed things they don't see any good in. Finally, they came with different solutions:

1. Bigger playgrounds
2. Adding small and different cafes, shops and restaurants
3. Adding colors to buildings, street arts on the walls
4. Adding a public center for non-commercial use providing different activities 24/7
5. Making service times longer in the night to have more nightlife
6. Organizing big events to bring people from the city center and other cities to Hervanta
7. Removing police departments from the neighborhood

picture 8: The ideal version of Hervanta in the first workshop

After these solutions, some conversation started around how police make neighborhoods unsafe for immigrants. Some people disagreed that police have racist behavior toward migrants, but others thought the police department is a supervision institute which is not needed in Hervanta.

Another discussion pointed out how different people see Hervanta differently. For example, when somebody mentions “center”; while some may consider it as the center of Tampere, the others may understand it as the center of Hervanta. Different people have a different understanding of center and their neighborhood Hervanta and their city Tampere.

picture 9: The spect-actors discussing the problems and solutions

One of the participants also shared the change in her point of view about Hervanta before and after being a mother. She told us that she used to hate Hervanta but since she became a mother, she understood everything is easy in Hervanta. She found out the value of having services like the library, markets, gym and everything in very accessible distances with a young baby. Nature and walking paths around her made her schedule much easier. She also mentioned that she is happy that her child can go to a kindergarten in Hervanta which is not totally white and can meet people from all over the world.

Surprisingly, one of the participants wanted to organize an event in spring in Hervanta and got the chance to share her idea. The others supported her idea and asked how they can help with it. Another participant knew a mobile application related to urban planning. He also got the chance to introduce the app and ask people to put their suggestions about the neighborhood there. This workshop resulted in some actions more than I expected.

Finally, participants gave their opinions about the workshop and theater method and how it could get better.

“The method was simple enough for everyone to understand and engage”

“The workshop was not white. It was colorful as Hervanta is, and as the future of Finland should be.”

“The workshop was an encouraging process and leads us to make real actions in the neighborhood.”

3.2.2 Second Workshop 25.01.2019 Friday 10:00-12:00

7 people participated. The group was small but still diverse in terms of backgrounds: 3 Finnish, 4 from different countries. The atmosphere was more silent also because of the time of day.

The purpose of the workshop was explained, and people signed the consent form. One of them had participated in some kind of urban planning meetings, one was from the theater background and one from an architecture background.

In the first game, people got to know each other. Because the group was small participants memorized each other's names easily. They show their characters as dancer, belly, indifferent, expressive, etc.

In the second game, spect-actors made road and tree (proposed by joker) and then continued by their own suggestions such as sausage, a boat with a cat, etc. They were showing their interests in playing this game more. The theater teacher said that she got some new ideas for her own work with this game too. People were expressing their personalities through their suggestions or roles they took in the game.

picture 10: The spect-actors playing the role of "a boat with a cat inside"

Third: body and facial expressions. They started with more known and discussed feelings like sadness, happiness and anger and went to more complicated feelings like being worry, depressed, excited or love. This made the conversation around cultural differences in the expression of feelings. How Finnish culture is not expressive and how hard is for the others to understand the Fins' feelings. I allowed them to continue their discussion and compare the language differences about feelings. For example, they discussed "Rakkaus" is a stronger word than "Love" and they use it just when they mean it.

They divided into two smaller groups and discussed the issues they see important in the neighbourhood and good to show in the workshops. One group played communal cleaning of their buildings' common areas. The other shew the disturbance of noisy neighbours. They discussed further if they experienced the same things and how they solved it or if they have community activities with their neighbours.

picture 11: The spect-actors deciding about a neighborhood-related concept

When they started to build Hervanta inside the yurt, some of them had a problem with maps, directions, etc. I told them they can make their own version of Hervanta if all of them could agree upon that. Their version was different from the first workshop in terms of the selected buildings, shapes and scale. Then they found their own spots and tried to show how they feel there or how they situate there. One of them played the situation and feeling she has in the sauna, talked about the silence and nature around which helps her with her sickness. After the workshop, she added that she enjoyed the workshop especially because it allowed her to be in positions, she is comfortable with. She has chronic pains and usually has a problem with participating in meetings that need her to sit for a long time. She explained though she likes to be an active part of society, her pain is a limit. But in our workshop, she could go beyond this limitation with performing a body that is not regulated.

picture 12: The spect-actors playing their own roles in the neighborhood

Aother participant explained what she can see from her apartment's window. She could see the progress of the tram line, the change of Hervanta and the cut of trees. She added while sitting in her spot that she feels relaxed, she feels "home".

Likes	Dislikes
Old buildings feel peaceful and romantic	The city is destroying nature because of the tramline
It is full of people with different languages	Duo is ugly
Quiet and wild nature with squirrels	Empty shops in duo and lack of varieties
Break buildings are reminding 70s and 80s, youth time	Lack of interesting activities
Accessible facilities and services in neighborhood	Lack of good restaurants
The new generation who was born in Hervanta, consider it home not a suburb	High buildings should not be built close to apartments, it covers the views and sunlight
Enough empty space feels nice	Drug abuse also for kids
The tolerant atmosphere about the differences	Structural racism
Good functionalities	Hard to get free public space for community work

After that, they discussed how some people perceive a place ugly and the fact that when a building works well and answer your needs even if it looks ugly at first, your mind changes the perspective toward that. Then that buildings or neighborhood turns to be beautiful for you.

picture 13: The existing model of Hervanta in the second workshop

They also discussed a large variety of people in Hervanta in terms of their carrier, background, social class, age, etc. In their mind, this fact made the urban character of Hervanta as a tolerant and friendly space. However, in many communities there is structural racism toward non-Finnish speaking are non-white people which is more than some rude behaviors; but it is about how “the others” are excluded from all decision makings in the neighborhood or how foreigners are in lower positions at work or even NGOs and events. One of them said that we had to talk about this loud and claimed that this kind of workshop could be a solution. “These workshops are more inclusive and have a more democratic process”.

picture 14: The spect-actors discussing the problems of Hervanta in the second workshop

Then they started to build their ideal Hervanta with changing the model they already made inside the yurt. Below is a list of changes they made:

1. Amateur theater school
2. Bars with affordable price
3. Place of dialogue
4. Schools should be separated from the university
5. Bowling
6. Cafes
7. Music and theater hall
8. House of Hervanta people
9. Good ethnic foods and restaurants
10. Merge schools
11. Tea house
12. Biking road
13. Dance classes
14. The living room of Hervanta

picture 15: The ideal version of Hervanta in the second workshop

After all, we talked about how making these changes happen and who is responsible. They could see this workshop as a starting point to gather different stories of people, make more understanding between people in the neighbourhood and make them closer to each other that should continue with support from city authorities, communities and businesses to make ideal Hervanta together.

3.2.3 Third workshop 26.01.2019 Saturday 15:00-17:00

In the last workshop, 8 people participated. Like the previous workshops, there was only one participant who had been in other participatory urban planning sessions. After getting the consent of participants, we made a circle and started to introduce ourselves. One of the participants was not willing to show his character or feeling by body language and he added that he felt “nothing”. I explained that even “feeling nothing” is a feeling and we accept you with it. So, in the next round, when everybody in the circle repeats the words and body language of one after them, we all repeated his name plus imitating his face and body moves and saying: “I feel nothing”. He immediately started to feel better because he understood nobody wants him to play a role different than his own reality. This case is important because we need to assure that the atmosphere of workshops is as close as possible to the participant’s comfort zone. Therefore, they feel free to express their deep feelings, ideas, thoughts, and wishes. No idea or no feeling is forbidden to talk about.

picture 16: The spect-actors activating their bodies

For the second game, they had some ideas to play and show in the group like a bridge, flower, etc. They managed this team work successfully with a natural task division. For example, two were more active to produce ideas, some of them could imagine how that idea can be shown and the rests helped with creating that image. Their roles were initiated by their character or feelings they shew in the first game. Again, there was no pressure by joker to people who do not want to be in a central role.

picture 17: The spect-actors making an image of "flower"

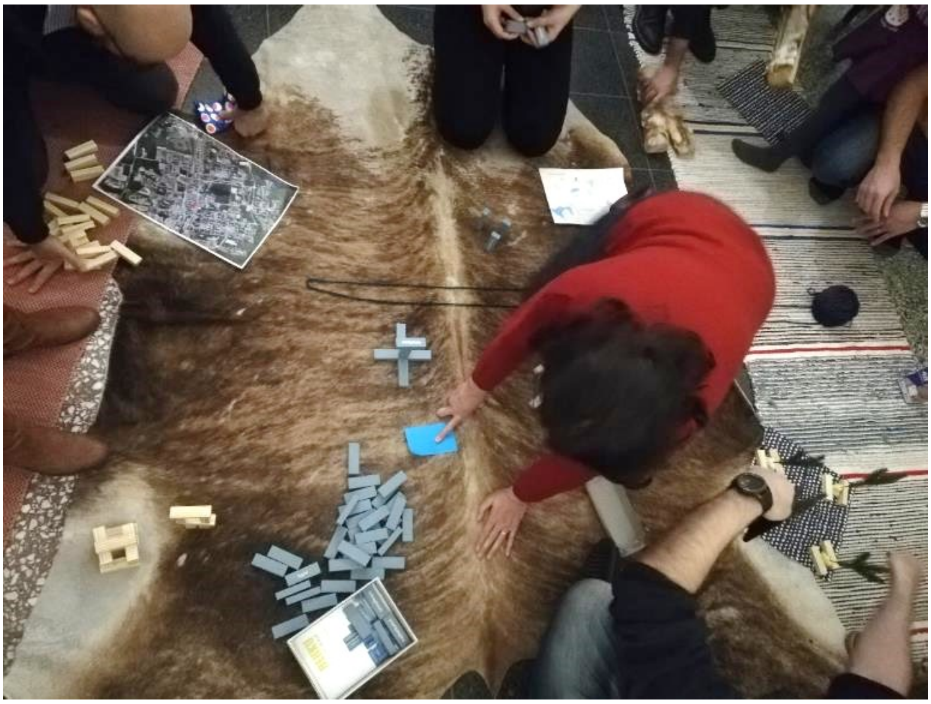
In the third game, they tried to practice feelings and facial/body expressions according to those feelings. They were more interested in this game, so I did not stop them. They suggested mostly the feelings they have been engaged with recently like laziness, depression, enthusiasm, etc. Then they started to discuss these feelings and how different people understand them, their different feelings in Finland or different times of a year, etc.

picture 18: The spect-actors expressing the feeling of "laziness"

Then they divided into two smaller groups. It is important that in the case of the participation of some friends or family together, they should make different groups. In this game, one of the groups chose how different is the Finnish style of sitting in public transport. One of the spect-actors was a bus driver and shared his point of view. The other group presented the contribution of neighbors to collect money and renovate a shared area in their housing block. Then they shared the rules about this issue and their experiences. They discussed the importance of “collective gain” rather than “personal interest”.

picture 19: The spect-actors playing the concept of "personal space in the public transportations"

In the next game, they started to build Hervanta with the workshop’s materials such as some wooden cubs, small trees, papers, etc. Some of them were recently moved to Hervanta or even to Finland. Therefore, they did not have a general understanding of the whole neighborhood, but they took the responsibility of making their own apartment or working place. The rest tried to fill the gaps and make the buildings or elements which are important in Hervanta. This group was more function-oriented, so they did not make any building as they really look like. However, it was more important for them to mention the services and functions. They built the nature and public services like pool, university, skiing hill, and DUO very carefully, but residential areas were more like a shapeless mass for them.



picture 20: The spect-actors building a small model of Hervanta in the third workshop

In the second part of the workshop after the break, they came back to the model of Hervanta they made in the yurt. They stood or sit on the point they are related to. Then they started to talk about how they feel there, how is surrounding, what they like or dislike about it. One spect-actor who was standing on the university campus spot said that this place is the only thing connected him to Finland. Another one standing on her apartment spot said she enjoyed the nice view of nature and silence. The one who was living for quite a long time in Hervanta talked about her hobby which walking around the lake and witnessing the change of season and nature. She said that while standing beside Ahvenisjärvi. Another person who used to live in Hervanta for a few years pointed DUO as one of the few places he can remember from Hervanta. He connected DUO as an eating place to his memories in his mind. There was also a woman who was working at school and talked about the convenient and nice atmosphere of schools for children in Finland. Then participants discussed the non-hierarchy education system in Finland which is different from their countries and how this helps children to have less stress and enjoy the time being at school as not only study time but also refreshment.

picture 21:The spect-actors locating themselves in the places to where they feel related

