Culture Unbound:

Journal of Current Cultural Research

Thematic Section:

Narrating the City and Spaces of Contestation

Edited by

Ragnhild Claesson & Pål Brunnström

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Culture Unbound Vol. 11 Editorial

By Eva Hemmungs Wirtén, James Meese, Johanna Dahlin & Jesper Olsson

In 219, *Culture Unbound* turns ten. Moving from childhood into adolescence, the decade that has passed since the inaugural thematic issue in 2009 has been one of great change in scholarly publishing, as indeed in the whole infrastructure of academia more generally. Looking back at the theme of that first 2009 issue, "What's the Use of Cultural Research?" nothing has been lost in terms of the relevance of the topic itself. And yet, it is not inconceivable that the question and the possible answers would be articulated and framed quite differently if posed today. In one sense, ten years is a microsecond in the longue durée of scholarly publishing. In another sense, both digitization and globalization has profoundly influenced the way in which an open access journal such as *Culture Unbound* now travels in the world. In the accompanying editorial to that first theme http://www.cultureunbound.ep.liu.se/v1/a01/cu09v1a01.pdf, the founding editors—Johan Fornäs, Martin Fredriksson and Jenny Johannisson—set out the underlying ideas and thoughts behind *Culture Unbound*. Their vision of *Culture Unbound* as an "unbound, free and open space for intellectual exchange," has guided and will continue to guide *Culture Unbound's* transition into its next decade (and beyond). And even while the expression "available to anyone with a networked computer" sounds very much like 2009 and not so much 2019, the fact that *Culture Unbound* will continue as an open-access resource for those who "wish to take part in recent developments in the understanding of the many facets of culture and culturalisation," remains as current a vision today as it did ten years ago. Terminology may grow old, but principles live on and evolve.

2019 therefore marks a special year in the life of *Culture Unbound*. Changes are on the horizon, both in respect to the Editorial Team (Eva Hemmungs Wirtén is leaving after 5 years and Jesper Olsson will be succeeding her as Editor-in-Chief) as well as a reorganization of the Editorial Board. We are continuously looking into new ways to better make use of the digital format both when it comes to content and the design of that content. But some things will also stay the same.

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The commitment to publishing the best articles on critical cultural research; the ambition to offer a high-quality, peer-reviewed outlet for cross-disciplinary research in the humanities and social sciences, and certainly being an active agent in the forefront of current and future discussions on open access and scholarly publishing. We hope that you will continue to read, use and cite articles in *Culture Unbound*. The current issue is a great way to start.

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Introduction: Narrating the City and Spaces of Contestation

By Ragnhild Claesson & Pål Brunnström

While nation states have a disputed status in a globalised world, cities are often regarded as sovereign and global actors. Along with de-nationalising processes of increased privatisation, supranational governing and networks of transnational corporations, city administrations have developed new capabilities of orientation and governing in a global context (Sassen 2006). Inequality, poverty and segregation are some of the pressing issues that city administrations are grappling with – issues of local challenge with global relevance and repercussions, and vice versa. We wonder, if city administrations also address cultural issues that traditionally were of national concern, as fostering and narrating a sense of identity and belonging? If so, we think this shift needs to be further inquired, as we know that narrating and uses of history are not innocent practices. Rather, these are activities which consciously and unconsciously can push developments and futures in specific directions (Sandercock 2003). Further, narrating and history-writing have a spatial dimension and a performative force which may manifest in the physical environment, making changes, or sustaining status quo (De Certeau 1988, Hayden 1997 and Massey 2005). A critical engagement in the making and use of history in urban space is needed to disclose power relations and constructions of categories, such as gender identities (Scott 2011), and to problematize bias perspectives on cultural heritage and an "authorised heritage discourse" (Smith 2006). Processes of narrating the city in urban development and regeneration are often processes where not only urban history, but also urban futures, are negotiated in a very concrete and physical sense.

How to understand the role of cities in a globalised world is largely debated. There are approaches which seek to contextualise and problematize "the urban question" holistically. For example, understanding cities as places where the local and global are mutually constitutive – a local-global constellation of often conflicting trajectories stratified by inequality and power relations (Massey 2005); as an urban-rural interdependency and an ongoing "planetary urbanisation" which

Keywords: City Narrative, City Branding, City Identity, Urban Regeneration, Urban History

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effect all people unevenly and impacts the whole environment (Brenner & Schmid 2017); or as a practice of "worlding" (Roy & Ong 2011) – a perspective which involves a shift of focus from the *subjects* of world cities and systems to that of the *doing* of world cities, to "worlding" as activity. This latter approach does not neglect scrutinising capitalist or post-colonial systems. Rather it strives to capture not only the way these systems are manifested or challenged, but also goes beyond to recognise a multitude of activities, for example informal practices in the global South. This approach involves a continuous reformulation of the urban question itself (Roy & Ong 2011).

In this theme issue we take a closer look on some of these "new capabilities" of city administrations that Sassen (2006) speaks of. We are specifically interested in how images of the past and future are integrated in urban development. Notions of identity and belonging are recurring when historic contexts are included in city planning, often as a way to legitimise a specific course of direction. Narrating the past and future can be a way of "worlding" – of connecting local urban development to larger contexts of time and space, framed within global discourses of for example economic growth, sustainable development and cultural diversity. The thematic section also addresses how various citizen groups and social movements respond to narratives of urban development, and engage in urban space through counter-narrating.

It is clear that rivalry between cities at the mercy of global competition is one prominent narrative, real or imagined, of contemporary urban development. The idea that city branding is a necessary strategy for cities to thrive, has been commonplace and a standard in municipal administrations, along with gradual and continuous implementations of neoliberal governance strategies (Harvey 2000). Even if place marketing actually have a much longer history, it has seen "a massive worldwide growth" since the 1970s (Ward 1998). Branding strategies usually narrate a city identity and designates selected places, events and specific urban life styles as representative of a city. Even if the basic idea is to attract new investments, tax-payers and tourism to the city, branded identities will inevitably be sending also a message internally, to the citizens. An element of a "we", implicating a "they", means that some social groups and life styles may be excluded when city images are remediated (Syssner 2012). When branding includes historic events, it will logically select those that corroborate with a selling identity. In that sense, the branding contributes to create a historic backyard of a city, of not "successful" stories. However, contemporary city branding strategies may actually address social challenges, like inequality and racism. But as some of the contributing articles in this issue show (especially by Hudson & Sandberg and Overud), these attempts can instead have stereotyping effects, because the problems are too simplified or there is a lack of will to actually solve them. To use culture instrumentally in plan-

ning fits well into governance rationales which been gradually implemented in urban planning – a shift from hierarchical steering to governing and a change of focus from institutions to process and innovation (Brown 2015). As discussed by Brown (2015), governance processes risk to dissolve distinctions between state, business, non-profit, and NGOs, because power relations are reworked so that politics (and in our context especially cultural policy in urban planning), become reduced to a matter of management and administration.

The eight articles in this theme issue engage in topical discussions on how urban development relates to global discourses of economic growth, sustainability and cultural diversity. In February 2017, the authors all presented their studies at the conference "Creating the City. Identity, Memory and Participation" which was arranged by the Institute for Studies in Malmö's History, at Malmö University. By contributing with historic dimensions and critical perspectives on current discourses of identity and regeneration, the authors address narrating and narratives in visions and planning documents, in bids for new architecture and investments, in media, as well as in the actual physical environment. The articles problematize how narratives as social and spatial processes may be (re)created, legitimatised, sustained, contested or resisted in urban space. They address questions like: How do contemporary policies and politics invest in history and discourses of belonging? How do history, narratives and notions of identity play out and manifest in urban space and the built environment? Where and how are histories challenged and transformed through counter-cultural and counter-narrating practices, or organisational efforts and resistance? The authors study the city from various disciplines; media studies, history, heritage studies, anthropology, gender studies, political science and geography. Even if they all connect history, identity or narrating to urban space by use of different theories and concepts, they all understand space and social life as reciprocal processes. This means that dominant powers as well as resistance may have corresponding spatial expressions, and consequently that space can be used to enforce change.

The first two articles engage in how city branding promotes selected narratives to build a specific city identity. Dagmar Brunow shows in "Manchester's Post-punk Heritage: Mobilizing and Contesting Transcultural Memory in the Context of Urban Regeneration", how mediations and remediations of a post-punk culture are integrated into strategies of branding the city of Manchester, England. Brunow applies the concept "transcultural memory" as translations of cultural practices not only across spatial borders, but also as a translating process through different discursive frameworks within the same geographic space. Brunow follows how a post-punk culture is being translated into place-making processes and city branding strategies of placing the city on a global cultural arena. Memory practices are here constructing spaces - when remediations of pasts are mapped onto space

they simultaneously premediate futures, creating psychogeographies which eventually become "mnemotopes". Brunow emphasises that even if post-punk is remediated as a subculture with emancipatory power, it does not mean that the remediation itself has a corresponding emancipatory force. On the contrary, Brunow finds the post-punk narrative dominating other memories, as feminist, LGBTQ and migrant memories, which are having difficulties finding and sustaining spaces in Manchester.

The second article on city branding narratives are Christine Hudson and Linda Sandberg's "Narrating the gender-equal city – doing gender-equality in the Swedish European Capital of Culture Umeå2014". The study is situated in Umeå, a northern Swedish city, which won the 2014 bid for The European Capital of Culture (designated by EU) with the theme "The Gender Equal City". Hudson & Sandberg show how the year's program of events exposed various approaches and understandings of gender equality. They found that stereotyped gender norms were affirmed in the events, and that gender equality became much of a counting of numbers – of an equal distribution of male and female bodies in spaces and activities. However, they also found examples of problematisations of gender as category in some of the events, and also conflicting understandings of gender in art and in urban space. Building on the events of the year and Umeå's history of feminist activities, Hudson & Sandberg discuss the future of Umeå as a gender equal city.

The two following articles present cases where history and preservation of particular urban sites have been part of extensive debates, visioning and municipal planning strategies. In "Maintaining Urban Complexities. Seeking Revitalisation without Gentrification of an Industrial Riverfront in Gothenburg", Gabriella Olshammar discusses the future of Ringön – a small industrial harbour in Gothenburg, Sweden, adjacent to the otherwise heavily gentrified riverfront along the Göta River. She follows different actors' notions of futures and pasts, and their steps taken to promote – or adjust to – either a large or low scale regeneration of Ringön. Approaching various understandings of the harbour's past and future as narratives, Olshammar discusses possibilities for regeneration without gentrifying the small scale industrial character of today. Referring to what Nigel Thrift calls "urban glue", she found that current industries and activities at Ringön have reparative qualities – as recycling, specific knowledges of the marine world, and craftsmanship for restauration. Olshammar argues that these qualities correlates to the city's overarching goals of sustainability and resilience.

Erik Jönsson and Johan Pries have studied The People's Park (*Folkets park*) in Malmö, Sweden, in the article "Remaking the People's Park: Heritage Renewal Troubled by Past Political Struggles?". They present the park's strong connection to the Social Democratic party and the labour movement since the park's inaugu-

ration in late 19th Century. Through detailed accounts of urban planning debates and political decisions, Jönsson & Pries show how negotiations of the park's preservation and regeneration created conflicts, but eventually also shared interests, between local left and centre-right party politics in 1980s to 2000s. Questions concerning the value of the working class history of the People's Park on the one hand, and the market value if privatised and turned into a commercial amusement park on the other, became objects of the political conflict. Jönsson & Pries argues that the park's political history had endured through citizens' everyday use of the park – a use which established a socio-material pattern and landscape of the park which in the end became politically impossible to dismiss from the regeneration plans.

The following two articles discuss makings of gender, identity and ethnicity in relation to urban space. In "Memory-making in Kiruna – Representations of Colonial Time in the Transformation of a Scandinavian Mining Town", Johanna Overud takes a look at how Swedish colonialism plays out in an urban development context. The mining town Kiruna in the North of Sweden was built in late 19th Century as a model town around an ore mine. The land was populated by the indigenous Sami people, and Overud shows how a masculine mining culture and ideas of Western progressivity colonised the Samis and their land, Sápmi, when Kiruna was established. Currently, the whole mining town is about to move some kilometres away from the mining area due to cracks in the ground – a dramatic transformation and planning challenge which has attracted a lot of national and international attention. Some of the local planners and museum staff are aware of the masculinist bias in the history of Kiruna, and see in the transformation a chance to bring in alternative perspectives into representations of the town. Overud has analysed such an attempt, where enlarged historic photographs are displayed in a new park. They depict Sami people as well as early mining settlers with families. Overud discusses how these photographs rather cement than challenge patriarchal and colonial patterns in Kiruna. She argues that the photographs stall a colonial time in Kiruna, as well as ideas of a "Kiruna family", revolving around the male miner as breadwinner. Overud sees how the discriminating narratives continues to have impact and are being passed on to the new Kiruna.

Vinícius Zanoli and Rubens Mascarenhas Neto's study "Black, LGBT and from the Favelas: An Ethnographic Account on Disidentificatory Performances of an Activist Group in Brazil" engages in how a Black, LGBT organisation in Campinas, Brazil, organises drag performances in public places. Zanoli & Mascarenhas Neto discuss how the performances contribute to alter the meanings associated to these places. Most members of the organisation come from favelas and the periphery of the city, thus the performances also challenge ideas about who has the right to access and shape more central places of the city. From an anthropological

perspective, Zanoli & Mascarenhas Neto show how the cultural activities of the organisation are processes of identification and dis-identification which alter spaces, as public buildings, squares and stages, through de- and re-territorialisation. They also sketches a social movement context of how Black and LGBT movements in Brazil have developed since the 1970s, for example by supporting each other and being inspired by movements in other countries.

The last two articles address evictions and squatting in housing policies. Dominika V. Polanska and Åse Richard identify in "Narratives of a Fracturded Trust in the Swedish Model: Tenants' Emotions of Renovation" a lack of tenants' stories in the contemporary housing debate in Sweden. They especially miss voices of tenants who are victims of "renoviction" – i.e. strategic evictions as part of regeneration of residential areas, where radically increased rents force low income tenants to move. Polanska & Richard's study is set in the neighbourhood Gränby in Uppsala, Sweden, currently subjected to large renovations and increasing rents. In the context of Swedish welfare policies, they discuss how an aggressive housing market is disrupting people's long trust in the state as provider of shelter and safety. From a series of interviews, Polanska & Richard understand the emotions expressed by tenants as loss of meaning and control, anxiety, and anger of injustice. The emotions were often connected to steps taken by the real estate companies – as demanding consent to renovation, increasing the rents, or being generally difficult to contact. Emotions were also connected to spatial changes in the near environment, as emptying of flats and scattering of friends and neighbours, as well as drastic changes inside their home when new and (too) expensive kitchens were installed.

Vacant and abandoned property have been scenes for struggles over right to a home, as well as struggles for making a space for cultural activities. Miguel Martínez discusses in "Good and Bad Squatters? Challenging Hegemonic Narratives and Advancing Anti-capitalist Views of Squatting in Western European Cities" narratives of what squatters are and do, as mediated through media, political statements and jurisdictional verdicts. The role squatters play to, on the one hand, open up redundant urban space for art, entrepreneurialism, social encounters and, eventually, full gentrification, are by many welcomed or at least accepted. On the other, squatters as "trouble-makers" opposing injustices in housing policies, real estate markets and the capitalist system itself, is regularly depicted as a "bad squatter", along with notions of criminality, bad manners and even terrorism. With examples from European cities such as Amsterdam, London and Paris, Martínez shows how different squatters may have quite different aims and self-understandings, and play different societal roles. He also sketches various squatting environments, such as run down residential buildings, empty industrial buildings, shops and office stores.

The various articles in this theme are concrete examples of how "new capabilities" (Sassen 2006) of city administration since late 20th century have influenced the course of urban development. The issue thus give a glimpse of a culture *in* contemporary urban planning, as well as how culture may be addressed or instrumentally used in planning. We also show how citizens, citizen groups and social movements struggle over planning issues, resist gentrification or biases in cultural or political heritage. Understanding the productive, and not only reactive, role of various actors helps us see the dynamic process that practicing or *doing* the city is. The articles reveal complexities of social-spatial management, interaction and struggle, and how power relations and (disputed) formulations of identity and belonging can be played out and actually materialise in urban space.

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Manchester's Post-punk Heritage: Mobilising and Contesting Transcultural Memory in the Context of Urban Regeneration[1]

By Dagmar Brunow

Abstract

Urban memories are remediated and mobilised by different – and often conflicting – stakeholders, representing the heritage industry, municipal city branding campaigns or anti-gentrification struggles. Post-punk 'retromania' (Reynolds 2011) coincided with the culture-led regeneration of former industrial cities in the Northwest of England, relaunching the cities as creative clusters (Cohen 2007, Bottà 2009, Roberts & Cohen 2014, Roberts 2014). Drawing on my case study of the memory cultures evolving around Manchester's post-punk era (Brunow 2015), this article shows how narratives and images travel through urban space. Looking at contemporary politics of city branding, it examines the power relations involved in adapting (white homosocial) post-punk memories into the self-fashioning of Manchester as a creative city. Situated at the interface of memory studies and film studies, this article offers an anti-essentialist approach to the notion of 'transcultural memory'. Examining the power relations involved in the construction of audiovisual memories, this article argues that subcultural or popular memories are not emancipatory per se, but can easily tie into neoliberal politics. Moreover, there has been a tendency to sideline or overlook feminist and queer as well as Black and Asian British contributions to post-punk culture. Only partially have such marginalised narratives been observed so far, for instance in Carol Morley's documentary *The Alcohol Years* (2000) or by the Manchester Digital Music Archive. The article illustrates how different stakeholders invest in subcultural histories, sustaining or contesting hegemonic power relations within memory culture. While being remediated within various transmedia contexts, Manchester's post-punk memories have been sanitised, fabricating consensus instead of celebrating difference.

Keywords: Manchester, urban reconstruction, cultural memory, transcultural memory, post-punk, Carol Morley

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Introduction

The memory boom around the 40th anniversary of punk in 2016 is far from being a new phenomenon: for more than two decades we have been observing an incessant flow of books, memoirs, documentaries, band reunions, exhibitions or YouTube clips on punk or post-punk culture. Despite the mobility of memory, the city of Manchester has become somewhat of a 'memory hub', especially around post-punk memories of the late 1970s to the early 1980s. Post-punk 'retromania' (Reynolds 2011) coincided with the culture-led redevelopment of former industrial cities in the Northwest of England, relaunching the cities as creative clusters (Cohen 2007, Bottà 2009, Roberts & Cohen 2014, Roberts 2014). This article examines how the cultural memory of 1980s post-punk in Manchester has been mobilised and reworked in times of urban regeneration. The case study of Manchester allows me to revisit and reconceptualise two concepts which are useful for memory studies: remediation and transculturality.

Memory studies look at the ways the past informs the present. Situated at the interface of film studies and memory studies and based on the idea that memory is always mediated my research is part of the new burgeoning field of media memory studies. Recent theorisations within memory studies have conceptualised memory as inherently transnational (DeCesari & Rigney 2014), multi-directional (Rothberg 2009) and on the move (Erll 2011). Adding to these, I understand the construction of cultural memory as highly performative practice which goes beyond a mere preservation of experiences and events. Cultural memory is understood as "an activity that is productive of stories and new social relations rather than merely preservative of legacies" (DeCesari & Rigney 2014: 8). This is why cultural memory needs to be conceptualised from the present, from the interest of contemporary stakeholders, all of whom are competing over the prerogative of interpretation. Memory also needs to be constantly remediated, as Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney remind us: "Just as there is no cultural memory prior to mediation, there is no mediation without remediation: all representations of the past draw on available media technologies, on existent media products, on patterns of representation and medial aesthetics" (Rigney & Erll 2009: 4). In contrast to Jay Bolter and Robert Grusin's understanding of remediation as "the representation of one medium in another" (Bolter & Grusin 2000: 45), Erll conceptualises it as the ongoing representation of as memorable events "over decades and centuries, in different media: in newspaper articles, photography, diaries, historiography, novels, films, etc" (Erll 2008: 392). However, the concept of remediation is neither limited to the memorialisation of events, nor to narratives or iconography, but involves the discursive context: in the process of remediation, discursive spaces for the articulation of different subject positions are opened or closed (Brunow 2015). Remediation constantly constructs and reworks our audiovisual memories,

which I have defined as "the sum of images, sounds and narratives circulating in a specific society at a specific historical moment" (Brunow 2015: 6-7). I argue that remediation creates certain nodal points (mnemotopes) around which a number of narratives of the past are constructed. Their ongoing remediation can widen or narrow the discursive space in which they can be articulated. Studying the remediation of memories involves questions such as: Which stories, and whose, are told in the process of remediation, and what kind of stories are marginalised or remain unheard?

Memory does not belong to a specific group alone. Instead, it can be adapted, reworked and appropriated within multiple contexts. The notion of 'transculturality' can be used to refer to such different contexts. In my book *Remediating Transcultural Memory* I have used the case of post-punk Manchester to develop an anti-essentialist approach towards the notion of transculturality (Brunow 2015). In the wake of the 'transcultural turn' in memory studies the term "transcultural memory" is often employed to designate migrant or diasporic pasts. This tendency entails the risk of essentialising and 'othering' migrant or diasporic narratives, thereby excluding them from hegemonic national historiography. A reductive, essentialist use of the notion of 'transculturality' can also feed into nationalist discourses which understand the nation as a homogenous entity threatened by global demographic changes and which frame migration in terms of 'culture-clash' or 'cultural encounters'. This article provides an example of the use of the notion of 'transcultural memory' beyond such culturalistic discourses. Defying essentialist notions of culture(s) as "container-cultures" with clearly demarcated borders, I would like to strengthen the notion of 'culture' as inherently hybrid. Never stable and fixed, 'culture' is not ontological, but a series of practices. In this sense I conceptualise 'transcultural memory' as being translated through various discursive frameworks. This is why the notion of 'transculturality' can be a useful tool to analyse the diversity of cultural practices and the multidirectionality of memory within the same national or regional framework.

