Understanding the Process of Memory Politics in Västra Hamnen's Redevelopment

A Consideration of Heritage in Urban Design

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Abstract:

The research aims to understand and explore the process of memory politics that has underpinned the redevelopment of Västra Hamnen's built environment, and the extent to which these considerations have actively shaped the urban design of the area, for better or worse, in relation to the values Malmö Stad have sought to express through the area's narrative shift. The research has endeavoured to achieve the aforementioned aims by way of qualitative semi-structured interviews with participants from three different professional backgrounds, each of whom has been closely involved in the redevelopment process, as well as through site-visits and observational analysis. A conceptual framework inspired by Till and Kuusisto-Arponen's responsible approach to *memory politics* (2015), in addition to Atkinson and Cosgrove's work on *urban rhetoric* and *embodied identities* (1998), has been employed throughout. The research ultimately shows how an ever-present, if at times inconsistent, approach towards memory politics has enabled Malmö Stad to balance different opinions (planning-wise) and representations (in the built environment) so as to successfully realise a narrative shift in Västra Hamnen that not only encapsulates the urban design goals at its heart, but retains the character of the sites heritage (both tangible and intangible), as well as the potential for its increased communication throughout the built environment in years to come. Lastly, owing to a distinct lack of any perceived backlash and a wide-spread appreciation for a formerly 'detached' area becoming 'attached', the fluid process of memory politics underlying Västra Hamnen's redevelopment can be understood, from the professional perspectives, as responsible and appropriate within the site's specific context.

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Introduction:

The theme of the thesis, inspired by Atkinson and Cosgrove's analysis of the Vittorio II Monument in Rome (1998), will incorporate their attention to *urban rhetoric* and *embodied identities* towards and of place into the processes of *memory politics* that have shaped the new built environment of Västra Hamnen in Malmö. As particular places and landscapes acquire a broad range of ascribed meanings and memories, dependant on whom is interacting with them, a transformation as significant as the re-development of Västra Hamnen likely carries with it a particular and profound process of "memory politics" (Till and Kuusisto-Arponen, 2015: 292). These processes are fuelled by numerous different actors and their aims and claims of authenticity or appropriateness regarding the site in question, in both the designing-phase and aftermath. With the district transitioning from an industrial area of working-class employment to an affluent and environmentally sustainable area of residence and creative business, the importance of a shift in the '*sense of place*' (to expand upon Atkinson & Cosgrove) is a key focus in the process of re-developing the area. However, this carries with it the potential for a negative or regressive sense of place if particular heritages, both tangible and intangible, have been overly neglected, or rather, overly embodied within the new built environment.

Therefore, the specific problem addressed in this thesis will be the extent to which 'memory politics' have played a role in the actual design considerations of Västra Hamnen's new built environment, as well as the sense of place that developers have sought to nurture in relation to the site's heritage. As sustainable re-development is likely to increase globally in future years, given our growing environmental concerns and evolving sustainability goals, the importance of protecting and representing memory and place meaning in our built environments cannot be overlooked, as it may risk, if we're not careful, the loss of valuable heritages and embodied identities, or the preservation of problematic ones. On the other hand, if handled correctly, a new direction in the narrative of a particular built environment may rejuvenate or elevate an associated sense of place in the eyes of more local residents, businesses and authorities, as well as through connections and visitors from further afield. Nonetheless, gaining an understanding of this dynamic allows us to better understand, approach and undertake our future (re)developments – *responsibly* and *ethically* (Till and Kuusisto-Arponen, 2015). Lastly, in order to appropriately analyse the dynamic of memory politics in Västra Hamnen a *three-point approach* consisting of *sense of place*, *heritage*, and *urban design*, will be employed throughout this research; alongside a dual methodology of semi-structured interviews with prominent actors involved in the area's redevelopment and cultural preservation, and on-site observations and analysis by the researcher.

Research Questions:
- What has been the overall process of memory politics implemented throughout the redevelopment of Västra Hamnen?

- How has this process of memory politics affected the design of Västra Hamnen's new built environment?

- And finally, has there been any significant opposition or reaction, positive or negative, from the professional perspectives involved?

Discussions on Place: Framing Memory Politics:

Understanding the Built Environment:

For the purpose of this research I will be adopting Roof and Oleru's definition of the 'built environment', which is "the human made space in which people live, work, and recreate on a day-to-day basis" (2008: 24). Whilst 'urban' is hard to define, as its specific features vary across, and even within, fields of research (Jonas, McCann and Thomas, 2015: 7), the term is characterised by "certain phenomena, infrastructures, [and] experiences" that can be understood as *urban* (Ibid), of which, regarding this research, the *built environment* is recognised as forming an integral part. In terms of 'landscape', one of its principle definitions, as described by Duncan (1995), will be adhered to here; this is "that landscape is a portion of a natural and cultural environment – it is material" (p.414). To clarify, in light of these definitions, the *built environment* effectively refers to an 'urban landscape'; one that has been constructed with a particular purpose, whilst remaining tied to specific natural factors. In the case of Västra Hamnen this purpose has drastically changed; and according to Mitchell, our understanding of the dialectical processes of landscapes – or, in our case, the redeveloping of the built environment – is critical to understanding how they function (2002: 383). *Memory politics*, of course, can be a significant source of debate and constraint, and represent a key consideration regarding both planning and perception. As Bandarin and van Oers assert, the urban landscape, and thus, the built environment, "is a defining feature of every city, a value to be understood, preserved and enhanced through attentive policies and public participation" (2012: xi). In this context, preservation and enhancement should walk hand-in-hand, in a way that enables progressive development to be undertaken, whilst respecting the unique and defining heritages of the built environment in question.

Delving deeper into the discussion of the built environment, Whatmore stresses the hybridity of these areas as a result of their relationship with natural environments, terming the former a 'social pole' and the latter a 'natural pole', and suggesting that the hierarchy of urban areas can depend on this relationship (1999: 25). To explain, in the case of Västra Hamnen, the design and importance of the built environment here has always been related to its natural surroundings, the Øresund, in the form of the preceding shipyards, which of course depended on the sea; and the subsequent waterfront orientated redevelopment,

which capitalises on the desirability of this natural feature. In relation to hierarchy, this relationship has ensured that Västra Hamnen has long been, and will continue to be, a key economic hub and source of international connection for the city of Malmö. In addition, its newly encouraged desirability as a residential area, as well as being a site for innovative and knowledge-focused business, has only added to the area's significance. Furthermore, Västra Hamnen's street plan has been designed to represent a "grid that has been distorted by the wind" (Foletta & Field, 2011: 87), a consideration that reflects both the *natural pole* in its immediate vicinity, whilst also being a protective design to help mitigate the effects of traffic in the residential neighbourhoods (Ibid) – a consideration reflecting the *social pole*. Whereas the intricacies of Västra Hamnen's urban design will be discussed in greater depth further on, this presents a good example of how both social and natural factors help to shape the character of our built environments.

Västra Hamnen: a glimpse into the future?

In the words of Malmö Stad:

"*The aim is to make Västra Hamnen an international leading example of a densely populated, environmentally sound neighbourhood. A city district that inspires creativity, develops further knowledge and stimulates economic growth*" (2006: 2).

At the time of writing this aim was gradually, but steadily, being realized, with around 80 companies of varying sizes established in the area; 6000 workers; 950 completed housing units; an array of shops, cafés and restaurants; public transport links; educational institutions; and a vast range of planned developments in the works – and this was only 2006 (Ibid: 8). If we fast forward to 2019, following the completion of the initial Bo01, then the subsequent Bo02 (Flagghusen) and Bo03 (Fullriggaren) developments – to name but a few of the many completed and ongoing projects in Västra Hamnen – the built environment is far-removed from its progressive position only thirteen years prior, and even more so from the decaying industrial environment that preceded Bo01 and sparked the ensuing change. The figures from last year underline this radical shift, with a total population of 9,469 permanent residents and a workforce of 16,163 (across over 400 companies) standing as testament to the seemingly successful transition from an area of heavy industry to a knowledge-based, creative and residential one (Malmö Stadsbyggnadskontor, 2018: 7). Where the *Kockums crane* once stood as Västra Hamnen's colossal monument to the "golden years" of industrial prosperity (Tannerfeldt, 2000: 198), the skyline is now dominated by the towering and futuristic presence of the *Turning Torso* – a commercial and residential skyscraper – which, in the eyes of Malmö Stad, "has become a symbol of post-industrial Malmö" (2015: 5). In all aspects, from purpose to form, Västra Hamnen is well on its way towards fully realizing Malmö Stad's original aim; providing what could easily be interpreted as a 'glimpse into the future' of our ever-adapting cityscapes.

Originating with the planned development of a housing exhibition in 1996, after financial support was put forward by a combination of Swedish state agencies and the European Union, the initial Bo01 neighbourhood was completed in 2001 (Pries, 2017: 115). Ever since, this continued overhaul of Västra Hamnen, through replacing a dilapidated industrial landscape with a sustainable urban development at the forefront of modern city-living, has helped to fundamentally change the perception of Malmö as a whole. As Holgersen notes, Västra Hamnen has become 'emblematic' of Malmö's shift in direction (2012: 141), which includes corresponding sustainable (re)developments in numerous areas of the city, from Augustenborg to Hyllie (Malmö Stad, 2016). The ramifications of this shift in the city-wide planning approach, and Västra Hamnen's flagship role within it, has had a profound effect on the way Malmö, and Västra Hamnen in particular, are being interpreted by both internal and external observers. As Pries stipulates:

> "The rust belt legacy that Kockums represented was metaphorically banished by pitching Bo01 as a 'city of the future', thus intervening physically in space as well as in the narrative about Malmö's industrial decline" (2017: 115).

Consequently, not only can this be understood as a departure from the historical narrative of the area – an *internal* dynamic, but the act of placing Bo01 in the European arena, through funding and by way of early rhetoric asserting it as an 'international leading example' for others to follow, Västra Hamnen has incorporated an *external* dynamic in terms of design, function (when thinking in terms of socio-economic expansion) and influence, as part of the area's evolving and highly-sculpted narrative. These ideas of 'future' and 'external connection' have been recognised by many, with Holgersen describing "visions for tomorrow in Västra Hamnen" (2012: 141), and popular guidebook *DK Eyewitness Travel* dubbing the city of Malmö as "Sweden's gateway to Europe" (2014: 182), for example. A more specific instance of Pries' aforementioned notion of simultaneous *physical* and *narrative* intervention in the built environment of Västra Hamnen can be directly attributed to these increasingly close ties with Europe; that being the aptly named 'European Village' area of the Flagghusen (Bo02) development (Malmö Stad, 2015: 25), which, complete with serene canal, has been designed as a compilation of the diverse architectural styles found in different European nations (Ibid). At its core, this development fulfils Holgersen's above-mentioned description of Västra Hamnen as 'emblematic'; firstly, in Malmö's narrative shift, and secondly, regarding Västra Hamnen's intended cosmopolitan identity.

When casting our gaze back to the mid-1990's inception of Bo01, whilst bearing-in-mind the idea of a *cosmopolitan identity*, Pries contextualises these alternative approaches to (re)development against a backdrop of changing social governance in Malmö – there was a "neoliberal idea that Malmö needed to become more demographically attractive" (2017: 109). Consequently, the *Five Goals for a Sustainable Västra Hamnen* reflect this attitude well; these are as follows:

1) "A national example of sustainable city-planning.

2) A knowledge city.
3) Meeting places.
4) The mixed city [regarding socio-economic function].
5) Surprises and attractiveness" (Malmö Stadsbyggnadskontor, 2008: 4).

Aside from a clear deviation of purpose from that of an industrial area to a knowledge-based hub, a multi-faceted approach to Västra Hamnen's function and an inclusive, cosmopolitan appeal saturates these sustainability goals. In the words of Malmö Stad, a key focus of their urban planning has been to "[design] a city that is accessible and welcoming to all, regardless of gender, disability, sexual preference or ethnic background" (2014: 11). *Social sustainability*, therefore, is no less important than environmental sustainability in Malmö's planning process, and it has become apparent that, in addition to providing a new and creative place for the city's existing residents, attracting international business and expertise is also of paramount importance to their vision of success – "a more diverse business sector, less vulnerable to global changes [than heavy industry] has emerged" (Ibid). These architectural and socio-economic principles that have come to define today's Västra Hamnen relate closely to a growing body of literature focused on the idea of a 'European identity'. Delanty and Jones discuss this thoroughly, with a suitably emphasised warning in relation to the balancing-act this discourse entails:

> "In these writings one of the main issues has been how European identity can be defined in a way that avoids the excessively ethnocentric assumptions of national identity and, on the other hand, does not become a meaningless bureaucratic identity" (2002: 455).

It comes as no great surprise that a focus on discerning a European identity present in architecture across Europe coincides with the implementation of Malmö's reformed development principles and Västra Hamnen's subsequent new lease-of-life. When looking back over the 'five sustainability goals', as well as the rhetoric of Malmö Stad's original aim for the redevelopment, an external outlook appears to have been recognised as a key strategy for strengthening Malmö's socio-economic qualities in both a national and international context. For a specific and increasingly profound example of such international connection we need look no further than the 'Øresund Region', with the creation of a fixed link between Sweden and Denmark, in the form of the Øresund Bridge, that sought to "transform Skåne's peripheral location in Sweden into a central location in Europe" (Olesen & Metzger, 2017: 3). Aside from better-linking Malmö with the Danish capital Copenhagen, which had a similarly pronounced economic slump in the 1970's and 80s (Ibid), the idea of an Øresund Region, in one form or another, has helped to promote economic growth on both sides of the water, as well as underlining Malmö's aforementioned status as 'Sweden's gateway to Europe'.

Memory Politics:

Till and Kuusisto-Arponen's *'Towards Responsible Geographies of Memory'* (2015) seeks to "develop Entrikin's ... concept of *cosmopolitan place* as a contribution both to ongoing discussions about the profession of Geography ... and to geographical research about place and memory" (p.292). Entrikin's 'cosmopolitan place' effectively sought to emphasise the complex and relational qualities of place, particularly regarding the numerous political and globalizing factors that shape identity, as opposed to the particularities of localised communal and physical settings (1999). Whilst this is not a firm move away from the important qualities of 'genius loci', or "the spirit of place" (Barnes, 2004: 591), Till and Kuusisto-Arponen rightfully acknowledge the various stakeholder groups, both local and global, that hold a connection to particular places through historical and 'lived' experience, or by way of ongoing and future socio-political and economic connections. These factors all contribute towards what Till and Kuusisto-Arponen term as processes of *"memory politics"* (2015: 292), which, as they argue, should represent the foundations of any place-based understanding, and which I propose as being essential for the undertaking of any subsequent (re)development of place and landscape. As Alderman and Inwood affirm, "while memory is ostensibly about the past, it is shaped to serve ideological interests in the present and to carry certain cultural beliefs into the future" (2013: 187); a statement that effectively elaborates upon Chang and Huang's research into *recreating place*, where the important but delicate balance between 'modern dynamism' and heritage is emphasised as being a source of significant tension (2005).