Then Joker- I – intervened and asked about the problems they recognize in their neighborhood. They agreed that Hervanta is a small area with an answer to all necessary needs but nothing more than that. They argued that they live or work or study in Hervanta during weekdays but on the weekends, nobody wants to spend time in Hervanta. They prefer to go to the center of Tampere where you can find more lively places to celebrate something or meet your friends or join an event. I put the list of their likes and dislikes in a table below:

Likes	Dislikes
Nature	No place for celebrations
High standard streets and buildings	The lack of leisure activities
Sauna and lake	The low number of bars
Not crowded and peaceful	Not enough free parking space
Good facilities	No free public toilet
All necessary services are in an accessible distance	Expensive cost of public transport to the center of Tampere
	No youth center

After that discussion, they had time to make all the changes based on the problems to turn Hervanta to their ideal neighborhood. Similar to the previous workshops they did not remove any building or functionality, but they added their wishes to the current situation. Here is a list of elements they added:

1- Open kindergarten (where parents can stay with their children in)
2- Cinema
3- Living room of Hervanta
4- Bars
5- Iranian restaurant
6- Bicycle road
7- Hoplop or some places for playing

8- Youth center
9- Cultural center
10- Facilities for handicap people especially in winter when it is so hard to come out of home
11- Lähikauppa or small market place
12- More ethnic shops

picture 22: The ideal version of Hervanta in the third workshop

In the end, I asked their opinion about how these changes can be really done in Hervanta, who is responsible and what is the process. They discussed the city responsibility and private businesses and the fact that the result can be so different based on stakeholders. They preferred that mainly the city conducts the project with tax money so all the services will stay public and open to all people. One of them suggested students in Hervanta university contribute to the city project by their own study projects. Another one mentioned that it is important to gather all people's stories and narratives including immigrants in similar workshops about Hervanta and then with the help of local organizations initiate the process to the city authorities. Another participant argued since Hervanta is like a student city, TOAS or POAS (student housing companies) should participate in the process and make better buildings and environments for people in Hervanta. There was a woman in the workshop who used to cooperate in some city projects with city authorities and she knew well the process. Therefore, she explained about different stages and rules on such a project and she emphasized that there should be several organizations, institutes, businesses, NGOs and communities engaged, so the project will not be exclusive and for the benefit of few people. There was a considerable amount of new information for participants. They said that after all, they feel more interested to be part of city projects and neighborhood communities. Also, it became a more important issue for them to be actively engaged in urban planning and design as a member of society. "Before this workshop, I didn't know that my opinion can affect architects' works" he said.

We finished the workshop with an energizing game so people would not leave the yurt with heavy minds from all the discussions they had in two hours.

3.3 Analysis of the Process, Data, and Method

I would like to start with indicating where we are in the process of this research. The main question of this research is "how can we engage the excluded groups of people in participatory urban planning?". I started by finding the obstacles in participatory urban planning processes that I categorized to four: invitation, space, facilitator and the method. Then I suggested a new method in participatory urban planning and tested it by holding three workshops. Although, during the workshops my main aim was to see whether this new method makes the process more inclusive and encourages my target group -immigrants- to talk about their needs, I also tried to meet other obstacles- invitation, space, and facilitator. After collecting data and explaining the findings in the previous part, I want to evaluate this experiment in terms of all those four aspects that needed attention. In this part, I use a comparison between the data in different workshops, I refer to participants' opinions and feedbacks and I make a qualitative analysis of data to discover how successful these workshops were to achieve their objectives. In addition to this, I will make a power analysis of the method more deeply in the next part.

First of all, I want to give a general understanding about the proportion of participants in terms of background, language, gender and previous participation in urban planning workshops and meetings by the pie charts below.

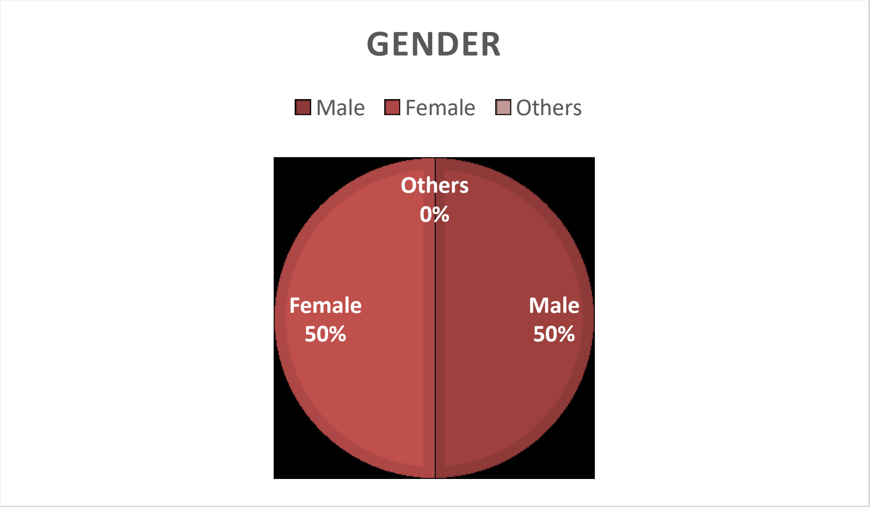


Figure 4: The proportion of the participants in terms of gender

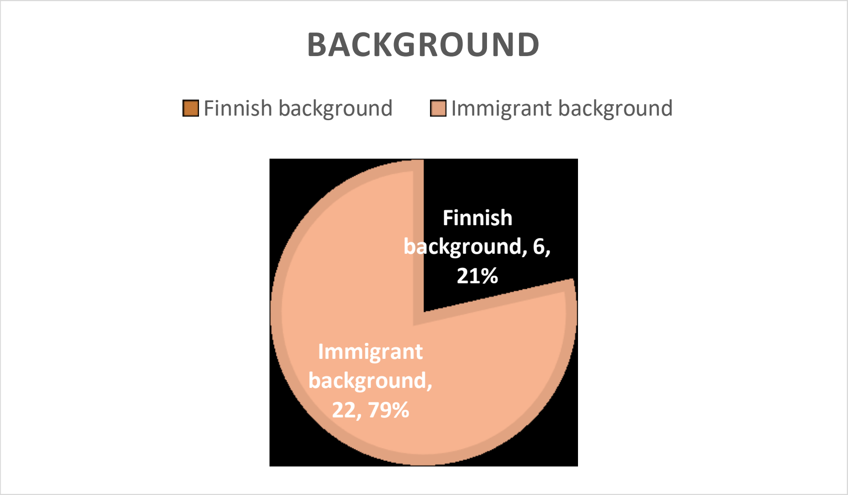


Figure 5:The proportion of the participants in terms of immigration background

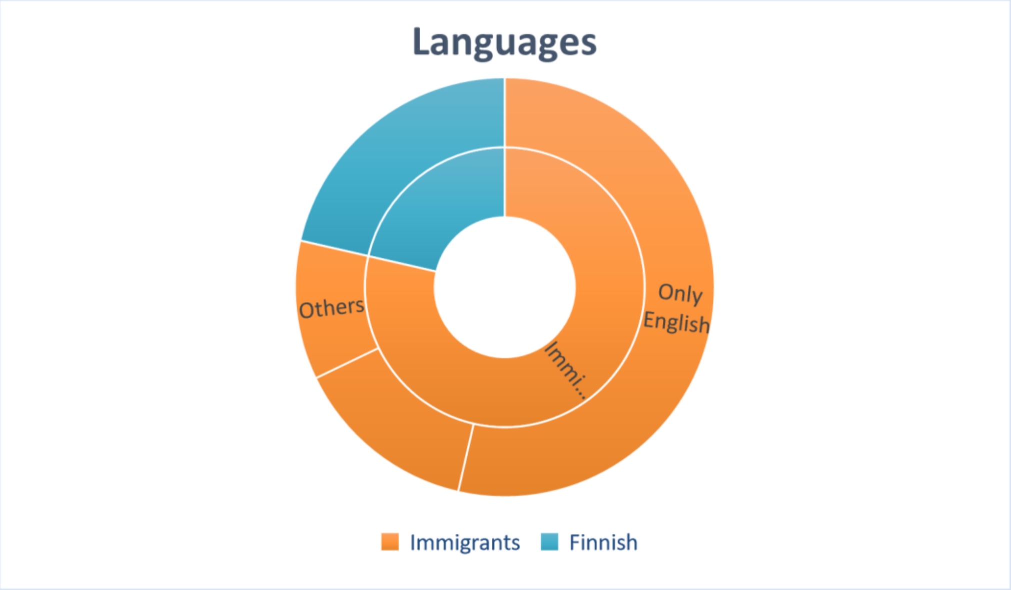


Figure 6:The proportion of the participants in terms of languages

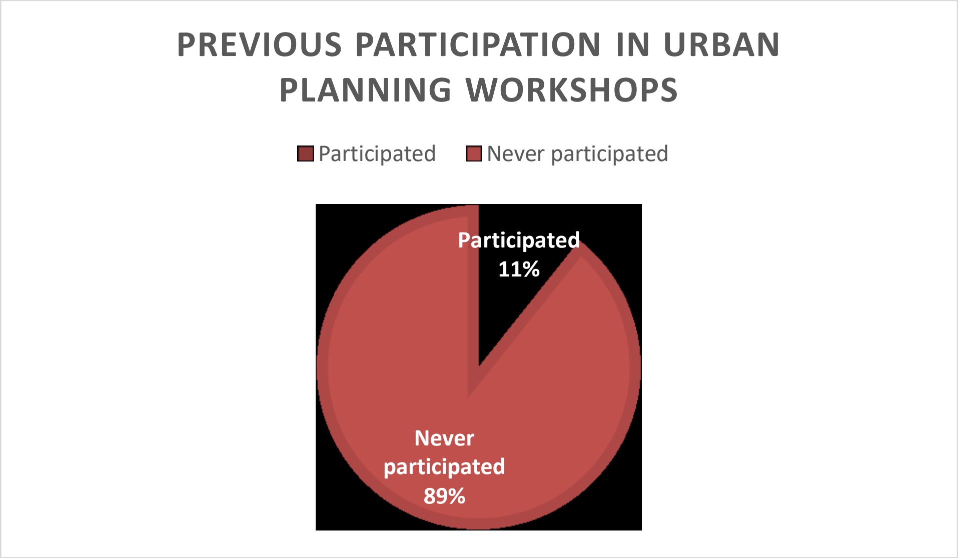


Figure 7: The proportion of the participants in terms of the previous experience

As it is indicated in the charts, the participation of female and male spect-actors was equal, though in the process female participants were more actively engaged. The Participation of people with immigrant background -though they may have Finnish citizenships – were considerably higher, 79 percent compared to 21 percent of participants with Finnish background. The immigrant participants were from 7 different countries and backgrounds. In terms of language, all Finnish participants could understand and speak both Finnish and English but for immigrants, 15 people out of 22 could only speak English – of course in addition to their native languages- and four of them could handle both; beside three participants that could only speak their own native language and very little Finnish. At the beginning of the workshops, I asked about the possible previous experiences of participating in urban planning workshops and meetings. From all 28 participants of three workshops, only three people had participated in similar events. All this data is collected during the process and except the last chart's data, there was no survey or direct question and answers.

3.3.1 Invitation

The proportions of participants show that I could reach my objectives to engage more immigrants and to include different backgrounds, languages, and gender. Although, this is not the best or the most inclusive result of participation. The workshops could engage more diversity of people, with the considered target group for my research the result was satisfying. One of the important reasons for this is the fact that my invitation process was different from the normal way of calling people to participate in such events. As I explained before, cooperating with different NGOs and communities of immigrants, refugees and immigrant women in Hervanta was a significant part of the invitation strategy. In addition, my own individual connections to international people and students in

Hervanta helped and affected the process. Another point is related to the way of inviting people. Most people got invited through Facebook event either by me or by the others who were already invited. Although the event was public and was shared publicly in different groups and pages, most people who were interested in the event were invited personally to the event. When I asked the participants at the beginning of workshops whether they had participated in other urban planning events, one answered: “I was not invited.” This feedback also proves that people prefer to be invited personally and to feel their participation as an individual is important. It is even more important when it comes to working with marginalized people, those whose presence and participation is not normally appreciated.

3.3.2 Facilitator

As a facilitator or a joker in theater workshops, one has a very crucial role to play. It is not enough to have a background in urban planning or to know the methods, but the facilitator/joker should be trained for this specific role. Looking from the power analysis point of view, to be a joker is even more important. To be aware of participants’ and joker’s power position is a responsibility of the joker and with recognizing unbalances, joker should try to reduce the gap. Therefore, joker does not only organize and manage the games and timetable or collect data, but they also lead the interactions between participants and the consent process – as I discussed before- toward a certain point. Every little reaction of joker can impact on the discussion and let certain topics off the table. Hence, a joker should stay neutral and at the same time encourage marginalized people to bring their issues.