Starting with an overview of the various remediations of post-punk Manchester's (sub)cultural memory, this article aims at analysing what kind of memory is constructed in the process of ongoing remediation. It critically examines the highly gendered remediations of popular music heritage and the appropriation and reworking of subcultural memories into an official narrative. Memories are constructed, used, remediated and appropriated by different, at times competing, at times overlapping stakeholders, each of them situated in their specific sociohistorical context and not homogenous at all: fans, urban developers, city planners, tourists, to name but a few. Some of the guiding questions are: How is memory translated into different cultural contexts within the same geographical space? What are the power relations at work? Which efforts are made to reclaim the past,

for instance by those whose memories have been overlooked? Neither offering a comprehensive account of city politics, nor an ethnological or sociological case study of urban reconstruction, this article will go beyond this and study remediation as a project of place-making, studying its role for the city's culture-led regeneration.

Examining how post-punk memories are appropriated by neoliberal politics of city branding, this article argues that the iconic spaces of post-punk Manchester are characterised by a memory culture which is predominantly heteronormative and male-oriented. This is all the more surprising since Manchester has been a traditional stronghold of LGBT+ culture for decades. Therefore, this article sets out to question notions of subcultural, popular, vernacular or other concepts of alternative memories as counter-hegemonic. This case study centres on post-punk memories of Manchester and the era of Joy Division, the Fall, the Smiths, the Haçienda (Manchester's legendary nightclub and concert venue), and the Factory label. To a lesser degree it will also consider the 'Madchester' years, a term referring to the era of rave culture at the Haçienda during the second half of the 1980s, with the advent of house, the drug culture around ecstasy and bands like the Happy Mondays, the Stone Roses or the Inspiral Carpets.[2]

This article is organised as follows: In the first part it takes a critical look at the memory boom and analyses "whose heritage" (Hall 2002) is celebrated in the remediation of post-punk Manchester. The second part adds an intersectional perspective on the notion of remediation, by drawing on Carol Morley's essay film *The Alcohol Years* (2000). This feminist intervention into the audiovisual memories of post-punk Manchester foregrounds the power relations in the construction of cultural memory. Finally, the article readdresses the notion of transcultural memory in studying how post-punk memory is translated into practices of city branding in the context of urban regeneration and gentrification. Looking at cultural practices of place-making, the last part of the article is dedicated to the discursive space allowed for the articulation of LGBT+ memories.

Transcultural adaptations – between subcultural memories and city branding

Countless remediations have fashioned Manchester's local music culture in opposition to London's political and economic power. Such rhetoric can be found in many books and films on post-punk Manchester, where this scene is described as a subculture inspired by punk's do-it-yourself spirit, opposing the commercialism of London's big record labels. Meanwhile, these discourses can be likened to the characteristics of a rock museum, which, as Simon Reynolds puts it, presents "music with the battle lines erased, everything wrapped up in a warm blan-

ket of acceptance and appreciation" (Reynolds 2011: 7). While Dick Hebdige has conceptualised subcultures as a symptom of "the breakdown of consensus in the post-war period" (Hebdige 1979/1996: 17), this consensus has been re-established in the wake of retro culture and nostalgia. For subcultural audiences a variety of independent music cultures, among them punk and post-punk, have become fundamental for their self-fashioning, for creating a sense of identity and for pronouncing their cultural distinction against commercialised mainstream culture (Thornton 1997). This sense of identity also affects the construction of cultural memory because it has repercussions on the stories individuals want to tell about their past and the cultural distinction they want to achieve through their self-fashioning. Thanks to multiple transmedia remediations of Manchester's musical heritage even later generations can inscribe themselves within the legacy of punk and post-punk. Films such as *24 Hour Party People* (Winterbottom, 2002) or Anton Corbijn's *Control* (2007) have become integral parts of Manchester's memory culture.

Concepts of "travelling" (Erll 2011) or "multidirectional memory" (Rothberg 2009) have challenged the binary structure on which memory studies' notions of alternative memories are predicated. Memory in terms of a counter-practice has been classified as popular (Foucault 1975), counter (Lipsitz 1990) or vernacular (Bodnar 1992), for example. While the power dimension of memory and the modes of contesting hegemonic memory need to be addressed, their inherent binarism makes these concepts problematic, as they become de-historicised and de-situated. The emancipatory potential ascribed to the concept of subculture (Hebdige 1979/1996) therefore needs to be reconsidered. In fact, the notion of subculture is used here in a merely heuristic fashion, rather than pointing at a discursive formation situated within a specific context.[3] My use of the term 'subculture' goes back to Dick Hebdige's seminal conceptualisation in his 1979 *Subculture: the meaning of style* in which he defines subculture as "expressive forms and rituals of those subordinate groups – the teddy boys and mods and rockers, the skinheads and the punks – who are alternately dismissed, denounced and canonised; treated at different times as threats to public order and as harmless buffoons" (Hebdige 1979/1996: 2). Such varying and conflicting discourses evolving around subcultures are also part of the transcultural memory of post-punk Manchester. If we agree with Hebdige that the "meaning of subculture is [...] always in dispute" (Hebdige 1979/1996: 3), the same might be the case for the memory of these subcultures.

The question remains if subcultural memories ought to be conceptualised in terms of alternative, emancipatory counter-cultures alone. Dave Haslam puts forward an understanding of (sub)cultural practice as counter-hegemonic when he describes Manchester's subculture, here epitomised in 1990s "Madchester", as a

"culture that embraces the geographical and political margins, a pop culture long ago divorced from the dominant culture" (Haslam 1999/2000: 256). The relation between subculture, nostalgia and commodification is understood by Dylan Clarke (2003) as follows: "The classical subculture 'died' when it became the object of social inspection and nostalgia, and when it became so amenable to commodification" (Clarke 2003: 223). Since debates about the commodification of punk are almost as old as punk culture itself, I would like to turn Dylan Clarke's argument around by following Alison Landsberg (2004) who approaches the debate from a different angle: for her everything is already commodified, but some cultural practices, despite their commodification, would allow for a counter-hegemonic stand. However, the notion of counter practice has to be critically examined since its critical stand is perhaps not as far-reaching as it might seem (Brunow 2015). In short: subcultural memories are not as emancipatory as one might expect. At any rate, the formation of Manchester's cultural memory is a highly gendered process as we shall see in the next section.

Whose heritage? Remediating 1980s post-punk Manchester and its gendered dimensions

For the last two decades a veritable memory boom can be observed around 1970s punk and 1980s post-punk in Britain.[4] Some of the earliest accounts of Manchester's post-punk memory have been Mick Middles' *From Joy Division to New Order* in 1996 (Middles 1996/2002, re-issued as *Factory. The Story of the Record Label* in 2009) as well as Dave Haslam's 1999 *Manchester England* (Haslam 1999/2000). Michael Winterbottom's film *24 Hour Party People* (2002) was accompanied by the book publication *24 Hour Party People: What the Sleeve Notes Never Tell You,* authored by Tony Wilson (Wilson 2002). Deborah Curtis' *Touching from a Distance (Curtis 2005),* a memoir of the author's life with Joy Division singer Ian Curtis, was adapted into Anton Corbijn's *Control (*2007). Joy Division and Ian Curtis were also commemorated in *Joy Division. Piece by Piece* by Paul Morley (2008), in *Torn Apart. The Life of Ian Curtis* by Mick Middles (2009), in Kevin Cummins' *Joy Division* (Cummins 2012) as well as in Peter Hook's *Unknown Pleasures: Inside Joy Division* (Hook 2013). Other publications include James Nice's *Shadowplayers: The Rise and Fall of Factory Records (Nice 2010),* Peter Hook's *The Haçienda. How Not to Run a Club* (Hook 2009), Lindsay Reade's memoir of her life with Tony Wilson: *Mr Manchester and the Factory Girl (Reade* 2010) as well as Kevin Cummins' *Manchester* (Cummins 2010). John Robb's *The North Will Rise Again: Manchester Music City (Robb 2010)* is a collection of oral history accounts in the tradition of his earlier volume *Punk Rock (Robb 2006)*. Grant Gee's documentary film *Joy Division* (2007), which even had a cinematic release, adds to a long list of television

documentaries on post-punk Manchester, but also to countless remediations of live performances and television appearances now uploaded on YouTube.

This overview shows how the memory boom around post-punk Manchester has been focussing increasingly on nodal points such as Joy Division (the band), Factory Records (the label) and The Haçienda (the club), most notably in films such as *24 Hour Party People* by Michael Winterbottom and Anton Corbijn's *Control*.[5] These nodal points are perpetuated by the ongoing remediation, which "tends to solidify cultural memory, creating and stabilising certain narratives and icons of the past" (Erll 2008: 393). This process in turns has repercussions on canon formation: it highlights some bands (especially Joy Division), while side-lining others (for instance the Fall or the Durutti Column). In most of the 'memory works' around 1980s Manchester the dominant narrative is defined by a homosocial (Sedgwick) and patriarchal perspective, which is white and heteronormative and in which feminist, queer or Black voices are excluded. To illustrate my point I will briefly discuss Winterbottom's *24 Hour Party People*.

24 Hour Party People is a highly self-reflexive film with Brechtian moments of breaking the fourth wall, among them cameo appearances by Mark E. Smith and Howard Devoto, thus blurring the boundaries between fiction and reality.[6] However, despite its self-reflexive take and playfulness *24 Hour Party People* does not undermine conventional representations of gender or sexuality prevalent in pop historiography. Reducing the story of the Factory label to "a highly masculine tale of great men", as Tara Brabazon (2005: 142) observes, the film writes women "into the familiar roles of wives, girlfriends, prostitutes, cloakroom girls and anonymous mobile bodies in a club" (Brabazon 2005: 142). The film therefore constructs a discursive space for male homosociality, which according to Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1985) is not only based on the exclusion of women, but also on the premise of heterosexuality. As a consequence, LGBT+ memories have been completely erased from the cultural memory of the Haçienda in *24 Hour Party People* (see Brabazon 2005: 142). The importance of gay culture at the Haçienda, both the "Gay Traitor Bar" and the gay nights at the "Flesh" club which attracted busloads of visitors from all over the North of England, is not acknowledged in the film. Although these gay clubs provided the economically challenged Haçienda with a much-needed financial contribution, gay culture is as absent as the representation of homosexual or bisexual desire. Without exception, the romantic or sexual encounters depicted in the film are either related to the male protagonists' wives and female lovers or to female sex workers. The film's omission of any queer desire strengthens both Tony Wilson's and the other characters' "heterosexual credibility" (Brabazon 2005: 142).[7] My point here is not to criticise a lack of historical record or to make suggestions about the protagonists' sexual preferences, but the point is that a queer, norm-critical perspective foregrounds the modes of

constructing cultural memory: *24 Hour Party People* employs a highly gendered, heteronormative, patriarchal perspective while excluding LGBT+ narratives from the film's 'memory work'.

Remediating Manchester's cultural memory is a highly gendered process defined by homosocial bonding. As a consequence female artists, band members, DJs or clubbers have been more or less excluded from the cultural memory of post-punk. Such hegemonic gender constructions are not absent in the self-fashioning of independent culture. As Sarah Thornton has pointed out in her study on club culture, the distinction between mainstream and independent culture entails a gender dimension: "when the culture came to be positioned as *truly* 'mainstream' rather than just behind the times, it was feminized" (Thornton 1997: 205). While Thornton has looked at 1990s rave culture, Simon Reynolds and Joy Press (1995) have shown how punk culture – and post-punk – is based on the exclusion of femininity and the construction of a masculinity based on misogyny. As a tendency, the contribution of female artists is hidden while women generally tend to be reduced to wives or groupies. The "role of women in the male, often macho, world of rock", as Jon Savage writes in his preface to Curtis (2007: xiii), is often sidelined, even in biographies such as Deborah Curtis' *Touching From a Distance* (Curtis 2007) or Lindsay Reade's *Mr Manchester and the Factory Girl: The Story of Tony and Lindsay Wilson* (Reade 2010). The trajectory of the narrative in each book is written from the perspective of a former wife of one of the main protagonists of the Manchester's music scene. For Deborah Curtis and Lindsay Reade the discursive space of enunciation is limited. The same goes for the testimonial witnesses chosen for non-fiction books or documentary filmmaking: they, too, tend to be situated within a patriarchal, homosocial framework.

In the next section I would like to introduce Carol Morley's film *The Alcohol Years* which allows us to deeper reflect on the gendered dimension of memory. Morley's film offers a different perspective on Manchester's post-punk era. This early film by the director of the prize-winning *Dreams of a Life* (2011) and *The Falling* (2014) was funded by the Arts Council and had only a limited distribution before it was released on DVD in 2005. Reading *The Alcohol Years* through the male dominated memory boom allows us to see this work as a filmic intervention into the homosocial memory of post-punk Manchester.

Reworking the gendered archive of post-punk memory: Carol Morley's essay film *The Alcohol Years*

The autobiographical *The Alcohol Years* is based on the director's teenage past in the early 1980s when she used to spend her nights at the Haçienda in Manchester.[8] Carol Morley's state of notorious drunkenness, her sexual activities as well as the

fact that she almost married the Buzzcocks' singer Pete Shelley, but left him right before the wedding, contributed to turning her into a local myth. The film came about, long after Carol Morley had moved to London, when an old friend from Manchester told her a story he had heard about her during her teenage years. The disparity between his recollections and her own, or rather, her own amnesia about this period in her life, triggered off the idea to make a film about the memories circulating about her. A newspaper clipping of the ad Morley had put in a local Manchester newspaper is remediated at the beginning of the film: "Carol Morley Film Project. Please contact me if you knew me between 1982-1987. Box No. 348/1." During the film the director revisits friends and lovers from 1980s Manchester and makes them share their recollections of the person they used to know as "Carol Morley". Morley interviews, among others, *Jesus And Mary Chain* bassist Douglas Hart, Vini Reilly of *The Durutti Column*, promoter and Nico's former manager Alan Wise, singer-songwriter and musician Stella Grundy, Dave Haslam, Debby Turner of *ToT* as well as Tony Wilson, broadcaster and founder of Factory Records.

Morley's film is an original intervention into recent trends within autobiographical filmmaking: it is a confession video without a confessor and a first person film without the "I". Carol Morley is mostly absent in the film's visual representation while she is omnipresent throughout. The presence of the filmmaker is not only evoked via the narratives of the interviewees, but also through inserted photographs, scenes of re-enactment as well as through the talking heads addressing the person behind the camera. Moreover, the film undermines the modes of conventional documentary film-making by abstaining from a coherent voice-over which would evoke the impression of an "authentic" I-narrator. Although Morley constructs her *alter ego* as an absence, *The Alcohol Years* is characterised by a strong authorial agency. Therefore Carol Morley's film can also be viewed in the context of feminist body art, such as the works by Carolee Schneemann, Valie Export, Cindy Sherman or Marina Abramović. However, while these artists deliberately use their bodies as the centre of their performances, the female body in Morley's film remains a blank space. Although the film foregrounds male desire on the female body, the female protagonist is never exhibited, thus undermining an objectifying male gaze. In this sense, Morley's approach is reminiscent of Tracey Emin's installation *Everyone I Have Ever Slept With* 1963–1995 (1995), showing a quilted list of the people the artist has slept with. In Emin's art project the "I" remains strangely absent. Morley's film can be said to engage in a dialogue with Emin's work in constructing the "I" as absent while placing it at the centre of the act of remembrance. Instead of placing herself in the film, Morley uses point-of view-shots in which only the gaze of the camera is represented. By constructing herself as an absence, the film's protagonist Carol Morley becomes the film's 'slip-

pery signifier' exposing the patriarchal discourses which run through the recollections and in which Morley's sexual activity is pathologised while she is described as a 'freak'.

Morley's film reflects on the power structures involved in the mediation of the past. Who has the prerogative of definition over the past? Whose version will be circulated? The witness accounts do not represent a range of divergent memories, but they echo each other by constantly repeating patriarchal views on female sexuality. The film's feminist perspective foregrounds the construction of hegemonic cultural memory with its inherent male homosociality, its stereotypical representation of women as wives, girlfriends or groupies, and its heteronormative stance. Carol Morley's film defies from offering a "herstory" which would add yet another recollection of the past to the patriarchal "master narrative". Subverting conventional narrative schemata for stories of women in rock music, *The Alcohol Years* sets out to deconstruct hegemonic pop-historiography. In avoiding essentialist subject positions, the film addresses the modes of exclusion prevalent in post-punk historiography. It shows how cultural memory is constructed as a homosocial (male) sphere, marginalising norm-critical and non-heteronormative practices. Offering a place for both the enunciation of bisexuality and of non-normative female sexual behaviour, such as often changing sexual partners, the film carves out a discursive space for non-hegemonic articulations of sexuality.

The Alcohol Years is both an intervention into the audiovisual memories of the city and part of the retro culture around the memorialisation of 1980s Manchester. Morley's film defies dominant modes of visual representations of music culture which we find in band documentaries with their collage of talking heads and archival footage of the band's live performances. *The Alcohol Years* does not attempt to create an 'authentic look' at the past, trying to represent history "how it really was". Abstaining from the use of archival footage Morley employs contemporary footage of the Manchester city spaces, of rainy streets and night clubs on a Friday or Saturday night, thus linking the past and the present.

Creating mnemotopes: remediation as place-making

Memories are always on the move, both geographically (being reworked by global audiences) and by being adapted into a new discursive framework, e.g. that of the city's neoliberal regeneration politics. Despite its transnational mobility, the locality of cultural memory remains an important question for memory scholars. Although memory studies are currently turning from the sites of memory towards its dynamics, I deliberately choose the memory of a city because the memory of a place not only entails a geographical, but also a diachronic perspective, as it is mobilised within diverging discursive frameworks. This way of conceptualising the

relation between space and mediated memories allows us to rethink Pierre Nora's notion of the 'lieux de mémoire', which is constructed, stabilised or renegotiated through a series of remediations (see Brunow 2015: 2-3). Nora's concept, however, has been criticised for its focus on the nation-state, its exclusion of migrant and diasporic experiences as well as for its lack of considering the role of media specificity in the creation of memory (see Brunow 2015: 2-3). Employing the notion of the 'mnemotope', derived from Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope (Bakhtin 1996) as an alternative to Nora's concept, this article looks at the ways cultural memory translates into different context in the same local space. Bakhtin conceptualises the chronotope as a spatial-temporal dimension which is artistically expressed. My ambition is not to engage with the vast research on Bakhtin, but to use his concept in a heuristic fashion.

Continuous remediation is a process of place-making through which certain mnemotopes are created. Travel guides, city tours, audio walks, tourist amateur photography or selfies in front of iconic buildings contribute to mapping the city. So does fan culture, such as uploads on YouTube or the practice of sharing digital memories of the city on Flickr or Instagram. Fan practice on the internet, for instance the sharing of photographs or videos, creates transnational digital memories which in turn contribute to urban mapping. They create a psychogeography of the city which eventually evolves into mnemotope. One example of such a remediation which shows how urban mapping and cultural memory are related is the case of the Salford Lad's Club. A photograph of The Smiths by Stephen Wright, which shows the band standing in front of the Salford Lad's Club, at the entrance to the red brick building, was used on the inner sleeve of the band's single "The Queen is Dead" in 1986 and has since achieved iconic status. A quick search on Google reveals innumerable amateur photographs of tourists and Smiths fans posing in front of the building, almost all of them imitating the camera angle of the original shot. The motif is so embedded within the cultural memory of his generation that even David Cameron tried to profit from its popularity by posing in front of the building during his election campaign before he became the British prime minister. Photographs, such as the amateur shots of the Salford Lad's Club or the legendary photographs by Kevin Cummins, published in the music press and on record sleeves during the late 1970s and 1980s, create an imaginary cartography of the city's urban spaces.

Not only visual culture has contributed to the mapping of the city – the same can be said for songs and their various remediations as well as narratives and mythmaking evolving around specific geographical places. Through such processes of remediation the audiovisual memory of post-punk Manchester has come to focus on specific sites or mnemonic nodal points. One of them is the legendary Haçienda, a nightclub and concert venue situated on Whitworth Street, which

operated between 1982 and 1997. After its final closure in 1997 the Haçienda was torn down in 2002. Two years earlier 'memorabilia' from the Haçienda were auctioned off. Michael Winterbottom's film *24 Hour Party People* contributed to the club's legendary status in 2002. In August 2007 an exhibition celebrated 25 years of the Haçienda. The club, musealised at the Manchester Museum of Science and Industry, also figures in Peter Hook's memoir *The Haçienda. How Not to Run a Club* (Hook 2009), and was recreated at the Victoria and Albert Museum for an exhibition of iconic British design in 2012. Different acts of remembrance and transmedia remediations have transformed The Haçienda into a mnemotope. For Pierre Nora, *lieux de mémoires* come into existence first when the original places disappear. While Nora's conceptualisation is rather static, I argue that the concept of 'mnemotope' allows us to look at the ways urban spaces are created through the mobilisation of cultural memory. A mnemotope, just as memory, is dynamic and continuously reworked according to the discursive frameworks guiding processes of remediation. By merging 1980s post-punk culture and 1990s rave culture (Madchester) the mediated cultural memories of the Haçienda turn it into a mnemotope. However, not only remediations, but also intermedial and intertextual references contribute to creating a mnemotope. For example, the club's name "The Haçienda" is an intermedial reference to Ivan Chtcheglov and his 1953 text "Formulary for a New Urbanism", which inspired the lettrists and the situationists. Different cultural practices are placed in a continuum encompassing time and space. In the case of naming the Haçienda, cultural distinction might have been one reason for the decision.

Perceiving oneself as culturally distinct from mainstream culture has been important for the self-fashioning of post-punk Manchester. Dave Haslam's account *Manchester, England. The story of the pop cult city*, originally published in 1999, is in itself part of the discourse on Manchester's rebirth after its industrial decline. He describes how Manchester has changed from an industrial to a creative city, from Cottonopolis to Madchester. In the introductory article "Manchester: Past Imperfect, Present Tense, Future Uncertain" Haslam anthropomorphises the city when stating:

> Manchester, like England, is now re-creating itself, looking for a new role, a life without manufacturing industry. Like a middle-aged man made redundant after a lifetime in a factory, Manchester is either facing years drawing charity, welfare and government handouts, or it's going to retrain, reorganise, and find something to keep it occupied (Haslam 1999/2000: xi).