In light of the intrinsic tensions and balances involved in recreating place, and for the purpose of this research, three key principles of Till and Kuusisto-Arponen's framework shall be explored in relation to the underlying *memory politics* of the redevelopment process in Västra Hamnen. These are:

(1) That landscape is acknowledged as a place of critical testimony.
(2) That singular claims to the authenticity of place are problematized.
(3) That places and landscapes are recognised as having progressive potential for cosmopolitan encounter and learning (2015).

Whereas their framework is designed with the aim of tackling critical testimonies surrounding places 'marked by violence' (Ibid), I believe that these principles hold-true regarding any contested places, violent or not, and our understanding of them. Foote notes how, "as a geographer [he] could not help but notice that sites themselves [seem] to play an active role in their own interpretation" (1997: 5-6; in Cresswell, 2015: 124); and when combined with the notion that "people do not always freely choose how the past becomes part of them" (Till, 2006: 336), it becomes clear that places, whether they have 'violent' histories or not, are active agents in how individuals perceive and approach them, both consciously and subconsciously; and that 'critical testimony' and 'authenticity' are, as a result, highly variable in both focus and degree of feeling, as well as being naturally occurring sentiments. In terms of memory politics, this underlines that *any* place can evoke numerous claims of authenticity,

as well as a critical testimony regarding its subsequent significance, or lack thereof. As Alderman and Inwood clarify, "even when landscapes of memory do not mark the location of remembered historic events, they can give the past an everyday familiarity and spatial permanence" (2013: 188), which can be extended from individuals to groups, and across time or generations.

Naturally, *place* holds a central role in geographic research, and past analyses by geographers have significantly contributed to exploring the relationship between *landscape*, *contestation*, *(re)development* and *public memory* (Alderman & Inwood, 2013: 187). A particular observation of this discourse – alluded to in the above link between *memory* and *ideological interests* – is central when pursuing research in relation to memory politics, and that is the idea that "what is remembered tells us as much about the present and future as the past" (Ibid). As DeLyser's work demonstrates, decisions based on what is represented or omitted from the built environment have a significant effect on the cultural ideals and values that are perceived in contemporary society (1999). In the case of Västra Hamnen a conscious design consideration to emphasise a focus on sustainable and knowledge-based activity, as well as to be a national and international example, has seen architects and urban planners dramatically reconstruct the built environment. Whilst the pre-existing buildings and infrastructure were largely incompatible with the new functions of the area, and aside from a relatively small section of protected buildings, the new architectural designs are far-removed from their preceding counterparts. Whereas this is to be expected, and necessary given the desired change, the narrative shift that Pries spoke of earlier could see memory *of*, and attachment *to*, Västra Hamnen's industrial heritage fade over time – whether by accident or intent.

There is value in preservation however, as DeSilvey and Edensor note, "ruins are often mobilized to critique normative ideas about productive and unproductive space, and [to] confound visions of urban order promoted by city marketers" (2013: 475). Although I would add 'relics' in addition to 'ruins', as the old engine-house has been repurposed, it is important to consider this dynamic between past and present narratives in the built environment, as it may help to enunciate *why* certain changes have had to happen. Of course, this is also a useful example of the type of contested values found within processes of memory politics; one that closely ties the practical design considerations of redevelopment to the 'place marketing' side. According to Jonas, McCann and Thomas, *place marketing* is the "broad set of activities focused on boosting a place and, thus, making it more enticing to a range of audiences who might invest or spend money in it" (2015: 316). In light of this, the kind of contested values highlighted above must, you would expect, be considered and acted upon at all levels of the (re)development process, with heritage and memory potentially constituting a major source for deliberation – particularly in areas as historically central to a city's economic fortunes as Västra Hamnen has been, and is still, to Malmö. As Hall notes, during the 1990's, "two themes, the competitive city and the sustainable city, came together in a renewed focus on urban regeneration" (2014: 10), which provides a contextual backdrop to the inception of

Bo01. Throughout that decade these two themes were key areas of focus in the approaches made by city planners to "reconstruct their economies, [and] replace dying or dead industries" (Ibid), and this context is abundantly visible in Malmö Stad's aforementioned rhetoric and place marketing.

When framing these kinds of design considerations and their parallel place marketing strategies in relation to Till and Kuusisto-Arponen's discussion of responsible memory, we can again draw inspiration from their focus on places with 'violent' pasts. Here, they posit that a place-orientated approach to heritage and memory would enable visitors to consider the "spatial and temporal complexities of everyday practices, and transgenerational and translocational forms of belonging" (2015: 302). In places of historical significance, and with valuable lessons to be remembered (such as Västra Hamnen's decline), encouraging a consideration of the spatial and temporal factors that Till and Kuusisto-Arponen describe could help to *preserve* or *create* emotional attachments ('forms of belonging'), as well as provide an *incentive* for redevelopments to be appropriately and successfully undertaken, through demonstrating progress in response to lessons learned. Whilst the industrial decline of Västra Hamnen was not *violent*, it was certainly *traumatic* for the city of Malmö, with subsequently high unemployment rates and poor economic development troubling the city throughout the 1990's and early 2000's (Andersson & Hedman, 2016: 754). In this regard, the redevelopment of Västra Hamnen has sought to capitalise on the two prevalent themes of urban regeneration mentioned above, *competitiveness* and *sustainability*, so as to enhance Malmö's overall resilience in the aftermath of its industrial decline – thereby using the past as an incentive. Measuring the degree to which processes of *memory politics* have influenced the new built environment of Malmö is the ultimate aim of this thesis, however, it is already clear that the troubling industrial heritage of the city has been a key element of the narrative-shift that city marketers have promoted. Whether a strong sense of this heritage still lingers in place is another question.

Sense of Place:

Daniels et al. on *sense of place*:

"*... the feelings, emotions and attachments to a locality by residents (past or present), which may be articulated in art, literature, music, histories, or may become part of individual or group memory*" (2001: 514).

As Atkinson and Cosgrove describe, the Vittorio II Monument in Rome developed a "heroic narrative of Italian history, figuring historical references to empire in the recurrent motif of the human body" (1998: 33). Through this the monument effectively 'embodied Italy' – embodied an *identity* – and its role in capturing this identity, combined with its own presence, function and recognition in the landscape, has helped to develop and embody a *rhetoric* of national and imperial pride within the built environment of Rome – a designed

urban rhetoric. This relationship between identity, design and urban rhetoric holds many combinations, dependent on the space or place in question, with the human body being both an active and unconscious actor (*absorbing* in addition to creating place) in the development of identity, of which future design enables, if desired, a conscious incorporation of these identities and values into the built environment. Regarding Västra Hamnen, the complete redevelopment, and therefore redesign, has sought to re-brand the former industrial area and promote a new identity and urban rhetoric in the built environment. As discussed above, the switch from heavy industry to a mix of residential and knowledge-based economic use has come in the form of a dedicated narrative-shift, pursued by city planners and marketers on the back of a troubling heritage. Aside from function, a shift in the sense of place regarding Västra Hamnen is both a formally designed and informally ascribed result of the redevelopment. In relation to Atkinson and Cosgrove's words on embodiment, they recognise that the "sober, symbolic functions" of monuments (Ibid: 28) – those which have been designed – are combined with, and even overshadowed by, the colloquial perceptions and feelings that are also associated with them (Ibid). Although Västra Hamnen is a substantial area and not a single monument, these principles of *urban rhetoric* and *sense of place* still hold true, as a narrative has been consciously sculpted through the redevelopment.

With Västra Hamnen being a post-industrial redevelopment, the physical and emotional attachments held by Malmö's residents would most likely have been based around work, livelihood and income. In the 1960s and 70s Kockums shipyard peaked as the ninth largest in the world, by tonnage launched, and typified the positive economic growth in Sweden at the time, as a large-scale employer and through increasingly streamlined production methods (Vall, 2007: 33). In relation to Daniels et al.'s definition of a sense of place, this legacy could raise several important points for developers to consider, for example:

- There is likely a significant generational difference in the sense of place held towards Västra Hamnen; owing to the decades of decline following its peak years.

- Group memory may be deeply rooted, being forged by shared experiences of working here; the industrial environment; pride towards its former role and emotions reflecting the loss of this; and workers' unions which bonded and mobilised the employees.

- Yet, there is likely significant individual variation in emotion towards Västra Hamnen at the time, compared to in hindsight; as well as towards its current redevelopment.

- Whether tangible reflections of the site's heritage remain; for example, through art, literature, music or other mediums?

- And whether the wider population of Malmö, those who weren't directly connected to Västra Hamnen, reflect similar sentiments or markedly different ones?

This last consideration is important, as Pries notes in his discussion of Malmö's Folkets Park, its role as a public space "created the very valuable sense of place to 'simply be' in" (2017: 138). As Västra Hamnen was an industrial space it would not have been an area where residents could go to pursue leisure activities or to 'simply be'; thus, an emotional attachment or significant disposition towards this particular built environment would have been felt more strongly amongst former workers and their families. This notion has been widely recognised across academic discourses of *place*, with Vancouver's China Town, drawn upon as an example in Mitchell's overview of this field, emphasizing how "the look of [a] place speaks volumes about the character of the people who inhabit it" (2000: 104). Because Västra Hamnen was not a residential space the population had to mould their interactions around its design and purpose as an industrial – and in that way, exclusive – area. However, as Tuan's humanistic perspective underlines, this is not necessarily a hindrance, as "the structure and feeling-tone of space is tied to the perceptual equipment, experience, mood, and purpose of the human individual" (1979: 398). In this regard, an individual's positionality as an 'outsider' looking in on industrial Västra Hamnen will have resulted in a set of unique – and in relation to decision-making, important – perceptions and emotions; even if their purpose was only to simply pass through this built environment.

As Västra Hamnen had been a site of heavy industry for many generations it constituted what Tuan would have termed a "space of work" (1979: 401); a *physically orientated* and historically *directed* site of human activity (Ibid), with its interpretation as such from both outside and within. Furthermore, the switch from it being a dedicated area of industry to one that is now split between business, manufacturing, residential, and recreational spaces, has introduced "non-directed" functions alongside the more typically directed ones (Ibid). When linking back to Pries' above-mentioned comments on the value of public space, these newly *non-directed* capabilities have made Västra Hamnen a place where people *can* 'simply be', allowing them to engage with the area on their own terms. And as Tuan later elaborates, "[place] is a unique ensemble of traits that merits study in its own right" (Ibid: 409), which underlines the unique combination of functions and interactions that have developed naturally over time, through past design, public engagement, perception and memory, as well as those that have been newly designed and encouraged. Given the similarly new array of people, in terms of socio-economic background etc., who have been encouraged to engage with Västra Hamnen (see: Malmö Stad, 2014), this ensemble of traits and subsequently varying interpretations will have added a new dimension to the individual and collective sense(s) of place regarding the area. Tuan's theories importantly clarify that *sense of place* is made up of an *aesthetic* element, as well as a *known* element – based on "close contact and long association with the environment" (1979: 410). Thus, not only does his work highlight the impact of what can be *visualised* in a built environment, but it also provides an important insight into how a redevelopment project such as the one in Västra Hamnen can allow for new forms of *function* and *engagement*, resulting in a developed ensemble of the area's traits, and subsequently developed perceptions towards it.

Aside from an exploration of what defines a *sense of place*, Tuan's writing on this subject is significant, as his humanistic perspective highlights that this concept is essentially human in nature – a natural by-product of our creation of, and interaction with the built environment. In conjunction with Daniels et al.'s definition, this clearly shows the intangible element of place-making, whether it is meaning imparted and understood through design, or through long-term engagement with place. Regarding the former, one significant medium through which to achieve this is *place naming*. As Alderman's opening remarks describe, "naming is a powerful vehicle for promoting identification with the past" (2008: 195), or, I would add, for alternatively encouraging a disassociation with particular pasts through *renaming*. Regardless if it is naming or renaming however, Alderman notes how "the practice of naming, like all heritages, is inherently dissonant and open to multiple and sometimes competing interpretations" (Ibid). When understood in this way, parallels can immediately be drawn with the wider processes of *memory politics* and developing a *sense of place* that have been discussed previously; and at its heart, place naming is ultimately a constituent part of these overall processes that are closely associated with redevelopment. A good example of this is *street naming*; especially as redevelopments like Västra Hamnen can drastically alter the street-plan of urban areas. Augustins' work on street names has been conducted on the basis that two key characteristics are central to the act of street naming: (1) that street names are *chosen*; and (2) that they are meant to *express* a particular value (2004). In this context, the practice of naming is essentially another way in which a sense of place can be cultivated, both formally and informally.

Place and Landscape:

When we think of 'place' it may be difficult to delineate the boundaries or extent of what we consider to be *a place*. A place can be recognised as a building or a favourite park bench, a national park or even an entire city; anywhere, or rather any "portion of space" that humans ascribe meaning to (Cresswell, 2015: 16) – the aforementioned practice of naming is a good example of ascribing such meaning (Ibid), for example: Västra Hamnen, or 'Western Harbour'. In this way, understanding landscape – or a particular form of it, such as a *built environment* – as *place* helps to enunciate the values and attachments that are involved in its production, reproduction and purpose. As Schein describes, "landscape *is* interesting for what it has to "say" about "us", just as its normalizing, normative capabilities simultaneously make the landscape central to the ongoing production and reproduction of place and identity (individual and collective)" (1997: 676). Not only does he underline the significance of how we design landscapes – and build our built environments – by emphasising what they *say* about us (as we choose what is represented and omitted), but this also aptly describes how our cultures, societies and identities are affected by the physical characteristics of the place(s) that surround them, and the values they embody – as Schein elaborates, "landscape … embeds both disciplinary constraints and the possibilities for human agency" (Ibid). In relation to what we have seen regarding *memory* and *sense of place*, it becomes clear that the built

environment, as a form of landscape, can both embody meaning and promote values based on how we design and interact with it, as a *particular place* and as a collection of *places*. In terms of the *production* and *reproduction* of place, as is the case with Västra Hamnen, the *temporal element* of this discourse, and thus heritage, is a fundamental part of connecting identity to landscape.