Furthermore, a joker should build a human relationship with spect-actors and should not confine their role to a representative of authorities. In my workshops, this happened from very early stages when people had to register to the workshops by sending a message or email to me. Some of them -completely strangers and mostly Farsi speaking people - started to talk about their life, their problems and wishes immediately after registering –related to work, finding a job, responsibilities as a mother, etc. Some of them did not participate finally in the workshops and some did, but they continued their contact with me. I think it is important for a joker -especially while working with minorities or marginalized groups- to be accepted by the community and even more, to be considered as a part of the community.

Furthermore, I tried to avoid making a separated position for the joker to have more power over others. I had to explain at the beginning about my research and master thesis but to prevent giving an invincible image of me, I participated in the games as the rest of the spect-actors. This caused difficulties in terms of collecting data and managing all things in the workshops while I was playing games at the same time, but it had a good impact. One of the participants joked with me: “Is this really all your thesis is about? You only play games and finally, you will have a degree in architecture?” At first, I thought that all my efforts were underestimated. I tried to explain this is an experiment part of my thesis and it is more than only games. Later, I noticed that this could be interpreted as a sign that nothing is invincible in the workshops, even the purpose of whole workshops or my position as the facilitator. At least, some participants could feel allowed to object, to joke or to resist against all the story.

picture 23: The facilitator and the location of the yurt on the second floor of DUO

3.3.3 Space

I have discussed before the choice of place and my preference for a temporary space like the yurt over city halls. I also explained about pre-existing signs in the space and architectural layouts that dictate certain disciplines to its users. The yurt is not an exception and it also has these pre-existing signs. However, the space of yurt is dictating different disciplines that are in contrary to the norms of urban planning meetings/workshops. This space created a very close circle where every participant with any position they got, was part of the formed community inside the yurt. They felt they could have undisciplined bodies sitting, laying down, standing, walking out and in, etc. There were no solid walls in between so the space of workshops was related to its surroundings. One of the participants who came with her sleeping baby in a carrier, kept the baby "outside" the yurt. When I asked if it is fine for the baby and for her, she answered: "yes, she is just here, and I check her once in a while." There were more participants coming with their children and while children were playing around, they were participating in the workshop. We had mostly open doors both ways and people could move freely in and out. This may reduce the focus of spect-actors and joker(s), but it also causes a sense of flexibility in the space with no strict rules and disciplines.

Another feedback that I received about the space, was the curiosity of people around it. There were several passengers that just entered to see how space looked like and what was going on in it. Of course, space and the workshops were open to everybody and I invited them to join; but the point is that even those who were not invited, could get connected to space and could feel that they were allowed to enter, interrupt and interfere. In Boal's words, this is an act of invading the stage and by invading, they possess the space. (Boal 2008 [1974], xx)

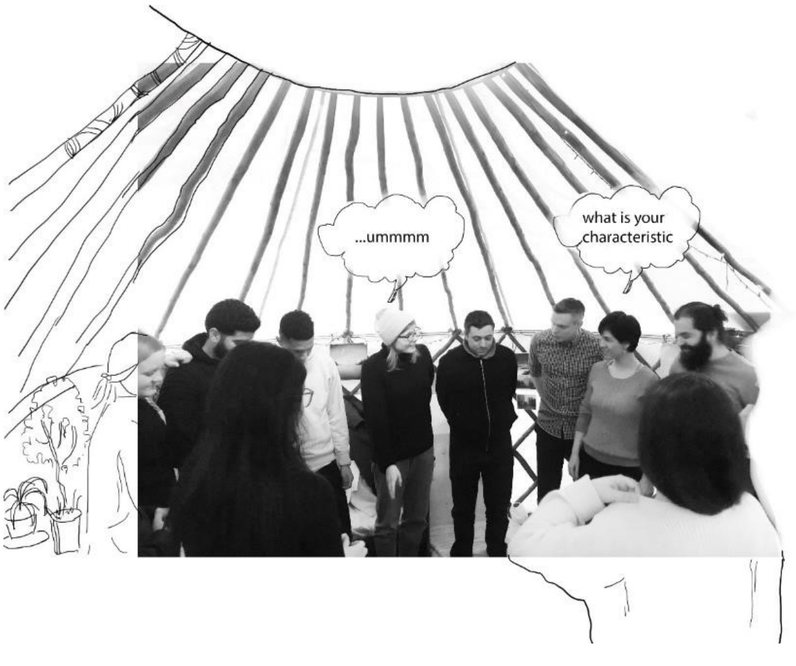
3.3.4 Method

In this chapter, I aim to open the information, opinions and ideas collected from all workshops and discuss how the target group of this research reflected themselves in the problems, solutions and wishes they shared through the games. I discuss every game and its results based on its objectives. This would help to evaluate the success of this method “theater for change” in providing data and more than that, challenging the power relations and including marginalized people.

First Game, Names and Characteristics:

The first game was only for ice breaking and letting participants to know each other. However, this introduction was slightly different from normal ways that people introduce themselves with their titles, careers, studies or generally power positions. Here we focused on characteristics of spect-actors and their feelings. Therefore, participants could relate themselves to each other based on their similarities or a mutual understanding of very human characteristics such as romantic, strong, confused, thoughtful, etc. More than that, by asking about feelings I admitted to participants that their emotions in general and their feelings at that very moment is important.

This game was a start to reconcile participants with their bodies and a first try to express something not through words but through an act of the body. It also caused that participant paid attention to very small details of one’s body expression. Then by imitating that act, they could find part of it in themselves. In all workshops, this game was a successful start and very simple and clear act for everybody except in one workshop that one spect-actor declared that he felt nothing. However, we – the rest of the group- accepted that “feeling nothing” is a feeling and tried to imitate if we felt nothing. This affected also on other games and legitimized all feelings that are usually ignored or considered “not good to express”.



picture 24: The first game, playing with names and characteristics

Second Game, Make Shapes: This game was the first team-work that spect-actors did in the workshops. By having a common goal – to make for example the shape of a tree- they immediately considered the group as a team and by playing as a part of that shape- for example as a branch of the tree- they acted as one whole body. After some suggestions by the joker, they could bring their own ideas for the first time in the workshop. In this part, some participants were more active and some less. It could be because they did not feel safe enough or interested enough to suggest their own notions. Even this fact provides an understanding for the joker to pay more attention to those participants in other games and to make sure they are engaged.

In all three workshops, spect-actors mostly liked this game and were rather to continue it with other suggestions they had. This game could also include more abstract ideas such as power, hope, possibility, etc. It depends on the objectives of every workshop that how is the best to continue this game. It is highly flexible and adaptable to different platforms.

I am the branches
I am the body of tree
I am the roots

picture 25: The second game, playing with the shapes

Third Game, Express Feelings: This game also aimed to emphasize on human feelings and to tie the mind to body. The latter is not only the aim of this game but also one purpose of theater -as Boal discussed- is to overcome the division between mind and body. He was inspired by Freire that theater like teaching and learning approaches need to avoid what “separated mind from body, thought from action, and social critique from transformative praxis”. (MCLAREN, 1999, p. 50)

In this game, spect-actors could again suggest different feelings to be played. Some tended to suggest complicated feelings to challenge the others in how they are able to show it. Several discussions were created around feelings, expressing feelings and cultural differences in expressing feelings. Some Finnish participants claimed that many feels are not possible to be expressed through bodies. This initiated a discussion with immigrants about feeling expressions and how in different cultures people learn to be expressive or inexpressive about their emotions. This claim either was a confirming answer to Finnish stereotypes or was a representation of a real barrier between feelings and body, indicated the importance of reconciling with bodies. This game allowed spect-actors to show again their characters by suggesting a feeling or acting it boldly and furthermore, start to share their problems or issues such as depression, stress, etc.

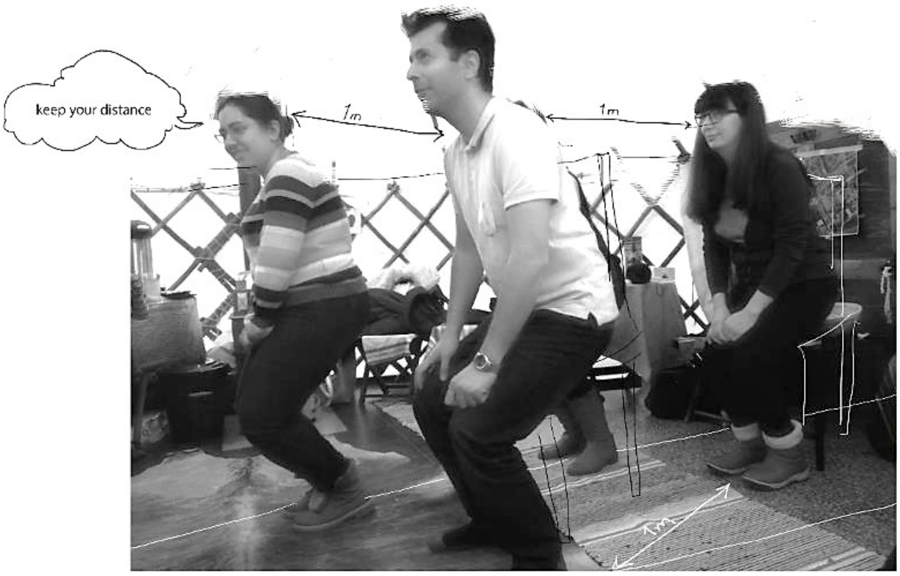
it looks like
“fear”
let's play
“stress”

picture 26: The third game, palying with the feelings

It depends again on the objectives of a workshop to choose a topic of created discussion or a specific feeling as a theme for the rest of the workshop. For example, if cultural differences or depression is an important issue to be addressed and more deeply discussed, this game could be continued by creating a scene showing the issue from different aspects and points of view.

Fourth Game, Image Theater: This game was actually the first effort to bring urban planning to the theater. In this game, the spect-actors in every workshop were divided into two groups and chose secretly an issue in the neighborhood that they wanted to present through an image. The result of this game can be discussed in two aspects: one is the choice of subjects by all participants in these three workshops and another is how the rest of the spect-actors perceived the presented image. Because this game is not about playing an idea well enough that the others can guess it- even though it looks like that- but it is more about making an understanding about a specific issue between spect-actors and through their bodies.

The chosen subjects for image theater in three workshops were respectively personal space in a bus station, forms and height differences of buildings, communal cleaning of a yard, noisy neighbors, personal space in public transports and communal renovation of common areas in a building. Clearly, the topics related to personal space and communal activity were repeated in three workshops. This shows how the norms of a society considering body disciplines or the process of making a regulated docile-body through the norms in a normalizing society emerges as a significant issue for the bodies that have been through this procedure. The discussions followed by these personal space image theaters were not about whether personal space is good or bad, but it was only about the fact that this discipline exists and “we [immigrants] accept it after a while.”. However, the discussion after communal activities had a more informative form to the participants who were not familiar with. There was also a form of appreciation toward community-oriented habits, activities, and norms.



picture 27: The fourth game, playing the images and concepts

Fifth Game, Build Hervanta: In this game, spect-actors were asked to build their neighborhood with the provided tools – wooden blocks, papers and small plastic threes. It was an important part of this workshop that participants make their own version of neighborhood instead of having a ready-made and accurate model of Hervanta. They built the neighborhood differently in every workshop which can be analyzed based on three factors: what elements- building, natural elements, and services- they chose to build, how they built them in terms of forms and how was their general understanding of the whole neighborhood. In addition to this data, the act of building neighborhood itself put participants in the role of architects. The fact that each of them took responsibility of building the parts where they felt related to, also made a more live connection between spect-actors and those blocks representing their neighborhood.

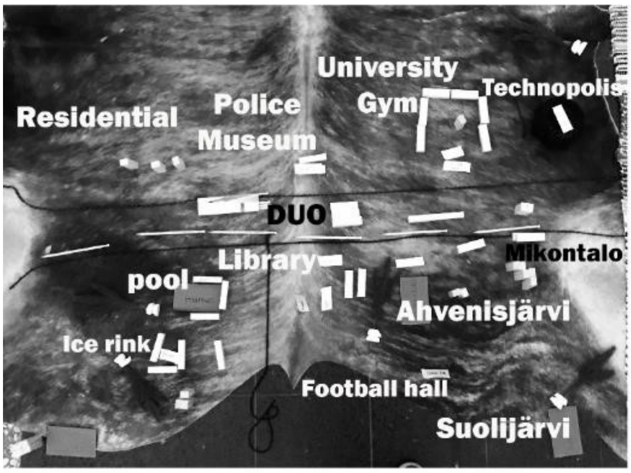
In terms of functions, participants were more tended to build what themselves use the services and therefore, it depended on the participants of the workshop if they were studying, working or living in Hervanta. Generally, public services and the shopping center were present in all workshops beside nature and more specifically lakes as important elements. Each person based on their own routines could find a place more important and because of the diversity in the groups, many places were covered in the workshops.