Through this rhetorical device the city's transcultural complexity becomes unified and homogenised. According to Haslam, during the late 1980s the Madchester era's "thriving sub-culture" epitomised a crucial turning point for the rebuilding and refashioning of Manchester, symbolising that "the city was no longer carrying the baggage of a hundred and fifty years of preconceptions, about the weather, the environment, the misery. Manchester's talent [...] embodied an attitude which struck a chord worldwide" (Haslam 1999/2000: 250). In contrast, the city's official heritage politics of turning Castlefield into the UK's first "Urban Heritage Park" is described by Haslam as "death sentence heritage. It was as if we were all destined to no better future than re-creating a tourist version of the old days; Manchester as hygienic industrial theme park" (Haslam 1999/2000: 250). Of course, we have to read Haslam's statement as highly performative in the sense that he is trying to contribute to a new 'master narrative' of Manchester as the "pop cult city", as his book is subtitled. In his evaluation of the development he characterises official heritage politics as inefficient, while the true impulses for the city's redevelopment stem from its subcultures: "It has now become accepted that shopping and tourism have key roles in the future prosperity of the city. For the young, especially, Manchester is becoming a must-see city, a cult pop city, and it was probably the Madchester era that brought the first big influx of tourists" (Haslam 1999/2000: 254). For instance, a concert by The Stone Roses with an audience of almost thirty thousand drew people from the whole of Europe and overseas. While Haslam's book was written before the massive Manchester 'memory boom', it is interesting to see how the mnemotope of Manchester music city has been broadened out from 1990s Madchester to include late 1970s punk and 1980s post-punk. According to Redfern *24 Hour Party People* depicts "the Manchester punk and rave scene as building on the city's proud history, and specifically demonstrates an awareness of this history. It seeks to build on a tradition of progressiveness that is projected as the antithesis of 'death sentence heritage'" (Redfern 2005: 303). Redfern describes *24 Hour Party People* as "a nostalgic tour through the 'ripped backsides' of Hulme, Little Hulton, and Castlefield, and the film celebrates the marginal status of these places beyond London, but also beyond the official discourses of nostalgia and heritage in the North" (Redfern 2005: 300). While this celebration might be "beyond the official discourses" on a diegetic level (within the film's universe), *24 Hour Party People*, just like *Control*, ties into politics of city branding in the context of urban reconstruction. The memory culture of post-punk Manchester is multidirectional indeed, as the next section will illustrate.

Mobilising post-punk memory for the city's culture-led regeneration

Manchester's past fame as an industrial city declined gradually from the 1960s to the 1980s. Ironically enough, the IRA bombing in 1996, devastating great parts of the city centre, created new opportunities for city planning. Since the mid-1990s huge investments have been made and cultural attractions led to an increase in tourism.

The narrative formula used in relaunching the city shifted the emphasis from industrial to urbanistic innovation, employing popular culture as a symbol of vibrancy and creativity. It is based on long-standing narratives of Manchester as the first global city, as entrepreneurial and open to change (O'Connor & Wynne 1996). In order to coordinate such efforts the agency 'Marketing Manchester' was founded, a private-public partnership of the City Council and Manchester Airport (Haslam 1999/2000), aiming to attract investors and tourists. In 2004 Peter Saville, co-founder of Factory Records, who had designed the iconic record covers for Joy Division and New Order, became the creative director of the City of Manchester. Saville's tasks included the conceptualisation of international exhibitions and festivals, the city's cultural strategy and the design for Metrolink. As Guy Julier maintains, "Saville is implicated into the mythology of Manchester's most-known popular cultural history" (Julier 2005: 882). In the same year, in 2004, a retrospective of Peter Saville's works was showcased in the exhibition space Urbis which was part of the regeneration project in the aftermath of the 1996 IRA bombing. "Saville's hand is deployed across the city's designscape, not just through the Urbis exhibition but, for example, through his historical association with Factory Records, to inflect this tradition of modernity with the desired notions of 'attitude' and 'edge'", Julier sums up (2005: 882). This personal continuity from post-punk Manchester to contemporary city branding is also epitomised in Tony Wilson, founder of Factory Records and the Haçienda, who was a board member of "Elevate East Lancashire", "one of the government's 'market renewal' agencies" (Minton 2009: 37).

Subcultural memories have been mobilised in Manchester's culture-led regeneration. Independent culture, ultimately commodified, has been incorporated into neoliberal ideas of the creative city, as launched prominently by Richard Florida (2002) in his *The Rise of the Creative Class.* According to Florida, in the first decade of the new millennium Manchester became the most creative and enterprising city in the UK (Minton 2009: 39). Another potential factor in city branding is fan culture. Even if individual fans might oppose gentrification, fan culture is complicit in neoliberal politics of culture-led regeneration. Fan culture involves a number of place-making projects which contribute to the mapping of urban space. City walks and tours visit sites and locations which played a role in the his-

tory of Manchester's music scene (Gatenby & Gill 2011). Until his death in 2016, Inspiral Carpets drummer Craig Gill offered tours promoted by the official website for Manchester tourism.[9] His company, Manchester Music Tours, nominated for *The Tourism Star* award (Manchester Tourism Awards 2012), was founded in 2005.[10] What had initially had started as a walking tour to significant sites of the local music scene developed into five driving tours, four of them centring on individual bands *(The Smiths, Joy Division, Oasis, The Stone Roses),* while a fifth is dedicated to the label *Factory Records.* Fan culture, triggered by nostalgia and 'retromania', both relocates cultural memories in the city space, but also dislocates or deterritorialises them. Remediated transcultural memories oscillate between locatedness and deterritorialisation. This oscillation is characteristic for digital memories.

These findings underline the need to rethink the notion of space as culturally constructed and therefore as a *product* of cultural memory. Space is not just "out there", waiting to be mediated and memorialised, but it is constructed through a variety of place-making projects. Manchester's brand identity could profit from the "subcultural city branding" conducted via the self-fashioning of 1980s post-punk culture. As Redfern points out, Manchester developed its "own cultural networks with the creation of independent record labels, fanzines, and venues that deliberately steered clear of the mainstream, and, in doing so, created a powerful voice for those outside London" (Redfern 2005: 289). London was "associated with an artistic conservatism and political Conservatism that Manchester subverts" (Redfern 2005: 299-300).[11] Manchester's culture-led urban regeneration draws on long-standing narrative formula which premediate future remediations. The North (of England) has become a mnemotope through *longue durée* processes and transmedia networks of cultural memory, from Elizabeth Gaskell's novel *North and South* via the works of the "Angry Young Men", the 1950s working-class writers in the Northwest, to the television series *Coronation Street* and *24 Hour Party People.* Such overlapping intermedial references, layered like a palimpsest and encompassing different geographical spheres, provide narrative schemata for future remediations. Such 'premediations' (Grusin 2004, Erll 2009) were tropes of 'Northernness', based on the North-South-divide. Drawing on these discourses in the process of city branding allowed Manchester, as Redfern (2005: 290) states, "to re-create itself as an innovative centre of culture that was modernising and forward-looking rather than provincial." The premediations were reworked, and the notion of 'Northernness', for example, "was refracted through an avant-gardism to create not a nostalgic view of the North as 'working-class', but as [...] 'working-class bohemianism'" (Redfern 2005: 290-291). This interaction of premediation and remediation shows how certain narrative templates are used, but instead of remaining unchanged and stable, they are reworked in the process of

remediation. At the same time these premediations contribute to mapping the region and function as a method of place-making.

Just like other media such as photography, travel writing, biographies or songs, filmmaking is a method of place-making. In *24 Hour Party People* Manchester is represented as a cultural region, Redfern argues, associated "with new cultural spaces in the city that develop free of the centralising influences of the London-based music industry, and where the distinction between producers and consumers of cultural products is blurred" (Redfern 2005: 287). In contrast, *The Alcohol Year*s does not contribute to place-making projects which can be employed for contemporary city planning. The contemporary footage employed in the film does not evoke the iconic images of Manchester constantly remediated in a plurality of media. Instead, the Mancunian street scenes could easily take place anytime and anywhere and point at the contemporary relevance of the film's feminist criticism: nothing seems to have changed.

Manchester: Queering (sub)cultural memory and locating LGBT+ memories

While not much seems to have changed when it come to the representation of gender, the representation of sexuality in the cultural memory of the city has moved on to some degree. Manchester illustrates a trend within city planning in which previously marginalised LGBT+ memories are being employed in city branding. According to Richard Florida (2002) creativity and a good 'gay index' prove fertile ground for the city's economic growth. A gay index indicates "an area's openness to different kinds of people and ideas" (Florida 2002: 255-258). Despite Manchester's fame as the "gay capital of the North", the cultural memory of the city's queer past has long been absent from the locations associated with post-punk memory, such as the Haçienda. In 1984 the Haçienda hosted a benefit for Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners. In the Gay Traitor Bar, housed in the cellar, the Gay Monday Nights, which started in 1985, attracted busloads of queers from the wider region, its slogans "Queer as Fuck" and "Practice makes Pervert" being advertised citywide. And although the nightclub "Flesh" at the Haçienda played a pioneering role for Manchester's LGBT+ culture, queer cultural memory is not located around the iconic post-punk spaces. Instead, in the memory of the city, LGBT+ memories have long been relegated to the Canal Street area, which has become immensely popularised (and mainstreamed) through TV series such as *Bob and Rose* (ITV 2001) and *Queer as Folk* (Channel 4, 1999-2000, since then also remade into a US version). This was not always the case: during the 1980s the former red-light district around Canal Street was under immense surveillance by the police. The attitude towards the area's queer culture changed first during the

1990s when Canal Street was acknowledged as a tourist attraction by Manchester City Council.

It seems that the discourse on "Gaychester" within Manchester's post-punk memory had narrowed down during the first decade of the millennium before opening up again only a couple of years ago. While in his 1999 book *Manchester England* Haslam (1999/2000: 199-201) briefly mentions the resurgence of a gay scene in the early 1990s, it then seems to have gradually disappeared from the city's subcultural memory for over a decade. Only recently memory projects of queer Manchester surfaced. In 2013 the Museum of Science and Industry, which also owns the archive of Factory Records, showcased the community exhibition "Behind the Scene; Stories from Manchester's LGBT Communities". In 2016, the People's Museum in Manchester housed an exhibition on the city's LGBT+ history. Meanwhile, the Manchester Digital Music Archive (MDMarchive), an online community archive established in 2003, sets out to highlight previously hidden narratives through exhibitions, panels and educational work, thus working towards diversifying the cultural memory of the city. Its most recent project "Rebel Music: The Sound of Politics and Protest in Manchester", launched in 2017, dedicates itself to the musical achievements of women and the queer community. The online exhibition 'Queer Noise' collects memorabilia and oral histories of LGBT+ persons.[12] In addition, a physical exhibition, "Queer Noise: The History of LGBT+ Music & Club Culture in Manchester" was held at the People's History Museum in 2017. Another example of the archive's intersectional approach was the panel 'Black Female Voices', hosted in 2018 as part of the "Rebel Music"-project. These events and exhibitions are interventions into Manchester's homosocial memory culture. However, the case of the MDMarchive also points at the vulnerability of queer memory work as voluntary-run projects and institutions would require long-term funding to be sustainable. The example shows the power imbalances at work within different stakeholders' engagement with the past.

Conclusion: transcultural memories in urban spaces

Outlining the memory boom around post-punk Manchester allows us to critically examine whose heritage is constructed and to analyse which stories are included – or excluded. If we regard cultural memory as a "field of cultural negotiation through which different stories vie for a place in history" (Sturken 1997: 1), we can observe a tendency that the stories are actually not as different as it might seem. Diversity has long been lacking in the cultural memorialisation of 1980s post-punk Manchester. What at first glance appears to be a myriad of accounts is less polyvocal than it looks, despite its style or genre. Until recently the cultural memory of 1980s post-punk has had the tendency to close rather than open up any

discursive spaces for the articulation of memories by feminists, queers or Black or Asian Britons. Carol Morley's essay film *The Alcohol Years* (2000) foregrounds the construction of cultural memory by revealing which discursive spaces are opened and which are closed in the processes of remembrance. Just like the work of the MDMarchive, her film is an intervention into the audiovisual memories constantly being reworked around Manchester's post-punk heritage.

This article has shown how the notion of 'transcultural memories' can be used beyond realms of ethnicity and/or the nation. Not only is transcultural memory mobile in a geographical sense, but it is also constructed by different discursive frameworks. Transcultural memories are mobilised in different, albeit often overlapping, manners for various purposes and in a number of contexts: as forms of nostalgia, retro culture, as generational memory (plus personal memory and communicative memory), as 'official' memory in the context of city branding, as cultural memory connected to specific urban spaces. The dynamics of transcultural memory challenge the division between "official" and "subcultural" or "counter"-memory. The case study has discussed how different stakeholders invest in Manchester's subcultural histories. It has shown that subcultural memories are not emancipatory per se.

The mobility of transcultural memory should not be perceived as a linear or even teleological process. Memories are multidirectional. Cultural practice, once perceived as oppositional or alternative, is never fixed and stable, but can be translated and appropriated for a variety of purposes. Post-punk memory was not initially a subcultural phenomenon which then entered the mainstream. Instead both developments coincided, creating a tension in which Manchester's post-punk memory culture would engage with the discourse of urban regeneration in various ways. The example of such commodification of subcultural aesthetics and memory shows that popular memories are not automatically subversive, but can become part of a city's neoliberal regeneration politics by being incorporated into the local heritage industry. In view of Richard Florida's notion of the 'gay index' one might even find the neoliberal discourse more open to the inclusion of LGBT+ memories than the subcultural independent discourse which excludes or marginalises female and queer participants. While LGBT+ memories are only slowly carving out some discursive space in Manchester's post-punk memory culture, they have been smoothly mobilised for city branding.

The notion of "a warm blanket of acceptance and appreciation" (Reynolds 2011: 7) pervades the ways memories have been employed in the context of culture-led regeneration. Internal conflicts and structural power relations are set aside in favour of creating a narrative of consent. While circulating within different transcultural frameworks, Manchester's post-punk memories have been sanitised, fabricating consensus instead of celebrating difference.

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Notes

[1]This article is a revised and updated version of chapter 3.2. in my book *Remediating Transcultural Memory* (Brunow 2015).

2I will also leave out the songs themselves, whose self-reflexivity and intertextuality also includes an important memory dimension.

[3]If we perceive 'culture' as including multiple cultural practices, as this study does, the notion of 'subculture' is obsolete. However, as a discursive construct it can be the object of research.

[4]While the memory boom seems to have started by the end of the 1990s, tendencies for a memorialisation of post-punk Manchester were already initiated by Factory Records in the late 1970s. In 1979, on 13 September, Factory Records announced a film event at the now legendary Scala Cinema at King's Cross in London. The event, which was catalogued as FAC9, included 8mm footage of Joy Division. On the label's information sheet the screening was announced as an "hommage [sic!] to the already golden age." (http://factoryrecords.org/factory-records/fac-9-various-artists-factory-flick.php (8 December 2017)

[5]Both the *Haçienda* (FAC 51) and *24 Hour Party People* (FAC 451) were issued with Factory Records' catalogue numbers.

[6]For a more detailed discussion of *24 Hour Party People* see Brabazon 2005, Redfern 2005 and Barton 2012.

[7]Moreover, Vini Reilly, the singer of The Durutti Column, was edited out of the film (Redfern 2005: 296). No matter what his sexual preferences might have been, Reilly's gender performance could permit a 'queer reading' since he performs a more effeminate version of masculinity which is highly different from that of the other male characters in the film. His presence in the film would have challenged the representation of male homosociality in *24 Hour Party People.*

[8]For a more detailed analysis of *The Alcohol Years*, see Brunow 2015: 83-89.

[9]http://www.visitmanchester.com/articles/video/craig-gill-mcr11-interview/ (8 June 2014).

[10]http://www.manchestermusictours.com/ (8 June 2014).

[11]This development could be observed in other cities as well, such as Liverpool and Coventry, for example.

[12]http://www.mdmarchive.co.uk/exhibition/id/77/QUEER_NOISE.html (8 December 2017).

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Narrating the Gender-equal City – Doing Gender-equality in the Swedish European Capital of Culture Umeå2014

By Christine Hudson & Linda Sandberg

Abstract

There is a powerful narrative of Umeå as a progressive, gender-equal, tolerant city which has been important in relation to the investments in culture that the city has made, including the European Capital of Culture Year 2014. Viewing the city as process, as negotiated and contested representation, we study how narratives of gender-equality figure throughout Capital of Culture year, Umeå2014, and in the projects that were part of it. We examine how the talk about gender-equality interacts with notions of place and how they are interconnected with each other. We are interested in what happens with a major cultural project when gender-equality is emphasized as one of the key values, at the same time as the meaning and content of this concept is not specified. Studying official documents and municipal webpages concerning Umeå as European Capital of Culture, applications for co-funding of cultural projects and news articles, we scrutinize how gender-equality is used and given meaning by looking at the way it is operationalized both by the city officials and by those engaging in cultural activities. Gender equality became something that was highlighted in the bid to become European Capital of Culture and in the making of the programme for the year, and stories about the Umeå2014's success in implementing a gender-equality perspective have been repeated and woven together into a yet another narrative of Umeå. They became part of an ongoing negotiation of the city's identity.

Keywords: gender-equality, European Capital of Culture, narrative, city, place identity

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Introduction

Umeå is one of Sweden's fastest growing cities lying on the Gulf of Bothnia in the north of the country. Together with Riga in Latvia, Umeå was the 2014 European Capital of Culture. It is a city closely coupled with 'radical ideas', strongly linked with the feminist movement, a highly political music scene and a vibrant vegan movement. There is a powerful narrative of Umeå as a progressive, tolerant, culture-driven city in which gender-equality figures as an important part of its image (Umeå kommun 2014a). However, there is not one narrative of what gender-equality means and as Massey (2005) argues, places rather than being locations of coherence can be meeting places of potentially dissonant narratives of, for example, gender-equality.

In Sweden, the cultural sector is characterized by a strong male dominance (Myndigheten för Kulturanalys 2014, Hermele 2015) making it particularly interesting to analyse the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) year in Umeå focusing on how gender-equality is being 'done' in cultural projects and policies. We are interested in what happens with a major cultural project when gender-equality is emphasized as one of the key values, at the same time as the meaning and content of this concept is not specified. Studying official documents and municipal webpages concerning Umeå as European Capital of Culture, applications for co-funding of cultural projects and news articles, we ask how gender-equality is understood, made and represented in the European Capital of Culture, Umeå2014 program and projects.

The article is structured as follows: we begin by discussing the city as process, as negotiated and contested representation. This is followed by a presentation of our approach and method. We then scrutinize the ways in which gender-equality is filled with meaning in the policy documents, bids and programme for Umeå2014, as well as in the projects that were co-financed by Umeå2014. Finally some conclusions are presented.

The city as process: as negotiated and contested representation

> Although Sweden is considered to be one of the leading countries in the world with regard to gender-equality, the cultural sector is lagging in this respect and is criticized for its strong male dominance. Art and culture are normally areas that lie in the forefront. However, there is a boundary that art and culture have not transcended, that between the sexes. The cultural sector is characterized by a strong male dominance. (Lena Adelsohn Liljeroth, Mister for Culture and Nyamko Sabuni, Minister for Gender-Equality, 2011)

The above quotation is from a debate article written in 2011 by the then Ministers for Culture and Gender-Equality. It articulates an understanding of the problem of the male dominance of the cultural sector and that this is something that should be broken. This sector is regarded as lagging with respect to gender-equality both nationally (Myndigheten för Kulturanalys 2017) and locally (Umeå Kommun 2014a). Focusing on culture within an urban setting, we study how narratives of gender-equality figure throughout the ECOC year, Umeå2014, and in the projects that were part of it. We want to examine how the talk about gender-equality interacts with notions of place and how they are interconnected with each other. Inspired by Doreen Massey, we see place as: "(w)oven together out of on-going stories, as a moment within power-geometries, as a particular constellation within the wider topographies of space [..] in process as unfinished business" (Massey 2005:131) and "constructed through power relations, where power is understood as relational and productive." (Sandberg & Rönnblom 2016: 1752). These power relations are gendered, sexualized and racialized and construct social and spatial boundaries that work to define who belongs to a place and who can be excluded (McDowell 1999, Rönnblom & Sandberg 2015).

We are focusing on how place identity is produced through place stories rather than on the city as a physical entity. The use of culture in city branding has become increasingly common (Evans 2003). It serves not only as a way of differentiating places from each other, but also as a way of creating identification with, and recognition of, a place (Mommaas 2002). Identity and place are intertwined so that stories about place become stories about identity (Lichrou et al 2017) and place stories become moral geographies that work to establish what activities are possible and desirable in a given place, who can belong and what rights they have (Lee & Smith 2004). Cities are often contested spaces where actors battle with (re) identifications and (re)articulations (Mouffe 2013) in struggles over place (city) identities. There are many, sometimes contradictory, images and representations of a place. Its identity is always and continuously being produced through practices (Dovey 2008, Massey 2005). City narratives can come in many forms, thus "there is no one narrative of a city, but many narratives construct cities in different ways highlighting some aspects and not others" (Bridge & Watson 2003: 14). Although these different narratives may sometimes conflict with each other, Simonsen (2008) argues that conflicting narratives are an important part of the construction of urban culture and hence individual and collective identities.

Gender-equality has become an important part of the narrative of Umeå as a place, but there is not only one narrative of Umeå as the gender-equal city. Today gender-equality is often regarded as a natural and desirable political goal, particularly in a Swedish context. Accordingly, what this desirable gender-equality is actually considered to be or what has hitherto prevented it from being achieved

are rarely stated. The starting point is, instead, that gender-equality is something positive that "we all know" and "we all want" (Rönnblom & Sandberg 2017). We situate this study in relation to critical studies on gender-equality, mainly developed by Nordic feminist scholars (see, for example, Magnusson et al. 2008, Holli et al. 2005), where gender-equality is studied using a more critical approach emphasizing the gap between rhetoric and practice, political goals and social reality (Rönnblom 2011). As with place, we regard gender-equality as something that is 'done' in different contexts, in relations between actors and in the actors' relationships with different places. By 'doing' gender we mean that gender is not simply what a person is, it is something that a person does, in interaction with others. We perform gender (Butler 2006). Our starting point is that both Umeå and the European Capital of Culture year are produced in place-making processes that are permeated by gendered, racialized and sexualized power relations and where some claims are rendered legitimate and others not and urban identities become important in branding the city.