Within the landscape, Tuan recognises that multiple forms of place can be known. Firstly, there are "public symbols" (1979: 413), which he describes as "[a] location, not necessarily remarkable in itself, [that] nonetheless acquires high visibility and meaning because it harbours, or embodies, spirit" (Ibid). This last quality is significant given the narrative-shift Västra Hamnen has experienced – from harbouring a spirit of industrial work, to one of residence and a creative/knowledge economy. As Tuan's work suggests, these places *become* symbols via their acquisition of meaning over time, or through becoming a focal point of the spirit embodied in the surrounding landscape; as opposed to "public monuments", which are specifically designed to impart a certain meaning and intentionally "create places" (Ibid). Secondly, and linking back to Cresswell's 'portion of space', although research often only acknowledges landscapes as "general categories" that are distinguished by a "focus [of] attention on specific places" *within them* (Osborne, 2001: 14), Tuan offers a valid alternative in what he terms "fields of care" (1979: 417), which are defined as "networks of interpersonal concern, in a physical setting" (Ibid). From this perspective we can understand how the emotional and practical attachments between people and location, which naturally leads to a *sense of place*, can be scaled-up so that an entire landscape, or particular built environment, is recognised as a *place*. Tuan also elaborates on this understanding, noting how, in addition to the emotional bond between people and the built environment, a "conscious [understanding] of its identity and spatial limit" further enables a *field of care* to be understood as a place (Ibid). Whereas Osborne correctly highlights the often more generalised nature of landscape, compared to the more specific places discussed throughout the wider discourse, Tuan's observation that a known *spatial limit*, as well as a recognition of *ascribed meaning*, demonstrates how landscape can transition from generalised to specific when thinking in terms of place.

Regarding our focus on Västra Hamnen, Hayden's writing on urban landscape history (1997) outlines why the area's industrial heritage is a considerable factor in establishing a particular sense of place within the city, as it constitutes a sizeable swathe of Malmö's urban landscape. Akin to Tuan's previously mentioned 'spaces of work', Hayden notes how, through the example of railroad construction in the United States, "it is this second kind of story about the workers that can turn a set of nineteenth-century railroad tracks or a freight shed into a source for historians concerned with political meanings in the urban landscape" (Ibid: 117). In the context of a 'field of care', this work-related experience of the urban landscape will have developed a valid sense of the place that is, or was, Västra Hamnen; especially as the entire area had been constructed and delineated as one of industry. Furthermore, Hayden's insight also clarifies how the remaining tangible heritage can anchor a

particular experience of the area into the memory politics of the current built environment. Alongside these tangible relics of meaning, the intangible heritage carried by former workers, for example, would also provide a valid perspective when considering the politics of memory and meaning. Ultimately, it is perspectives such as this which combine to instigate processes of memory politics; those rooted in the tangible and intangible legacy of the site in question, and the meaning and claims to authenticity ascribed to them. In the same way that Chile's *Escuela Militar* (Military Academy) carried with it a host of perceived and problematic meanings (Till and Kuusisto-Arponen, 2015: 292), so to can an entire built environment embody coherent and equally valid meanings which, on the basis of heritage, constitute particular senses of place. A profound example of this is Davenport and Anderson's research into the sense of place attributed to the *Nicobrara National Scenic River* (Nebraska, USA) by local residents, and the concerns regarding the landscape's potential redevelopment (2005); in the eyes of the resident's, this landscape *is a place* worth protecting.

Place, Memory and Heritage:

As a *place* will always evoke a particular *sense of place*, as a natural outcome of an individual's interaction with it, a relationship between these two concepts is a constant, regardless of its potentially fluctuating nature. Similarly, in conclusion to his summary of the long-running debates over 'place' in geographical discourse, Cresswell affirms that "place and memory are, it seems, inevitably intertwined" (2015: 119). A very important consideration here, as Lewicka aptly discusses, is that the history of a particular place is both tied to the history of "high-order entities", such as regional, national and international governance etc. (2008: 213), as well as the "unique identity" formed by the socio-cultural characteristics of the different groups of people that have inhabited the particular place over time (Ibid). This "dynamic process" (Osborne, 2001: 30), centred around a "multiplicity of pasts" (Ibid), underlines the depth and gravity – when thinking in terms of claims to 'authenticity' – of the association between place and memory. And as Osborne's research also suggests, the "sanctification" of particular heritages can be dependent on the "*real politic*" that is prompted by economic change (Ibid), which makes Västra Hamnen's history and subsequent narrative-shift particularly relevant here. Moreover, in addition to being 'inevitably intertwined', the relationship between place and memory is seemingly made up of a complex mixture of social, cultural, political and economic factors, in terms of heritage formulation, and by what is remembered and valued.

To clarify, within the context of this research the following definitions will be adhered to regarding heritage:

- *Tangible heritage*: "includes buildings and historic places, monuments, artefacts, etc., which are considered worthy of preservation for the future" (UNESCO, 2017).

- ***Intangible heritage***: "includes customs and oral traditions, music, languages, poetry, dance, festivities, religious ceremonies as well as systems of healing, traditional knowledge systems and skills connected with the material aspects of culture, such as tools and the habitat" (Bouchenaki, 2003: 1).

Heritage, of course, has been explored in various capacities across academia, with Graham and Howard profoundly inferring that "the study of heritage does not involve a direct engagement with the study of the past" (2008: 2); elaborating how, rather, "the contents, interpretations and representations of the heritage resource are selected according to the demands of the present and, in turn, bequeathed to an imagined future" (Ibid). It is this kind of consideration that should fuel the process of memory politics in redevelopments such as Västra Hamnen; as the merging of new values, like enhancing sustainability, competition and the knowledge economy, for example, with existing tangible and intangible heritages in Västra Hamnen, has coincided with a recent increase in Malmö's overall demographic diversity. This new context is important, as Graham and Howard continue by clarifying the overarching consensus that "most heritage has little intrinsic worth" (Ibid). Instead, they describe how meanings and values attributed to heritage are done so through myriad lenses, such as "nationality; religion; ethnicity; class; wealth; gender; [and] personal history" (Ibid). In this sense, the *interpretations* and subsequent *demands* of the present are a vital part in approaching matters of heritage; especially so when thinking in terms of the built environment, as it is the setting for present-day and, whether altered or not, future life. The changing demographic structure of our urban areas is a factor that cannot be understated, and as we have seen, the redevelopment of Västra Hamnen has sought to actively encourage a cosmopolitan culture in the area – especially in terms of education and business. Moreover, the primary example from Till and Kuusisto-Arponen's work describes how present-day values had drifted to such an extent that the archaic and problematic heritage embodied in the *Escuela Militar* (in Santiago, Chile) threatened to mire the *2011 Regional Meeting of the International Geographical Union* (IGU) in controversy (2015: 292).

This kind of socio-culturally driven shift in meaning over time has been aptly, and specifically, tied with geographic research; as exemplified by Johnson's '*Heritage and Geography*' (2015). She details how the exterior of the *Titanic Belfast Museum* was "designed to reflect the past [and]… simultaneously represent a future aspiration that the city can be reinvigorated as a centre of commercial success" (Ibid: 161); using this as a similarly profound example of how certain events can also "enter collective conscious and become part of [a] shared heritage", through the spatial connections made between those affected by the event and where they originated from (Ibid). In this way, heritage can transcend local boundaries and identities; as shown by the adverse reaction to the *Escuela Militar* by the IGU, as well as the former importance of the Kockums shipyard to both Malmö's fortunes and Sweden's national economy, and the subsequent aspiration of Malmö Stad to construct the new Västra Hamnen as a world-leading example of sustainable urban redevelopment. Thus, over time,

intangible heritage can indeed become a part of a widespread collective consciousness; yet, importantly, it remains rooted to particular places and *tangible heritages* – the places that embody, or originate as a result of, the memory and meaning in question. David Harvey's work on heritage and scale similarly acknowledges these themes, as he considers how the relationship between these two factors can be understood as a dynamic process of 'relationality' (2015). In addition, Crouch's discussion of the performativity and emergence of heritage, in relation to character and meaning (2010), further reinforces the value of a geographic perspective on heritage, in terms of space, place, and importantly, regarding socio-cultural change and reflexivity.

Place and Architecture – Urban Design:

We have already touched-upon several important elements of *urban design*; from street-plans to naming, symbols and monuments, as well as tangible heritage in general, and the ability of all of these, and more, to create and reconstitute a sense of place; but the predominant element in processes of urban design is almost always the architecture, whether it is dictated by imagination or sheer necessity. The design, deliberation and ultimate construction of new buildings is, as Jonas, McCann and Thomas describe, a key example of Zukin's "aesthetic conjuncture" (2015: 241). Despite focusing on the titular 'loft living', a phenomenon stemming from the transition of old inner-city industrial buildings into habitable spaces, Zukin's work offers a powerful example of how social processes, memory and ideology can be deeply affected by aesthetic considerations, such as the preservation of architecture (1982). Here, the reverse is also true, as the construction of new aesthetic environments can, as has been discussed previously, be used as a vehicle through which to impart new ideologies and encourage new or particular social processes. Importantly, and in the context of Västra Hamnen's narrative shift, Pries describes how the original Bo01 planners were preoccupied with "the social effects of aesthetically appealing space" (2017: 123). From a heritage perspective, the balance of preserving heritage in the built environment, whilst striving to realise – in the case of Bo01 again – "demographic gains and the inflow of [new] human capital" (Ibid: 217), has introduced contrasting *senses of place* into Västra Hamnen's processes of memory politics. To quote Delanty and Jones: "The city offers a space in which a reflexive relationship between universalism and particularism can be developed" (2002: 462). In terms of architecture specifically, this 'reflexive relationship' has largely been embodied by three distinct approaches to design, purpose and sense of place (Cresswell, 2015: 129-134): 'genius loci'; 'critical regionalism'; and space as 'eventfulness'.

To begin, as Cresswell's geographical perspective on the field of architectural theory stresses, *place*, and specifically *sense of place*, has come to be recognised as an important, if not inescapable, part of the design and planning process (2015: 128-29). Within this context, perhaps the most fervent conceptual approach towards preserving a sense of place is *genius loci*, which effectively means, to reiterate Barnes' earlier definition, "the spirit

of place" (2004: 591). Cresswell exemplifies this by drawing upon internationally renowned architect Richard Rogers' belief that "a sense of place is what generates the character of architecture" (2015: 128); before pointing to the work of Christian Norberg-Schulz, an architect and theorist, as the most developed analysis of genius loci's role in architectural practice (Ibid: 130) – one that "uses genius loci to describe the assemblage of [both] physical and symbolic values in the environment" (Ibid). Whilst, in the context of redevelopment, architectural approaches are naturally a departure from the existing state of the site in question, the presence of tangible heritage in the current built environment, as well as the potential pressure of calls to incorporate intangible heritage, can drastically affect the degree to which genius loci is embodied by the resulting construction. If the architects and urban planners adopt a 'Rogers-like' appreciation for genius loci as the foundation upon which the character of architecture is, and should be, formed, then both tangible and intangible heritage are likely to remain as elements of the site's future narrative. However, as Loukaki's research aptly warns (1997), the representation of particular heritages could result in alienation and contestation based upon what is ultimately included or excluded – '*Whose genius loci?*' (Ibid), after all.

The next architectural approach that Cresswell discusses is *critical regionalism*, or the mediation "between the local reading of place and elements of a universal civilisation" (2015: 132); a desire to "avoid a romantic nostalgia for a place already lost" (Ibid). This approach originated from architectural theorist Kenneth Frampton in the 1980's, and, as Cresswell notes, is a move away from strict or 'rose-tinted' localism in architectural practice, whilst predominantly emphasising a preservation of, or respect towards, the natural qualities of place (Ibid: 131). If we link back to our earlier discussion of *social* and *natural poles*, then critical regionalism seeks to both preserve the topographic state of place – its natural poles, and, at the same time, enable the development and reconstruction of the social poles in a way that respects the globalising character of modern societies. As Campbell's overview of critical regionalism acknowledges, "in critically questioning the relation of the local to the global and understanding the mutual connections between the two, one is able to comprehend better the flows of transnational cultural formations" (2012: 1). Although localism stresses heritage at a local scale, the interaction with place by global forces and actors develops real and meaningful connections that transcend physical boundaries or particular narratives; in other words, the socio-cultural identity of place is not 'static'. From an architectural perspective, this might be realised through the conservation of a river channel that has provided a livelihood for local residents over centuries, as well as the preservation of specific structures tied to this narrative; whilst simultaneously reconstructing the built environment to reflect the needs of a more cosmopolitan society – a result of new industries in the river basin, or an increase in tourism, perhaps.

Finally, at the other end of the scale to genius loci, Bernard Tschumi's view of architecture is one of a practice that should be focused on "movement and eventfulness", rather than rootedness and sense of place (Cresswell, 2015: 132). In his eyes, Tschumi's

projects attempt to work against the history and geography of an area, by acknowledging the site's genius loci as something to be moved away from (Ibid: 132-33). To elaborate on this we need only consider his recurrent mantra: "there is no space without event" (Khan and Hannah, 2008: 52). From this we can interpret space, or place, as having a dynamic and lived character; one that is always focused on the present and not a 'static' past. Through this perspective, even the balance between genius loci and globalisation that critical regionalism emphasises is not viewed as a necessary consideration. Khan and Hannah refer to this theoretical approach as "Performance/Architecture" (2008), and underline how Tschumi's practical application of this theory has "contributed significantly to an eventual (and "evental") sea change in which architecture is now perceived more as a dynamic space-in-flux than as [a] fixed and enduring object" (Ibid: 52). Naturally, these three approaches have substantially different implications for an area's tangible heritage, as well as our ability to enact or reflect particular intangible heritages in space; and as a consequence, architectural design and practice represents an influential factor in our processes of memory politics; especially as *sense of place* (whether adhering to, or moving away from) lies at the heart of every architectural project, alongside form and function. Thus, in this context, the dialogue between architects and urban planners presents an extremely important dynamic.

Conceptual Framework: A Three-Point Approach:

Before moving on to the methodology, it is important to briefly recap and clarify the conceptual approach that was outlined in the introduction. To this end, and in light of the previous discussions, I have adopted a *three-point approach* towards identifying and analysing the processes of memory politics that underpin the redevelopment of Västra Hamnen. This approach consists of the following:

- **Sense of Place**: incorporating change over time and aspirations for the future.