In terms of forms, each group had a different approach and even within a group, spect-actors were different in how they could perceive the forms and how they could represent it. Even the scale of neighborhood and buildings were different in diverse cases. However, generally participants were more accurate in building their own homes/buildings than the rest of buildings, so the latter seemed mostly like a bunch of shapeless blocks. Therefore, the shapes could also give information if a building was so important – in terms of form- to be built carefully, or it was not important at all, so it did not exist in their version of Hervanta or if it was something in between so that existed but not built accurately- in this case they were mostly presented by a paper defining their functions.

In terms of general understanding of the neighborhood, most of the participants were only familiar with the places they visit and use and so they could not easily identify and locate those places in relation to surroundings. However, some elements such as the main streets were almost clear for everybody. Although several maps of Hervanta were provided for the participants, they could not use it properly and in some cases, it even caused confusion for recognizing the right orientation, location, etc. Therefore, this experiment shew that map oriented methods of participatory urban planning, cannot make a connection with participants thoroughly.

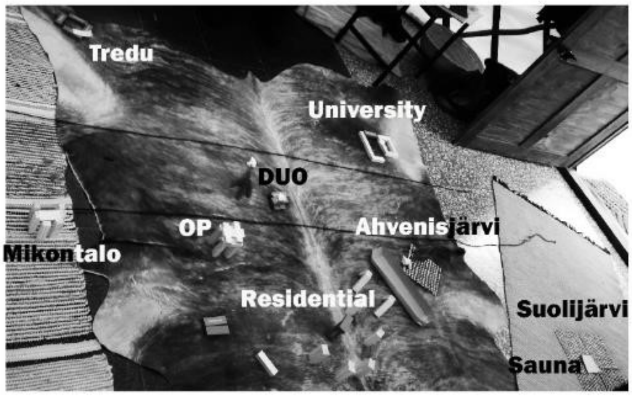
Function

1


Residential
Police
Museum
University
Gym
Technopolis
DUO
Library
Mikontalo
pool
Ahvenisjärvi
Ice rink
Football hall
Suolijärvi

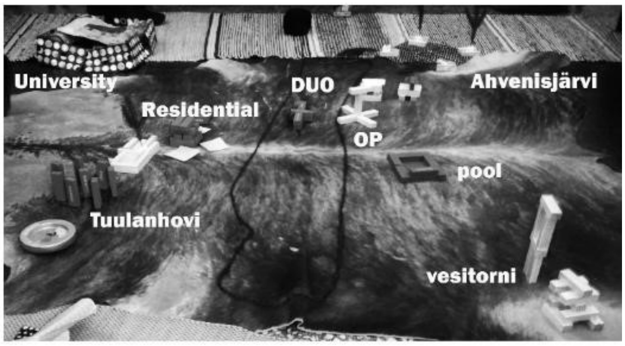
Nature, offices and public services like DUO, pool, gym, university, library, playgrounds, kindergarten, restaurants and police museum and school were mentioned and represented in the first workshop.

2


Tredu
University
DUO
OP
Ahvenisjärvi
Mikontalo
Residential
Suolijärvi
Sauna

Nature, more specifically participants' homes and public services like DUO, sauna, vesitorni (water tower), Tredu school, and university were mentioned and represented in the second workshop.

3

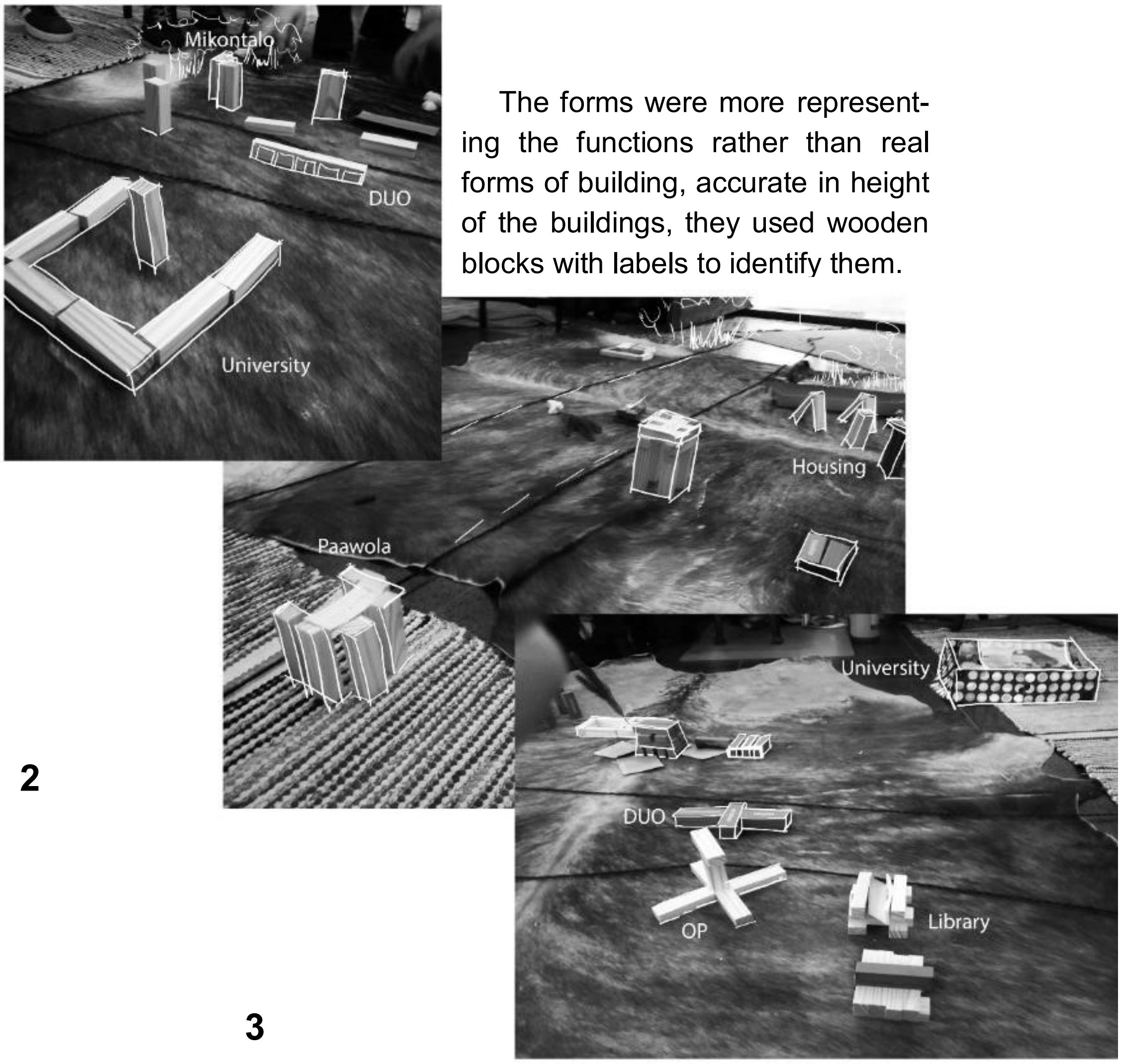

University
Residential
DUO
OP
Ahvenisjärvi
pool
Tuulanhovi
vesitorni

Nature and public services like the university, OP and DUO and more specifically sports halls like pool, skiing hill and football hall beside residential buildings were mentioned and represented in the third workshop.

Picture 28:The functions that were mentioned in the three workshop

Forms

Creating forms with wooden blocks, almost accurate in forms and locations, small scale, for some unrecognizable forms they used labels.

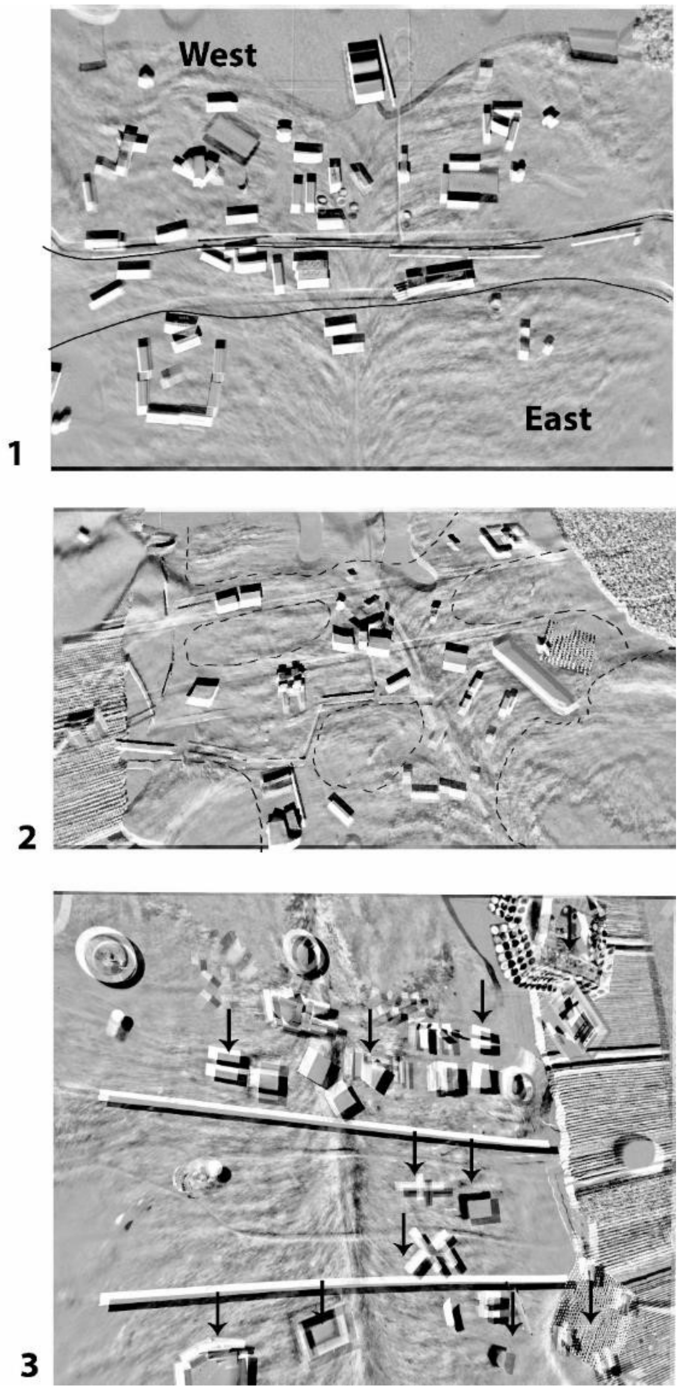

1
Mikontalo
DUO
University
2
Housing
Paawola
3
University
DUO
OP
Library

The forms were more representing the functions rather than real forms of building, accurate in height of the buildings, they used wooden blocks with labels to identify them.

Very diverse in scale, the accuracy of forms and use of materials, function oriented, forms were more symbols which represent a specific building like a bank, library, etc.

Picture 29: The comparison between the forms that built in three workshops

General understanding of Neighborhood



Satisfying general understanding of neighborhood: the services, the location and orientation of them and the relation between the buildings

Mostly focused on the west part of the neighborhood and assuming a bold division between east and west which they mentioned later as a problem of neighborhood.

Separated pieces of the neighborhood with few connections, mixed orientation and locations.

The neighborhood they built, had many empty spots that they mentioned as a problem

Their general understanding of neighborhood was mostly relied on the maps (because most of them were new residents of Hervanta or even Tampere), very specified buildings with accurate location, the neighborhood was represented as a combination of useful services locations.

The connections were missed.

picture 30: The comparison between different general understanding of Hervanta in three workshops

As it is clear from the discussions and images, every group had a different approach, focus and understanding of neighborhood that none of them is better than the rest but all of them together form a more complete vision of the neighborhood. However, more than all the data that I explained, this game made discussions about participants' routines and favorite places and resulted in them suggesting each other what is good to do in the neighborhood, where to eat, where to walk with a baby or a pet, etc.

Sixth Game, locate yourself and describe

The experiment in the sixth game was different in three workshops. Although, I had planned the previous game in a way to create a scene- such as theater stage- for this game, in the first workshop I allowed participants to make the scene in a scale they want. As a result, we had a very small model of the neighborhood close to urban models in architecture schools that do not provide enough space for participants to locate themselves within the neighborhood they built. Therefore, in the first workshop they could only show where they feel related to and then describe that place and surroundings as they talk about a picture. On the contrary, in second and third workshops when they were building the neighborhood, I asked them to keep this in mind to consider enough space for themselves. Then due to the fact that they could be as they wish in their own places on the scene, they were more able to play their lives and feelings and so, I could gather more and deeper data about their opinions.