Method

We scrutinize how gender-equality and gender norms are articulated in the different projects funded as part of Umeå2014, and regard these projects as examples of both addressing and articulating the problems of gender-inequality. We pose a number of questions to the material we analyse in order to help us identify the meaning(s) with which gender-equality is being filled: What are the narratives of gender-equality present in cultural policy and Umeå2014? What is left unproblematic and where are the silences in these narratives? How do they contribute to shaping the production of Umeå as the gender-equal city?

To understand the complexity of how gender-equality was discussed, negotiated and filled with meaning, we have chosen to include a range of empirical materials. These include policy documents concerning the European Capital of Culture 2014, the application to become ECOC, the programme for the ECOC year (Umeå2014), municipal web pages and marketing material concerning the Umeå2014, newspaper reports and the 103 project applications that were successful in obtaining co-funding from Umeå2014 and became part of the programme. Thus we have included and analysed all the official documents produced in conjunction with the actual planning of the ECOC, those presented in 2014 as well as the few documents evaluating Umeå2014 after it had been completed. By focusing on the planning and preparation for becoming the ECOC, the cultural projects that took place during 2014, and the reports made after the year ended, our aim was to analyse how gender-equality was being 'done' in a particular context. All the documentation was (re)read in close detail to familiarize ourselves with the

material and initial ideas and comments were noted. Thematic analysis (Ryan & Bernard 2003) was employed to reflect recurring ideas and topics in the data and a thematic framework constructed and refined (Ritchie et al. 2014). Hence, we analysed the documents thematically to find repeated patterns of meaning (Braun & Clarke 2006). A number of overarching themes emerged: these were gender-equality as equal numbers of women and men; changing the unequal power relations of the city; challenging the representation of male dominance in the cultural sector; claiming place, doing gender-equality; and Umeå2014 and the 'good' gender-equality.

Umeå - Gender-equality and representations in the Capital of Culture year 2014

Umeå, the largest city in northern Sweden with over 125 000 residents, is a university city and centre of education and technical and medical research. It is presented on its webpages as a growing and youthful city with a progressive, gender-equal, tolerant image. Even within a Swedish context, Umeå is regarded as a forerunner with regard to gender-equality. Umeå Municipality's first gender-equality committee was established in 1978 with the aim of developing ways to embed the work with gender-equality within the municipal administration. It was replaced in 1994 by the Committee on Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities which was placed directly under the city council. (Brewer & Larsson 2009).

Gender-equality has been emphasized by Umeå municipality as an important local value and the overall gender equality goal, established in its strategy for gender-equality, is to create "the conditions for giving equal empowerment to men and women to shape society and their own lives." (Umeå Municipality 2011: 3). Achieving gender neutrality in all areas is regarded as a key priority for the municipality:

> Umeå Municipality is well placed to become a municipality providing equal status for all. Gender matters and it is, therefore, important to scrutinize our activities and organization from a gender-equality perspective to ensure that we provide equal services for our citizens. The municipality will be a driving force in establishing a society based on equality. (Umeå Municipality 2011: 3)

The municipality has through different forms of gender-equality projects, succeeded in integrating a gender perspective into many of its activities. For example, a gender perspective has been integrated into city planning practises by including a focus on women's fear of violence in public space (Sandberg & Rönnblom 2016).

Since the 1970s, Umeå has had a strong women's movement and is characterized by having many women's networks (Holmberg 2004) often connected to Umeå University (such as the #addher network for women in the IT branch established in 2012 as winIT). This is illustrated in the University's on-going production of its 50-year story as a university. A major theme is devoted to women's campaigns and protests. Kerstin Norlander, a researcher at the university, writes the following about a house occupation that took place in 1983 and raised demands for a women's shelter where victims of violence and their children could be helped:

> The aim was to put pressure on the politicians. The occupation lasted three months and gathered over 100 women. It was a unique event in a national perspective as only women were involved in the campaign. […] The campaign was influential in making Umeå the city it is today in which gender-equality, feminism and gender research have a prominent place (Norlander 2018a).

The occupation is described as having placed women in the political arena. Norlander (2010: 240) writes "at the activist level, women's issues and the struggle to improve women's living conditions can be seen to have continued and continue even today – the women's movement has the whole time lived on in different ways in Umeå".

The issue of gender-equality has also permeated the city through other institutions. Umeå University, for example, one of the major Swedish universities with more than 30,000 students and a strong international focus, is regarded as having played an important role in making Umeå a more feminist city. It introduced the first undergraduate course on gender roles (*Könsrollsfrågor*) in 1976 and established the first centre for gender research (*Kvinnovetenskapligt forum*) in 1987 (Norlander 2018b). Gender-equality also featured in public broadcasting from the city. It has had, for example, an important place in radio programmes produced for national radio (P1) in Umeå, beginning with, for example, Radio Ellen which was broadcast between 1981 and 1995. Radio Ellen was the first of its kind with an outspoken feminist profile and with only women among the editorial staff (Pekkari 2015). Thus there is a collective picture that the efforts to achieve gender-equality take place on a broad front in Umeå, through the municipality, through actors such as the university and, in particular, through feminist mobilization.

In seeking and becoming a European Capital of Culture, the municipality emphasized the importance of this image of Umeå as a progressive, cultural city and that: "(a)nother part of a progressive cultural city is an active feminist movement" (Umeå2014, 2013a:12). Umeå drew on representations of its historical roots as a place with strong women and coupled these with its present strong fe-

minist movement to produce an image of Umeå as a place where women were dominant and present, and where men were seldom seen:

> Early records describe [*this borderless northern place*] as women's country, since men were never seen – they were instead either hunting or fishing. This description is an interesting one, given Umeå's recent strong feminist tradition. (Umeå kommun 2008: 10)

Hence, gender-equality became something that was highlighted in the bid to become European Capital of Culture and in the making of the programme for the year, particularly under the theme Challenging Power.

> Challenging Power is part of the Umeå Capital of Culture year and is all about challenging power relations, raising questions about norms and power in a structural context in order to bring about long-term changes, within and through culture. (Umeå2014, 2013b)

Gender-equality became part of a narrative of how the city as a living space, its form and function, were and are being produced. In this way gender-equality became an important value and something that would 'naturally' be a part of the year as a whole. It was integrated into the framework for the Umeå2014 programme and was stipulated as one of the requirements for projects to fulfil in order to be included in the ECOC. Projects were to be characterized by "Innovativeness, co-creation, *gender-equality*, accessibility, diversity, sustainability and a European dimension" (Umeå2014 2013c our emphasis)

These criteria were to be horizontal goals permeating all the activities included in Umeå2014. They were also to be important in creating an image of Umeå as an attractive place to live and as a way of envisaging the space within which culture 'happens'. The applicants applying for co-funding from Umeå2014 were required to state in their applications how the above characteristics would be incorporated into their project. Thus gender-equality became something to which those who wanted to be a part of the ECOC year had to respond. In this way, it became a necessity – part of a strategy for creating an attractive city. Gender-equality became an instruction, something that must be included and with which the projects were expected to comply in order to obtain funding. However, what gender-equality 'meant' was not specified and it was left up to the project applicants to 'interpret' its meaning and content. We now turn to the different ways in which gender-equality was translated into projects and cultural policy.

Doing gender-equality in Umeå2014 – narrating the gender equal city

According to Umeå2014's own assessment (Umeå2014, 2015a), the overwhelming majority of the projects (about 90%) had integrated gender-equality to some extent. However, scrutinizing the successful project applications that received funding, we find that the meaning and content of the concept 'gender-equality' varies. It is important to point out that we have studied what the municipality, those involved in organizing Umeå2014, and the co-financed projects *say* they were going to do, and not what they actually did.

Gender-equality as equal numbers of women and men

One way of conceptualizing gender-equality is in terms of equal numbers of women and men. This way of 'doing' gender has a long history in both Swedish and EU policy. Although this quantitative focus has been criticized as insufficient, it still plays a significant part in measures focusing on gender-equality. Indeed, the most frequent way in which gender-equality was in focus in relation to Umeå2014 was in terms of the number of women respective men involved in cultural activities and projects financed as part of the ECOC. One of the many examples of how gender–equality was articulated in this way is in the Umeå Football Festival. This is one of Sweden's largest football tournaments for children and young people and has been held annually in Umeå for over 20 years. It was included in the ECOC Programme as part of the effort to broaden the cultural offer and received a contribution for Umeå Football Festival 2014 to "enable expanded cultural offerings in connection with the event and to enable the organizers to invite more international teams and increase the number of girls' teams" (Umeå2014 2013d). It described its success and future ambitions in terms of equal numbers:

> Gender-equality – the tournament attracted both girls and boys to nearly the same extent. One explanation may be that the association arranging the event works actively with gender-equality, another is that Umeå is already known for its focus on developing and supporting girls' and women's football. The goal is to attract even more girls' and women's teams so that Umeå's Football Festival becomes the world's best football tournament in terms of the most even distribution between the sexes (*Umeå Fotbollsfestival*).

Another example is where the problem becomes too few boys compared to the number of girls. The Sámi dance company, *Kompani Nomad*, presented a performance (*Man must dance*) where traditional dance was combined with modern technology to produce a dance without boundaries. This was seen as a way to

attract boys to dance: "The project illustrates an inverse gender-equality problem as it is much more difficult to find young boys than girls who want to dance" (Umeå2014 2014a).

Part of Umeå municipality's own work with gender-equality in relation to culture has included illustrating the inequitable distribution of women and men in music, films, theatre and literature. To do this, the numbers of the women and men involved in various enterprises were counted with the aim of creating a picture of their representation in Umeå's range of cultural activities. For example, the total distribution during 2014 was 45 % women and 55% men in the cultural events that were measured. By showing that there is a need to take up the numbers of women and men, the problem becomes represented as one of unequal participation. Gender-equality in this way becomes synonymous with the idea of equal participation. In these articulations, a problem representation can be identified about men having, and being given, more space than women. Consequently, women and men do not have equal opportunities to work with culture and thus, the unarticulated understanding is that the cultural sector is more 'adapted' or 'suited' to men than to women. The solution becomes to increase the number of women or men (depending on who is under-represented). However, the municipality acknowledges that this is only a first step and, while it is important to reveal under or over representation, it also argues that more efforts are needed to make visible and problematize the unequal power relations as the following quote illustrates:

> Representation says far from everything about norms and the distribution of power, but it does reveal patterns and skewedness that may be important to make visible and problematize in order to bring about a structural change (Umeå kommun 2014b: 3).

A number the projects included in Umeå2014 highlighted differences within the category women relating to, for example, social class, age, ethnicity or sexuality that produce certain groups within the category women (or men) as more subordinate than others. *Tantteatern*, a small neighbourhood theatre that focuses on middle-aged women and their lives in its productions, is one such example:

> *Tantteatern* will strengthen the middle-aged woman by giving her a body and a voice on the stage. We will produce dramatic art that takes the middle-aged woman seriously and examines her specific universe. […] We imagine an investigative dialogue in close contact with our audience around questions such as: Who has primacy on the stage? What is missing and how can we grasp this? (*Umeå2014 2014b*)

Yet another example is *Queering Sápmi* which even after the ECOC year continued to draw attention nationally and internationally. It was the first in the world of its type – a LGBT project focusing on an Indigenous population – the Sámi. Over a period of three years the project leaders Elfrida Bergman, culture analyst, small business woman and queer activist, and Sara Lindquist, photographer, met 30 Sámi who talked about their lives as LGBT persons and their confrontation with the norms in Sámi culture and society in general.

> Activities during Umeå2014 are about ensuring queer Sámi representation and making queer Sámi artistic and cultural expressions visible. To bring in the Sámi in the Queer programme points and the queer into the Sámi programme points. (Umeå2014, 2014c)

In the projects discussed above, the problem becomes one of ensuring the visibility of groups that are often 'invisible' and in this way strengthening and including them in culture. The problem is again represented as unequal participation, by highlighting differences in terms of disadvantage when gender intersects with age, ethnicity, race, sexuality and other axes of difference. This is based on an understanding that certain groups such as middle-aged women, immigrant women and Queer Sámi are otherwise 'missing' in cultural activities (and in other aspects of life in the city). Thus their ability to engage in the processes of identity creation and place making is restricted. As Massey (2005) points out "the challenge of the negotiation of place is shockingly unequal" (169).

Changing the unequal power relations of the city

While the narrative of gender-equality in quantitative terms described above tended to dominate in the projects forming part of Umeå2014, it was also possible to discern a powerful narrative of engagement – one that sought to change the unequal power relations of the city. This was particularly prominent in projects related to a specific theme in the programme year: *Challenging Power*. In this theme, special attention was to be given to problematizing gender-equality:

> Prior to the start of the city of culture year, we will bring together all those working to challenge power under a joint umbrella under the name "Challenging Power". We know that different capabilities, social and economic backgrounds, sexes, ages, disabilities, ethnicities and sexualities are enriching and that our collective strengths can change the world. We need you. What are your brilliant ideas? Let the world know about them, work with others so together we can create Europe's first gender-equal capital of culture! (Östensson & Fagerlund 2011).

The intention was that the challenging power theme should infuse the entire Umeå2014 programme year. It aimed at confronting power relations, raising questions about norms and power in a structural context in order to bring about long-term changes within the city's power relations, both within and through culture. Here culture was interpreted in broad terms to include a range of activities from opera to football (Umeå2014, 2013b). Space was to be created during the year for norm-critical projects and for fora for discussing questions concerning power relations with regard to the performing arts such as who has precedence and how can the dominant norms and unequal power relations be challenged. It asked questions such as: Who has access to culture? Who is the cultural practitioner and who is the consumer? Which representations are portrayed in the performing arts? Whose perspective is conveyed? It also became part of marketing Umeå's gender 'know how' by spreading the experiences gained under this theme to a wider audience.

> For the capital of culture year, this theme involves investment in several norm-critical projects: that Umeå municipality takes up and makes visible in various ways questions of power during the year; offers support to project leaders and uses questionnaires and dialogues follow up how projects deal with gender-equality and accessibility. The aim is also to create long-term platforms and networks to question, discuss and interact around issues concerning norms and power in the cultural sector in order to make use of and spread experiences both in Sweden and Europe (Umeå Kommun 2014a: 29).

This ambition was realized through, for example, seminars on challenging power in the areas of culture and violence, on men's role and violence in close relationships; as well as a theme day of popular science lectures presenting research into the history, lives and situations of older women and young girls were carried out by the networks TantForsk! (Old Ladies' research) and FlickForsk! (Young Girls' research).

One particular project, Umeå municipality's initiative the *Gendered Landscape*, sought to create an understanding for how the gendered power structures are continually created and recreated in the city. It still continues today and involves a bus ride around the city not only to show good examples and the effects of an active gender-equality policy but also to highlight remaining problems. During the tour, the participants are taken to various parts of the city to be shown and informed about the design, historical context and present use of its different places and spaces. For instance when passing in front of the largest high school, s/he is informed about the fact that girls and boys make gender-typical choices in education.

When passing in front of the hospital, consequences of a gender segregated labour market are highlighted. As the bus passes by parks, issues related to feelings of security and safety in public spaces are mentioned. Umeå Municipality has worked with this project since 2009 and, in addition to Umeå residents, roughly 500 participants from places outside Umeå take part every year. It has become a way of showcasing Umeå's work in trying to become a gender-equal city not only to its inhabitants but also to visitors.

> Guided tours will be available pointing out the tangible initiatives that have been implemented to make this an equal opportunities city. These city tours will also highlight issues that require making further changes (Umeå2014, 2013a: 76-78).

Through physical movement (bus journey and walking) the power relations in the city are made accessible and can be understood in new ways. This project can be seen as having a problematizing ambition, it is not just about showing good examples but also about making power structures visible by comparing places, by showing how things are connected and how they have developed. It does not seek to give answers but rather leaves it to those taking the tour to draw their own conclusions, continue to ask questions and think about how other places in the city are gendered – to give a new way of looking at the city. It changes the view of gender-equality in public places from one of meeting particular needs to one where the city in itself should be a place that generates gender-equality. It has been used as a way to raise questions about the city's development and identity issues.

The individual projects included in Umeå2014 can be seen as together building a narrative of the ways in which gender-equality is being worked with and 'done' during the Capital of Culture year. Thus they are linked through what Massey (2005) describes as ongoing stories, weaving together Umeå as a place. It becomes a story of the way gender-equality has been 'done' in Umeå – part of the 'history' of how gender-equality has been performed in Umeå, but also of possible trajectories of the future.

Challenging the male dominance in the cultural sector

A number of projects within Umeå2014 have attempted to break the 'silence' and both draw attention to and challenge an unarticulated male dominance of culture in the city. A few have had the specific aim of developing ways of opening up opportunities for girls and young women to compete on equal terms For example, one of the projects which was included early on in the Municipality's application for becoming the Capital of Culture, was *She's Got the Beat.* Here the problem is articulated in terms of a of a male dominated music industry. This project sought

to highlight how the male dominance of the music branch is taken for granted and emphasized the need to challenge this:

> The feminist music association *She's Got the Beat* in Umeå works to create a sexually equal music industry where girls command attention on the same terms as guys and are judged according to their ability, not their gender. The association wants to take these ideas out into Europe and inspire girls to start their own bands and record their own music (*Girl Rockers*, Umeå kommun 2009: 21).

Another challenge to the taken-for-granted male dominance of culture emerged at the end of the ECOC year when two new museums were opened in the city centre. These museums were part of Umeå2014, however, they were also intended to strengthen culture in the city in the long-term as well as helping in marketing Umeå as a tourist attraction. They represent rather different understandings of culture and aroused a somewhat heated discussion about whether the municipality should invest in them, illustrating that there are different, sometimes conflicting stories of Umeå as a 'city of culture'. The debate they generated is one way of understanding the articulations of a male dominated culture and they can be seen as on-going stories of negotiations within the power-geometries of the city (Hayden 1997; Massey 2005). One of the museums was a private initiative, supported by public money, devoted to guitars and was launched as an international attraction:

> Umeå brothers Samuel and Michael Åhdén possess one of the world's largest privately owned collections of guitars and now the whole world has a chance to see it. You can visit the experience-based exhibition of electric guitars, basses, amps and music accessories at Umeå Guitar Museum (Visit Umeå 2014).

The opening of the other museum - the Museum of Women's History (*Kvinnohistoriskt museum*) can be regarded as a recognition of Umeå's history of an active feminist movement. The leader of the Left Party (female) in the municipal council argued that the establishment this museum would be in line with the city's bid for the capital of culture encapsulated in the section *'The gendered city'* which emphasized the need for a female perspective. She also considered that: "A museum of women´s history will also awake interest outside the municipality's/region's boundary as it would be the first in Sweden" (Špirić 2010). The aim of the museum is to make women's neglected history visible by providing new perspectives on the past that illuminate the present and thereby form the future:

> We break the silence. We write history. Sweden's first Museum of Women's History opens in Väven, the House of Culture, on 21 November 2014. The Museum of Women's History is a bold and different museum where you can see innovative exhibitions about history, identity, power and gender. (Kvinnohistoriskt museum, 2014)

The Museum of Women's History asks the rhetorical question on its website of why the museum was established in Umeå and answers: "Gender-equality and community engagement has long been important to people in Umeå" (The Museum of Women's History, webpage). However, this museum generated considerable controversy, possibly because of its ambition to make visible and challenge the male normativity in museums. It was disproved of particularly by centre-right local politicians and has been threatened with reduced funding and even closure. The opening of the guitars museum, on the other hand, was welcomed with delight by the both leader of the council and the leader of the opposition, both men. In an article in the local newspaper, the reporter summarized this debate and the positions taken and described the opening of Guitars the Museum with one word – 'masculine' (Böhlin 2014).

The reactions these investments raised illustrates how activities such as the Guitars Museum are part of the norm in culture, whereas the Museum of Women's History challenges this norm. The Museum of Women's History states on its webpage that it wants to:

> Provide people with the tools necessary to identify and understand the norms, power structures, and structures that limit prerequisites, possibilities, and choices in all aspects of life - regardless of gender. Show that change is possible and encourage action (Kvinnohistoriskt museum, webpage)

Is it the Museum of Women's History's norm-critical ambitions that have meant that it has been regarded as provocative? That it challenges the boundaries, the specific gender-relationships and understandings of the place Umeå (*cf.* McDowell 1999) and its material practices (Rönnblom & Sandberg 2015)?

Claiming place, doing gender-equality

The Challenging Power theme was to be an integral part of all the eight Sámi seasons into which Umeå2014 was divided. The opening of the second season, Gijrradálvvie (Early Spring) featured a particularly strong feminist input. This is known as the season of awakening which can be coupled with the idea of generating awareness of the lack of equality. Several feminist cultural groups that aim

to awaken awareness about the unequal power relations in society were actively engaged, both in the opening of this season and during the ECOC year as a whole. It can, therefore, be described as an event that was about claiming and taking place in the Umeå2014 programme, but also about claiming the city's public space.

> We have chosen to write together under the theme awakening and will narrate stories from our different perspectives and lives. Our narratives raise questions about exclusion, repression and racism, but also feminism and a positive endeavour, says Nathalie "Cleo" Missaoui. (Umeå2014, 2014d).

The event was presented as one where various art forms and music genres would meet. It took place a March evening in the city's central square and included Hip-hop for gender-equality as well as Sámi musician and yoiker Sofia Jannok. The artists performed newly composed music emphasizing everyone's equal value that had been created exclusively for the inauguration of Gijrradálvvie.