- **Heritage**: including both tangible and intangible heritage.

- **Urban Design**: including all aspects of the built environment.

It has become clear that memory politics, or the active consideration of, and planning in relation to, these matters of heritage, cannot appropriately function without giving suitable attention to the design and purpose of the built environment; how people are intended to feel within and towards it; and how people may actually interpret what they interact with. If the process of memory politics that has influenced Västra Hamnen's redevelopment is to be fully understood, then analysis of these factors is integral in beginning to understand and interpret the true extent and dynamic of the process. Furthermore, as Västra Hamnen is a site that has predominantly attracted research focused on sustainability, this kind of heritage

related study is unique for the area, and thus effectively represents a 'beginning' in relation to the specific understanding of memory politics within its redevelopment.

To summarise the conceptual framework of this research:

- **Memory Politics** is the *dialogue* and ensuing *regulatory process* that has led to the:
- **Embodied Identities** and **Urban Rhetoric** of the new built environment, of which the determining factors are considerations of:
- **Sense of Place**, **Heritage**, and **Urban Design**.

Methods:

Observation and Documentation:

Owing to the humanistic elements of this research, in terms of sense of place and heritage value, as well as the highly aesthetic nature of the built environment, site-visits were a vital component of the methodological approach used here – with one being undertaken *prior to*, as well as *following* the interview process. Because of their highly visual nature, several important principles from ethnographic theory have been used to inspire and developed the approach; these are:

- To question the relationships between "the world outside and the pictures in our heads" (Cloke et al. 2004: 172);

- To gain insight into the "human experience of [the] space and place" in question (Ibid), and;

- To better comprehend "the ways in which embodiments, memories, emotions and feelings" exist in space and "[tie] together places and social/personal identities" (Ibid: 180).

Not only has this allowed the researcher to observe the redevelopment first-hand, and thus document the current state of its tangible heritage with the research questions in mind; it also enabled the interviewees' responses, descriptions and influences to be grounded in space and place, as well as to be envisioned and documented through photography – to assist in both the analysis and presentation of the, for the most part, highly qualitative data. In essence, this observational approach served to enhance the *qualitative analysis* of the *qualitative data* that has been collected, whilst simultaneously allowing for the reader to formulate their own interpretation of the depicted scene. It is also extremely important to acknowledge the researcher's positionality when undertaking this kind of field-research, and to mitigate against bias when discussing and analysing the data, through emphasising the profoundly subjective reality of concepts such as *sense of place* and *heritage value*, as well as the visual elements.

Semi-Structured Interviews:

Following preliminary research into the hierarchy behind Västra Hamnen's redevelopment it became apparent that the actors were split into three distinct categories, the regulatory body, entirely constituted by *Malmö Stad* in its various departments; the heritage consultant, embodied by a specific department of Malmö Stad – *Kulturmiljö*, based at Malmö Museer; and the *architectural firms* involved in the design and construction of the new built environment, of which there have been many. Due to the scope of the thesis it was decided that three in-depth interviews would be conducted, and after reaching out to each of the three aforementioned categories, an urban planner from Malmö Stad (as well as a landscape architect), a consultant from Kulturmiljö, and an architect from *MKB Fastighets AB*, agreed to complete an interview each as part of this research. The three interviews lasted between 40 and 60 minutes each – dependant on time commitments, allowing for an in-depth discussion incorporating all of the necessary themes and concepts relating to the research questions (structured in relation to the *3-point approach*), as there are many elements that constitute processes of memory politics. Additionally, as professional opinions were pursued, issues regarding the neutrality of the interview location were deemed inconsequential to the outcome of the research.

Semi-structured interviews were selected for their informal and conversational tone (Longhurst, 2010: 105), which encourages a far more open, and thus, more qualitative discussion between the interviewer and interviewee, that allows the latter to voice "aspects that are important to [them]" or their organisations (Fylan, 2005: 66). As the research sought to explore the process of memory politics surrounding the redevelopment, being open to these different perspectives, from the three different categories and between the individuals and their organisation, allows for a potentially deeper exploration of the research questions (Ibid). Furthermore, research has indicated that the semi-structured nature of this interview method encourages participants to respond more freely, and often more thoroughly, during such interviews (Irvine et al., 2013); and the element of structure retained, via the use of an interview guide, enables the researcher to "redirect the conversation [back to] the research topics" if needed (Dunn, 2010: 110), providing a way to regulate or advance the discussion. Lastly, ethical considerations such as anonymity and confidentiality where highly prioritised throughout the interview process. It was made clear that the participants had the right to remain anonymous within the research and opt out of any audio-recording if they so desired. Written consent forms detailing these considerations were read and signed, with each of the participants giving permission for their names to be incorporated in the research.

Of course, the element of neutrality was strictly maintained when conducting the interviews and representing the responses in the completed thesis, as the research seeks only to record the process of memory politics that *have been* and *are being* implemented throughout the redevelopment of Västra Hamnen; thus, all of the critical analysis has been completed following the conclusion of the interview process. It must be made clear that the purpose of this research is to document and inform our processes of memory politics, not to

propagate a particular agenda, as change is often very necessary, and each location will undoubtedly hold a unique set of motivations, factors and constraints that impact upon its redevelopment – as exemplified by Västra Hamnen.

Coding and Analysis:

As outlined in the 3-point approach above, the key determining factors behind the process of memory politics – (1) *sense of place*, (2) *heritage*, and (3) *urban design* – represented a natural structure for coding the interview transcriptions. In addition to providing a way of appropriately linking their responses back to the conceptual framework, it also enabled an easier comparison between the responses of each interviewee – especially given the length and qualitative nature of the three interviews – and allowed for a structured and consistent approach to be carried over to the analysis, discussion and conclusions.
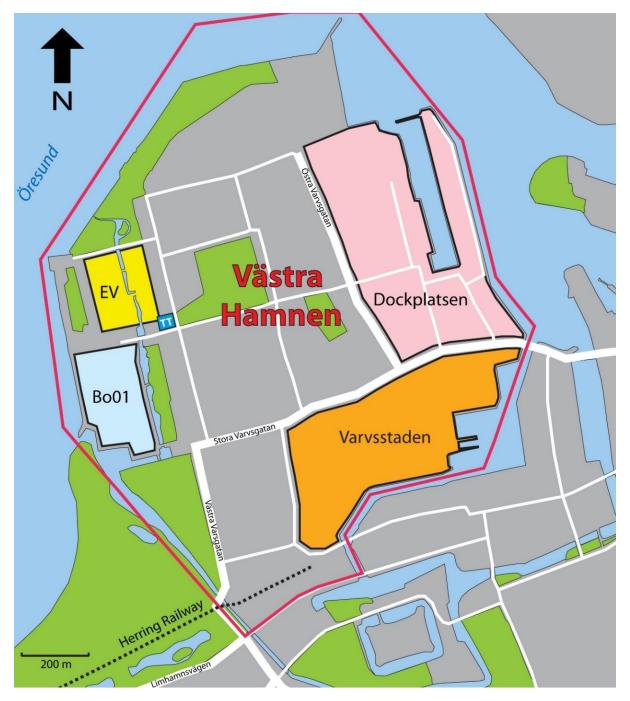
Site Map:

Figure 1*: Site map of Västra Hamnen and the surrounding areas, depicting key locations discussed in the following sections. 'Dockplatsen' incorporates the wider Dockplatsen area; 'TT' denotes the Turning Torso; and 'EV' refers to the European Village. The map data has been accessed through Google Maps (2019).*

Understanding the Process:

The Urban Planners' Perspective: Malmö Stad

Interviewees:

- **Katarina Jeraeus** – *Planarkitekt* at Malmö Stad.
- **Anne Brontér** – *Landskapsarkitekt* at Malmö Stad.

All of the referenced and quoted information in the following passages has been lifted from the interview completed on the *26th April 2019*.

Sense of Place:

As Malmö Stad have complete control over the redevelopment process in Västra Hamnen, including all elements of urban planning, heritage preservation and the approval of design proposals, it is perhaps most appropriate to begin with a discussion of their approach to the process of memory politics, before comparing and contrasting their views with the other two perspectives.

First and foremost, their role as urban planners presiding over each element of the redevelopment means that the overall function and *sense of place* intended for, and subsequently realised in Västra Hamnen is of Malmö Stad's design, and thus, they hold authority over the proposals and plans of each actor involved. To begin, we must travel back to the mid-1990s, when, as Anne detailed, "Malmö was in a really bad economic state with Kockums … and several other industries closing down"; a decline which culminated in around 10% of the city's population losing their jobs – "a major loss for the city" (Ibid). The overall deterioration of Malmö was considered substantial, in comparison to other Swedish cities, and that resulted in a slew of negative connotations attributed to the city as a whole; from *boring-ness* to *unattractiveness* (both *visually* and *economically*), and importantly, its *industrial* nature (Ibid). All of this, of course, helped to develop a predominantly negative sense of place associated with the city; and in response, as Anne described, "Malmö decided that it needed something new, some kind of vision". Hence it was from this situation in the mid-1990s that Malmö Stad, in conjunction with political actors (Ibid), drafted a number of plans for how the city's turnaround was to be realised – among which, was the 'housing exhibition'.

Originally intended for the island of Ön, in the city's southern district of Limhamn (Katarina), the location of the housing exhibition was ultimately moved to the more central Västra Hamnen. Not only was there a lot of brownfield land available to build on in Västra

Hamnen (Ibid), but it was also a "very conscious … and … very symbolic choice, because to many [people] living in Malmö the Western Harbour was a bit of a symbol of everything that [went] wrong" (Anne) – there needed to be a narrative shift (Ibid). In this sense, the heritage of Västra Hamnen, narratively speaking, provided the incentive for the site's initial redevelopment – the Bo01 housing exhibition, as well as all thereafter. Whilst the exact location of Bo01, on Västra Hamnen's western shoreline, was selected as "it was publicly owned land" and "close to the beach and … the sea – an attractive area" (Katarina), the problematic consensus was that "it [was] very close geographically, but mentally it was very far away" (Anne). This is an important consideration; as *one*, it highlights the alienating nature of the site's former industry – "it was a closed off area, most of it", and thus "it wasn't really a part of everyone's life" (Ibid); and *two*, the completed Bo01 remained separated from the city centre by a large swathe of brownfield land – you felt as though you travelled "through no man's land" to get there (Katarina). These sentiments were brought to the fore in the 2011 'Hearing', or evaluation – a chance for the public to interact with and give feedback to the planners and developers – where there were enough responses critiquing the disconnected feel of Västra Hamnen's redevelopment, at that point, that the urban planners shifted the focus to these stretches of 'no man's land', leaving the northern coastline's development for a later date.

In essence, the dialogue between Malmö Stad and the city's residents helped to realise Västra Hamnen's transition from 'symbolic redevelopment' to an area that is both a functional and accessible part of *their* city; in other words, a 'detached' sense of place became 'attached'. Whilst this notion has always been important in Malmö Stad's planning – "we work a lot on … really attracting the whole city" (Katarina), as evidenced by the public spaces and leisure facilities (water sports, skate parks, cafes and bars etc.), the incentive to 'fill in the gaps' anchored the sense of place *physically*, as well as *mentally*. Perhaps the most telling example of this physical anchoring is the overall urban plan for the area, with taller, denser blocks of residential and commercial buildings in the east of Västra Hamnen (near the similarly dense city centre) giving way to shorter, more open residential areas that are punctuated with parks and gardens as you move westward towards Bo01 – "that structure came very early, so I think that shows a bit of the mentality [of the planners]" (Anne). Typifying this format is the 'European Village' area that adjoins Bo01 – "in this area you have the parks and so on" (Katarina); "it's very countryside-ish [relatively speaking]" (Anne); and of course, the name 'village' imparts a particular sense of place. Through this structure a sense of flow has been developed and, although it would have eventually been realised, the dialogue between the planners and the public helped to speed up this physical, and by extension mental, connection. Overall, this collective desire to move away from a damaging (economically) and even alienating (socially) industrial heritage has underlined the development of the site from the offset, as well as the continued encouragement of Västra Hamnen's shift towards being a more *inclusive* and, in terms of flow, *organic* part of the city.

Heritage:

When thinking temporally, the redevelopment of Västra Hamnen has now been ongoing for around twenty years, which has seen the connection to the site's heritage, both tangible and intangible, fade from the emotional perspective of the residents – "a lot of people are quite new in the city also, not only by age, but by geographical movement; so they don't have that history, they … have this new history" (Katarina). Although there has been a lack of pressure regarding the prioritisation of tangible heritage preservation, from Malmö Stad's perspective, it has been a recurrent consideration throughout the planning process – "I think it's been thought about a lot, but not enough in this overall perspective. It's been thought about here and there … [but] lacks a bit of a conscious plan" (Anne). The significance of certain historic features in Västra Hamnen, such as "the oldest non-military [dock] in Sweden" (Ibid), has certainly not been lost on the urban planners, as discussions around the incorporation of information boards and heritage based mobile apps (Ibid), for reference when traversing the built environment, demonstrate. However, as suggested by the aforementioned comments, the framework of their approach towards heritage could be streamlined. The implementation of a more coherent process may have been, and could still be, worthwhile, as whilst emotional attachment to the site's heritage may have waned, the report following the 2011 Hearing indicated that tangible heritage was still appreciated by the public – "there was one title, 'Surprises and Attractiveness', and 'old buildings' was one of the plusses that were appreciated" (Ibid). Whilst the development of a new and more 'attached' Västra Hamnen has led to a more positive sense of place overall, it seems that the aesthetic of the preserved buildings adds an attractive character to the area, especially as it is now so physically (restructured) and mentally removed from the once symbolically derelict site.

One area that has received a lot of attention, heritage wise, is *Varvsstaden,* the oldest part of Västra Hamnen; containing the oldest non-military dock in Sweden, in addition to the highest concentration of remaining industrial buildings (Kockums) in the area – "the most valuable buildings; the oldest buildings" (Anne). Whereas the high concentration of tangible heritage in this area means the pre-existing built environment remains largely intact, the condition of the buildings varies significantly, requiring detailed consideration and prioritisation where preservation is concerned. A such, a specific and heritage orientated "development plan" has been created for the Varvsstaden area, detailing which buildings are to be kept entirely or, where this isn't possible, which particular elements must at least be conserved (Ibid). Where only some parts of the building or structure are to be kept, 'reference pictures' have been created as visual aids when planning how to best incorporate the heritage into the new built environment (Katarina). Whilst these images are commonplace in redevelopment planning, their usage, in this instance, emphasises the degree to which Västra Hamnen's heritage is being considered – it has been visualised as a part of the site's future. Yet, as Katarina highlighted, "from a legal point of view, and to do with the property division and so on, it's a bit complicated, … who will be responsible for what? … Sometimes, after a while you realise 'no, it will not be possible'" – "in the end, most of these [are] a question of

money", added Anne. The important deduction here, however, is that heritage is always considered by Malmö Stad's planners – "at least at the beginning" (Katarina); with financial, regulatory, ownership and maintenance considerations, to name but a few factors, ultimately influencing what can and can't be kept. Despite this, there has been little to no backlash regarding heritage preservation thus far.