Their description about the place and the surrounding they were located was not again only through verbal communication, but also through their body positions and facial expressions they transferred data about how they feel and how they really are. Mostly they described everything in a positive way because they were talking about the places where they felt related to, but they sometimes mentioned the things in surrounding that bother them. From their description, I could understand what they mostly appreciate in the neighborhood. Among all several things were repeated in all three workshops: wild and quiet nature, peaceful atmosphere, international atmosphere, and good and accessible services.

I am partying at my friends' place
I am shopping at DUO
I am at home
relaxing in nature after sauna

picture 31: The spect-actors describing their feelings and surroundings in the sixth game

Seventh Game, discussion about problems

From the point spect-actors discussed their feelings and views, we came to talk about what they dislike about Hervanta and to recognize the problems of the neighborhood. Although what they had built as Hervanta might differ from the reality of neighborhood, it was close to their image of Hervanta, how they really see and perceive the neighborhood. Therefore, they could refer to this model or scene in front of them, while talking about problems. In other words, they did not only build the neighborhood with its important elements or their favorite places, but they also built the problems as they understand. For example, they argued about the division between east and west of Hervanta, being and feeling empty or ugly which are all visible in the scene they built- see the images below. This also gives credit to the data can be taken out of the forms and functions that I discussed before.

In the table below, all the problems mentioned by participants are listed. The most repeated problems are lack of hobbies and interesting activities and events, lack of color, arts and aesthetics, and cultural problems related to the internationality of Hervanta.

Dislikes		
1st workshop	**2nd workshop**	**3rd workshop**
The lack of urban life and urban feeling	City is destroying nature because of tramline	No place for celebrations
There an invisible wall between east and west of Hervanta where the industrial region is divided from residential region	High buildings should not be built close to apartments, it covers view and sunlight	Expensive cost of public transport to the center of Tampere
The lack of artwork, street arts and galleries	Empty shops in duo and lack of varieties	The low number of bars
There are no beautiful urban landscape or fine architecture people want to picture it	Lack of interesting activities	Not enough free parking space
Ugly and similar apartments are copied everywhere	Lack of good restaurants	No free public toilet
It’s not appealing	Duo is ugly	Lack of leisure activities
The industrial and working atmosphere is shadowing on the rest	Drug abuse also for kids	No youth center
There are not many things happening	Structural racism	
	Hard to get free public space for community work	

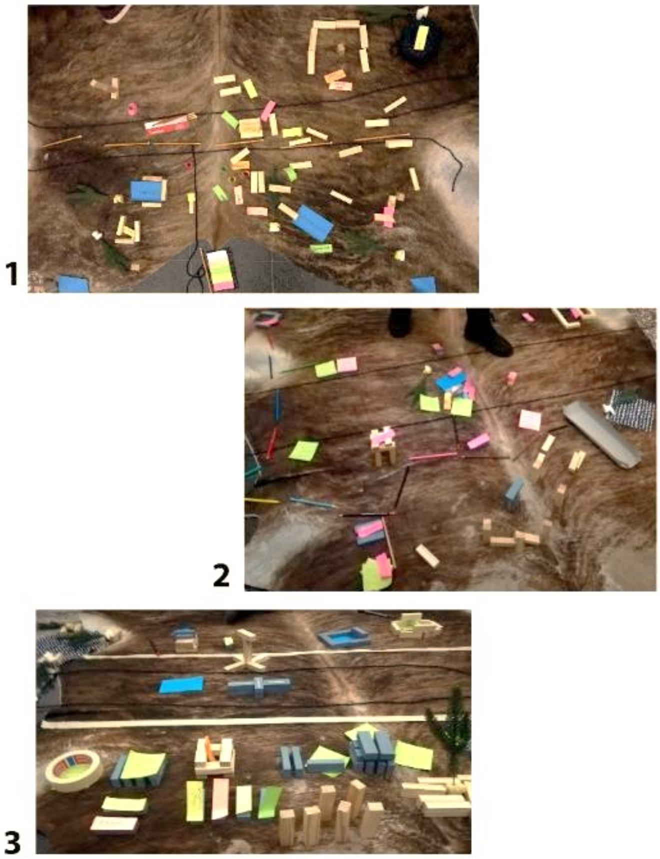
An interesting point that I recognized while discussing with participants about the problems of Hervanta is about the opinions of a certain group of participants- refugees. Among all immigrants participated in the workshops- they were not asked about their types of immigration- there was a small specific group that was introduced by the “Active

Refugees in the Community”. They were the only people who tended to ignore the problems in Hervanta and instead, express that “we have here whatever we need”. Even when I admitted their opinion but added, if this situation could be improved, they rather suggest nothing at first. A question raised to me and it is still unanswered: Is this a response to what society expects from refugees- to appreciate whatever the society gives them- or is it an answer to their own tough history and hard experiences of life? Or both?

Eighth Game, change the neighborhood to the ideal

In all three workshops, participants tended to change the neighborhood by adding new elements, buildings and functions/services rather than by removing or transforming existing buildings. Colored papers that were used only to put labels on the buildings in previous games turned to material for changing the neighborhood. The colors represented not only colors but also diversity in functions, atmosphere and culture. Another common change that spect-actors made in Hervanta was about increasing activities, ethnic restaurants, and cultural spaces. There could be seen some forms of chaos or disorganization in their ideal version of Hervanta. For example, they preferred small diverse businesses rather than a very organized space for shopping like DUO; or there was general chaos in the organization of space rather than systemized grids. What they tried to suggest was not only the urban or architectural forms/alternatives but also their desirable atmosphere, feeling, and identity for the neighborhood.

In respect of the question raised about the refugees in the workshop, in this game, I noticed that they also started to add things and improve Hervanta- regardless of the refuse to mention problems- as much as the others. It was when there was not a direct question toward them but there was only a free atmosphere and time for participants to make their wishes happen in the neighborhood.



picture 32: The comparison between different ideal versions of Hervanta in three workshops

This game usually was followed by two types of discussions that also added value to the results. There were either cultural and political discussions such as arguing about the racism of police and internationalism vs. nationalism in Hervanta, or a type of more deeply architectural discussion about how people perceive a place ugly/beautiful and the meaning of a “center” in different points of view, etc. Therefore, the game did not only result in specific suggestions for future planning and design of Hervanta, but it also created dialogue around the larger problems in society that should be addressed through urban planning as well.

Final discussions

In the end of workshops and after the transformations of the neighborhood, I asked how these changes are possible to make. This question at the end was not seeking for an absolute answer to be considered as solutions or a conclusion. This question aimed to challenge participants if they really want to make a change and what the next steps are for that. This was a try to push more all the games done in the workshops from finite games – in a certain location, time and end- to infinite games that will be continued after the workshops.

Some participants tried to propose specific solutions like events, campaigns, music festivals and social media advertisements about all things happening in Hervanta in order to bring investments to the neighborhood and consequently, make their own ideas happen. Some others considered the workshop itself as a part of the solution for changing Hervanta with all the advertisement made in the neighborhood and all the games and discussions that should be continued. They also demanded more as such inclusive activities for activating people and especially immigrants in the Hervanta. Even in one workshop, the participants went further and asked about the possibility of negotiation with the city and authorities. One of the participants shared her information about the process of a city project and decision makings, the role of stakeholders and how one can impact on this. She suggested the collaboration of university and businesses in Hervanta with NGOs and city to define new projects with the help of students and volunteers. Nevertheless, not all the participants were positive about possible changes in the future. Some claimed that normal individuals have no power or tool to push their demands to the authorities. Could this method provide the tool or disturb the imbalances in power?

picture 33: The final discussion with the spect-actors

3.4 Power Analysis of the Method

“modern man is an animal whose politics
places his existence as a living being in question”- Foucault

To analyze my proposed method “Theater for Change” in terms of power, I want to go back to the obstacles I recognized in participatory urban planning methods: Neglecting feelings and human experiences, limiting creativity and imaginations, focusing on verbal communication, controlling the topic and the way of discussions and complexity of the methods. Although the problems are not limited only to the methods as I discussed before, I explained that my focus is on the methods as the most important part. I would try to investigate the power-related causes that create flaws in the participatory urban planning methods. From there, I aim to discover if theater for change could answer those defects and so, it could change or at least challenge the power structures. By improving the methods in terms of power relations, I attempt to make participatory urban planning processes more inclusive for marginalized people who are on the edge of established power. In the diagram below, I show the relation of obstacles in urban planning methods to Foucault’s analysis of power, disciplines, and norms.

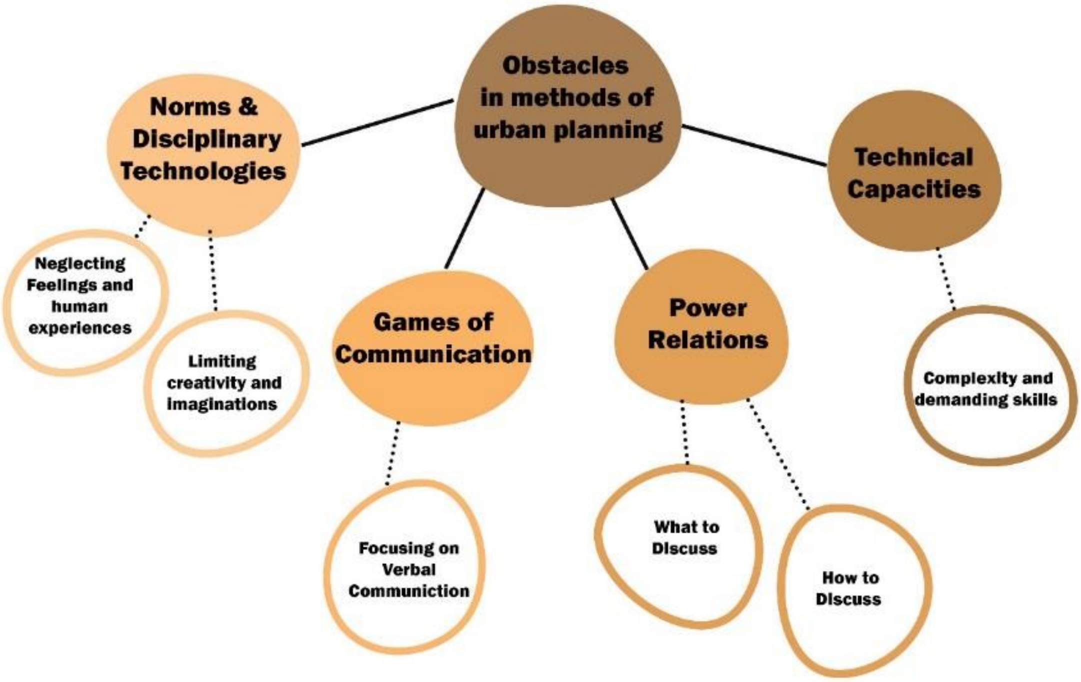

Obstacles in methods of urban planning
Norms & Disciplinary Technologies
Technical Capacities
Games of Communication
Power Relations
Neglecting Feelings and human experiences
Limiting creativity and imaginations
Focusing on Verbal Communiction
What to Discuss
How to Discuss
Complexity and demanding skills

Figure 8:The disciplines that are applied on the participatory urban planning methods

As it is shown in the diagram, the three aspects of applying disciplines including games of communication, relationships of power and technical capacities beside norms and disciplinary technologies play role in the exclusiveness of ordinary participatory urban planning methods. I should clarify that these obstacles, in reality, are not that separated from each other and are not related only to one of the disciplining aspects as it is shown in the diagram. Nevertheless, this categorization helps to have a better vision of them even if they overlap sometimes.

First of all, as I discussed before, urban planning meetings or workshops normally focus on certain architectural issues and solutions and neglect the importance of feelings and human experiences that may not be directly related to an architectural issue but undoubtedly have impacts on future planning and designs. This problem may come from the norms and disciplinary technologies in the field of urban planning that consider certain issues appropriate or inappropriate. The methods in urban planning, as in politics and biopolitics that Foucault discusses, aim to get the best result in the shortest time to be considered effective or economically profitable. However, this understanding of the method, process and result causes inflexible and mechanical stages that are not able to include deep feelings. Furthermore, they also limit the creativity and imagination of participants by dictating certain disciplines or following unwritten norms. In a meeting or workshop that disciplinary technologies penetrate into participants' bodies, how a different idea, a form of resistance or a question of established power can be raised, be heard and be considered?