A group concerned to increase the opportunities for young women to enter and take place in male dominated activities, *The Queens of Norrland*, acted as DJs during the opening ceremony. They have released a book both as a tribute to strong female role models from northern Sweden but also as an inspiration for young women and girls to live their dream. Other feminists groups represented in the opening were FATTA! (GET IT!) which is a campaign built around the idea that a sexual consent law is necessary and that the societal norms that allow sexual violence must be overturned. These groups are working to alter these norms and to emphasize women's right to their own bodies, as well as to change the taken-for-granted male norms in society (which was something they drew attention to throughout the year). This part of the programme became an articulation of prevailing inequalities and gendered power relations in the programme year and in society at large. By taking place on stage in the public space in Umeå, this opening ceremony was also part of a narrative of collective engagement.

By making gender inequality visible, this 'meaning' of gender-equality helps to reveal the silences that occur when gender-equality is problematized simply in terms of numbers/representation. Making the existent inequality evident can also be seen as a way of highlighting the taken-for-granted norms in society. By drawing attention to the problem in this way, a few projects illustrate the prevailing inequitable relations of power. The street performance organized by Elin Lundgren of *Back in Baby's Arms* along Kungsgatan, the pedestrian street in central Umeå, in May 2014 is a vivid example:

> The aesthetics of resistance: 150 women with 150 different faces showing

> traces of beating spread out in a single quiet choreography. Faces revealing traces of blows, burns and strangling. No one is talking, the bruises and scratches on their faces, necks and hands tell their stories. The silence and these faces speak a universal language we cannot defend ourselves against. These women are among us, regardless of ethnicity, social status or age. Suddenly she stands there, a reflection of the woman or the girl you are familiar with or might hear through thin walls. What we choose not to see or recognize stands right in front of us (Umeå2014 2014e) *Back in Baby's Arms*).

Projects, such as the above, seek to draw attention to the underlying, inequitable power relationships, the violence women often suffer at the hands of men and their lack of 'voice'. However, by claiming public place, feminist cultural activities that aimed to challenge the city's gendered, racialized and sexist power relations, frequently roused negative reactions and on occasions met with strong (even physical) opposition – as the following incident illustrates. During the opening weekend of Umeå2014, the city centre was filled with snow, ice and fire as part of the event the *City of Winter*. This programme, included the artist Carolina Falkholt who was to create a monumental and place-specific work of art on a wall of snow at the intersection of Kungsgatan and Sveagatan in the city centre (Umeå2014, 2014f). However, her work is often regarded as controversial, frequently provoking debate, as was the case with the piece she created in Umeå. This generated considerable debate and even hostility to such an extent that she was forced to complete the work in the company of a security guard (Horne 2014).

By taking place in the main shopping street in central Umeå, a feminist artistic 'happening' involving the painting of a vagina on an ice-block became an event that challenged and provoked – at least until the painting was destroyed.

Umeå2014 and the 'good' gender-equality

Umeå's image as a gender-equal city has had an international impact, for example, the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR) has highlighted Umeå as an international city for gender-equality and on the Observatory of the European Charter for Equality of Women and Men in Local Life webpage Umeå is promoted as: "Umeå – a model town for Gender Equality" (Observatory, webpage). Stories about the Umeå2014's success in implementing a gender-equality perspective were continually repeated and woven together into yet another narrative of Umeå. They became part of an ongoing negotiation of the city's identity. For example, Ecorys UK, an international company providing research, consultancy and management services, in its assessment of Umeå2014's secretariat, considered that it had actively worked to integrate gender-equality and diversity in the capital

of culture programme (Fox & Rampton 2015). As the Swedish Agency for Public Management (*Statskontoret*) pointed out:

> The secretariat had arranged amongst other things a workshop for project-owners on working for gender-equality. Further, the secretariat had consulted specialists to ensure that the venues for the major events were adapted to ensure accessibility for those with functional disabilities. Efforts were made to produce web streaming of the major events. A large number of cultural projects focused on gender-equality and diversity issues (Statskontoret 2015:21).

On the face of it then, it would seem possible to regard Umeå as a 'good example' of the Swedish gender-equality narrative that is established in national policy and politics. However, this presentation of the 'good gender-equality' has two sides. One concerns a kind of success story with regard to the implementation of a gender perspective in the different projects and the other presents what gender-equality does in terms of producing something better for all, as the quote below illustrates:

> During 2014, a Queer Festival will be organised that addresses issues such as sexuality, gender, ethnicity and class. It will consider the possibilities of believing in positive change and community, for a better city for all people. The festival should generate a belief in the future and civic involvement, and deliver the Umeå that has a special character in Sweden in these areas – high aesthetics with a qualitative and innovative content (Umeå Kommun 2009: 31).

Thus, the discourse of gender-equality is often one of 'respectable' gender-equality – those forms that can be incorporated into the city's image so that "gender-equality is most often seen as a self-evident and collective political goal" (Rönnblom 2011:36). However, "(w)hat this desirable gender-equality is considered to be is less frequently expressed" (Rönnblom & Sandberg 2015: 65). What are the consequences of this for how gender-equality is filled with meaning? Together the projects and activities we have described in this article form, at times, diverging narratives of 'doing' gender-equality during Umeå2014. There was a clear ambition and desire to achieve an inclusive and gender-equal process in the shaping and planning of the city's cultural policy. However, this was at times hard to achieve and it proved difficult to challenge the 'male dominated culture', the (invisible) norm. This is possibly because, if gender-equality is interpreted as equal numbers of women and men, its potential to challenge the city's dominant power relations

is weakened. In Nancy Fraser's (1997) terms, it becomes an affirmative strategy that seeks to alter the inequitable outcomes of social arrangements but in a way that does not disturb the underlying power relations. Nevertheless, the critical perspective articulated in the more radical norm critical projects did challenge the taken-for-granted male dominance in culture – arousing awareness and making it visible and thus more possible to question.

Concluding discussion: Umeå's identity – an on-going negotiation

When we examine the European Capital of Culture year in Umeå and the processes leading up to it, we begin to see how different stories concerning gender-equality as part of the municipality's identity are woven together. Umeå's identity is under continuous negotiation which is made particularly clear through an event such as the ECOC year. Umeå2014 had decided ambitions with regard to identity production and gender-equality was given an important part, not only as a political goal but also in the creation and selling of Umeå's identity:

> TODAY WE HAVE ACCESS TO WORLD CITIES. A city of Umeå's size would not have had a chance of being part of the networks to which we now belong. And it's not just about culture – we see co-operation with regard to, for example, *gender-equality*, sustainability, design and education. Umeå2014, and thereby Umeå, has become an international name (Umeå2014 2015b: 110, our emphasis).

In our analysis, we have highlighted the contradictory narratives of the gender-equal city and how gender-equality can be filled with different meanings and content. It could be argued that, given that so many projects emphasized gender-equality as important, this illustrates the prevailing gender-inequality. Indeed some projects were formulated in such a way that it is clear that they were trying to deal with the existing inequality in culture. However, it is also possible to interpret the reason for gender-equality being prevalent in so many projects was because it has become one of those 'words' that must be included in order to get funding. When the inclusion of gender-equality, together with a number of other criteria, is written as an instruction that those applying for co-financing are forced to take into account in their project, it becomes a 'doing' of gender-equality in the document. Conceptualizing gender-equality in terms of equal numbers becomes the (easy) option. It can take the form of a simple sentence – equal numbers of women and men will be employed/engaged in the project.

Obviously it is important that gender-equality does not become merely a

'mantra'. While the taken-for-granted male dominance in culture was challenged through the various projects and policies, because the 'doing' of gender-equality was largely in terms of the numbers of women and men involved, there is a risk that these were largely affirmative (Fraser 1997). In other words, they aimed at altering the inequitable outcomes of social arrangements without disturbing or challenging the underlying unequal power relations. Nevertheless, it is also important to point out there were a number of norm-critical projects and activities that that tried to move beyond this and challenge and change the city's unequal power relations.

We found that although the narrative of gender-equal representation in terms of numbers predominated, it was frequently seen only as a necessary first step to draw attention to inequalities. Further, even if the more far-reaching feminist alternatives proved to be controversial, we become aware of the resistance they created though the descriptions of strong feelings and outrage they engendered. When gender-equality challenges and seeks to transform the underlying power relations, it provokes. When it upsets, it creates reactions. It is perhaps in these controversies that the seeds of the future Umeå, of new trajectories that draw on the city's radical feminist history can grow. The work with gender-equality is continually in process, being 'done'. The cultural projects presented here are a clear example of how gender-equality is filled with content and given meaning in distinctly demarcated projects. There is almost something theatrical about the staging of the way the projects aim at change at the same time as we know it is hard to challenge the gendered power relations in the long-term and to pursue change.

There is no doubt that gender-equality is important in the image of Umeå promoted not only by the municipality but also by major actors in the city. The emphasis on the significance of gender-equality is reflected in both in the individual projects and in the ECOC Year as whole. This becomes apparent in our analysis of the projects and activities involved in Umeå2014 and cultural policy in the city generally. However, as Johansson (2012) argues, place branding aims to present a sanitized, appealing image of a place, which inevitably means selecting particular elements to put forward. This selectivity may mean that more radical aspects are toned down or omitted. However, the narrative of Umeå as a gender-equal city also builds on its history of a strong feminist movement – a movement that works both to promote change and to function as a 'critical friend' or 'conscience' providing input on measures taken by the municipality and others to promote gender-equality. The picture of the 'good gender equality' and the success story of the incorporation of gender-equality in the ECOC Year becomes part of the continued narrative of Umeå and the work to promote gender-equality. Something that survives, is developed and used strategically and deliberately to try to bring about change.

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Maintaining Urban Complexities: Seeking Revitalization without Gentrification of an Industrial Riverfront in Gothenburg, Sweden

By Gabriella Olshammar

Abstract

This article presents case study research performed in a small-scale and centrally located industrial site by the riverfront in Gothenburg, Ringön. It has been highlighted in municipal visions to develop according to its very own circumstances, meaning small-scale and zoned for industrial use. Being closely located to the historic core of the city and surrounded by large construction sites, Ringön has received a lot of attention lately in local newspapers, research, university education and social media. The area is repeatedly pictured as redundant, with some rough potential to become something of a hipster mekka. However, this coverage mostly recognises newcomers from the creative industries and art, while neglecting existing repair-shops and small-scale manufacturing industries. To picture an area as redundant and in need of improvements, exemplifies a feature of gentrification, where extant qualities are seldom appreciated, and where outsiders define the needs to revitalize.

The purpose is here to understand and shed light on a diversity of perspectives and interests among Ringön stakeholders, i.e. the insiders, who together affect the development in question. In order to grasp the complexity of the process, I develop a many-faceted narrative in line with Bent Flyvbjerg's approach to case study research. Meaning-making histories and activities that have come forward in field studies are sorted into eras that are considered lost, still alive, almost lost or recently found. This play of thought is inspired by current discourses on worlds coming to an end, as interpreted by Déborah Danowski and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro. In addition, the concept of "urban glue" from Nigel Thrift is introduced to illustrate how Ringön embodies an era that is certainly still alive.

Keywords: Industrial gentrification, urban glue, ends of the world, Gothenburg, Thrift

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Introduction

In Gothenburg, as in so many other industrialized cities around the world, large urban transformation projects have been underway for centuries, aiming to turn redundant harbour and manufacturing sites into office, education and residential environments. A different direction, however, has been intended by the city of Gothenburg for the small-scale industrial area Ringön on the north bank of the Göta River. The municipality suggests keeping Ringön's manufacturing and circular industries while also revitalizing the area and attracting a larger diversity of enterprises, users and visitors.

The new direction was developed in a couple of processes involving Ringön stakeholders, an invited consultant, citizens of Gothenburg, as well as business and academic representatives. Two visionary documents came out of the work, that pointed towards step-to-step revitalization of the Ringön site, aiming for a greater mixed-use. Industrial production would continuously be welcome side by side with new creative businesses and public events (Spontaneous City 2012 & RiverCity Gothenburg 2012).

Because of such a new and widely supported development Ringön stands-out as an interesting case for urban studies and gentrification research. I directed my studies here in 2015 in order to explore whether step-by-step revitalization would truly come about. If successful, it would address the frequently reported problem of transformed and revitalized urban industrial areas inadvertently becoming gentrified (Zukin 1989, Smith 1996, Pratt 2009, Halle & Tiso 2014, Thörn & Holgersson 2014, de Klerk 2015, Ferm & Jones 2016, Gainza 2016).

Thus, the on-going revitalizing processes in Ringön merit attention as a critical case while scrutinising the overarching research problem: How can revitalization come about in practice and industrial gentrification hindered? My purpose is thus to understand and shed light on a diversity of perspectives and interests, connected to the built and business environments that together affect the development. The questions that I will address are:

- Who are the actors that directly influence the transformation in Ringön?
- What are their meaning-making histories and suggestions for Ringön's development and future?
- What do their respective suggestions implicate, when it comes to either supporting revitalization without displacing existing users, or supporting transformations that will probably lead to gentrification?

Closing in on a real-life situation

So far the story about Ringön fits with contemporary urban narratives on how gentrification tends to develop. Not foremost from what is actually happening regarding how people use and transform space in the area, but from the way people interpret what Ringön is today and where its transformation is heading. The most well-known story in the local media, for instance, is that of a redundant industrial site becoming something of a hipster mekka (Sjödén 2015, Andersson 2017, Jedvik 2017, Nylander 2017).

I intend to unfold a more complex case narrative about what is going on by distorting the gentrification narrative. I will do so by presenting a diversity of relations to, visions for, and place histories regarding Ringön that have surfaced in field studies that I have performed.[1] Although some stakeholders have more power over the planning and development situation than others, it is not a given which stakeholder represents what agenda, or who understands the world from a particular perspective. The transformation process can be characterized as an intricate web of competing interests and capacities. What have come to the fore, from inquiring into various stakeholder perspectives, are narratives and actions that overlap and sometimes contradict each other. In order to grasp the complexity of the situation, I therefore develop a many-faceted, "thick" and "hard-to-summarize narrative" in line with the economic geographer Bent Flyvbjerg's approach to case study research. I also intend to "'close in' on real-life situations and test views directly in relation to phenomena as they unfold in practice" (Flyvbjerg 2006: 235). This will make it possible to clarify causes behind a given situation and its consequences. Additionally, for the purpose of analysis, I will link the survey to three different conceptual systems and research fields that illuminate the case, instead of linking it to theories of any one academic specialization (Flyvbjerg 2006: 237–238).

I first develop a many-faceted description of the Ringön case, by sorting its current meaning-making histories and activities under a conceptualisation that plays with eras that are considered lost, still alive, almost lost or recently found. This play of thought is inspired by an interpretation of current discourses on worlds coming to an end – however dramatic that thought is – by the philosopher Déborah Danowski and the anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2015 & 2017). Next, I introduce the concept of "urban glue", as defined by the geographer Nigel Thrift, to illustrate how Ringön embodies an era that is certainly still alive, that still prospers and inspires. Finally, I return to the question of gentrification and present a small portion of its rich and explanatory capacity, suited for the narrative presented here. Although working from three different theoretical angles, a list of clear results will not encompass the complex Ringön case: Rather, the case narrative in itself is the result that I aim for.

Transformation and endurance of urban eras – framing the case

Diverse perceptions over change are what inform the layout of my case narrative regarding Ringön: This is a story about how people perceive and define different eras that take place in urban everyday lives, economies and production. Déborah Danowski and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro testify to how the present times of galloping climate change awakens a great many dystopic considerations of the world, as we know it, coming to an end. They reflect on film makers', authors' and scientists' dealing with the theme as picturing how either the World or its Inhabitants disappear from the other. To "put it at its simplest", they say,

> we could start from the opposition between a 'world without us', that is, the world after the existence of the human species; and an 'us without the world', a worldless or environmentless humankind, the subsistence of some form of humanity or subjectivity after the end of the world. (Danowski & Viveiros de Castro 2017: 21)

If some form of subjectivity will last after losing its world and environment, one needs to define what subjectivity this is. Does it refer to all life on earth, all humankind or a specific sociocultural group? Moreover, what world is it that has

View over Ringön, shot in 2004. Buildings in the left corner have since been demolished to give way for a new bridge. Otherwise the area remains much the same. Photo: by the author.

been lost? Does the end of the world mean that the whole Earth has become extinct? Or that what has become lost is delimited to some way of life that someone considers as "the only one worthy of true human beings (can we live without planes and computers, plastics and antibiotics?)" (Danowski & Viveiros de Castro 2017: 22).

Translated to a less dramatic context here, the end of the world is to be understood as an end (transformation or endurance) to particular urban eras, as perceived by diverse interests and worldviews that are present among stakeholders with connections to Ringön. Thus, the description of the current case – its meaning-making histories and activities – is sorted into four sections. The first considers Ringön of today as out-dated; as an era that is effectively lost, and from which one needs to look forward to create something new. The second is a history that considers Ringön as embodying an era still alive and with a healthy entrepreneurial drive. This is a story that envisions a preserved characteristic, while also welcoming revitalizing in small steps in line with the visionary documents from 2012. The third in turn is a story about an era that is considered almost lost and therefore in need of protection, while the fourth and final history considers Ringön as recently found and a treat to creative businesses.

An era lost, although not to a greater loss

Gothenburg is a harbour city located on the West coast of Sweden. It is the second largest city in the country, and its container port is the largest in Scandinavia. Up until the mid-1970s Gothenburg was also the home of big, internationally competitive ship building wharves. Side-by-side with the wharves and further up the river, closer to the historic core of the city, smaller scale industrial areas were located: Ringön is one such area. The wharves and industrial areas were foremost located on the North bank of the Göta River, while trafficked harbours have been located to both river banks.

To begin with Ringön was an urban harbour site, intended for mechanical workshops and light industry. Semi-manufactured products and intermediate goods were carried on barges, transported by tugs, from huge ships further down the river. These products and goods were to become refined close to the end market.[2] In the 1950s the area became more densely built for small industry and warehouses.

With the introduction of containerized shipping from the end of the 1950s and on, the world of transportation and production changed dramatically. Dockworker jobs were eliminated, but containerization also caused massive job loss within manufacturing and wholesaling businesses too, since these were tied to the presence of nearby docks (Levinson 2016: xii). Following the narrative frame

in this paper, the introduction of modern container shipping is understood as a point in history where a certain era becomes lost. A particular kind of involvement in the material world around Ringön deeply changed. The neighbouring ship building industries in Gothenburg saw their era come to an end too, successively from the 1970s on, because of the oil crises in combination with thorough structural changes in the global transport industries.[3] Vast production space in the shipyard areas was left vacant on the North bank of the Göta River.

One of my interviewees, an entrepreneur with one of the longest presences among the stakeholders in Ringön, has himself experienced some of this radical shift in production. Involved in the transformation process, he often tries to remind others that this manufacturing thing is out-dated and that history will not repeat itself; there are new times arriving. He repeatedly points out that today's carpenters and industries are of a completely different kind than those of a couple of decades ago, and that they could well be hosted in office-like buildings instead of rough industrial sheds and warehouses. He is eager to make others see that Ringön today characterises an era that is lost – although not to a greater loss, but to make way for something better.

Consistent with this stakeholder's voice, in narratives of professional developers, politicians and urban planners, are conceptions that trigger debates over urban space, where real estate developers and municipalities seemingly aspire to produce novel urban form and to alter the urban imagery in order to attract the global economy and new urban users (Beauregard 1991, Göteborg & Co 2001, Curran 2010, Checker 2011 & 2017, Hein 2014, Greenberg & Lewis 2017).

In response to the decline in the ship building industries, the municipal company Norra Älvstranden Utveckling AB was established in 1985. The aim was to transform the old docks and industrial brick buildings on the riverbank into habitable urban districts with office and residential neighbourhoods (Norra Älvstranden utveckling AB 2016). The need to turn the image of Gothenburg from a city built on heavy industries, into a cleaner and lighter urban environment with knowledge industries and attractive waterfront residences, has been an aim for politics and urban development for at least three decades (Göteborg & Co 2001, Haglund 2004, Öhström 2004, Regeneration in European Cities 2006, Holgersson et.al. 2010; Olshammar 2010, Caldenby 2013, Thörn 2013). In such processes, remaining urban environments tend to become stigmatized or made invisible, often understood as empty "spaces of urban redundancy, as left-over spaces in the city" (Marshall 2001: 5, Campo 2016).

An era still alive, withstanding the full city

As Gothenburg nears its 400-year anniversary in 2021, and riverfront redevelopment closes in on the historic core of the city, the aim becomes to find new working methods for the rest of the urban riverfront. As a contrast to thirty years of thorough riverfront transformations in Gothenburg, in 2010 the Property Management Administration and Älvstranden Utveckling AB took the initiative for an alternative development. The municipal organs thus initiated a broader survey among different stakeholders (citizens of Gothenburg as well as business and academic representatives) to try and work creatively to plan for a new downtown area – the RiverCity Gothenburg – that among other things would serve to connect the two banks of the Göta River into a lively urban hub.

In this process, Ringön has been highlighted as somewhat unique and valuable to many people in its present small-scale industrial state (Olsson 2011). For this reason a workshop led by the Dutch planning consultant Spontaneous City International was arranged in 2012 and brought together stakeholders from Ringön with master students from the School of Architecture at Chalmers University of Technology, and municipal officials. Together they defined the built environment as robust thanks to the small blocks and a diversity of building sizes. The report from the workshop furthermore depicts Ringön as an area with a healthy yearly turnover, a strong entrepreneurial drive, an urban environment strongly marked by maritime activities, and furthermore an area that "supplies the city with a range of services and diverse agencies which could be easily implemented and more integrated into the rest of the city." (Spontaneous City 2012:14).

Example of Ringön buildings, that in the report from the Spontaneous City workshop in 2012, was described as of a certain pleasurable industrial roughness and informality. Photo: by the author.