If we swing back to their thoughts on consistency however, it has to be made clear that the detailed development plan for Varvsstaden is relatively unique in the overall redevelopment of Västra Hamnen, given the particular heritage of this subsection – being the oldest and, with the name 'Kockums' emblazoned on the remaining facades, perhaps the most symbolic. "I think the plan for keeping the memory and the old buildings has … not [been] very elaborate or very carefully put through. There has been … some inverntory of old features … but [overall] there hasn't been a very clear plan for how or when [to preserve them]" (Anne). Whereas, in the short term at least, this hasn't necessarily been a bad thing for Malmö Stad, their internal process of memory politics regarding Västra Hamnen as a whole appears to have been quite informal in nature. On the other hand, a key distinction was made in the above quote that separates the tangible ('old buildings') from the intangible ('memory') heritage, indicating that acknowledgement of the intangible memory may, for the most part, have been viewed as sufficient or appropriate given the context of the desired narrative shift, in addition to the rundown state of much of the site's tangible heritage. Reinforcing this notion is the importance that Malmö Stad have placed on naming, with a dedicated "name group" being present in the planning structure (Katarina). In consultation with historical and contemporary maps, as well as site descriptions, they propose suitable names for the new streets and places that are constructed (Ibid); a few examples of which include 'Kockum Fritid' (Leisure Centre), 'Einar Hansens Esplanad', and 'Propellergatan'. Importantly however, these decisions appear to remain internal, although some discussions with other organisations have taken place – "there's … an 'Old Kockumers' [association] … and the Streets & Parks Office has had some dialogue with them … [but] I don't think anything has been built in dialogue with them, yet" (Anne) – which leaves the door open for collaborative efforts.

Urban Design:

Every element of urban design has been strictly planned and regulated by Malmö Stad, and whilst dialogue between their urban planners and the architectural/construction companies has been integral to the process, incorporation of public opinions and groups such as the 'Old Kockumers' has been a rarity – "At that time [of initial planning – in the mid-1990's] it was not so common to have that kind of dialogue … whereas now it's much more common, and especially when it's about gentrification in areas where people live, whereas this [Västra Hamnen] was an area which was, well, not empty, but… [uninhabited]" (Katarina). In essence, the lack of public incorporation, or the desire for such, in the planning process seems to reflect the level of emotional attachment that Malmö's residents had regarding the area; as Katarina

and Anne confirm, there have been no particular demands regarding the tangible heritage, and thus the built environment, seemingly so long as the redevelopment continues to benefit the city. In which case, the process of memory politics has been defined by the dialogue between Malmö Stad and the building companies – "So, we have lots of examples of planners like us wanting to keep different smaller cranes, [and] wanting to keep railway tracks [etc.] … because it gives a nice character; but when you have to take everything out and clean the soil, … it's not the same when you put them back. You have to be really convinced that this is a good idea" (Anne). Aside from Varvsstaden and a few remaining buildings in the eastern part of Västra Hamnen (elaborated upon in Olga's interview below), "there weren't many buildings from the beginning; it was mostly hard surfaces, actually" (Ibid). Hence, the complicated nature and sheer economic cost of cleaning the site and reinstating many tangible features has often failed to convince developers that the effort to do so is either necessary or worthwhile.

Whilst the building companies have been able to advise against the preservation of particular features and structures across the site, the regulations Malmö Stad have placed on areas such as Varvsstaden ensure that, in these few instances, the urban planners will prioritise the preservation of tangible heritage over difficulty – "For example… there you cannot tear it down; the interior and exterior may not be changed; its original characteristics should be kept; and the red brick facades cannot be plastered or painted and so on" (Katarina). The number and strictness of these regulations varies from building to building, dependent on the context – "but I think this one [formerly of Kockums, in Varvsstaden] has quite a lot of regulations" (Ibid), which emphasises the importance attributed to its conservation. In this case, the difficulties alluded to earlier in retaining old buildings can present significant challenges – "… a lot of old buildings are quite … voluminous … and it's hard to put housing inside, because you need to have the daylight [etc.]. So, the volumes are not always easy to use; you cannot have art museums in every building, so it's a challenge to find uses for all the old buildings, especially considering all the additional costs … to preserve an old one and upgrade it to modern standards – it's easier to tear it down and build a new one" (Ibid). In the context of the narrative shift that has underpinned Malmö Stad's planning, it is easy to understand why a balance has been struck in this way, as the expensive retention of historic but ultimately incompatible structures, in terms of function, sense of place and practicality, would hinder progressive redevelopment in the area.

The key word, of course, is *balance*, and whilst the built environment of Varvsstaden will remain reminiscent of it's past, the rest of Västra Hamnen's buildings need not also be tied, functionally or aesthetically, to this history – especially as they are mostly new constructions intended to fulfil a complete shift in narrative. These contemporary factors ultimately take precedence regarding urban design, and they include:

- "The new housing needed" (Anne);
- "The whole energy efficiency issue" (Katarina);
- "Sufficient commercial service" [for the new residences] (Ibid);

- "The change from industry to knowledge-based [work]" – in the area (Ibid);
- "[To be] a continuation of the city centre" (Anne), and;
- To be an *attractive* redevelopment overall; to bring in visitors from across the city, as well as from far beyond – e.g. the Bo01 Housing *Exhibition*.

With all of these considerations, and more, it's been difficult to keep issues such as heritage "at the top all the time" (Anne); and naturally, each of the above has an integral role within the new built environment, with sustainable construction being the priority. However, one element of the site's tangible heritage has managed to retain significant influence over the urban plan, and that is the *structure* – "for example, now we are working on this area [south of *Skeppsbyggaregatan*], and there are some old train tracks running to Limhamn [the old *Herring Railway*] … and so … [it] is a structural element that we use to structure the area, even if the train tracks, as such, will not necessarily be kept" (Katarina); also, "one of three slipways" has been kept (Anne), and "the shape of the eastern area, *Dockan*, is still left" etc. (Ibid). These structural elements have not only dictated the new built environment but have retained a practical role within it; for example, the remaining slipway incorporates a skate park and the Dockan marina provides a scenic home for numerous yachts and boats.

Observations:

Figure 2: The sign for Kockum Fritid leisure centre, with new constructions behind (Author's own, 2019).

Figure 3: Tangible heritage left for display, with the Turning Torso in the distance (Author's own, 2019).

As can be seen in *Figure 2*, the leisure centre's name 'Kockum Fritid' evokes a sense of Västra Hamnen's industrial heritage; tying the new function of this particular place, being communal leisure and recreation, to the past function of the site, which of course was the industry iconized by Kockums Shipyard. Amidst a backdrop of newly constructed offices and residences the evocative name might well be lost on those who are new to Malmö and its history (by generation or geographic movement) however; yet the name 'Kockum', in and of itself, will remain anchored to this part of the area, and associations between this and the tangible heritage spread across the site – particularly the 'Kockums facade' in Varvsstaden – may still be formed independently. In contrast, *Figure 3* depicts a nameless monument to Västra Hamnen's industrial heritage; one that represents a tangible and aesthetically stark reminder that the area used to have a different purpose within the city. As it is situated close to a busy pathway the monument presents a symbol for passers-by to engage with, being especially overt within its open surroundings – a *place* of genius loci within a *space* of critical regionalism – and inviting a contrast with the highly visible, and newly symbolic, Turning Torso.

The Heritage Perspective: Kulturmiljö, at Malmö Museer (a department of Malmö Stad)

Interviewee:

- **Olga Schlyter** – former *Byggnadsantikvarie* ('Building Curator') at Kulturmiljö (2001–2018); working with heritage preservation in Västra Hamnen.

All of the referenced and quoted information in the following passages has been lifted from the interview completed on the *28th April 2019*.

Sense of place:

"Our role in the museum was to inform and put pressure on the City Planning Office to regulate, so that the heritage is preserved" (Olga); "you always have to make it work with *today* [however], you can't preserve just to preserve, … a building has to have something in it that *works*" (Ibid) – on her former role at Kulturmiljö, their overall aim, and approach towards heritage preservation.

Regarding a sense of place, this approach seeks to nurture an active part of the city, one that hasn't been left stagnant because of the influence of incompatible industrial heritage, and one that is relevant to contemporary needs, functions and lifestyles – one that *works* with *today*. As Olga elaborated, "the history of Malmö is so connected with the history of the shipyard; when the shipyard went well the city was well, and then when the shipyard closed in the 80s the city just 'dropped'… I think … many people think that it's great to see that we're 'on it' again". Whilst the purpose of Kulturmiljö has been to inform the city planners and developers as to the value of the site's heritage, it is clear that the awareness of, and desire for, a narrative shift in Västra Hamnen has prompted the responsible consideration of the site's heritage on both sides of the research/regulatory divide. In this format, the relative value of preserving the diverse tangible heritage has been emphasised by Kulturmiljö, and the urban planners and developers, as discussed in the previous interview, have acted upon this in terms of practicality and appropriateness, with a move away from a symbolically *troubling* past, as opposed to it solely being an economic shift, proving to be a key factor. The link between the fortunes of Västra Hamnen's industry and the fortunes of the city has been a recurring, and seemingly pervasive, sentiment, and the acknowledgment of a belief that Malmö is '*on it* again' indicates the value of the symbolism attributed to Västra Hamnen's redevelopment and progressive sense of place. Nevertheless, as a result of Kulturmiljö's work, "some of the buildings are [now] protected", and "the cultural/historical value of [these] buildings" has been communicated throughout the planning process (Olga), which underlines how a sense of what was, and how it shaped the city, is still deemed necessary.

"I mean, especially as Kockums was such a big and important company, and one part of the heritage is of course the industrial buildings here, but it's also the *story* of the company and the boats, and everything they made – that is part of this history" (Olga). Given the extent to which a progressive sense of place has been pursued, the role of Kulturmiljö within Malmö Stad and the overall planning process has been profound. This is particularly due to the recognition – or *sense* – of industrial Västra Hamnen's important role in the overall narrative of Malmö, which indicates a sense of place embodied by the planners themselves, as they value the *story,* and seek the input of Kulturmiljö as a way to gauge the value of the story's embodiment in the built environment. On the other hand, despite an absence of direct dialogue with them in the planning process, there is an awareness of some contrasting public opinion here - "The old text [Kockums' logo] … [is] also in very bad shape [as well as the foundry itself]. Well, it's been half torn-down, and there's graffiti and everything; and I know [that in] the public opinion many people think, 'why don't they just tear it down? It looks awful', but that is because it's been standing like that for so long" (Olga). There is a sense of progress regarding Västra Hamnen and this may be the reason behind that particular public opinion (the extent of which is unclear), and with a sentiment that was echoed in Katarina and Anne's interview, Olga described how – "the [Kockums] crane went down and the [Turning] Torso came up [in] approximately the same years. So, it was very obvious that one symbol … came instead of the old one". In a built environment that symbolises a new direction, the retention of intact and functioning industrial heritage may be desirable (e.g. 'Surprises and Attractiveness'), but the ruinous state of other structures understandably evokes less of an attraction.

Interestingly, in Västra Hamnen's flagship development, the Bo01 exhibition, inspiration was drawn from a wider source of heritage in architect Klas Tham's plans for a sense of place – "that was actually made with a small fishing village as inspiration … he was inspired by the western Swedish fishing village … [particularly] those narrow streets" (Olga); "when you know it, you can feel it" (Ibid). Having already established that there was little tangible heritage remaining in these western areas of Västra Hamnen, it is profound to note how the cultural heritage and practicality of time-tested Swedish coastal settlements has been channelled into a modern development; and as Olga noted, an awareness of this inspiration can help to propel a sense of this constructed atmosphere. Regarding the rest of the new development however, "I don't know actually what is Swedish about Västra Hamnen" (Ibid), in terms of the urban plan or architectural style – "I would say it's rather an *international* style" (Ibid). In this sense, a variety of different geographic scales can be interpreted as acting to merge the local (e.g. Varvsstaden), national/regional (e.g. Bo01) and international (e.g. the European Village) character of the site, alongside the remaining heritages. Furthermore, from a dialogue/planning perspective, the departure from Varvsstaden or Bo01's more culturally Swedish inspirations (based on differing heritages) highlights either a disjointed process of memory politics akin to the inconsistencies expressed by Katarina and Anne, or a realisation of the balance sought through the combined approach of the urban planners and Kulturmiljö. In both cases, this serves to emphasise the substantial degree to which intertwining processes

of memory politics and design consideration can work to shape an area's sense of place; with a balance between preservation and progression imparting a multifaceted characterisation of the area – as an international exhibition; a site of business; and a Swedish neighbourhood.

Heritage:

One explanation for the lack of public input into the process of memory politics could be the perceived divide between the public and the professionals. Olga described how, more often than not, the public tend to have a stronger affinity towards preserving more 'beautiful' buildings, as opposed to more functional – even 'ugly' – industrial structures – "[we] shouldn't look at just what is beautiful, but also what/where the heritage *is*"; "maybe [as professionals] we have another, more 'full' view of the whole area". Perhaps, owing to the type of heritage in Västra Hamnen, public input has been less sought after, seemingly on both sides of the public/professional divide, as acceptance of, and appreciation for, the narrative shift in Västra Hamnen has been high amongst the public, according to the professionals interviewed. In addition, the 'attractive' (as concluded from the public 'Hearing') brick structures and facades of buildings in the eastern areas have been preserved, which may offset the loss of more unattractive structures that the public were not attached to as strongly – if at all. Yet, as mentioned earlier, the value attached to the protected brick facades (etc.) of the dilapidated old foundry is apparently far higher in the eyes of the urban planners, due to its current condition; reminding us that memory politics is often a highly subjective process. This subjectivity, often influenced by differing responsibilities (Olga), is a frequent source for discussion in the formal dialogue surrounding the development process – "[in meetings] I look out for the heritage, and then we have [someone] from the parks department [etc.] … so, everyone has their part of it, and then we should … bring it together in the best way possible"; "So, I know that [you] have to make sacrifices … you can't preserve everything, because that wouldn't be good either – you have to combine it with other things" (Ibid).