Secondly, considering games of communication as an aspect of disciplining leads us to ask about communication tools in participatory the urban planning methods. Again, I discussed that the games of communication that Foucault talks about, is not equal with language but it is a set of communication tools, signs and language. I also claimed that most of urban planning methods rely on verbal communication that means the use of language. Although using official languages by immigrants needs certain skills that are related to technical capacities, verbal communication carries some flaws with itself. One is "policing the statements" which means in a set of the power structures in urban planning workshops, not all the words are free to be used. There is again propriety issue affecting participants' choice of words. Another one is to express deep feelings or opinions about sensitive issues, especially by marginalized people, it is not always easy by the means of words and language. Although at some points, it is necessary to use verbal communication, it needs the help of other communication possibilities, either to facilitate or to fill the gap in the language. In addition, I see a similarity between questionnaires or oral questions and answers in participatory methods with what Foucault simulates as confessing methods. Encouraging people to "tell everything" with all the details and as "we expect from your stories" around the certain issue that is considered important or appropriate is again a way of disciplining without giving participants the choice of communication tools. (Foucault, 1978, p. 21) In this scenario, even silence puts pressure of not contributing enough to the method on participants; but what if in a method, silence is considered as a way of communicating itself?

Thirdly, I want to explain the role of power relations in participatory urban planning methods. Though, it is usually assumed that the topics of a discussion or the ways of discussing are widely open in participatory methods, in reality, it is affected by power relations. The methods determine if a subject is discussable within that framework or not. The power position one can take in that specific method, give permission or the right of discussing a specific subject. The participants are neither at the same position with each other nor with organizers and facilitators. Even the way of raising an issue, discussing it and demanding public attention to it should go through an appropriating process by the existing power and orders in that space. What Foucault calls as “local centers of power” come actively to the game and function by playing their role in the overall strategy of power (Foucault, 1978, pp. 98- 99). However, Foucault discusses that all the tactics used by local centers of power can be reutilized for even a contrary strategy. (Foucault, 1978, p. 100) This needs a method that can provide enough flexibility to shift from a strategy to another one. This method should challenge the relationships of power from the first step, by not giving credits to any elements that determine the power position in the existing force networks.

Finally, participatory urban planning methods suffer from the problem that they tried to answer. The fact that urban planning and design should be for people and therefore, not only architects but ordinary people should be part of the process, gave birth to the idea of participatory methods, as I discussed. Nevertheless, the gap between experts and people have not been filled but rather reduced. The games and more simple methods of participation are examples of this effort. Is this smaller gap because of “empowering” people with knowledge of urban planning or forcing experts to use the unprofessional language of games? Foucault describes technical capacities as a form of ordering the bodies and their abilities in order to maximize the profit for ecopolitical systems. (Foucault, 1982, pp. 786- 787) In this definition, even empowerment serves the existing disciplines and orders bodies to serve the defined purpose. Furthermore, power faces a contradiction in terms of technical capacities. On the one hand, it aims to maximize the technical capacities of bodies and on the other hand, needs less able bodies to make them subjugated easier. This means neither empowering participants nor simplifying the methods is not able to make the process more inclusive when it is functioning in the dominant strategy of power. However, in the same field of power, contrary strategies exist. Participatory methods can answer their purpose if they shift to another power strategy that does not aim to maximize the profit and submission but rather aims to maximize inclusion and resistance.

After discussing the obstacles in participatory urban planning methods, I want to analyze my proposed method “theater for change”, with respect to similar power related flaws. I use the data of my experiments of workshops to discover if this method was successful to solve or at least to decrease the existing problems in participatory methods. I start with a similar diagram and present my answers below in the same way that I opened up the problems:

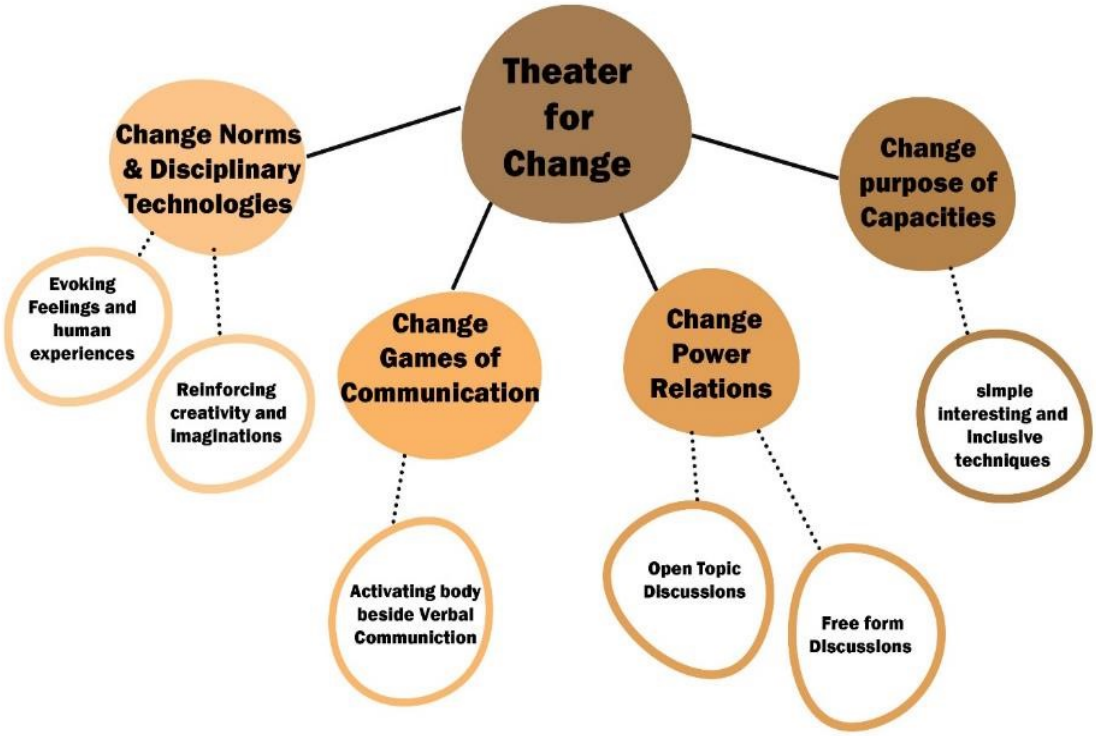

Theater for Change
Change Norms & Disciplinary Technologies
Evoking Feelings and human experiences
Reinforcing creativity and imaginations
Change Games of Communication
Activating body beside Verbal Communiction
Change Power Relations
Open Topic Discussions
Free form Discussions
Change purpose of Capacities
simple interesting and inclusive techniques

Figure 9: The discilines-related changes in the method of theater for change

In this method, I tried to change the norms and disciplinary technologies, change the games of communication, change the power relationships and change the purpose of technical capacities. By making a change to all these aspects, I assume that I can change the power structure inherent to participatory urban planning methods and create a more inclusive approach. However, these are not the only changes this method made in this certain research with the target group of immigrants. I will discuss more that later in this chapter.

First, by using theater method and theatrical games of Boal, I was able to prioritize feelings and human experiences rather than rational and professional ideas and knowledge. The theater has a high potential to create a safe space for sharing experiences and expressing highly conceptual topics such as fears, hopes, power, etc. Additionally, theater removes the division between mind and body, individual and social, cognitive and emotional, and provides an inclusive base for creativity and imagination. The norms and codes of behavior in urban planning workshops or meetings are challenged by theatrical games. For example, in the very beginning of workshops, participants play games that make their bodies to be in a position considered abnormal in meetings; they either lay on the floor or bend their bodies trying to represent a weird idea such as sausage. The bodies get free of disciplinary technologies and experience the method directly. In the workshop, theater makes a smaller scale representation of the real life of participants. Boal also emphasizes on the relation of freedom in theater and in life with trespassing disciplines. He says that it is necessary to trespass the stage for a free theatre and trespass the norms, limits, and laws for a free life. (Boal 2008 [1974], xx-xxi)

The theater in the workshop could include all aspects of participants' lives. In the workshops, spect-actors debated very specific issues such as their need for free access to public toilets in Hervanta to very large issues such as racism or deep issues like feeling depressed. This method does not put any limitation for appropriate/inappropriate issues to be raised and so it does not push participants for achieving specific architectural solutions and results. Instead, this method prepares participants or spect-actors to imagine a completely new neighborhood/town/city/society and reinforce their creativity by removing the obstacles of real life in the theater scene. Releasing the bodies of participants contributes to the release of their minds.

picture 34: The change of the norms and codes of behavior in urban planning workshops by activating the bodies

Secondly, in theater, the body is not only the methodological subject but also a communication tool. Advantaging of body and facial expressions to transfer information between spect-actors reduces the disadvantages of verbal communication. Although talking with bodies rather than words is not an everyday skill, it was experienced in the workshops that all people have a certain level of this skill. Therefore, it does not create as much gap between skillful participants and the others as it happens in verbal-based communication. In addition, in my specific experience with immigrants, theater helped to interact with participants who do not speak the workshop's language(s) and they could still feel included in the process. As I mentioned before, this method also provides a possibility to discuss sensitive issues. During theatrical games when people tried to make a shape, an idea or a concept together with their bodies, they actually experience their bodies as a whole, as one body. This close interaction makes them feel mentally closer to each other and consequently, have fewer barriers to share deep feelings or controversial ideas. Concerning the propriety issue in the choice of words and policing the statements, I should say that there is still a level of propriety in using and playing with bodies. However, while playing different theatrical games, many everyday norms break, and another level of intimacy/propriety is created. Another point is the fact that the "image theater" technique, which was used in the workshops is initially based on making a silent stable scene that later movements or words can be added. Hence, this technique gives also space to silence and accept the presence of a spect-actor as a way of interaction and communication.

picture 35: Experiencing their bodies as a whole, as one body

Thirdly, "theater for change" demands a change in relationships of power. It challenges the established power positions of organizers/participants in urban planning meetings beside power positions of actor/spectators in theater by introducing new roles as joker(s) and spect-actors in a participatory urban planning workshop. In these workshops, to start the games that people can get to know each other, I chose only those aspects which do not create a presumption of the power position of an individual. Instead, I focused on the name of people and an adjective that describe their character in general or their feelings at that moment. I refused to ask people's background, education, job, language skills, nationality, race, etc. With this method, all participants start from an equal point and get to know each other from a human characteristic or human feeling point of view. To ensure that the power position of facilitator or joker is not superior, in this method there is the flexibility that gives permission to participants to choose the subjects, to choose if they want to continue a game or stop it and to choose the way they want to continue discussions. Therefore, there is not a strict plan conducted by an expert, but there is a flexible outline suggested and observed by a joker. In this way, several issues were raised and discussed in the workshops that are usually off the table in urban planning meetings; such as white supremacy, drug abuse in youth, parenting experience, etc.

picture 36: Challenging the established power positions of organizers/participants

Finally, in terms of technical capacities that I discussed from Foucault's point of view in urban planning methods, "theater for change" has a large responsibility. It is not only about reducing the gap between experts and people by introducing new roles, but it is also about how to release the disciplined bodies or docile-bodies to actively play role in a strategy in contrast with the dominant one. Here again, theater helps that instead of ordering and empowering bodies to maximize the profits, those bodies make a new order/disorder to maximize inclusion. In these workshops, urban planning does not order people to obey its rules or to serve for its functionality, but spect-actors change urban planning/designs and create forms of resistance for making their own wishes happen in urban planning. They take roles of authorities, discuss their own problems in the neighborhood, build their ideal neighborhood and finally find the solutions to change their neighborhood in reality. The important point in this method is neither the information taken from participants nor the knowledge given to them. The point is a sense of common courage built by participants that seeks its way to transform the reality after workshops.

Since during the games, spect-actors find their potential to make a change, they tend to utilize their capacities for contrary objectives, for resistance.

In addition to all aspects of disciplines that I tried to change in my proposed method, the different forms of resistance emerged in the workshops. I should return to the three forms of resistance that Foucault explains: against forms of domination, against forms of exploitation and against forms of submission. (Foucault, 1982, p. 781) Each of them took different representations to various extents in each workshop. However, by having immigrants as the core group of workshops and having theater as a tool, I would interpret this resistance with its all tree forms mostly through bodies and against biopower- the biopolitics of population and subjugation of bodies. In the diagram below, I show these forms in brief and then I will discuss them more.