Understood in this manner Ringön is not only lively and economically healthy in its own right, but contributes to the resilience of the larger city as well. Thus, it provides the urban environment with a quality that the economic geographer Nigel Thrift speaks of as the "urban glue". With urban glue, Thrift argues that cities often bounce back from accidents, and even catastrophes, remarkably quickly, and that this resilience has come to cities since they are "continuously modulated by repair and maintenance in ways that are so familiar that we tend to overlook them" (Thrift 2005: 134). In a passage that is strikingly similar to any description from Ringön, he argues that repair and maintenance, which cover a whole host of activities, have become increasingly widespread:

> Western cities nowadays are populated by large national and international companies which specialize in activities as different as various kinds of cleaning, all forms of building maintenance, the constant fight to keep the urban fabric – from pavements and roads to lighting and power – going, emergency callout to all manner of situations, the repair of all manner of electrical goods, roadside and collision repair of cars, and so on. (Thrift 2005: 135)

The concept of urban glue nicely encapsulates the role of Ringön in the larger city of Gothenburg since existing businesses here sort under the wide umbrella of industrial services and light manufacturing, crucial for recycling and up-keep of buildings, infrastructures and vehicles (cars, motorcycles, boats and ferries). While arriving via the most integrated Ringö Street, which is its strip with most traffic, one notices first of all the big stores for bathroom and kitchen interiors, wall paint and paper, office equipment, motorcar repair shops. Perhaps one might also note the Berendsen Company that "delivers a complete textile rental and laundry service for all types of activities" (Berendsen 2018) or the Thomas Concrete Group that is "one of the leading suppliers of high quality ready-mixed concrete" (Thomas Concrete 2018). Walking closer to the river, along the Järnmalm Street, one find the home of the recycling service called Stena Recycling (former IL Recycling). The company engages in recycling of all sorts of materials, such as batteries, glass, electrical waste, PET bottles, and scrap metals. The company web page informs readers that the recycling services range from "analysis, collection, and transport of residual products to sorting, processing, and delivery of recycled raw materials to industries" (IL Recycling 2016).

In one of the most remote corners of the Ringön site one runs into the company Frog Marine Services that is specialised in solutions for marine infrastructure. They claim to be Scandinavia's leading marine construction, contracting and diving company (Frog Marine Services 2016). Their assignments vary from di-

ving and construction to consultancy in marine ecology and affiliated techniques. Governments, municipalities, county councils, and associations of the shipping industry all contract them. As a random visitor one might not grasp all of their potential since what one sees is only a closed-off warehouse, an old barge that is moored in one of the harbour basins, and a couple of dredgers standing in the water. The Frog Marine Company is one among few businesses in Ringön that is still directly connected to and dependent upon the river. Last but not least, the Gotenius Shipyard needs mentioning: This is the last remaining shipyard in Gothenburg and it is "a complete shipyard, specialized in repair and maintenance. […] Coasters, special purpose vessels and vintage ships are our daily guests" (Gotenius 2018).

While walking past the well-established company Frog Marine Services, all the random visitor sees is a closed-off warehouse, an old barge moored in one of the harbour basins, and a couple of dredgers standing in the water. Photo: by the author.

Hence, all in all quite advanced businesses are present for the maintenance of things. Following Thrift's reasoning many existing businesses here contribute to the urban glue qualities of contemporary cities and together represent an era that is much needed, still. Important to remember, also, is that since the businesses that engage in the urban glue processes are dedicated to the on-going upkeep of the urban fabric and everyday lives of cities, they cannot reside too far off from the very same cities. This relation is highlighted both in interviews from Ringön and in interviews that I did during a study trip to Brooklyn, New York, as well as in research (Curran 2007 & 2010, Ferm & Jones 2016). For the urban glue to function it needs places where companies can settle in small-scale built environments close to the urban core. For this reason, it is important that an area such as Ringön does

not only exist somewhere generally. It needs to be as centrally located as it is and not on the periphery of the urban landscape.

Thrift emphasizes as well that what counts as maintenance and repair is constantly extending into new fields; as wide apart as repair of DNA (in the biological domain), to do-it-yourself home maintenance of gardens and cars. Thrift does not set up a clear contradiction between hosting old-time industrial services and new high- or biotech industries in cities. He highlights also that the businesses of maintenance and repair have become easier to carry out thanks to information and communications technologies since smart systems can automatize the process of maintenance and repair of machines (Thrift 2005:136). Thus, one may argue that times have changed, but this does not inevitably mean that the era of industrial services and light manufacturing is lost and over. Instead, things need to exist simultaneously and can even strengthen each other.

An era almost lost – and with it endangered skills

Located to a rather non-descript industrial warehouse by the river is a phenomenon that represents an era almost lost, regarding skills and supplies. This is the Claessons Trätjära wholesale store. This store specializes in pine tar, marine glues and oakums side by side with consultancy in traditional craftsmanship, which is needed for the restoration of wooden boats and houses. Claessons is part of a wide network of heritage actors: most of their products are available from resellers that are to be found throughout Sweden, and a couple in Norway and Denmark. Claessons represents a responsible wish to care for and attend to the past in the present. This conceptualises the heritage practices that function toward assembling futures. And for this future, the heritage actors argue that we need to remember where we come from, how we got here, what made us into what we are (compare with Danowski & Viveiros de Castro 2015:1; Swedish National Heritage Board 2018).

The above corresponds to Thrift's reasoning on urban glue, stressing the importance to remember the wide diversity of skills and abilities that support a continuous up-keep of physical fabric and how this once came about. My thesis is that this sense of importance relies on a belief that the contemporary modern world – highly technological, containerized and virtually connected – will cease to exist, sooner or later. And that when this happens, the greater human community that has become bereft of its environment will need a great portion of preparedness and skills to be able to start over again.

Thrift focuses on the abilities that can be adapted to new circumstances, and argues that cities are based in large part on the systematic re-placement of place. Hence, it is the transferable abilities that are at the core of urban robustness (Thrift 2005:135). In this sense, Thrift is not pre-occupied by tangible heritages of place.

What does this entail for the transferability of the skills and craftsmanship that lives on in businesses such as Frog Marine Services and Gotenius Shipyard – could one argue that the particular built environment in Ringön with its harbour basins and location by the river would not have a role to play? These businesses represent a professional craftsmanship and a traditionally production-based relationship with the river; a feature that is becoming increasingly rare in centrally located urban harbour areas. Is there any risk of these transferable skills becoming lost, should these particular businesses become displaced?

Surely, place and physical fabric is important. According to an interviewee who works within these industries, they live under a significant threat of being displaced should the plots by the river convert into recreational space instead of today's production space. Loosing its access to supportive physical space in this particular place would clearly hinder today's maritime activities and there is the risk of them not being able to gain appropriate space somewhere else (Johansson 1973, Curran 2007, Olshammar 2010).

An era recently found in redundant leftovers

Following the Spontaneous City workshop in 2012, a forum called the Future of Ringön was established. The aim of the forum is to realize step-to-step revitalization of Ringön into an area with a greater mix of continuous production with new creative businesses and public events. Six years on, the forum still holds regular meetings, summoning a handful of property owners, entrepreneurs and culture-led projects from within the area, as well as representatives from the municipality (Property Management Administration, City Planning administration and the District Administration). A great challenge to the revitalisation process involves how to attract more users and a greater mix of uses but to simultaneously retain the area foremost as an employment space. This should be suitable for both new and traditional industries, together with start-ups in need of affordable space (Rivercity Gothenburg Vision 2012, Ferm & Jones 2016).

The Future of Ringön group took the initiative to establish a cultural event called the Hall of Fame in 2015 together with the artist Anna Bergman. She had established a workspace and an arts exhibition space – the Iron Hall – within the area about a year earlier. Another somewhat culturally denoted project is Saltet (the Salt of Ringön), which began in January 2016. The Saltet project aims at connecting creative businesses in need of space with landlords within Ringön that are in need of tenants.

Many present entrepreneurs and property owners have supported these two projects. For instance by allowing building facades to be furnished with street art, joining meetings and discussions about the future of the area, and through the

engagement in a street festival, Ö-festen (the Island Party). Ö-festen has been arranged three times by now, in the month of September in 2016, 2017 and 2018. A different kind of event called Swap Meet took place in May 2017, and specifically appealed to motorcycle-, automobile-, and marine interested people with vital connections to existing businesses within Ringön. These arrangements have been suggested by Ringön entrepreneurs and administered by Saltet.

During the Ö-festen and Swap Meet events, a beer garden was installed in a park adjacent to one of the harbour basins, with sales of locally brewed beer. In addition, plenty of second-hand and small market sales took place along the Järnmalm Street close to the river. The events and beer garden attracted plenty of people. Still, if the aim is to preserve a unique maritime characteristic of Ringön, one need to acknowledge the continuous need for access to the water body for industrial uses. Now, this particular beer garden was temporary, and occupied a very small parcel of all available land by the river. Nevertheless one must note that should these kinds of uses multiply and become vast they will bring qualitative transformations in their wake.

Admittedly, the Saltet project, during its inception, *did* conceptualise and highlight Ringön as a not-yet-established creative oasis (En tillåtande oas på Ringön 2015), also visible from the project web page:

> Nobody knows what will happen to Ringön in the long run. The only certain thing is that the area will change, just like other old, centrally located industrial environments change, all over the world. […] Let's seize as much positive energy as possible from the conversion. Let this period stay for long. Let it be organic. Let people who root out here control the development. But please, make the stones start rolling. (The Salt of Ringön, web: 2016. Translated from the Swedish by the author).

The lyrical text on Saltet's website show a great deal of commitment to an area that should stay multifaceted. Yet, the members of Saltet stress that Ringön is designated for re-zoning and future transformation. Thus, the project has been based on a conception that the creative oasis of Ringön might just survive for short a while awaiting larger transformations to come. The industrial character, then, is seen as more or less redundant – while the creative oasis itself is perceived as alive and constantly-in-motion. The interested parties thus presuppose a collective *us* that is constantly creating the world anew in any recently identified redundant urban environment where no particular geographic site is that important in itself.

Some visionary work done by Saltet shows that in transformative processes of industrial space, in Ringön and elsewhere, existing uses tend to be ignored or made invisible. Having said this, one ought to also reflect over Thrift's observation

that much of urban narratives, partly also the one I present here, demonstrate a "temporal politics of foreboding, the sense that round the corner lies something rotten, something to be fearful of" (Thrift 2005: 143). He reminds the reader that

> there is another kind of temporal politics that is also possible, a politics that amplifies the sense that around every corner is an opportunity – to open up and take hold of the future, to endow it with values like care and compassion, to value expectancy. (Thrift 2005: 143-144)

Therefore, I will now, inspired again by Thrift, shed light on opportunities that seem to sprout thanks to the Ö-festen, Swap Meet, beer garden, Iron Hall, Saltet, and more. I wish to emphasize that social relations between long-time established entrepreneurs, property owners, newly founded design companies and artists have strengthened thanks to these events. According to interviewees and as stated in meetings, it is apparent that the events have made people in Ringön come together like never before. Primarily local entrepreneurs were selling goods along the Järnmalm Street and they have come to socialise and get to know each other better thanks to the many joint events. After the first festival, one of the local entrepreneurs turned to Saltet and suggested them to found the local newsletter, Ö-posten, which includes short texts about the history of the area and portraits of people working and spending time in Ringön, and their specific places. The newsletter keeps strengthening the social relations within Ringön.

The Ö-fest (Island Party) in September 2016. This event has been arranged three times to date by the Saltet project together with existing entrepreneurs. It has attracted 10 000 to 15 000 visitors. Will such events, along with strengthened social relations in Ringön, protect the area from gentrification or rather accelerate such a process? Photo: by the author.

From results found in an earlier study, I have come to understand that if social cohesion is lacking among users and entrepreneurs, and if neighbours stigmatize and question each other, total transformation and large-scale displacements will happen more easily – almost valued as salvation (Olshammar 2002). In this perspective, the strengthened social relations within Ringön, that includes so many diverse actors, is a valuable asset to build from to hinder gentrification.

The two faces of gentrification

In the above, my intention has been to understand something about the why, by whom and from which horizon, that stakeholders support a certain urban development. As stated, this has been in order to distort the gentrification narrative, but – to clarify – *not* the concept of gentrification per se. Rather, I aim to question a tendency of too easily referring to gentrification whenever artists move into an industrial district, or stakeholders make requests for change, investment or revitalization. This being said, in the following I will turn to gentrification research in order to further deepen the understanding of transforming processes in Ringön.

The term gentrification was once established to describe "residential-to-residential conversion of property" (Pratt 2009: 1043), thus describing a process in which more affluent middle-class people, in line with increased investments, displace working-class residents from urban neighbourhoods. Similarities have been identified through how digitally based industries push out traditional manufacturing industries, or via how high-tech industries fuel office rents and undermine business start-up ecosystems. In addition, market pressures to "release industrial land for housing" (Ferm & Jones 2016: 2) are adequately defined as gentrification too, especially if working-class industrial space is transformed into new-built residential development for the middle classes (Slater 2006: 745). In respect to Williamsburg, New York city, the geographer Winifred Curran suggests that soaring real estate costs were a bigger threat to businesses than international competition or increased labour costs (Curran 2007: 1428). Consequently, the concept of gentrification has come to reveal its usefulness in interpreting socioeconomic and demographic change in industrial areas as well as in residential areas (Smith 1996, Pratt 2009, Ferm & Jones 2016, Gainza 2016).

But how can one explain the reasons for gentrification, and its effects? Within the gentrification research a theoretical divide has existed for decades, between researchers who explain gentrification from a production-side perspective (speaking about rents, land values, and tax reductions), and those who instead put forward consumption-side explanations, inspired by a narrative of culture, consumption, and choice (see more in Slater 2006; Lees, Slater & Wyly 2010: 81-84). Outside of this theoretical conflict there have been researchers, among them Sharon Zukin,

who early on combined the perspectives and tried to explain gentrification by way of joint assessments (Zukin 1989). Both perspectives are relevant to try and understand what is currently happening in Ringön.

The production-side of gentrification – Property development

Again, how can revitalization be realized in practice and industrial gentrification consequently hindered? Certainly, one has to affirm that the visions for Ringön have given rise to quite a complex planning situation, almost from the beginning. Two aspects are important to consider carefully in order realizing the vision: land ownership and zoning regulations. The question of land ownership corresponds to gentrification research that explains gentrification from a production-side perspective, while zoning regulations correspond to a consumption-side explanation.

Regarding land ownership: Most of the proprietors do not own the land they operate upon, but only the buildings. They lease the land from the municipality of Gothenburg. One of my interviewees, an entrepreneur within repair and light industry, reasoned that the existing ownership structure probably better suits proprietors like him than professional landlords. Representatives for the latter, in my interviews and in the Future of Ringön meetings, argue that the land lease contracts, lasting as they do for 20–25 years only, are unwise in the facilities development business. This structure restricts the interest from banks to loan money for investment, they argue, as two decades constitute too short a time for amortization. Hence, the land lease contracts are repeatedly up for debate.

But what do the landlords and entrepreneurs intend to do, regarding investments? Can one say that their investment plans relate to how they conceptualise Ringön? There are no clear-cut borders between the different perspectives. A couple of interviewees have opposite interests regarding the land lease contracts, although they have the same position in other respects. They both own their buildings and both conceptualise Ringön as representing an era still alive with successful industrial services and light manufacturing. One of them is a manufacturer of metal boarding and roofs (Lundby Plåt) that has developed his building to suit this particular business. In interview he tells me that it has been an economic relief for him to lease the land from the municipality. He figures that the cost of the land (the full real estate) would be out of reach for him. Purchasing it is not an option.

The other interviewee represents a large real estate company, Castellum. According to its self-definition, the company is "one of Sweden's most prominent property-developers" (Castellum 2018). It is of interest to Castellum to keep a diversity of properties and as long as the City of Gothenburg keeps zoning an area for industry, they will develop and manage industrial properties to meet customers' and tenants' needs, this representative explains. But to be able to do so they

are in need of a longer planning and investment horizon than given within the 20-25 years land lease contracts. They outright wish to buy out the land. Consequently, both Lundby Plåt and Castellum support continuous industrial activities, and the structure of land ownership will not directly affect the development towards gentrification as long as zoning regulations remain in place. Should zoning or the structure of land ownership change Lundby Plåt would risk becoming displaced, while Castellum would be able to adapt to the new regulations.

The entrepreneur mentioned earlier who repeats that the manufacturing era is already lost is one among few in Ringön who already has full ownership over his property. Hence he does not have a land lease contract with the municipality. One may infer that for an entrepreneur with land ownership in an attractive urban location, it would be profitable and tempting to turn the current industrial service business into real estate investments.[4] Why should one keep managing space to support light manufacturing or industrial services? From Williamsburg Winifred Curran has shown that local entrepreneurs, despite long personal connections to an area, at times are the ones to force property development and even gentrification in their area:

> Some of the most ardent advocates for rezoning and variances and opponents of manufacturing districts are business owners who own real estate in the affected areas. […] A community board member expressed his frustration with industrial business owners because they would often not act in the interest of the preservation of manufacturing. (Curran 2007: s 1437)

I understand the frustration expressed by the community board member in the quotation. But, I also have to admit that for someone who truly doubts that light manufacturing and industrial services have any legitimate space in contemporary work and business markets – not least in the heart of big cities with less opportunities to develop and prosper – it is not too peculiar, cynical or money-oriented a thing, to desire to turn properties into something different.

This said, I question whether the industrial services and light-manufacturing era has really come to an end in Ringön. From three surveys done 1978-2012 it has become apparent that the businesses here have adapted quite well to a new era with containerized shipping, high-tech and knowledge industries (Verkstadsindustriutredning 1978: 344, Markstrategi 1992: 26, Spontaneous City, 2012). Thus, developing space in cities does not always have obvious connections to new requirements. Investment in facilities might rather be driven by a re-definition of space to aspire to a new market, reflecting the consumer-side of gentrification. Before delving into this aspect, I will present a change and investment that is sometimes

accused of kick-starting gentrification, but that could actually be a valuable action against gentrification.

Investments and maintenance to hinder substantial displacement

Listening in on meetings and interviews with stakeholders in the Future of Ringön network, one reason for their interest in debating the land lease contracts with the municipal officials is because, as they see it, these contracts and prevailing industrial zoning leaves them without jurisdiction to change things even in smaller steps. Taking one of these property owners as example it was apparent that the reasons for investments would not be to seek higher profit. To this actor, owning and letting space for a diversity of businesses, and being able to adjust space for new uses and needs, would be profitable enough. The rents are not that high in Ringön but his buildings are fully occupied and his family-owned real estate business has some account. The interviewee felt anxious about the situation though. If he cannot invest in line with new uses and needs, properties will dilapidate. This in turn might lead to a situation where the city will want to re-appropriate the land and rule the transformation themselves or sell the land to the highest bidder, he reasoned. Should the city or large developers come to rule the game, they would have power and influence enough to demolish all and give way to a thorough transformation. This private building owner also remarked that he cannot, like many of the large developers with hundreds of employees, sit still and wait for new city plans and re-zoning to enter the scene some ten or twenty years ahead.

This highlights the question whether municipal land ownership better secures against thorough transformation, displacements and gentrification than private ownership would do. Such a comparison would be an interesting survey by its own. What can be stated all the same is that maintaining buildings, tidying streets and welcoming new investments (to a certain degree) will work in a positive manner against thorough transformations and substantial displacements. Even the well-known theoretician on gentrification, geographer Neil Smith, argues that investments, to a certain degree, in order to retain the value of properties can be made to individual buildings while the area as a whole still remains immune against sweeping gentrifying processes. It depends on how thorough the maintenance is and whether neighbours are investing in a similar manner (Smith 1996: 63-64).

Asking the property owners that I refer to here about their visions and aims with holding properties, they describe how they enjoy the possibility to adapt the utility of space in line with whatever comes up. They want Ringön to develop according to its own conditions while simultaneously reinforcing the variety among businesses and supporting co-existence between different activities. Thus representing something in-between an "era still alive" and an "era recently found". Additionally, the interviewees evince being affected by newcomers such as Saltet and

a diversity of design companies and beer and coffee brewers that have established themselves in the area. What these stakeholders wish for most of all – at this particular moment – is for the City of Gothenburg to clearly state what it is that the municipality wants. What municipal directions can the property owners rely on for the future, they ask (Ringöns fastighetsägarförening 2018).

The consumption-side of gentrification – re-zoning and drifts toward a changing character

One looming dispute between diverse activities and businesses in Ringön is the fact that the area has received a lot of attention lately in local newspapers, research, university education and social media (some of it in direct relation to the doings of the Iron Hall and Saltet). But, as pointed out by the owner of Gotenius Shipyard, the media coverage has mostly recognised newcomers from the creative industries and art, and has therefore missed out on businesses such as his: well-established shipyards, repair shops, small-scale industrial production. In other words, the media coverage has made the shipyard and its likes seem redundant and in need of support (Lundberg 2017). Additionally, a couple of informants describe that a heated discussion has taken place in social media regarding whether arts projects in Ringön would risk kick-starting a gentrification process. In addition, at least one article in the local newspaper has suggested that gentrification is already on its way (Jedvik 2017).

These are not too unexpected reactions since municipalities or facility developers have often used cultural events to signal the inception of a new era and attract people to former industrial sites (Roult & Lefebvre 2013; Halle & Tiso 2014; Gainza 2016). Even if there has been a modest and more or less spontaneous migration of artists and cultural producers to former industrial sites, they "in general trigger gentrification processes because their presence is attractive to more affluent consumers and dwellers that share their aesthetic values and lifestyle" (Gainza 2016:2).

Initiatives such as Saltet and the Iron Hall have been quite successful in attracting new visitors and enterprises. Although in line with the municipal vision documents, the initiatives have come to reveal an inherent complexity in the visions for Ringön: the need to re-zone the area, at least partly. Corrected zoning regulation is a core problem of industrial gentrification. Should zoning regulations allow for a restaurant and alcohol licensing, for instance, that might enforce a precedent for comparable uses. From similar cases in Manhattan and Brooklyn it has been apparent that landlords have transformed their buildings and industrial neighbourhoods before these have been formally re-zoned. By illegally letting industrial space to apartments, restaurants and retail stores, one creates a demand for more such, but legal, transformation in the long run (Zukin 1989, Curran 2007 & 2010,

Friedrich 2012, interview/study trip in Brooklyn 2018-01-05).