The primary way that Kulturmiljö achieved their part of this combination has been through informing the *Detaljplan* – "Yes, the Detaljplan … some of the buildings are protected now, but when I started working with this nothing was protected. So, that's what I did – me and my colleagues" (Olga); "we did this inventory and research about the heritage there [Varvsstaden] – the built heritage … so, this report resulted in a map with suggestions about what to… not actually what to preserve, but the value, the cultural/historical value, of the buildings"; "we made this as the foundation for the following works, [and] then they [the City Planning Office, Malmö Stad] make those Detaljplan … which regulate how you're allowed to build"; "so, this [Kulturmiljö's report] is like a 'kunskapsunderlag' ['knowledge base'] … for the following works" (Ibid). Aside from providing a heritage focused knowledge base for the urban planners, it is important to remember that, as Olga detailed earlier, a representative of Kulturmiljö was present in the face-to-face dialogue between the different departments vital to the planning process. Moreover, this work is directly tied to the subsequent and formal

protection of industrial buildings throughout Västra Hamnen, which, despite awareness of the heritage value – "they wanted, also, to preserve the oldest part … they knew that from the start" (Ibid) – hadn't been translated into any formal regulation at those earlier stages. As mentioned in the discussion of Katarina and Anne's interview, this level of regulation spreads beyond Varvsstaden – "where the [Skånes] Dansteater is … there are several big old buildings [including the Dansteater – in *Båghallarna*] that also come from Kockums; … one is called *Ubåtshallen* – the [old] submarine building; … so, I made a similar report about those" (Ibid) – yet, these are surrounded by new-builds (Ibid), offering a different character to the more intact Varvsstaden, and again to the entirely new-built developments in the north and east.

An important consideration regarding the heritage of Västra Hamnen, and the city of Malmö as a whole, is the dramatic change that predated the creation of the Kockums shipyard – "everything used to be water; … you can see the old map from 1812 [on *Malmö Stadsatlas*]" – "in a longer perspective, it's a really short period of time" (Olga). Due to the artificial land upon which the contemporary built environment of Västra Hamnen sits, and to extend the earlier point about *structure*, the entirety of Västra Hamnen's landmass could be interpreted as a single piece of tangible heritage; one that affects each and every element of the new built environment in a structural sense. Whilst this is an overt and cursory analysis, as the significance of place operates at far smaller scales (e.g. the facades of Varvsstaden), it does put into perspective, temporally and narratively speaking, the scale and impact of the industrial and economic heritage rooted in this area. Furthermore, there have been other significant industries in Malmö that ran alongside the shipyard – "… the food industry was actually as big as Kockums; … [and] as many people that worked in Kockums also worked in the textile factories and the food [industry]"; "… just Kockums was one big company, and they made those huge boats, so they became very famous and … were the biggest [shipyard] in the world for a period of time – in the 50s" (Ibid). When thinking in terms of place attachment, the symbolism of Kockums, as a result of its fame, is what focuses attention on its heritage; yet, as Olga noted, there are plenty of reasons as to why affinity varies amongst the public (e.g. their personal affiliation with other industries), and why other heritage, in a city-wide perspective, may be prioritised – as both Västra Hamnen and Kockums are constituent parts of the whole that is Malmö.

Urban Design:

The order of the development process offers a useful insight into Malmö Stad's consideration of heritage amidst their wider plans for the area – "when we did this [the report on heritage value] in 2007, there was already … a big programme for this area; … they made this architecture competition about the whole structure of this area, and four … architectural firms made suggestions on how to develop [the area]" (Olga); "in the best of worlds, we should have made this [report first]" (Ibid). Although the area's heritage had been considered, in some degree, right from the redevelopment's inception, the lack of a formal inventory as the

plans for construction were being drawn-up, at least prior to 2007, again demonstrates the inconsistencies surrounding the process of memory politics. Despite this however, at least one developer, the Danish firm *Tegnestuen Vandkunsten*, had incorporated the heritage of Västra Hamnen into their proposal – "they made a plan for the whole area – a suggestion … [and] they wanted, also, to preserve this oldest part [Varvsstaden]" (Ibid). Although this plan never came to fruition, it shows that there was an awareness of the heritage value from an external (non-local) developer, which may well have factored into the approaches of other firms, both local and international. Even if this awareness had been lacking however, "it's of course a lot of cooperation" (Ibid), Malmö Stad, holding authority over the whole development, will likely have imposed some guidelines regarding heritage, which, post-2007, have become a more concrete regulatory framework as a result of Kulturmiljö's research. Additionally, in the context of Västra Hamnen's narrative shift, it is important to recognise that, socially and economically speaking, "the building companies … want to build nice places; they want to build places where people want to live" – and that are profitable (Ibid), for themselves and the city. Urban design must therefore, when all is said and done, be both aesthetically and functionally progressive.

This theme has been dominant throughout the interviews thus far, of which only the non-architectural (firm-wise) viewpoints have been analysed; and when considering that "it's hard to make apartments in those [old brick] buildings" (Olga), and how it can be difficult to find alternative uses for them (as Katarina and Anne acknowledged), the preservation of an area the size of Varvsstaden, as well as other outlying structures, underlines the substantial degree to which the tangible heritage has been valued – especially as the redevelopment *must* be progressive. 'Must', for better or worse, is an appropriate word in this context, as "lots of people come here to look at the architecture and the city planning" (Ibid); in the wake of the initial Bo01 housing *exhibition* Västra Hamnen has become, as intended, an internationally renowned example of sustainable development. Where urban design lends itself to the pursuits of a narrative shift however, the communication of the intangible heritage – the story – it seems, will be an element of long-term consideration – "there have also been discussions for like [the next] 20 years, I think, about how to even more present the history in the city, with … signs and old photos, and maybe now … the new [mobile phone] techniques" (Olga); "I actually made a pre-study for putting the signs around the whole of Västra Hamnen, with old photos and text" (Ibid). Although none of these plans may be set in stone, if signage in particular were to be realised, and much like the nameless artefact of industry seen in *Figure 3*, it would in itself leave a physical mark on the built environment, as an element of urban design communicating the heritage to all who pass by. Regardless of what happens as a result of these discussions, it has been made clear that this process of memory politics incorporates a long(er)-term perspective.

Observations:

Figure 4: *The narrow entrance ways of Bo01 protect against the harsh coastal winds (Author's own, 2019).*

Figure 5: *A wharf in Varvsstaden, behind the converted offices of 'Sveriges Television AB' (Author's own, 2019).*

Whilst the building design varies significantly between the modern residential blocks portrayed in *Figure 4* and the rejuvenated brickwork facade of the old 'Engine House' in *Figure 5*, they both attempt to capture particular elements of Swedish heritage – of life on the western coast. The former merges an array of newly built structures with a time-tested

street plan lifted from the old coastal settlements that lie further north, with narrowing passageways that generate a sense of closeness – an almost homely feeling – in their efforts to mitigate the harsh coastal winds; this works, also, to create a threshold between the bustle of the promenade and the relative privacy of the residential streets within. The latter on the other hand, exudes a vivid sense of Västra Hamnen's industrial past, whilst also providing a functioning office space that is symbolic of the economic shift the area has undergone. This is embodied, for example, by a stark but effective contrast between its rusted girders and the sleek, modern windows, enabling the building to retain a sense of character and permanence amidst its new lease of life – its new urban rhetoric.

Whilst it is almost impossible to discern this particular influence – of old coastal street plans (*Figure 4*) – when arriving on site (without prior knowledge), as the surrounding architecture reflects only the principles of modern design and construction, the Bo01 area does effectively work to fulfil the duality of its role within Västra Hamnen, feeling private and protected in its residential sense, yet also embodying an attractive mix of sustainable urban planning and leisure-oriented public space, which is quite literally 'just around the corner'. Conversely, the wooden seating area incorporated within the existing wharf (*Figure 5*), as well as the benches installed alongside the building itself, provides a visibly utilised space for the new generation of workers to connect with the tangible heritage that surrounds them. It is a contemporary social space that actively uses its historic atmosphere, which in itself provides another example of its present-day functionality.

The Architect's Perspective: MKB Fastighets AB

Interviewee:

- **Anne Rosell** – *Architect* at MKB Fastighets AB.

All of the referenced and quoted information in the following passages has been lifted from the interview completed on the *27th April 2019.*

Sense of Place:

First and foremost, as Anne R. detailed, "we [MKB] are a long-term real estate owner in this city, and our company's more than 70 years old, so we are well aware of that particular area [Västra Hamnen]". In terms of sense of place, this is an advantageous position for a developer to be in, as being based within the city itself has fostered a closer affiliation with the site in question – "it's a very important piece of the history of Malmö" (Ibid). That being said, "the most important thing was the link between the city and the area of the Western Harbour, … not so much the heritage of Kockums, but the link between the old factories and warehouses and the city" (Ibid). The clear and all-encompassing priority of Malmö Stad was to make Västra Hamnen *feel* like an integrated part of the city, a point that was understood by MKB, as well as one that had been widespread in the public sphere – "our biggest newspaper in [Skåne] … they opposed everything about that exhibition [Bo01]. It was said that 'oh, you only build for the rich', and 'it will be a gated community'… so, of course, they turned people's minds into a negative state"; "[but] actually, when people came there and saw it and had meals there, and there were concerts and everything, then I think they changed their minds; but it was very negative in the beginning" (Ibid). This may well have stemmed from the industrial heritage itself – "it was so close, and it was not welcoming at all, [it was] just for … the workers, they took their bikes down there to Kockums and biked back again. Now it's a completely different area" (Ibid), with, as Anne R. explained, demands for more commercial facilities, transport links and schools etc. ("and it has become so") – it is now 'lived in' and connected, and that has been accomplished through a move away from the preceding narrative.

Whereas a personal connection to place has been sought (think 'social pole'), particularly by the media and, subsequently, the public, Anne R. discussed how the 'natural pole' of the sea was also a significant factor in shaping Västra Hamnen's connection with the rest of the city, physically and mentally – "we are so close to the sea, and it was a challenge to say 'could we build even closer … and really make something of the connection to the sea?'. And also, I think the goal was to invite people from all over Malmö to come down, to really take you to the sea". The sea, from this architectural perspective, has really represented a showpiece element of the redevelopment, one that has been especially utilised considering

the initial housing exhibition (an 'attractive site' – Katarina & Anne B.) – "the vistas and the beautiful viewing points and everything, and the gardens … are also programmed with herbs and flowers and bushes connected to sea life"; "and of course with the situation so close to the sea, it's also natural to use those names [such as 'Klippergatan' etc.]" (Ibid). Västra Hamnen, in a functional sense, has always been dependant on its main natural pole, and the relationship that enabled its talismanic industry has been a core element of its symbolic shift. Regarding sense of place, drawing people in from around the city and far beyond – "we still have visitors from all over the world" (Ibid) – has been a central factor in establishing Västra Hamnen as a key part of the city once again. This newfound accessibility, spatially speaking, has combined with a shift in socio-cultural values to attract a broad demographic range to the area – "mostly young [professionals]" to begin with, "[then] both elderly people and a lot of young families with kids. Because it's so environmentally friendly" and more self-sustaining now, commercially and service wise (Ibid). Notably, heritage does not factor into any of the attractions Anne R. mentions, they are instead oriented, essentially, towards the future.

Heritage:

"Sustainability was absolutely the key, absolutely, no question about it. And mostly because, in that particular area, where the exhibition was [Bo01], there wasn't much history to… well to connect to. [The heritage] was … a bit further away" (Anne R.). It seems that both *mentally*, as the prior section denotes, and *physically*, due to a lack of tangible heritage in the Bo01 area ('there wasn't much to connect to' – Anne R. / 'it was mostly hard surfaces' – Katarina & Anne B.), there was a clear and unanimous understanding between the city and the developers as to where the exhibition's priorities lay. As Anne R. affirmed, "[the process was] very controlled by the city, yes. And I personally, as an architect, think that's a good idea" – "otherwise you can't do it" (referring to the number of different developers involved). Whereas Malmö Stad set the boundaries for the balance of heritage preservation, Anne R's views suggest that, in this professional dynamic, developers appreciated the benefits of working within a strict regulatory framework (that covers far more than just heritage), as evidenced by the sheer number of companies that have agreed to operate within this structure. In addition, this specific heritage balance appears to compliment the general architectural perspective allude to by Anne R. – "you never want anything that's [aesthetically] similar to something old. So, I think you have to *relate* to the old buildings, but really make sure it looks new". Not only does this reflect the broader principles of critical regionalism, but it also explains why – sitting alongside tangible heritage such as that of Varvsstaden and the Skånes Dansteater etc. – the majority of the new built environment has been allowed to freely portray forward-thinking architectural styles that are closely tied to the values sought via the narrative shift (sustainability and attractiveness etc.), as these new-builds sit alongside the aforementioned heritage, and are even influenced by historic site structure.

Furthermore, Anne R. confirmed that this balance of heritage and new-builds had always been an element of consideration in the dialogue between the city planners and the developers, with *city-wide* and *area-specific* factors combining to reinforce its inclusion – "we don't have so many buildings of that kind in [Malmö]…, if you compare it to Lund, or you compare it to Stockholm, or Göteborg; they have so much more of [those] ancient buildings with good architecture and history. So that's why I think it's really important to try to keep the ones that you really can. They make an impact on the environment when you are in the area – they really make an impact – so that's why the city really wants to keep them and preserve them". From this insight it can be determined that the unanimous appreciation of the tangible heritage went beyond matters of principle. Although the new builds both require and depict a departure from the industrial brick facades, it has been perceived, in terms of aesthetics and character (e.g. "architecture *and* history"), that the remaining examples make a significant impression on the new built environment of Västra Hamnen and, by extension, the city as a whole. Whereas the character of this heritage is strongly valued, it is also clear that it *must* be functional, as the preserved elements all have a practical role within, and remain unobtrusive to, the overall aims of the redevelopment. Regarding information boards, as an example of how incompatible heritage could still be reflected on site, Anne R. described how: "we [MKB] can do it, but … only for our own buildings. I don't think we have any down there yet [in Västra Hamnen] … but we have done it [elsewhere], a historical review". Whilst this does not hint at a formal discussion of such action, it does at least demonstrate a shared appreciation for this kind of consideration across the three interview perspectives.