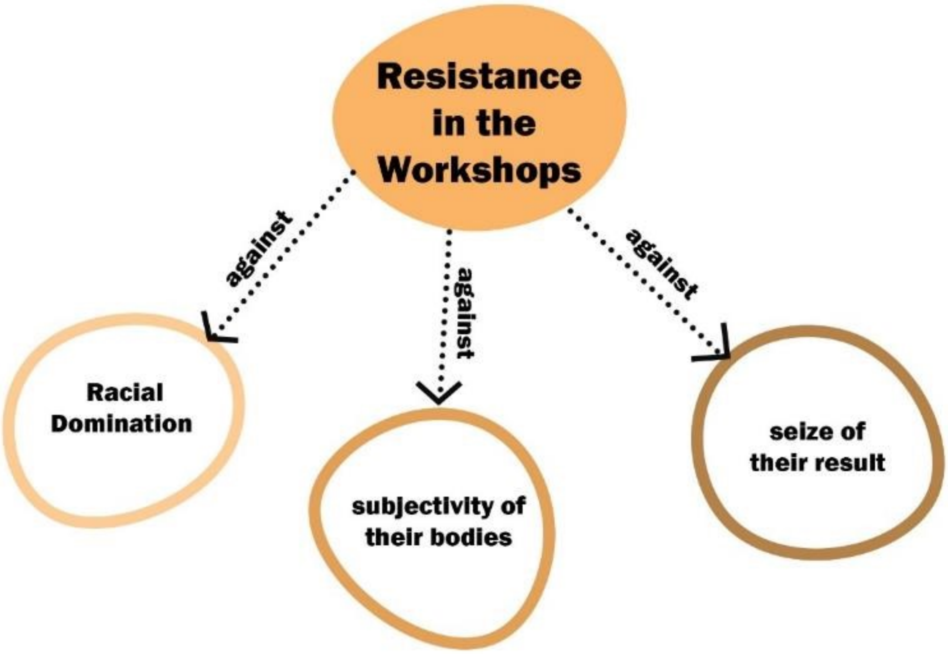


Figure 10: The three forms of resistance in the workshops of theater for change

Foucault's analysis of resistance against the biopower in the nineteenth century has kept its validity until now. Those resisting forces have relied on "life and man as a living being", exactly on what biopower has invested on. (Foucault, 1978, p. 144) Immigrants whose bodies, identities and right to live were under question and administration, claim their right to live, identities and bodies as a way of resistance. This was also the case in the workshops where resistance for life as a political goal, the right to live for immigrants, normalizing their bodies and their life emerged as a force against dominant strategy in participatory urban planning as well as a great strategy in politics. The importance of ideas such as nation, nationality, citizenship, passports, etc. has been to support the great strategy of controlling the borders, population and establishing biopower in all organs of society.

Resistance against racial domination: In three workshops that I conducted, 78 percent of participants were immigrants, refugees or generally people with foreign backgrounds. This absolute majority was not an accident but as I explained before, I tried to ensure that by involving immigrants' and refugees' communities. Therefore, the contradiction of racial proportions in the workshop with racial proportions of society was bold enough to be noticed by participants and observers as well. This had an even better effect than conducting workshops only with a segregated group of 100 percent immigrants. In this way, the racial domination of society was challenged by the presence of immigrants with their whole entity, language, issues, needs and identities. They could also interpret their participation and occupying the space of the workshop with their undisciplined bodies as a resistance. One participant said: "this workshop is not white, it is colorful as Hervanta is, and the future of Finland should be." Another one made a joke: "Now we can rule because we are in majority!" and one who saw the pictures of workshops afterward argued: "it was apparently full of black-heads!". These comments regardless of being considered shocking or interesting, show the fact that this contrary formation of workshops is both noticeable and important.

Resistance against the subjectivity of bodies: In addition to resistance against racial domination, people enabled by the theatrical method to reclaim their bodies. Similar to what Foucault describes sex and discourses around that, I would say that immigrant bodies are not simply judged; they are to be administered. (Foucault, 1978, p. 24) The subjugation of bodies, as I discussed before, has been an important part of biopower application to maximize efficiency and obedience of population. Consequently, resistance against this submission was an important part of the struggle. "Theater for change" evokes bodies to act disobedience, to be part of changing and to challenge power, disciplines and controls over the bodies. In this method, the bodies transform from docile-bodies to leader-bodies. They take the lead of changes in their environment, their neighborhood based on their priorities. For example, in the second part of the workshops after making the scene, they discussed the problems of the neighborhood, they shared their ideas of ideal neighborhood and finally, they had a chance to build all their ideas and discuss to find a real solution to make it happen. This whole process put spect-actors in authorities' shoes. Even if they were acting as themselves not playing the role of an architect, stakeholder or city officer, they took those responsibilities and they took the power connected to them. Therefore, they were no longer nobodies but the bodies who have the control and power to make change in the neighborhood.

picture 37: "Theater for change" evokes bodies to act disobedience, to be part of changing and to challenge power, disciplines and controls over the bodies.

Resistance against seizing of the result: As the third form of resistance, spect-actors entered the struggle against forms of exploitation that separates them from what they produce. In the last part of this method, participants had the full possibility to change the whole neighborhood by demolishing the buildings, removing everything and make an ideal neighborhood. What I observed in all three workshops was the fact that they did not demolish buildings – except once that police institution was removed- and instead they added their desired buildings, functions, atmosphere and elements. This behavior or choice of the act could have different meanings and reasons. It might be because they made the neighborhood scene themselves and actually it was their own version of Hervanta, not what you can find from the maps- and so, they already felt attached to the result. It also could be because everybody puts his/her own favorite or daily-use place such as home, workplace or entertainment space. They mostly ignored other parts of Hervanta where they are not related to.

In one of the games in the second part of the workshops, participants should locate themselves in a place they feel related to. By doing so, they could own the place they made-the result- by occupying that point. In that stage, spect-actors could act even as the place itself rather than locating themselves in there. All these together impact on the relation of spect-actors to the neighborhood. It was not anymore only a piece of map on the paper or meaningless wooden blocks but a closer representation of neighborhood with its all feelings. Additionally, it resulted in feeling a part of the neighborhood, included in the process of building, reshaping and changing it. Maybe the most important part of this method, as I mentioned earlier, is its sense of incompleteness that seeks the result in the real life of participants. In other words, participants not only own the result, but they would also live the result. However, this question still remains for this research because participants are also part of the production of this research; so how do they get this result or get the benefit of it?

picture 38: The spect-actors building their own version of Hervanta

Although this method brings several innovations to participatory urban planning, it has similarities with other methods, especially with gaming methods. On the other hand, this method is very inspired by and close to “TO”- theater of the oppressed- by Augusto Boal and still it is different from that. This method is not even a simple application of TO in participatory urban planning. The point is that the method of “theater for change” reconstructs and reutilize those identical formulas of urban planning methods and theatrical games for objectives of challenging power structures. This method aims to include marginalized people to the most extent, not by “using” them and their ideas that are mostly the case in participatory urban planning processes, and not even by “empowering” them and helping them to have a voice which is mostly the case in TO. This aim is achieved by opening new possibilities in the method that gives space to many forms of disobedience and resistance that already exists in the power networks.

In my opinion, it is not accidental that the result of these workshops or the data out of them- that was analyzed in the previous chapter- is much more than architectural solutions or ideas. Indeed, even those ideas have roots in deeper discussions born through the games. The method of theater for change by its small changes in routines, norms and disciplines provide a large base for the variety of ideas and issues come to act. It is not that those ideas and issues are not acting or occurring in everyday life, but it is to include them in a field of practice that has been ignorance of them. Therefore, it is not a one-way relation between this method and acts of resistance. Reciprocally, those acts also include this method of participatory urban planning and become open to that. I think even the method of theater for change can be transformed through the acts of resistance which it tries to include.

In conclusion, I can recognize that “life” and “the right to life” has been in the center of these workshops and in the center of this method; Life -not only as a collection of small everyday acts and efforts but as the realization of being. In this era that power is applied at the level of life, so is resistance. This method as a call for change in power structures and change in urban planning processes would work as a tool for resistance again at the level of life. Foucault explains about this core question of biopower and resistance against it: “It was life more than the law that became the issue of political struggles, even if the latter were formulated through affirmations concerning rights. The "right" to life, to one's body, to health, to happiness, to the satisfaction of needs, and beyond all the oppressions or "alienations," the "right" to rediscover what one is and all that one can be, this "right" -which the classical juridical system was utterly incapable of comprehending was the political response to all these new procedures of power...” (Foucault, 1978, p. 145)

4. CONCLUSION

4.1 Conclusion

Urban planning and decision-making processes have been questioned for being exclusive and not comprehensive to all needs of people. Participatory urban planning has tried to answer this question and to make the process more inclusive and open to people by creative and innovative methods. However, this does not clarify who are "the people" and the target of participatory urban planning. "People" is not a homogenous group and the fact that which group is representative of all is a question of power relations. Participatory urban planning has mostly addressed the power relations between people and urban planners and silenced the one between different groups of people. This made participatory urban planning remain exclusive for marginalized people and minorities.

In this research, I asked how we can engage the excluded groups of people in participatory urban planning. I started my investigation with studying power and power relations with the Foucaultian approach. I tried to understand the new ways of exercising power and resistance in the power matrix in order to recognize them in urban planning processes. I explained how power dictates various disciplines to space, the bodies and life. From there, I tried to answer the first sub-question of this research: "What are the obstacles in the existing process of participation which make it exclusive?" By reflecting the power analysis of Foucault on participatory methods and discussing different opinions of thinkers and researchers in urban planning, I came to understand the challenges and obstacles in participatory urban planning.

As I discussed extensively before, these obstacles are not limited to methods. Participation by itself carries the questions of majoritarianism and the power relations that force themselves on each step of participation. I categorized these obstacles to four: how opportune groups and organized collectives get more chance of participation rather than individuals and marginalized people with nonconformist racial backgrounds- immigrants (invitation), how a space can reproduce the disciplines that impact more on certain groups of people and prevent them from presence and presentation in that space (space), how the facilitator or organizers are the continuation of authority and embodied power in participatory urban planning processes and how they are able to apply their power and lead the process to a different direction (facilitator), and how the methods that participatory urban planning is carried out through consider certain topics "irrelevant", focus only on architectural solutions, are limited in the ways of communication, are unmodifiable and force the "consent" in various ways to the participants.

From all the obstacles, I focused on the methods and tried to overcome the shortcomings of participatory urban planning methods with an alternative solution, though I attempted to answer the other obstacles (invitation, space, and facilitator) as well in my experiment- workshops.

To answer the second sub-question, I advantaged from theatrical games and methods of Augusto Boal. "What are the new ways to make urban planning more inclusive and open for everyone?". Boal's theater has plenty potentials for democratizing a research/project, involving a large variety of people, deconstructing traditional frameworks, releasing the bodies and questioning power structures. Though all these characteristics make his theater suitable for the purposes of my research, as I explained there is still a traditional understanding of power and oppression in Boal's system of thought. Furthermore, Boal's theater has been used in many different fields of art and research and has proved itself with significant results, but in the field of urban planning, it has been almost untouched or not properly incorporated. By criticizing the incompatible aspects of TO-theater of the oppressed- with Foucaultian approach and by incorporating those methods to participatory urban planning, I tried to create and suggest a new method that I called "theater for change". My proposal was a plan for two-hours workshop including two steps: games and image theater in urban planning. In the first steps, I chose some theatrical games of Boal which were more appropriate for the purpose of my research. I needed some games that besides making people know each other, making them feel as a team and releasing their bodies and emotions, prepare the participants or spect-actors for spatial imagination and discussions about their neighborhood. In the second step, I created some games from combining theater with urban planning methods. In these games, spect-actors were playing their own roles on the theater stage where they had built their neighborhood. These games were something between theater and participatory urban planning discussions, both of them and none of them at the same time. I wanted the participants to point out the problems in the neighborhood- Hervanta, make their wishes for the neighborhood and discuss the solutions.

The experimental workshops indicated the impact of the proposed method- theater for change- on the process and result. However, it was not only the method but also the invitation process and collaboration with neighborhood communities, the space of holding workshops and the joker role that ensured the participation of immigrants and an open atmosphere to express themselves. I explained the process of each workshop and the outcomes in every step and every game in detail. The overall result shows that the games enabled spect-actors to activate their bodies, express their feelings freely, go beyond the norms and disciplines and discuss the issues that are tied to their lives as immigrants.

To achieve that result and to find an answer to the third sub-question of this research- "How can we encourage our target group to talk about their special needs?"- the new method had to face several power-related obstacles in participatory urban planning methods. Based on the power analysis of Foucault, I put the focus of the new method on four important aspects which are the fields of exercising bio-power and disciplines: norms and disciplinary techniques, games of communication, power relations and technical capacities. The theater for change gives space to the feelings and human experiences to be heard and improves the creativity and imagination of participants. By doing so, it opposes the disciplines in those methods of participatory urban planning that limit people's minds to reality, architectural solutions and practical possibilities and neglects their feelings and everyday experiences. This method also decentralizes the communication methods from verbal communication to a combination of verbal and facial communication and body expressions. Theater for change puts "life" in the center of workshops and everything else such as neighborhood, buildings, forms and functions or social issues are allowed to be discussed and addressed because they are parts of spec-actors' lives.