A couple of years ago, as Saltet initiated their project, the members worked to develop a creative oasis out of the somewhat dilapidated but also attractive and resourceful site that they had observed in Ringön. In their narrative, the very exploration of the rough and unordered site seemed to be at the core of their agenda. Their ambition was to stay for short a while only. In a project plan they even suggested that artists and creative people are like migratory birds that will keep seeking new places whenever one place becomes too established and ordered. They figured that Ringön was designated for future transformation like other old, centrally located industrial environments. In addition, and somewhat contradictory to the idea of migratory birds, they suggested how Ringön would develop into an attractive mix for urban dwellers and tourists, but with the exception that old manufacturing businesses would endure side by side with musicians, artists, urban gardeners, designers, carpenters – "creative people of any kind" (En tillåtande oas på Ringön 2015: 6).

A few years later Saltet has facilitated a development in line with the more protective side of their ambition, that see the endurance of manufacturing businesses side by side with new creative businesses and art studios. The process have even come to inspire others in starting-up activities with the ambition to – among other things – strengthen the co-existence between diverse businesses. A project on circular economy, the Circle Island, started in 2017 and has been co-operating with Anna Bergman and the Iron Hall, from the objective to engage both old-time entrepreneurs and new creative businesses in the redefinition and redesign of old products and waste, in order to minimize negative impacts from a world of consumption (Owe 2017). Hence, the idea is to engage quite directly with environmental sustainability issues, while simultaneously doing it in a manner that intends to build a viable co-existence between the industrial services and light manufacturing side of the urban glue, and the cultural-designer side of it. Without such co-existence a possible conflict emerges: namely, that the cultural and creative businesses might trigger the rents to rise; lower the tolerance to noise and smell; and set off displacements.

Some of the creative businesses that have established themselves in Ringön might be defined as something in-between the manufacturing side of the urban glue with the designer side of production: That is, they work with small-scale-manufacturing, besides designing new products. A couple brews beer and roasts coffee in industrial facilities, and serves it locally during certain events. These are activities that dovetail with the idea to both keep Ringön's manufacturing industries while also attracting a larger diversity of enterprises, including creative industries. In the field of urban studies though, the serving of espresso, latte and locally brewed ale (that has another cultural capital to it than mug of drip coffee

and a pint of lager) has become a signifier for gentrification (Zukin 1995, Mathews & Picton 2014). The reason why is because they tend to attract audiences that are new to an industrial or working-class neighbourhood, and colonise space in a manner that displaces other uses.

For conclusion – keeping an apocalyptic end at bay

Things seem to be running pretty well in Ringön and Gothenburg's largest local newspaper GöteborgsPosten has highlighted the area favourably in a series of articles. Yet, a couple of persons that are engaged in Saltet and the Iron Hall have told me that these projects and their activities have been criticized for using artists to run municipal and developers' errands, and for possibly initiating an industrial gentrification process (compare with de Klerk 2015).

While there might be such a correlation in many cases, in this paper I problematize whether correlations are all that clear-cut between certain newcomers (in art and culture for instance) and gentrification. For this reason, while surveying whether revitalization can be realized in practice and industrial gentrification consequently hindered, my objective has been to look deeper into the connection between actors, change and gentrification. I have tried to demonstrate that stakeholders' differing conceptualisations about Ringön (whether it is to be considered an era lost, still alive, almost lost or recently found) affect which kind of development that those stakeholders find realistic and desired.

Firstly, much urban development in harbour and industrial areas, that have been underway for more than three decades by now, considers Ringön and similar places as representing an era already lost, that ought to develop into a site for offices and high tech industries. Should one understand this as displacement and define it gentrification? No, I would say if the transformed areas still welcome the same kind of users although introducing new uses. And yes, if working-class industrial space is transformed into recreational, office or residential development for the middle classes.

Secondly, an alternate development has been presented that conceptualises Ringön as representing an era still alive. A wide spectrum of stakeholders and other interested parties has been listened to in a survey or took part in a workshop. These actions led up to new visionary plans that suggest revitalizing while not displacing existing users, or gentrifying the site. Core aspects that are put to the fore correspond to such qualities that Nigel Thrift defines as the urban glue: a rich variety of abilities within repair and maintenance that make cities robust and adaptable, along with an urban street pattern and small-scale buildings that support such enterprises.

Thirdly, looking closer into a couple of maritime enterprises in Ringön, Frog

Marine Services and Gotenius Shipyard, one is reminded of an era that is almost lost and in need of protection. Namely, a time when maritime businesses, with a production-based relationship to the river, still were located to the centre of cities. A possible conflict of interest lay in the accessibility to the water body. Even small changes to this accessibility might bring great transformation to the urban landscape. The proximity to the river is put forward as an asset in the visions for Ringön, and parts of the non-productive riverbank have been occupied temporarily during newly established events. In gentrification terms: should re-zoning come about to make the vicinity of the water available for establishing permanent structures and enterprises such as walks, beer gardens or restaurants, then most probably the industrial maritime businesses will be displaced.

Fourth, conceptualising Ringön as an era recently found entails interpreting existing qualities, such as affordable space and robust physical structures, as offering a fertile ground for new enterprises. The perspective also entails interpreting existing businesses as redundant and in need of injection. The Future of Ringön group together with an artist jointly initiated the event Hall of Fame in 2015: The aim was to attract a diversity of Gothenburg citizens to Ringön in order to make them see that this area is an asset to the full city and not just some rough old harbour site. They wished to both strengthen the area's right to existence, and attract new tenants. In line with this initiative, the Saltet project was established in 2016, with the aim to connect creative businesses in need of space with landlords in Ringön in need of tenants. In the beginning Saltet based their activities on a conception that the creative oasis that they had discovered might just survive for short a while, awaiting larger transformations to come: thus, themselves seeing gentrification as inevitable and not entirely unwelcome.

In the process the members have altered their attitudes: Both regarding their interpretation of creative people as migratory birds and regarding the change of Ringön into a more touristic-like inner-city district. Today Saltet works hard to make it possible for creative businesses to be able to develop something more stable (up to five years, at least) by receiving temporary permissions while awaiting new zoning regulations. The Saltet project meant to seed a new era (a creative oasis) out of supposedly redundant leftovers, but its members have also come to realize the great value that traditional industrial entrepreneurs bring. More than ever, Saltet now wishes to protect these entrepreneurs' abilities to remain secure through times of change. Thus, starting out from a viewpoint that gentrification might even be something attractive, and for which a creative oasis might act as a stepping-stone, the Saltet members have come to acknowledge that the specific Ringön area and its character of light-manufacturing is the focal point, and not just any geographic site.

To my view, the most productive way to understand Ringön is to conceptu-

alise it as representing an era still alive and as a valuable site for urban glue activities. This approach solves the dilemma of at once keeping the area's industrial and maritime character, while simultaneously attracting new advanced businesses and creative industries. The urban glue, provided for in the affordable, adaptable and robust built environment of Ringön, welcomes high tech, smart systems, and traditional craftsmanship to exist side by side: abilities that will help strengthening the resilient qualities of the city at large. To dramatize my point and paraphrase Danowski and Viveiros de Castro, an area such as this will help keep an apocalyptic end of the world, as we know it, at bay.

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Notes

[1]The field studies have included place visits, interviews and document surveys in combination with participant observation in meetings and workshops arranged within the so-called Future of Ringön network. I focus my studies to this network since it acts as a prolongation of the two visionary documents that set out the new direction for Ringön. The interviewees have been selected from their respective engagement in the network. Interviews have been semi-structured in order to cover similar themes, but otherwise take the form of open conversations. They have been recorded and transcribed. The meetings have been documented in field-notes.
[2]For a more thorough description about Ringön's history and development, in Swedish, please see Olshammar 2016: 22-26.
3SOU 1982:10: 23, 33; Schön 2000: 435-440; Öhrström 2004: 44-57; Jörnmark 2005: 114-118.
[4]I do not claim that profitability is the main aim for this particular entrepreneur. As he explains over telephone, in comment to my submitted paper, his main reason to debate the ownership situation, and encourage larger transformations to Ringön, originates from a complex juridical situation regarding who will be deemed responsible for handling the accrued pollution from days past (including pollution from neighbouring activities) impacting the local waterbody: Today's entrepreneurs or the municipality?

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Remaking the People's Park: Heritage Renewal Troubled by Past Political Struggles?

By Johan Pries & Erik Jönsson

Abstract

This article explores how a series of heritage-driven renewal plans in the Swedish city Malmö dealt with a landscape deeply shaped by radical politics: Malmö People's Park (*Folkets Park*). Arguing against notions of heritage where the past is essentially considered a malleable resource for present commercial or political concerns, we scrutinise plans for the People's Park from the 1980s onward to emphasise how even within renewal attempts built on seemingly uncontroversial nostalgic readings of the park's past, tensions proved impossible to keep at bay. This had profound effects on the studied development process.

Established by the city's social-democratic labour movement in 1891, the People's Park is both enmeshed with historical narratives, and full of material artefacts left by a century when the Social Democrats had a decisive presence in the city. As municipal planners and politicians targeted this piece of land, the tensions they had to navigate included not only what present ideas to bring to bear on the making of heritage, but also how to deal with past politics and the park as a material landscape. Our findings point to how the kinds of labour politics that had faded for decades became impossible to dismiss in urban renewal. Both political representations and de-politicising nostalgic representations of Malmö People's Park's past provoked (often unexpected) resistance undoing planning visions.

Keywords: Urban planning, cultural heritage, socio-material landscapes, Malmö, People's Parks, urban politics, political movements, historical geography

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Introduction

For the 20th century's first six decades, the People's Park (*Folkets Park*) was arguably *the* destination for entertainment acts and artists visiting Malmö, a then rapidly growing industrial port town in southern Sweden (Billing and Stigendal 1994). But, established by Malmö's budding socialist labour movement in 1891, the park was also a regionally important political meeting place. 12,000 people gathered here for suffrage protests in 1902. 10,000 people visited the park each day during the 1909 general strike, and 20,000 people assembled here to protest the death sentences given to Italian-American radicals Nicola Sacco and Bartholomeo Vanzetti in 1927 (Ståhl 2005:66-68).

The first of about 700 People's Parks established nationally, the Malmö park spearheaded the Swedish labour movement's attempts to construct co-operatively owned green spaces as sites for political experimentation decades before democratic reforms opened up the state to socialist influence (Andersson 1987, Ståhl 2005). But when the social-democratic labour movement lost some of its former momentum towards the end of the 20th century, and new cultural forms had come to dominate, Malmö People's Park was (like most People's Parks) increasingly regarded as a derelict remnant of a dying political and popular culture.

In this article we focus on how municipal actors thus strove to reshape or 're-vive' this park, accounting for two decades of intense and sometimes contentious redevelopment attempts following the renewal visions issued after a centre-right electoral coalition's municipal election win in 1985 (the first time since 1918 that the Social Democrats were not in power in Malmö). We seek to uncover how renewal plans anchoring future visions in past processes were continuously troubled by the park's intensely politically charged landscape. In doing so we seek to contribute to two debates.

First, we shed light on how local concerns with Malmö's urban renewal relates to historical narratives. The literature on Malmö's post-industrial transformation tend to emphasise neoliberal policies enacted by *both* social-democratic and right-wing politicians through narratives of rupture with the industrial era underwriting post-welfarist policies (Baeten 2012, Dannestam 2009, Holgersen 2017, Mukhtar-Landgren 2012). Renewal plans for Malmö People's Park were however more politically contentious than more abstract visions of city-wide rupture and rebirth. Here, conflicts thus tend to follow party lines, partly troubling the emphasis on Malmö's late 20th and early 21st century development as one of relative consensus around a common project of leaving the old, industrial city behind.

Second, we study plans for the People's Park in dialogue with scholarship on heritage and historical landscapes, arguing that heritage-based renewal of sites with vivid political pasts' risks inviting contradictions into planning that renewal narratives seek to play down or even silent. We do not claim that the past's politics

always troubles present plans. Rather, we underscore the precarious work of urban planning operating through a heritage discourse that demands that future visions are anchored in material artefacts and cultural practices left by past processes. We thus underscore the role of the material landscape in the struggles over the People's Parks politically charged past.

In making sense of the People's Park's redevelopment, our emphasis lies on how the past provided both problems and opportunities for renewal plans, and the consequences this presence of the past in planning had within attempts to reshape or remake the park. We thus explore two interrelated sets of questions about planning and urban heritage. First, how did various renewal plans marshal different periods and different remaining material artefacts to bolster different narratives, and how did this allow cultural and material remnants of the past in the landscape to shape the renewal plans? Second, how did tensions between the heritage narratives deployed in planning play out, how did these tensions articulate with political conflicts in the present, and how did this influence the ability for renewal plans to realise their visions?

In the next section we anchor our account to recent debates on heritage utilisation and the morphology of landscapes (i.e. how landscapes are shaped, see Mitchell 2012) before providing more background on Malmö People's Park and the nationwide People's Park movement in section three. Thereafter follow five sections where we account for how planners' and politicians' attempts to reshape the People's Park were troubled by the past they mobilised. In the conclusion we summarise our account, and what it tells us about politically charged pasts in urban renewal projects seeking to marshal cultural heritage.

The article, the first product of a collaborative project on the People's Parks movement in Sweden, is based on intensive archival work on Malmö People's Park by one of the authors. The article primarily draws on primary sources uncovered in Malmö municipal archives. The Swedish constitution (through the *offentlighetsprincipen* section) states that that all public authorities must retain and make publicly accessible records of not only formal decisions, but also all documents used to make decisions including memoranda and letters. While not always followed to the letter, this legislation enables very detailed archival research on urban planning. The different elected municipal councils (*nämnder*) that make decisions before they are debated in City Hall (*stadsfullmäktige*), and to a lesser extent respective administrative departments (*förvaltningar*) that prepare proposals for the council and have the responsibility to implement decisions, often have very complete files. In this article we study how cultural heritage figured in Malmö People's Park based in the different archives of Malmö City Council, the Technical Council (*Tekniska nämnden*) and the Planning Council (*Stadsbyggnadsnämnden*) from 1985 until the present. In addition, material from temporary cross-departmental

renewal groups, whose fragmentary archives have been uncovered in temporary, informal folders at Malmö Municipality's main building, is used. Since these documents themselves are a direct product of the processes we trace, they enable a close reading of how renewal work grappled with the park's politically loaded past. Combined with a strategic use of secondary sources (primarily public debates on the park in local papers, during moments of important decisions), the quality of these primary sources opens for detailed analysis of the issue that we seek to home in on.

Theoretical anchoring: Heritage, landscape, politics

At the heart of our account of Malmö People's Park's renewal sit two seemingly opposite ways of understanding heritage and the production of urban landscapes, read in dialogue. On the one end heritage signifies contemporary practices adapting a seemingly completely malleable past, aptly summarised in Tunbridge and Ashworth's view of history as "what a historian regards as worth recording and heritage [as] what contemporary society chooses to inherit and to pass on" (1996: 6). In line with this approach, prominent heritage scholar Rodney Harrison argues that "heritage is primarily not about the past, but instead about our relationship with the present and the future" (2013: 4).

To Ashworth (2009:107), that heritage is constructed makes it "ideal for place–product differentiation in search of unique selling point, or unique associations, of the place-product or place brand". Heritage can thus underpin and legitimise calls for planners and decision-makers to simply *chose* what to preserve as "urban heritage" operating "in synergy with cultural industries" to "reinvigorate socio-economic growth" (Bandarin & van Oers 2012: 118). Scholarly accounts presenting the urban landscape as nothing but a malleable resource to be exploited as heritage are, moreover joined by transnational actors in development work seeking to impose such a view, with the World Bank's *Physical Cultural Resource Safeguard Policy* perhaps the most evident example (Fleming & Campbell 2010). But while we will chart different attempts, sometimes by opposing groups, to remember specific aspects of Malmö People's Park's past and embed it in historical narratives according to present concerns, we want to move away from a position that equates heritage planning with bureaucratic memory work shaping the reception of an essentially malleable past.

Partly this is about rendering audible narratives beyond those emphasising place-marketing to thereby enable scrutinising the *struggles* shaping the histories told and the different, indeed sometimes opposing, present needs and desires such histories articulate. Such an understanding mirrors a trend of highlighting power and conflict in the writing of histories. This scholarship has primarily taken

on spatial concerns in the analysis of "memory sites" and their important role in creating national memory cultures since the late 19th century (See Schwarz 2010). Similarly, aspects of the past are actively purged from the present through the way that historical narratives single out specific elements. One example is anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot's (1995) account of how key events shaping the Caribbean are muted by both public and professional histories, making power dynamics in the historical production of geographically specific silence his key concern. Closer to our particular concerns with urban heritage is David Harvey's (1979) account of how an almost 150-year-long bitter struggle between progressive and conservative forces after the 1871 Paris Commune is contained, albeit hidden in "sepulchral silence", at the *Basilica de Sacré-Coeur* on top of Montmartre. Harvey uncovers how struggles between republicans and monarchists over whether the Basilica should be built and what it represented permeated its construction, and how political conflicts have flared up at and around the Basilica intermittently thereafter. This points both to the importance of dominant narratives, and the difficulty to completely eradicate the afterlives of intense political events (see also Ross 2015). Constructivist understandings of heritage as essentially made by historical memory-work along these lines may thus enable critical scrutiny of how hegemonic forces , despite being enmeshed in conflict, shape our understanding of the past through narrative management of space (E.g. Hammami 2012).

Undoubtedly, social-constructivist readings of heritage have much to offer, illuminating the ongoing discursive work required to establish heritage, and the conflicts that can arise within such memory work. But, claiming the world is always a text does not mean that it could ever be *only* text (Harvey 1996). In order to grasp attempts to refashion the People's Park we will thus combine constructivist perspectives on memory and history with conceptualisations that emphasise the inescapable entanglement of stories and material spaces. Against depictions of the past as resource waiting to be utilised stand accounts of heritage that are "as much about an inherited material form as about discursive connotations" and about "a present perpetually preconditioned by past processes" (Jönsson 2015: 310-311). As Lefebvre remarked in his epochal *The Production of Space* "no space ever vanishes utterly, leaving no trace". Rather, previous spaces "still enshrine the superimposed spaces […] that have occupied them" (Lefebvre 1991: 164).

Conceptualising heritage in its more traditional meaning, as inheritance (Graham et al. 2000, see also Smith 2010), this framing follows an acknowledgement of the landscape as a "concretization or reification of the social relations that go into its making" (Mitchell 2003: 240). Accordingly, landscape is best conceptualised as a socio-material relation, a "morphology" produced by numerous actors and groups struggling to create the kind of material landscape they desire, or need (Mitchell 2012). If constructivist accounts of heritage emphasise memory work

and historical narratives as the key way through which heritage is created, landscape-geographical perspectives insist that socio-material inheritances disturb any notion of heritage as simply the product of narratives.

Though made in the present, heritage renewal's reliance on historically produced material landscapes has certain implications. Planning bureaucrats might make heritage by drawing on hegemonic narratives, but this happens in circumstances existing already, not so much transmitted as text as inherited as material legacy. In studying the many failures of the heritage-driven renewal for Malmö People's Park since 1985, we will illustrate how heritage planning became destabilised in the struggle to contain past politics, present in the uses and artefacts of landscape, in its historical narratives.

Malmö, the emergence of social democracy, and the People's Park

Malmö People's Park might today easily be read as a relatively commonplace public green space. The meticulously well-maintained park, located on the periphery of Malmö's city centre in the old working class *Möllevången* district, is certainly well-attended on sunny summer days. As of fall 2018 the park contains several large playgrounds, a food truck area, a book exchange, a children's theatre scene, a science centre, an events centre, two pubs with beer gardens, and a nightclub/concert venue, that together draw large crowds on weekends. But still

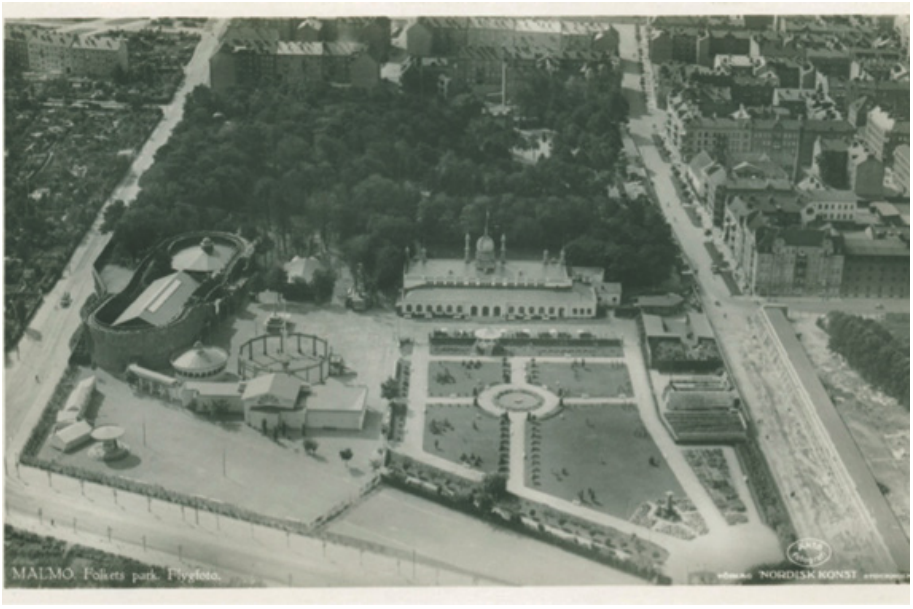

Fig. 1 Malmö Folkets Park, seen from the North, 1932. Photo courtesy of Malmö stad (The Åke Jarleby Collection).

the park appears far less remarkable than it did a hundred odd years ago.