Urban Design:

A substantial constraint on the redevelopment plans in Västra Hamnen was the need to clear out the area beforehand, as the northern and western parts of the site had been used to store waste material from other developments in the city (Anne R.) – "so it was kind of a complicated area to adjust to, and to build on … there [were] gas pockets in the ground because of that old polluted soil, created [over] centuries … and of course, it affected the costs very much" (Ibid). Following years of waste storage, it was the combination of that use, the preceding industrial waste, and the subsequent necessity of the site clearance – which called for specialised water and gas resistant concrete, for example (Ibid) – that resulted in their being little to no heritage in these areas 'to connect to', as costs and practicalities (the latter of which Katarina & Anne B. linked to the opinions of the developers) ultimately dictated what was possible. Whereas these considerations were actively discussed between Malmö Stad and the building companies, "it was very highly regulated [by] the city of Malmö – what you could build and not build [in the Bo01 area] – and you had to sign very complex paper guarantees where you promised to build those small secluded areas. You had to work with specialised landscape architects, [and] each courtyard should have its own … old tree [etc.]" (Anne R.) – "the exhibition was, of course, foremost" (Ibid). Although Malmö Stad had direct ownership of the Bo01 site, this was not always the case for the rest of Västra Hamnen – "because, in the

docks [to the east] they're privately owned by *PEAB* and *JM* mostly" (Ibid). Yet, "the city has the monopoly [on] making plans; even though … you can wish [for] a lot of things as the owner of the land, … it's up to the city [to approve them]" (Ibid). In the end, this has combined to ensure, through obligatory discussion, a consistent approach to urban design.

It is important to remember that these factors and constraints affecting urban design also influence any associated memory politics, as, in combination with the planned narrative shift (the goals and principles of the redevelopment), they significantly determined the scope for preserving tangible heritage across the majority of the site, which may be why the Varvsstaden area and the remaining industrial buildings in the east have been so highly regulated. As Anne R. described, a core principle of the Bo01 exhibition, and for any exhibition in general, was that "you have to make something spectacular … otherwise people don't come from all around the world to see it". Given the consistent approach to urban design that has been implemented wherever possible, the new built environment across Västra Hamnen has had to compliment the tone set by the initial Bo01 development – old industrial structures may not, after all, fit many people's definition of 'spectacular'. The construction of the adjoining *European Village* typifies this consistency in both form and theory, as despite an initial lack of interest preventing its completion as part of the Bo01 exhibition – "we didn't get enough [developers] that wanted to build there" (Ibid) – it seems that the success of Bo01 contributed to its subsequent construction. The concept behind the European Village was to have architects from different European countries design each building (Ibid), and whilst this encouraged an overt departure from local, or even national heritage, the tone set by Bo01 has also been reflected in the complementary design, aesthetically and sustainability-wise, of the resulting neighbourhood – "and then of course, the Turning Torso completes the area" (Ibid). Alongside these notions of *consistency* and *spectacle* you also have "to make it *interesting* for everybody" (Ibid). Whilst heritage may be a draw for some, the serene canals and exciting skate park – which is "still one of the world's most famous ones" (Ibid) – provide examples of what may be of interest to others; and striking a balance has been key.

This balance of course, regarding function, consistency, interest and heritage, has been sought through the built environment – through urban design – and links back, in every instance, to establishing a sense of place for different audiences and purposes. Typifying this, as Anne R. alluded to, is the Turning Torso, its symbolism epitomising a new sense of place – 'completing the area', in a way. All of these considerations, and many more, have been discussed by Malmö Stad (e.g. the inter-departmental dialogue Olga spoke of) and regulated in cooperation with the developers (largely regarding the practicalities of construction), and this has combined, as it would in any case, to highly influence the process of memory politics. Another factor which consistently surfaced in Anne R.'s responses was the temporal nature of urban design – "that was actually the first time … sustainability got so big" (Bo01's completion was in 2001), and subsequently "the plan of the Western Harbour – Bo01 [in particular] – has been a guidance [for other developments]; … good guidelines [for] how to reach out into the future, but still, in a way, [to] connect to your history and your heritage" (Ibid). From this, not

only can a distinct echo of critical regionalism be garnered, but so too can an understanding of the socio-cultural context elevating principles of sustainability in urban design at the time of Bo01's inception, which have, in turn, served to influence the designs of the future, through 'good guidelines' that continue to draw attention from "all over the world" (Ibid).

Observations:

Figure 6: The bridge at the eastern entrance to Varvsstaden, symbolic of past industry (Author's own, 2019).

Perhaps a contributing factor shaping the resultant balance of heritage and new constructions in the built environment has been the location of Västra Hamnen's key historic structures. Of course, there are outliers such as the Skånes Dansteater, situated further north alongside the docks, but the main industrial complex of Kockums (at Varvsstaden) is located next to, in the case of *Figure 6*, or within sight of the main entrance ways to the area. Thus, anyone arriving by road will likely observe the preserved industrial heritage of Västra Hamnen before reaching any areas of completely new construction. This may have removed an element of pressure from the urban planners in relation to representing a particular amount of heritage throughout the entire site, if only subconsciously – a *sense* of place, in both design and perception, can be powerful. Furthermore, in terms of aesthetics and character, *Figure 6* depicts the contrasting constructions of Västra Hamnen, with modern office buildings to the right-hand side, the re-purposed engine house in the centre (behind the bridge), and the cavernous structures of Kockums to the left in the distance, awaiting their planned repurposing. It is interesting to note, also, that the new offices on the right of *Figure 6* appear to compliment the colour of the industrial facades that lie opposite, whilst simultaneously carrying an air of 'newness'.

Figure 7: The promenade on Bo01's western shore, overlooked by flats from the exhibition (Author's own, 2019).

Figure 8: The canal running through the European Village (Author's own, 2019).

Figures 7 and *8*, on the other hand, portray a stark contrast to the economically oriented scene of Varvsstaden; a good example of how Malmö Stad have endeavoured to redevelop Västra Hamnen as "the mixed city" (Malmö Stadsbyggnadskontor, 2008: 4). With its serene canal and private back gardens, the European Village (*Figure 8*) captures an essence of suburbia in what is ultimately an urban area. The mix of architectural styles, as a result of

its underlying concept, provides a unique atmosphere to the rest of Västra Hamnen; retaining a distinct character whilst merging well with the showpiece style of Bo01 (*Figure 7*) – setting a tone that has been complemented throughout the new built environment. In addition, the image of Bo01's promenade – which, in warmer seasons, draws crowds from across the city – exemplifies the relationship between Västra Hamnen's *natural* and *social* 'poles' (Whatmore, 1999: 25). Here, we can see a coming-together of land and sea that is as important as it was in the days of industry, enabling the social pole to function as designed (as shipyards, followed by a waterfront exhibition) whilst enhancing its role as a place of leisure within the city. Whereas the dialogue behind the urban design relates most strongly to principles of critical regionalism, elements of Tschumi's 'space as eventfulness' can be observed (Cresswell, 2015: 132), not just in *Figure 7*, but through the public spaces (e.g. the parks, walkways, outdoor grills, and bathing piers) that pepper the built environment of Västra Hamnen and occupy its residents and visitors alike.

Towards a Conclusion:

What has been the Process of Memory Politics in Västra Hamnen?

When teasing out an overall structure for the process of memory politics behind Västra Hamnen's redevelopment, the result constitutes a mixed bag of consistent discussion, informal approaches and more stringent regulatory systems. From the interviewee responses it is possible to construct an outline of sorts, wherein the fluctuating application of memory politics within the redevelopment can be charted in a more general sense. In this case, the consideration of heritage broadly followed the following course:

- An initial inventory of heritage (mid-1990s) preceding Bo01 that was inconsistently acknowledged throughout the inter-departmental discussions.
- Ongoing dialogue between urban planners and developers regarding practicalities.
- Kulturmiljö's involvement in the years after Bo01 (completed in 2001), with their 2007 '*kunskapsunderlag*' informing subsequent regulation.
- Inter-departmental discussion throughout the following process, which incorporated Kulturmiljö's insights.
- The 2011 'Hearing' that interposed this, allowing for public feedback in conjunction with both the urban planners and developers.
- Ongoing discussions (as of March 2019) regarding the future of heritage preservation and communication across Västra Hamnen.

Overall, the outcome of the redevelopment process thus far, including matters of memory politics, has been cast in a predominantly positive light by each of the interviewees, from their varying professional perspectives. Aside from Malmö Stad's role as overseer throughout the whole process, both Olga's heritage perspective and Anne R.'s architectural viewpoint have highlighted key points of change within the aforementioned course of memory politics. Firstly, as Katarina and Anne B. noted, despite the desire of urban planners to retain some smaller industrial structures throughout the site (incorporating the initial inventory that was completed) it was largely deemed impractical due to, as Anne R. of MKB added, the state of the ground following years of neglect and post-industrial waste storage. This appears to have resulted in a relatively free-flowing development of the western half of Västra Hamnen, regarding matters of heritage at least, with most of the focus being placed on the new built environment and its associated narrative as a result; after all, Anne R. described how there wasn't much there "to connect to" in any case. Secondly, the research completed by Kulturmiljö – the *kunskapsunderlag*, or 'knowledge base' – ahead of developing the rest of Västra Hamnen, in particular the Varvsstaden and wider Dockplatsen areas, led to the creation of *Detaljplans* that staunchly regulated the remaining tangible heritage. Whilst Olga emphasised that each department involved in the planning discussions of Malmö Stad had to make sacrifices in order to appropriately plan the redevelopment, Kulturmiljö's consultation

within this subsequent dialogue has been indicative of the increasingly formalised approach towards heritage that has been employed over time.

When looking back at Till and Kuusisto-Arponen's framework, specifically their three key principles underlying responsible processes of memory politics, the second point listed – '*that singular claims to the authenticity of place are [to be] problematized*' – resonates with the aforementioned dialogue between the planners, developers and researchers that has shaped the redevelopment, with fluctuating balances of input, since its inception. As each of the interviewees confirmed, heritage was considered, however informally, throughout the entire process, and there have been no singular claims regarding the authenticity of the area based on its heritage. Perhaps this is due to the natural balance of the site, with Varvsstaden and the wider Dockplatsen area housing almost all of the reusable industrial buildings (with sturdier brick constructions), and thus reducing the pressure on preserving the less functional heritage in other areas; allowing for Malmö Stad to pursue a more comprehensive and open redevelopment across most of Västra Hamnen – in line with their '*Five Goals for a Sustainable Västra Hamnen*', as the heritage sites remain largely intact and occupy prominent locations around or in view of the major entrance ways to the area. Rather, this lack of singular claims by those active in the dialogue process seems to have given way to a universal appreciation for both sides of this balance, as evidenced by Malmö Stad's use of the Detaljplans, the historic site structure, and their acknowledgement of important heritages such as the herring railway and the oldest not-military dock in Sweden, for example, amidst their forward-thinking narrative goals; in addition to Kulturmiljö's role as heritage consultant *within* the wider redevelopment, acknowledging the integral requirement of cooperation and compromise; and lastly, as seen through Anne R.'s (of MKB) sentiments regarding the comparative lack of heritage buildings in Malmö, and the importance therefore of retaining what can be used – even, as Olga (of Kulturmiljö) noted, the Danish architecture firm *Tegnestuen Vandkunsten* had incorporated these structures into their proposal.

It seems that the symbolism – especially so, given the weight of Kockums' past reputation – of the preceding industrial decline in Västra Hamnen, and what it meant for the wider city of Malmö, resulted in a general public appreciation for the need to take the site in a different direction – to reiterate what Anne B. (of Malmö Stad) said, "to many [people] living in Malmö the Western Harbour was a bit of a symbol of everything that [went] wrong". As a result, the opinions of the public have worked to fuel, rather than oppose, the move away from Västra Hamnen's industrial heritage, with a primary example being the feedback from the *2011 Hearing*, where the public appreciated the attractiveness of the remaining heritage, but instead directed their critique at the need for more services in the area, particularly from a residential perspective. Whilst Olga indicated that some people think the derelict structures of Varvsstaden might as well be torn down due to their poor state of repair, this sentiment has not been communicated to either of the three professional bodies interviewed at any significant scale or degree of pressure. Moreover, the only pronounced opposition to the direction of Västra Hamnen's narrative shift was expressed by Anne R. (of MKB), as she

recounted the media-induced pessimism centred on fears of economic exclusivity – feelings that were quick to dissipate, relatively speaking, as the Bo01 exhibition was experienced. The lack of backlash perceived from the interviewees' perspectives is important however, as it reflects the 'responsibility' element of Till and Kuusisto-Arponen's research, suggesting that the balance between socio-economic function and heritage has been appropriately realised in Västra Hamnen's redevelopment – an indicator of success for the overall process of memory politics, however inconsistent it was.

Furthermore, this lack of perceived backlash validates the balance of public and professional input within this process of memory politics, as Katarina and Anne B. (of Malmö Stad) detailed, not even the 'Old Kockumers' association exerted any particular pressure in relation to the preservation of particular heritages throughout the redevelopment. Instead, it seems as though the realisation of Västra Hamnen as the 'mixed city' it was intended to be – an actuality that resonates with Entrikin's notions of 'cosmopolitan space' (1999), upon which Till and Kuusisto-Arponen's research developed – has resulted in a successful departure from the *functional exclusivity* associated with the area's industrial heritage; with the fear relating to economic exclusivity likely being lessened by the observed 'eventfulness' of the new built environment, through its design as a place for workers, visitors (from across Malmö and beyond) and residents to interact both *with* and *within*. Subsequently, the redevelopment of Västra Hamnen has achieved the third of Till and Kuusisto-Arponen's principles underlying a responsible approach to memory politics – *'that places and landscapes* (including the built environment) *are recognised as having progressive potential for cosmopolitan encounter and learning'* (2015). These principles are of course related to matters of memory and heritage at their core, and the nature of the redevelopment in Västra Hamnen, balancing a profound narrative shift with increasingly regulated heritage preservation, has ensured that these criteria have been met to an acceptable degree, as supported by the aforementioned lack of backlash. Regarding this second principle, the redevelopment has realised a substantially progressive level of *'cosmopolitan encounter'* through its narrative shift, whilst retaining the opportunity for *'learning'*, heritage-wise, by preserving key sections of the preceding built environment that still have functional potential (tangible heritage), and by considering the story of the previous industry (intangible heritage) through *naming* practices and discussions centred on how best to *communicate* (via signs and apps etc.) the history throughout the built environment in future years.