Therefore, there is no topic or way of discussion in this method that is forced by power relations within the field of urban planning, but the forces of participants intersect and determine the topic and the way it should be addressed. Furthermore, theater for change transforms the technical capacities of participants from what established power requires them to what they require to resist the established power. The method itself does not require high technical capacities to be learned and used, but it can improve the skills of participants or prove them their skills to recognize the problems, find the solutions and make their ideal alternatives for their neighborhood.

Finally, for the last sub-question of this research – "Which aspects need more attention in order to be more inclusive?"- the method of theater for change relies on the participants, their forces and their "resistance". As I discussed before, even when I claim marginalized people or minorities are excluded from urban planning and decision-making processes, they are not in an exterior position to the existing power relations. They are forces within the same power matrix and act/react accordingly which can weaken or strengthen one strategy of power or another. This method tries to improve those forces that are acting as a form of resistance against the biopower and the disciplines it dictates. Therefore, it is important to pay attention to resistance aspects to include them and make them stronger in the power network. I explained that this resistance is against either a form of domination, the subjectivity of the bodies or the seize of the production. While working with a minority group or marginalized people, it is important to have them in the majority or a dominant position at least in one aspect that they are more marginalized; it can be race, gender, nationality, class, etc. Additionally, it is important to activate the bodies not just as a tool subjugated to the workshop's purposes, but as a free subject, able to occupy and transform the space around it, as a "social body" opposed to a "docile-body" and as an expression of "the right to life". The last point that should be considered is to involve the participants or spect-actors to the result of the workshops as much as possible. They should not be separated from the ideas they produce. Being inclusive in urban planning is not only about inclusion in the first steps of the planning process, but it should also continue to the final steps and including people in the outcomes.

Although I assert that this method disturbs imbalances in the power relations of urban planning methods, I do not claim that it can change the whole power structures of urban planning which are rooted in the organizations of municipalities and the state. This method can act more as a resistance point against those institutions as embodied power. When Boal created TO methods, he aimed to change the society; but I agree with Foucault that there is not always such a "great radical rupture" to change the whole society. There are usually small acts of resistance affecting the power imbalances and this method is one of them. In this sense, it can be considered more as self-organized urban planning that the communities can make in a collaboration with residents or users of a neighborhood. However, if it remains only in the areas where are less in the control of authorities or in those fields of planning that are not facing official urban planning, it would have less chance to impact on the existing power network. In addition, theater for change has its own functionalities for official urban planning. The innovations, theatrical games and the communication through bodies in this method are useful for working with different groups such as youths or groups with different languages and this is not only for NGOs and communities but also for city organizations and authorities. In the best situation, this method can work as a common language or as a bridge between minority groups that try to be heard and the authorities recognize the importance of listening to “the other voices”.

As the results of the experimental workshops show and I explained before, the proposed ideas of the participants are mostly about the functions they need in the neighborhood, the general atmosphere of the neighborhood and the social relations. This information is needed and desirable for urban planners in the process of a master plan. However, this does not mean that a detailed planning process cannot benefit from this method, but to do that, it needs some modifications. This is also the case about the propriety of this method for planning new areas, larger scale areas, town plans, etc. Though I did the experiment of this method for neighborhood design and for a neighborhood that already exists, the method of theater for change has potentials to be used in larger scales and new areas planning as well. Indeed, the necessary modifications of the method for new purposes need to be researched and experimented separately. For example, in my proposed plan for workshops, joker(s) should ask spect-actors to build their existing neighborhoods and to discuss their problems. These are important parts of the plan which in the case of planning a new area would be useless. Instead, they should be replaced with other games that lead the imagination and creativity of participants toward planning a whole new area. Therefore, this method because of its flexibility can be suitable for different types of urban planning with changing the games and steps.

More importantly, this method is useful in the projects that not only the ideas, wishes and thoughts of people needs to be considered, but also activating people and a two-way transformation process is desired. By two-way transformation, I mean what Boal explains about the transformation process: “To transform is to be transformed. The action of transforming is, in itself, transforming.” (Boal, 1979, p. xxi) Therefore, during this process, it is not only the urban planning method that is transformed by people, but also people themselves, the urban planners and all the collaborating communities change. This method not only gives urban planners the data they need for future urban planning and democratize the planning process by considering the marginalized people’s opinions, but it also continues its impacts after the end of workshops; when everyday life begins, and the people are enabled to participate in other urban issues more actively and innovatively. As Boal said: “these theatrical forms create a sort of uneasy sense of incompleteness that seeks fulfillment through real action” (Boal 2000, p. 120.)

In conclusion, the most important aspect of this method in my opinion, is its flexibility. This flexibility makes the method more inclusive for different groups of people, forms a trust between them and builds an act of common courage to find solutions and to change the undesired reality surrounding them. This flexibility also prevents the method to be static and therefore, while transforming the reality, the method is transformed itself. This happened in the process of this research from the first draft of this method to the final experiment and it will continue to change if it is used in future projects. Nevertheless, this research could not deepen this method in terms of the different time period of workshops, different planning scales and purposes and different minorities. For instance, it is possible to have several workshops with the same group of people rather than one workshop for each different group. In that case, this method can deepen the conversations and also can go to further steps in planning and building the neighborhood/town/city in a longer period. Or in the case of working with vulnerable groups, this should be done with further considerations that I did not investigate in this research. It would be useful if, in future researches and projects, theater for change can be experimented with various groups of people and different types of urban planning and especially in actual projects by the city that requires the continuation of the process until the construction and utilizing the space.

In the end, I provide a brief handbook for the architects, urban planners, researchers or activists who are interested in benefiting from this method.

4.2 Handbook of Theater for Change

First Step: Games (These are the minimum numbers of games in a 2-hours workshop; in case of having more time – in one workshop or having more than one workshop with a particular group- you can add more games.)

1. First explain the plan and goals of the workshop to the participants, explain the roles of spec-actors and joker(s) and give a brief introduction about the method "theater for change", take the consent of participants for documenting the workshop and ask if they need further explanations
    - It is good that you have more than one joker so it would be easier for the documentation, playing the games with spect-actors and observation on smaller groups (when the number of participants is more than what you expected, and you need to divide them to smaller groups)

2. It is better if you do not use written questionnaires but if you need some information of the participants for the research or evaluation of the workshops, you can have short oral question and answers in an informal way.

3. After the explanations, you can start playing games to get to know each other. These games can be chosen from the book "games for actors and non-actors" by Boal. These games are only for ice breaking and knowing each other. You can also invent a game for this purpose.
    - An example of this game: all people stay in a circle and tell their names one after on. In the second round they tell their names plus an adjective, a noun, a facial or body expression that tells something about their character. In the third round, all people repeat the name and character of each person after them.
        - Note if this helps people to know each other or remember the names.
        - Note if some people have difficulties to use their bodies as a tool for expression

4. After knowing each other, you need to play some games that create a community sense. This game should be teamwork and encourages the spect-actors to interact with each other. It depends on the purpose of your workshop that what kind of group games is most suitable. You can use the games from Boal's book- games for actors and non-actors- or invent one yourself.
    - An example of this game that also connects the participant's imaginations to spatial ideas: spect-actors should try to make different shapes together, like a circle, a road, a tree, etc. After joker suggesting some shapes, participants can also suggest some ideas to be played.

  - Note if participants are self-organized and play active roles in the team
  - Note if participants bring their own ideas or they just follow the joker(s)

5. You also need some games that make participants use more their bodies to express their feelings. This can be very basic theatrical games for exercising emotions, or it can be more complicated. This does not need to be in this step of the workshop. It can be played at the beginning or later and even more than once. Because it improves spect-actors' skills to communicate through bodies rather than words.
    - An example of this game: participants stay in a circle and joker asks them to show different feelings like happiness, sadness, anger, anxiety, etc. The spect-actors can suggest some emotions to be played
    - This can be followed by a discussion about feelings, differences in expressing feelings, etc.
    - Note if they are better in showing some special feelings and discuss why
    - If some feelings are more important or relevant to the purpose of your workshop (for example "fear" in case of working with women to plan safer spaces, etc.) you can play more around that specific feeling and deepen the conversation based on that

6. If the number of participants is between 6-12 you need to divide them into two groups or if there are more than 12 participants, you can have more groups accordingly. This is because participants need to have closer interactions with some. Then each group can decide to show a concept in the scene with no talking to the other group. The joker can define that the concept should be in what framework based on the purpose of the workshop; for instance: a concept related to the neighborhood. When one group plays an image or an idea, another group tries to perceive that image or idea. Therefore, they should try to be understandable for another group.
    - Note: it is not about guessing what one group is presenting, because if an image could be translated into the words, we did not need that image.
    - You can also discuss different perceptions of one image with spect-actors
    - Note what kind of concepts they choose to show and if they benefit from using bodies rather than words
    - If the concept is relevant or important for your workshop you can discuss it more and even continue to make images about it

Second Step: Theater for change in urban planning

This step does more depend on the kind of urban planning you are going to have the workshop for. As I explained this step is developed for a neighborhood design that already exists, so the planning is for possible changes to the current situation of neighborhood.

1. Ask the participants to decorate space with simple objects that you provide (small boxes, papers, and colors) to represent the neighborhood. You can also provide some maps to help the participants. They should identify the main ele-

ments in the neighborhood including natural elements and the built environment. Then they use simple objects to represent those elements. After they put the objects in their places, the space of the workshop turns to a theater stage or scene showing the whole neighborhood on small scale.

- It is good to make the scene as big as possible or with enough empty spaces for participants so if they want to play a role later (as a building, road, tree or a person), they would have space to be part of the scene
- Note how spect-actors identify their neighborhood and what the most important things are for them. What they choose to show and what they ignore in the neighborhood. How well they represent the elements with what kind of objects.
- If you have the workshop for planning a new area, this game is unnecessary. Instead, you can use some games to improve their spatial imaginations.

2. After having the stage ready, spect-actors should stand on the point they live, work, study or feel related to. They can either talk about how they feel or express their feelings about the things which are in their surroundings (what they see, what they like and what they do not like). They can also talk in the role of a building, a park, etc. to say if they have a problem with their users.
   - Note that to which parts of Hervanta people are related to, what are the most likes and dislikes, what are the problems
   - In case of planning for a new area, it is still useful to ask about the problems and dislikes in other areas in order to avoid them in the new planning

3. After recognizing the problems, joker asks spect-actors to build their ideal neighborhood. It can be one group or one person or everybody together who start to show their wishes (How they wish their neighborhood looks like, what kind of things they wish to happen- it can have very fantasy aspects). They can change the location of elements, add or remove something, destroy the whole neighborhood and build a new one, etc.
   - People can also take a role in the scene. They can play a role as a person or not. Since some wishes are usually about social relations, they can play them as an image again and discuss it if it is relevant for the workshop.
   - During all the process of transforming the neighborhood, any spect-actors can intervene and stop the process or change it afterward to what they wish, or think is a better solution.
   - The last version should be discussed with everybody if they all agree it is their ideal neighborhood.
   - Note: joker(s) can give explanations or ask questions but should not give any opinion about the solutions or wishes. Joker should remind the participants that they do not have to be realistic. It is important that they can have imaginary ideas, so they are not limited in what they have seen before.
   - Note: joker should observe how they shape their wishes (in group or individual), if their wishes are imaginary or realistic, what feelings there are, etc.

4. In the last part, spect-actors try to fill the gap between real problems of the neighborhood with the ideal neighborhood they wish. What should be done?

What is the role of them in this process? They can also take the role of city authorities/urban planners/activist or to play as themselves and find out the things they can do.

- Note: joker(s) should observe if the participants can agree on some solutions, if the previous steps help them to come with better ideas, how they share their information and help each other to build a solution, if they really get enough courage to take their solutions out of the workshops in the real life, etc.
- Brainstorming about solutions and wishes

5. For evaluation of the workshop, it is good to have a small oral questionnaire about how the workshop went, how was the experience, if anybody is eager to participate in these workshops in the future or want to do something in the neighborhood based on what has been discussed, etc.

6. At the very final step, it is recommended that we do not end the workshop with a heavy brainstorming but with another energy boosting game. This final game is only for recovering from the discussion, so you can be creative about it.

An example of this game: everybody in a circle, hands up, start from left hand counting and waving hand until 8, then right-hand, then hips, then left leg, then right leg. All these continue with counting and moving 4 times, 2times and once and in each step the level of energy should increase.

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