In addition, the degree to which Till and Kuusisto-Arponen's second and third principles for responsible memory politics have been represented in the redevelopment of Västra Hamnen has combined to cultivate ample opportunity for their first principle – *that landscape is acknowledged as a place of critical testimony* (2015) – to be respected in future dialogue. Although the ongoing process of memory politics has largely been devoid of public input at the planning level, the atmosphere has been one of openness and respect towards both sides of the balances struck throughout. If this atmosphere is retained then the highly variable nature of critical testimony and perceived authenticity (both of which are naturally

occurring sentiments) that result from "an everyday familiarity [with] spatial permanence" – to adapt Alderman and Inwood's earlier insight on heritage (2013: 188) – will likely, in turn, be of a more open disposition. To clarify, as both constructed and redeveloped places actively preserve and/or create emotional attachments over time – "forms of belonging" (Till and Kuusisto-Arponen, 2015: 302) – the apparent appropriateness of the balances struck within the process of memory politics that Malmö Stad implemented are less likely to alienate future residents and visitors in terms of the values promoted through heritage. The past, rather, has been used as an example and incentive from which the new built environment can progress, functionally and inclusively. Whereas the inconsistent approach towards heritage regulation and public-professional dialogue in Västra Hamnen's redevelopment will not be suitable for areas with more troubling histories, the process of memory politics in this instance, and from the specific perspectives interviewed, has been conducted both responsibly and, as of the completion of this research, successfully.

How has this Shaped the Design of Västra Hamnen's New Built Environment?

As the interview responses confirm, the narrative shift sought by Malmö Stad had to be progressive, and when thinking in terms of Atkinson and Cosgrove's *urban rhetoric* and *embodied identities* (1998) we can begin to appreciate the extent to which the departure from a bleak industrial heritage has characterised the design of the new built environment. Not only has a *detached* sense of place become *attached*, but the area has been developed with an organic structural flow, as Katarina and Anne B. (of Malmö Stad) discussed, that seeks to compliment the inner-city location of the neighbourhood whilst transitioning into a more relaxed suburban feel – as economic zone becomes residential area, in a spatial sense, and an exclusive "space of work" (Tuan, 1979: 401) becomes a place where anyone can now "simply be in" (Pries, 2017: 138), in a temporal sense. The lack of tangible heritage 'to connect to' across large swathes of the site has ultimately set the balance and tone of the western and northern parts of Västra Hamnen's redevelopment, encouraging a high degree of freedom in the design and construction of a functional and sustainable built environment. Moreover, the intact and reusable structures found in Varvsstaden and across the wider Dockplatsen area seem to have taken the pressure off the incorporation of heritage elsewhere in the redevelopment, owing to their economically functional nature – as offices housing the 'knowledge' element of the 'mixed city' (e.g. Media Evolution City), and as leisure facilities for the wider city and region (e.g. the Skånes Dansteater) – in addition to their prominent locations around the entrance ways to Västra Hamnen. In this way, the remaining tangible heritage embodies a concurrent industrial aesthetic and contemporary relevance amidst the more pronounced urban rhetoric of symbolically progressive values, such as sustainability, cosmopolitanism and the knowledge economy.

From the responses of both Malmö Stad and Kulturmiljö's representatives, it seems that the *story* of Västra Hamnen, in its *intangible* form, may have provided a way to help prioritise which tangible heritage has been, and will be, retained in the built environment, as finding alternative ways to convey the area's history may have worked to alleviate the burden of preserving functionally incompatible structures, or those that were simply too costly and impractical to keep. Ideas such as the aforementioned heritage-based apps and information boards may provide suitable and successful ways to achieve this, otherwise, as *Figure 2* and *3*'s depictions of the 'Kockum Fritid' sign and the nameless industrial heritage respectively indicate, the past narrative may fade over time or become lost in the newly constructed surroundings. The importance of naming has clearly been acknowledged by Malmö Stad, with street and place names being considered and subsequently instated by a dedicated 'naming group'. Through this, an identification of the past has been promoted, and the names themselves express particular values, from key figures in the site's history (such as *Einar Hansens Esplanad*) to formerly important industries (e.g. *Propellergatan*). However, in line with Alderman's warning, that "the practice of naming … is inherently dissonant and open to multiple … interpretations" (2008: 195), the examples in the aforementioned figures posit a need for the continued communication of the intangible heritage on site – through linking dissociated names, or even nameless artefacts, to a coherent narrative, as well as the tangible heritage that has been successfully regulated and repurposed – lest the historic sense of place that Malmö Stad have actively tried to convey through naming be ultimately lost. Overall, it seems as though, for a majority of the site, the heritage of Västra Hamnen takes precedence in the domain of naming, whereas the progressive values at the heart of the narrative shift take a more central role aesthetically and functionally.

This relationship reflects Tuan's thoughts on a *sense of place*, as the 'known' element he discusses, based on contact and association with the environment (1979: 410), is oriented predominantly towards the contemporary function of Västra Hamnen, and so to is the 'aesthetic' element (Ibid), through the new architecture embodying the narrative shift. Within this context, the heritage, as appropriate as the process and balance may have been, is the more understated consideration in the overall design of Västra Hamnen's new built environment. As Olga (of Kulturmiljö) stressed, many people are glad to see that Malmö is 'on it again', and the 'spectacular' (Anne R. of MKB) realisation of the Bo01 housing exhibition, in addition to the complementary styles of the adjoining developments (refer back to *Figures 7* and *8*), incorporative of different purposes and interests (from skateparks to gardens and new architectural styles), has resulted in a symbolic area for the wider city of Malmö – a national and international example also, as the sustainability focus had intended. Whilst the heritage of Västra Hamnen has been channelled through a retention of the site structure (Katarina & Anne B. of Malmö Stad), alongside the more regional Swedish coastal heritage embodied by Klas Tham's Bo01 street-plan, it is ultimately the form and function of the buildings, landscape architecture and attractive coastal setting that capture the attention of those inhabiting the space. Although, as Olga noted, 'when you know it you can feel it', the majority of visitors to the area are likely unaware of the knowledge necessary to recognise and feel this sense of

place in passing. Rather, the international style of the buildings; the towering symbolism of the Turning Torso; the embodiment of sustainable values (within the 'mixed city'); and the attractive seafront promenade will, by design, occupy the mind and impart the intended sense of place – "sustainability was absolutely the key" (Anne R. of MKB), after all.

Whereas particular areas of Västra Hamnen have been highly regulated in terms of heritage preservation and thus impart a significant character on the built environment as a result, they are ultimately distanced from the 'showpiece' elements of the redevelopment that often rely on expressing heritage through naming and site structure alone – a distancing that can be observed in the east-west split depicted in the site map (*Figure 1*). This is consciously rooted in the approach taken through the process of memory politics however, and a continuation of this process, as Olga (of Kulturmiljö) confirmed, will find an open and empathetic atmosphere of 'cosmopolitan encounter and learning', as discussed previously, within which to anchor a communication of the underlying intangible heritage – cementing links between the names of streets in the European Village and the repurposed warehouses of Varvsstaden, for example. Overall, the process of memory politics has symbolised the east-west split in terms of shaping the design of the built environment. In the east, far more stringent regulations were imposed due to the presence of reusable industrial structures that are compatible with the predominantly economic nature of this part of Västra Hamnen, lying closer, also, to the city centre of Malmö. Whilst the western areas of Västra Hamnen, instead of shaping the urban design through a process of memory politics, have seen the process of memory politics shaped by the aims and considerations of urban design. A balancing of new, or in the context of Kockums – revitalised, geographic scales has led to Västra Hamnen's present-day multifaceted role as an international example of sustainable urban planning; a creative and knowledge-based economic hub for the city of Malmö, linking global, regional and local markets; and as a residential neighbourhood and place of leisure *within* the city and *for* the city. The dynamics of both urban design planning and more localised memory politics, therefore, have worked in conjunction with each other to realise, but also characterise, Västra Hamnen's narrative shift in the built environment.

On Observation:

Observation has been a key method through which to understand and convey the balances of memory politics in the built environment, from the on-site perspective of the researcher and the subsequent communication of findings to the reader; encouraging, also, their own formulation of a sense of place. The figures have provided a visual medium in which elements of architectural principle, the actuality of site-usage, and the effect of the heritage within them, can be better compared, contemplated and understood.

Regarding architectural principle, the new built environment of Västra Hamnen is one of critical regionalism, merging elements of genius loci, such as the overall site structure and the preserved industrial facades of Varvsstaden, with a distinct move away from a bleak

industrial heritage, embodied by the symbolic Turning Torso, sustainable urban design of Bo01, and the sleek, international designs of the European Village. *Figure 2*'s depiction of heritage-based naming (*Kockum Fritid*) really emphasises the potential for intangible heritage to fade amidst a new built environment, and so too does the coastal village-inspired street plan of Bo01 (*Figure 4*'s narrow entrance way); yet the rejuvenated wharf area of Varvsstaden (*Figure 5*) conversely portrays the workers of the new 'mixed city' interacting *with* and *within* a relatively untouched industrial environment. Not only does this provide an example of 'space as eventfulness' within the closely regulated memory politics of Varvsstaden, it also closely resembles the incorporation of this same principle in the more open, forward-thinking design of Bo01 seen in *Figure 7* (the seafront promenade), encapsulating how the shifting balance of memory politics has worked to realise the embodiment of new aims and values in a historic built environment. Lastly, the highly aesthetic values underlying the relationship between Västra Hamnen's social and natural poles, transitioning from industrial functionality to attractive urban (and even suburban) area, can be more appropriately understood with reference to each of the seven photographs, and so too, the place of heritage within them.

Final Conclusions:

The preceding sections have sought to combine the conceptual framework of the thesis and address the three research questions, which were to (1) understand the process of memory politics underlying Västra Hamnen's redevelopment; (2) to analyse how this has affected the design of the built environment; and (3) to gauge the subsequent reaction towards the redevelopment because of such, from the professional perspectives involved. This concluding passage will therefore seek to briefly summarise the major findings.

Firstly, the process of memory politics has been one of temporal inconsistency, with the ever-present consideration of heritage drawing from an initial inventory of the site, in addition to dialogue between Malmö Stad and the developers regarding the practicalities of preservation, as well as a more informal incorporation within the planning phases of Västra Hamnen's initial 'showpiece' developments. The process then became increasingly formalised in conjunction with Kulturmiljö's research, leading to the strict regulation of the Varvsstaden area, as well as specific sites located throughout the wider Dockplatsen area. This closely correlates with Malmö Stad's recognition of the functional potential of the industrial structures that remained in these areas, in addition to a seemingly wider appreciation (from all three perspectives) of the value these structures impart on both the wider city of Malmö and Västra Hamnen itself – as supported by the public hearing. These regulations will continue to be enforced; alongside ongoing discussions focused specifically on how best to communicate the site's intangible heritage throughout the built environment as the redevelopment moves into the future.

Secondly, the process of memory politics has symbolised Västra Hamnen's east-west split in terms of shaping the design of the new built environment. The higher regulations

that have been imposed on the eastern areas reflect the more pronounced effect of memory politics on the urban design there, whereas the western areas have conversely seen the actual process of memory politics being shaped by the aims and considerations of the urban design process, itself an expression of the values pursued through the narrative shift. The dynamics of balancing these urban design considerations (which are often attuned to larger geographic scales) with more localised memory politics has resulted in the realisation of Västra Hamnen's narrative shift in the new built environment, whilst retaining characterising elements of both tangible and intangible heritage, as well as the potential for their heightened representation if so desired. And finally, although this process of memory politics has been inconsistent and the balances between different opinions (planning-wise) and representations (in the built environment) have varied considerably, the lack of any *perceived* backlash or pressures, particularly from the public, has served to validate the fluid approach taken within the specific context of Västra Hamnen. To reiterate the words of Malmö Stad, "*the aim [has been] to make Västra Hamnen an international leading example of a densely populated, environmentally sound neighbourhood. A city district that inspires creativity, develops further knowledge and stimulates economic growth*" (2006: 2); and positive sentiments such as Malmö being seen to be 'on it again', as well as an appreciation for a previously *detached* area of the city becoming very much *attached*, has seen only minimal, if any, negativity (from Malmö Stad, Kulturmiljö and MKB's perspectives) in relation to heritage thus far.

Limitations and Recommendations:

- Owing to the scale of the research project and the in-depth nature of the interviews conducted, the scope of our understanding regarding this process of memory politics could be significantly increased if more perspectives are analysed in future research. These could be the different departments of Malmö Stad that sat alongside Kulturmiljö in the planning discussions; developers other than MKB; or members of the public (exempt here, due to their minimal input in the process of memory politics).

- Also, the dynamic and influential nature of memory politics that has come to light in the case of Västra Hamnen will not necessarily be compatible with areas that have a more violent past. Whilst the fluid approach taken by Malmö Stad appears responsible in relation to the validating lack of opposition or criticism (specifically heritage-wise), a responsible and ethical process of memory politics in more troubling contexts will likely require a broader incorporation of opinion and more consistent regulation.

- Finally, whilst undertaking preliminary reading for this research the language barrier presented by a lack of fluency in Swedish may have prevented the use of potentially relevant literature.

Word Count: 22,756

Appendices:

Appendix A: Semi-Structured Interview Guide

1. To what degree where you aware of Västra Hamnen's social history as an industrial area? (Tangible/Intangible?)

2. Where you or your organisation aware of the public opinion(s) towards redeveloping the site? What were they? (Heritage related?)

3. **[Researcher briefly defines 'memory politics']** How were *heritage* and *memory* considered in the early planning stages? (Tangible/Intangible?)

4. Was this translated into the final approach towards the redevelopment? Or did it increase/decrease in importance? (If so, why?)

5. **[Researcher briefly defines 'sense of place']** Was preserving a particular *sense of place* in the new Västra Hamnen considered?

6. What *sense of place* was intended to be encouraged through the redevelopment?

7. Was there any opposition to these approaches, from the public or other professionals? And how was this considered?

8. To what degree was the heritage of Västra Hamnen seen as problematic, or not?

9. In the years since, to what degree do you believe the intended sense of place has been realised? (Is this good / bad?)

10. In terms of architectural design, was the heritage and memory of the site considered as an influence? (In what way? / Why not?)

11. What were the design constraints / architectural aims (influences?) put forward by the urban planners?

12. Was this intended to compliment or contrast with the wider city of Malmö? (How so?)

13. Was there any opposition to these designs, from the public or other professionals? If so, how was this considered? (Did it relate to heritage?)

14. Do you believe that processes of memory politics are important in redevelopment?

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