Before further telling the story of this park, a brief introduction of Malmö and the strong position of the Social Democrats therein is however in place. Like many port cities Malmö grew rapidly around the turn of the 20th century. Primarily this was the result of a booming foodstuff industry turning the produce of the fertile southern Swedish plains into consumer goods. Thereafter textile mills followed, before large-scale factories around the *Kockums* shipyards came to dominate after the second world war (Billing and Stigendal 1994). As in many other growing cities, Malmö was home to a heterodox leftist milieu of unionist radicals, republican revolutionaries, and pre-Marxist socialists. In the 1880s it however became the hotbed for a more "German" kind of socialism that sought to build new kinds of unions linked to social-democratic party politics (Edgren 2016). It was in Malmö that August Palm in November 1881 held what is generally considered the first social-democratic speech in Sweden. It was here that the Social Democrats first started a major daily newspaper, *Arbetet*, and it was here that both the country's first People's House and first People's Park were established. Malmö was also the birthplace of Per Albin Hansson, social-democratic party leader 1925-1946, Prime Minister 1932-1946, and generally considered one of the most important Swedish politicians ever. And, as we noted above, Malmö municipality was dominated by the Social Democrats for almost seven successive decades between 1918 and 1985 (Billing & Stigendal 1994, Holgersen 2017).

This is the municipal context wherein we can place Malmö People's Park, a park that immediately after its 1891 opening became both a key resource for the city's left and a popular destination for workers from across the region (Billing 1991). Here political gatherings could continue uninterrupted despite the lack of freedom of assembly in late 19th century Sweden. Here working class families could spend their Sundays (Billing 1991, Ståhl 2005). The park, previously the leisure garden of one of Malmö's most prominent merchant families (the *Suells*), was initially rented in secret by the workers' movement through a front man. But after a widely successful first year, raking in money by providing cheap access to an outdoor picnic space and through selling coffee from an improvised cart, the workers' movement decided to use profits thereby made to form a stock company and buy the park (Billing 1991). With this deal the Swedish worker's movement had acquired its first own urban green space.

Malmö People's Park was not only an important site in terms of being the spark that ignited a nation-wide People's Park movement. The site was also deeply connected to the socialist labour movement's ambitions of becoming the dominant political and cultural force during the city's early 20th century transformation into a major industrial port town. Herein, the park soon became a key cultural space for challenging Malmö's elite's hegemony. Political meetings were thus com-

bined with an increasingly elaborate cultural program. The first restaurant opened already in 1894. Thereafter followed theatre stages, dance halls, a large cinema, a small zoo, and a large fun fair. The People's Park thus became *the* entertainment destination in Malmö, linking almost all forms of popular culture to the Social Democrats' struggle for urban and national hegemony (Billing & Stigendal 1994, Billing 1991). The park however began to lose ground with the increasing sway of mass youth culture in the 1960 and 1970s. Already in 1965 plans to transform the Moorish Pavilion (centre of Fig. 1) into a conference centre linked through a mall to a hotel to be built next to the park were discussed (Haraldsson 2017:86). In 1976 the, then still comfortably social-democratic City Council, decided to aid the park through acquiring a minority share in the stock company owning the park. In return, the municipality promised to care for the park's landmark buildings and use municipal workers to maintain park grounds. Thereby the park was transformed from a social movement space into a curious kind of private-public park partnership. The park now simultaneously functioned as a public space, as a living historical heritage, and a commercial enterprise through the private firms leasing park buildings (Billing & Stigendal 1994, Malmö kommunfullmäktige 1976).

Ten years later a small group of young, ideologically driven neoliberals had seized control of Malmö's branch of The Moderate Unity Party (*Moderata Samlingspartiet*), Sweden's main centre-right party (see Pries 2017 for a longer discussion). With the help of a fragile electoral coalition including liberals and far right regional populists (*Skånepartiet*), The Moderates ousted Malmö's Social Democrats in the 1985 election (Billing & Stigendal 1994). The new political majority immediately set to work, seeking to inaugurate "new times for Malmö" (Ollén 1985). This struggle to change what had for 67 years? been a social-democratic city was fought on many fronts. But one of the high-profile projects launched in the fall of 1985 was new plans for the municipality's role in the People's Park.

1985: Nostalgia for entrepreneurial Social Democrats

Importantly, the Social Democrats' opponents were not only targeting stories told about Malmö, but the very physical landscape that functioned as a manifestation of social-democratic Malmö (see Mitchell(2008) for a discussion on landscape and ideology). Already before the 1985 election conservatives, liberals, and far right populists had criticised that public funds were used for a project including conservation efforts in attempts to find new uses for the struggling park. One example was the right's resistance to budgeting 5 million SEK for renovating the park's footpaths, drainage and lightning (Malmö Kommunfullmäktige 1984). Another example was resistance to plans, successfully introduced by the Social Democrats, for refurbishing and converting the aging 1903 wood-frame Moorish

Pavilion restaurant into a municipally run "multifunctional meeting space" (Malmö Kommunfullmäktige 1985). Would-be-Mayor Joakim Ollén thus had several examples to marshal when he in the 1985 election pamphlet targeted park preservation efforts as illustrations of an unhealthy relationship between the state and civil society in Malmö, enabled by decades of unbroken social-democratic rule (Ollén 1985: 34). The People's Park had for decades been a resource for the Social Democrats' hegemonic ambitions (Billing & Stigendal 1994). But by 1985 the need to funnel municipal funds to maintain the park as an accessible public space infused in political heritage had clearly become a liability for the Social Democrats, eagerly exploited by Malmö's right.

The combination of narratives highlighting Malmö's Social Democrats' close connection to the park and the need to use municipal resources to preserve and make this site publically accessible created a symbolically salient object for Ollén's election campaign rhetoric. But the park proved a less easy target for renewal. Ollén's first attempt to remake the park was marked by his campaign's outright antagonistic attitude. In a highly publicised move he led an attempt to wrestle control over the curiously private-public entity that the park had by now become by appointing a new board of directors. Notwithstanding rhetorical flair and threats of legal action this tactic failed spectacularly. The Social Democratic partly retained control of Malmö People's Park by pooling its representatives on the board as direct shareowners *and* as Malmö's largest minority party (Hallencreutz 1985a, Hallencreutz 1985b, Hallencreutz 1985c, Jönsson 1985).

Despite loudly threatening to ignore the contract stipulating that the municipality should cover the park's maintenance cost, the center-right coalition did not take an expected hardline approach. Instead of cutting municipal funding once attempts to exercise full control over the park had failed, the new majority instead opted for large-scale renewal. The exact reasons for this remain unclear. But cutting maintenance and forcing the already struggling park to close would have created a symbol for how the new majority allowed a fondly remembered social-democratic 'memory site'(Schwartz 2010) to fall into ruins. Though such a move would perhaps be in line with the more aggressive roll-back neoliberalism of the 1980s Anglo-American New Right (Peck 2013: 22-36), inaugurating their term by actively turning the park into a monument of insensitivity to Malmö's past would not be in line with Malmö's neoliberals over-arching argument that reforming the welfare state would not (despite what left critics argued, see Socialdemokraterna i Malmö 1991) spur the collapse of the city's social and cultural fabric. Already in this development one can sense how decades of intense use and labour movement activities had political consequences for how the site could now be managed. And already in this move away from the threats of closing the park, one encounters how Malmö's first democratically elected centre-right City Council had inherited

a material landscape that made particular demands. As Mitchell (2003, 2008) underscores, history matters partly through how the physical landscapes past processes produced are frequently expensive to alter.

Unable to abandon the park, mayor Ollén came to personally co-sponsor a redevelopment plan designed by a newly appointed park director to free the park from its reliance on public funds by making it compete on the market as a commercial amusement park (Söder 1986). While Malmö Municipality was cutting costs by firing employees and privatising its extensive real estate holdings (Pries 2017: 71–72), the right thus began to pour public money on social democracy's perhaps holiest ground. The new administration signed large loans for the People's Park's new rides with the silent approval of the social-democratic minority, adding up to a complete revamp of the park (Malmö kommunfullmäktige 1986).

While there certainly was a passive-aggressive hostility towards some elements of the park's past at work in these plans, the vision was not completely unmoored from history. The commercial private-public redevelopment underscored *a* particular facet of the park's past by re-launching the site as an amusement park. Future visions presented in early 1986 were thus steeped in a nostalgia for 1950s social democracy, seemingly recreating scenes from this moment of popular mass-entertainment helmed by the labour movement at its absolute peak of political and cultural power. This was the past now to be remembered. While Malmö's neoliberals were doing their best to break with the social-democratic welfarist tradition of government, the only option they saw for the People's Park was to spend considerable sums of public money to re-animate one element of this legacy.

This re-articulation of the past within a particular redevelopment vision was highly selective. It was the commercial and popular aspects of mass entertainment that was understood as an untapped potential. The political aims of the park's past operations was explicitly purged in a number of ways, most provocative perhaps by the park itself being rebranded "The Park of Malmö" (*Malmöparken*). Indeed, the park's new executive director Jan-Olof Nilsson publically made it clear that there would be "no more waving with red flags and [that no one] would check you party book" at the gate (Söder 1986).

The renewal's selective, explicitly de-politicising, re-articulation would be crucial for its later undoing. In leveraging one facet of the park's past so openly against both representations of the place tied to the labour movement and against more mundane lingering uses and attachments, the plan alienated both the core constituency of long-time park users and undermined stable cross-party support. Despite massive efforts to attract paying visitors to the park and three years of snowballing municipal spending on a succession of spectacular rides, nothing near the numbers needed for this commercial private-public venture to break even ever materialised. Instead the park's annual losses rapidly escalated, from a

few million SEK budgeted for maintenance to over 10 million SEK for publicity, wages, and carousel leases by the time the Social Democrats regained power in Malmö after the 1988 election (Folkets park AB 1990: 4). With nothing resembling the vision of a de-politicised and profitable version of 1950s mass entertainment realised, the Social Democrats prepared to drastically cut public funding. Neither the popular interest nor the political will to press on existed.

Throughout this sequence of events legacies of Malmö's People Park had been at work. Particularly interesting is how the park's solid political connotations made mobilising the site tempting for the city's centre-right political majority, but also exerted certain pressures on how this past could be used to inform future visions and their anchoring in heritage narratives. Every attempt by Malmö's first neoliberals to leverage one aspect of the park's past opened for responses emphasising forgotten aspects. Attacking the park openly in the election campaign was perhaps a way of powerfully posing the present against this symbolically salient past, but it also obliged the new administration to act. Despite furious threats to do so, allowing the park and its already aging building stock to decay further risked opening up the new administration to calls to be insensitive to Malmö's, labour-permeated, history.

While the funfair plans' use of heritage narratives certainly re-articulated the park's commercial past, what to neoliberals seemed like its most innocent aspect, this created conflicts. To make this selective use of the park's past as heritage the narrative had to be explicitly posed against the park as a living landscape still inhabited by political uses and artefacts, as the new Park Directors provocative remarks made clear. The resoundingly unenthusiastic response to a bland recreation of the park's past had several causes. But how the park's politics were ruthlessly purged by a sanitised cultural heritage renewal plan, alienating the park's still large group of supporters and visitors, is certainly one of these. Renewal sanitising the park of its strong historical link to left-wing politics as part of a contemporary conflict moreover made it easier to pull the plug on renewal schemes once the Social Democrats regained power in Malmö. This is what we turn to now.

1989: Market solutions meets cultural heritage

Though the 1985 plans for redeveloping Malmö's People's Park were sanctioned by a fragile centre-right City Council majority, they were formally the product of Malmö Folkets Park AB stock company's board of directors. There are therefore very few traces in terms of archived public records concerning these plans. How this venture came to an end, and the plan proposed to replace it, can however be found in the minutes of a temporary meeting group. Also in this work the park's accumulated uses and attachments came to figure in ways that did not allow re-

newal to proceed smoothly, again illustrating that embedding future visions in a landscape saturated by historical significance continued to prove problematic.

The meeting group for finding a permanent solution for the People's Park, appointed by the social-democratic majority, begun their work in secret in September 1989. Led by a financial consultant, this group consisted mostly of municipal bureaucrats. Having done extensive research on the fiscal state of the park, and uncovered the astronomical debt generated by the failed 1985 rebranding attempt, plans were made to drastically decrease public spending. The group discussed a range of possible ways to move forward that were all concerned with closing down the amusement park. Most radical of these were proposals to demolish the park's two biggest buildings – the already disused 1903 Moorish Pavilion restaurant and the 1939 *Amiralen* dance hall – to decrease maintenance costs and make space for commercial real estate renewal (Quist Utveckling AB 1989).

This quick-fix squarely addressed the park's immediate (debt-accumulating) past, but was unconcerned with the significance of early 20th century labour movement activity. The plan would undergo two revisions, shifting attention from the park's recent to more distant past. These revisions illustrate how the park's accumulated uses, attachments and representations as public history – and the way they were aligned with politics – forced themselves on the planners' agenda, allowing groups to confront renewal by introducing notions of the past's significance.

The park's symbolically loaded history forced revisions already within the working group's memos. Despite being fairly advanced, with a real estate contractor selected and a bank having done preliminary calculations on real estate values, initial plans to demolish key buildings and sell off the vacant lot to cancel the stock company's debt had to be scrapped. As the group's meeting minutes noted, the park's rich history of use had created a "strong connection" for "many Malmö residents" to these buildings. The uses and attachments made and remade during decades, rather than buildings' aesthetic or historical values, were, once represented in bureaucratic form, a kind of heritage that did not allow the wholesale transformation of the park's landscape according to the entrepreneurial vision of the consultants' calculation. After introducing notions of historically strong attachments to parts of the park, the working group continued its work in a slightly less casual manner, yet along the same approximate trajectory. The Amiralen and Moorish Pavilion buildings would not be demolished and this land would not be sold to developers, although this decision was noted had "no commercial" basis. But still, 6,7 ha elsewhere in the park was slotted for sale at a price of about 71m SEK to pay for debts largely generated by the failed amusement park venture, while "a large real estate company" was involved in drafting architectural sketches for "new buildings along Amiralsgatan" (Quist Utveckling AB 1989).

Someone however continued to disapprove. Through leaking information about the secret renewal plans to redevelop parts of the park as a commercial mix-used property to local newspapers, the kind of "strong connection" that many locals indeed had to the park became even more evident. The group's minutes after this scandal broke reveal a tone of panic. The group could no longer control which parts of the park that were – like Amiralen and the Moorish Pavilion – framed as worthy of preservation and which parts could be slotted for redevelopment. Any sense of an overlap between the sites that the group was willing to designate as historically significant and sites where intense attachments were enacted in everyday use conditioned by the park's past, was gone. The practices of historically grounded place exceeded the planners black and white division between historically interesting and developable space, causing a mismatch that threw the entire renewal project off course (Quist Utveckling AB 1989).

The working group responded to this new terrain by completely surrendering to the idea of the park as cultural heritage once they understood that social-democratic grassroots seeking to preserve the park would fight for every inch of land. To the economic calculations on land sales one had to add the political costs of possible (or probable) heritage preservation struggles between the City Council's social-democratic majority and its own grassroots. The idea of selling off parts of the parks thus slowly faded, and seems to have been completely scrapped by the time the group reported their proposals to the People's Park's board of directors (Quist Utveckling AB 1989).

What little remains of the working group's minutes after this moment instead reveal inklings of an alternative plan that later formed the basis for a formal proposal for the municipality to buy the People's Park and designate it a public "community park". This work was led by a newly appointed, enthusiastic, City Head Gardener: Gunnar Ericsson. His plan departed from the point raised by other members of the redevelopment group about specific sites worth preserving, instead claiming that the park's *entire* landscape had unique values. Ericsson's plan also emphasised the park's architectural values, making the large Moorish Pavilion the central feature of the plan and thus anchoring the vision of a "park of feasts" to legacies of the park's past. Another crucial element was Ericsson's detailed attention to the park's physical environment. By focusing renewal work on the park as a public green space his plan hoped the park would become a center for the rapidly growing urban environmentalist movement, thus tying "this new popular movement" to the park (Malmö Gatukontor 1989).

Unlike plans to sell of parts of the park, which had hinged on confining the heritage value of particular artefacts and the lingering everyday practices, to particularly important sites like the Moorish Pavilion, this plan actively attempted to grasp how uses related to the entire physical landscape. By drawing on a recently

commissioned poll, the City Head Gardener sought to show that while the amusement park had not created the expected flow of consumers, Malmö People's Park remained more well-attended than comparable municipal green spaces (Quist Utveckling AB 1989, Malmöparken 1989). Decades of intense use created a landscape made up of everyday uses, historically prominent buildings, and accumulated greenery that was to be the basis for the third version of a renewal plan under the 1988-1991 social-democratic administration.

Also this third attempt to solve the mess the park was in, seeking to embed future visions of the park in the park's actual landscape, would have to navigate inherited tensions amplified by present contradictions. This is most evident in how this vision, presented in Malmö City Council in May 1991 as an official municipal plan for buying the rest of the shares of the People's Park stock company and formally making it a public park, sparked heated argument (Malmö kommunfullmäktige 1991a, Malmö kommunfullmäktige 1991b). Social-democratic, Green and Left Party representatives in the council did their best to underscore that, as the country's first People's Park, the park was worthy to preserve for posterity not only for the city, but also the country as a whole (Malmö kommunfullmäktige 1991b). This appeal to historical legitimacy as rationale for using public funds to cancel the park's snowballing debts was met with fierce criticism from the right. It was however not, as one perhaps might expect, that neoliberals were critical of turning this failed private-public partnership into a publicly owned urban common. In fact, all political parties seemed to rally behind versions of such a renewal vision.

Rather, the formal plan's rather cavalier gloss of the politics of the park's past, presenting it as a historically important site, was interpreted as a provocation by the right, which very well knew how powerful the park was as a symbol of social democracy and labour activism. The social-democratic majority insisted that most of the area should be listed as a historical preservation site with The Swedish National Heritage Board, and that strategies should build on the park's legacy by using it as an "internationalist centre" for civil society groups. The centre and rightist parties were critical of formal preservation designation, which would have rendered future redevelopments even more cumbersome. But most on the right could at least agree that "the park itself" was "of historical interest", as a Liberal Party representative argued. They also seemed to be largely sympathetic to her argument that the large 1930s modernist yellow brick buildings by the park's main entrance was "nothing to keep" and could be cleared to "renew the area" (Malmö kommunfullmäktige1991b). However, unlike the centrist's limited but sincere engagement to protect "the park itself", the regionalist populists called the park an important "symbol of socialist oppression of humanity". Their spokesperson Carl P. Herslow argued that "all signs of the rampage of socialism, like in Eastern

Europe, [should] be erased" in the park, suggesting that both historical representations and the practices and artefacts of this place belonged to a past era (Malmö kommunfullmäktige 1991b).

Despite protests from the political minority, the plan to buy the park and to integrate it within Malmö's municipal park administration was approved by the City Council's centre-left coalition. Little however came of the Social Democrats proposals to move forward with a cultural heritage listing, although a group of administrators led by a landscape historian did some studies in preparation for a listing process in the late 1990s that in the end came to nothing (see Malmö kulturmiljö 2008). The only part of the formal deal that protected the park was a clause in the contract that made it difficult for a future City Council to commercially redevelop it (Malmö kommunfullmäktige 1991a). The Social Democrats retreat from the politically costly attempt to safeguard the place as historical heritage had thus left it potentially open to future renewal plans. And with the center-right again seizing control over Malmö City Council just a few months later, this unclear status opened for the park's past to again become part of the planning process.

In none of the three late 1980s plans for Malmö's People's Park could the past be contained by the tactical silences of heritage narratives (cf. Trouillot 1995). When visions ignored present remnants of this past, a mere mention of the strong lingering historical attachments and everyday uses forced redevelopment plans off track. When planning visions instead sought to limit these attachments and uses to buildings framed as intimately entwined with the city's history through treating these as cultural heritage the heated public response made the planners' sharp distinction between historical sites worthy preserving and land that could be redeveloped collapse along with the entire renewal scheme. Finally, even a vision built on a much more complex rendering on the presence of the park's past acknowledging historically conditioned patterns of use and attachment, the built environment, and the park's accumulated green space opened planning to contestation that limited proposals to preserve the park as a formal heritage site. Once the plans were up for political debate in the Malmö City Council, they were unable to fully expunge the struggle and desires of politics from this past from its heritage narratives.

1991: Public space silencing particular pasts

With a center-right coalition led by Malmö's Moderates once again in majority after the 1991 municipal elections, any notion of cultural heritage as cornerstone of municipal plans for the People's Park were foiled. Instead, the few remaining planning documents for the park's first few years as a municipal "community park" bear witness to a much more humble approach. The park's two biggest buildings,

Amiralen and the Moorish Pavilion, were already rented out to a large restaurant and entertainment firm (Quist Utveckling AB 1989). But the lease, constructed in the desperate moment seeking to stave of the sale of the park, had set extra-ordinarily low rents. This meant that the firm had little pressure to use buildings beyond low-risk one-off events with prepaid dinners, such as conferences. Adding to a sense of neglect, this meant that the two large buildings loomed empty much of year. The Social Democrats attempt to reinvigorate the use of these buildings as semi-public meeting spaces, and hence also the use of the park itself, by spending large sums renovating them during the 1980s had thus reached a dead end. With the amusement park sold off and the largest buildings in the hand of private interests, the Streets Department's Park Division, now in charge of the park, focused their attention to mundane maintenance, like fixing walking paths amd benches and tending to broken drainpipes.

This approach matched a wave of austerity unleashed by Malmö's new political majority, and the subsequent necessity to manage the park at a "minimum of administration and at a low cost" (Malmö Gatukontor undated). But, this approach clearly also drew on the Moderates' vision of developing the park as a public green space, articulated against the Social Democrats' concern with using cultural heritage to subtly revisit and reinforce the lingering effects of the park's past political role. It was thus locals, particularly "children and the youth" in the neighbourhood, that the new management focused their meagre resources on (Malmö Gatu- och trafiknämnd 1994). While the few sources documenting the Streets Department's working on the park during the early 1990s in fact mentioned "cultural history" as important, their budgets focused completely on maintenance of the park as a public green space (e.g. Malmö Gatunämnd 1992, Malmö Gatu- och trafiknämnd 1994).

Gone was City Head Gardener Ericsson's ambitious 1989 plan for creating a green space steeped in architectural heritage, despite the very same person being in charge of the renewal plans. Re-imagining the park as an urban commons and public green space didn't then only mark a rupture with 1980s amusement park plans. It was also shaped by the, again dominant, political right's desire to create a new sense of place unmoored from the longer, political history of the People's Park's movement. The financial constraints of austerity probably was the main cause of this step away from the new management's initial renewal plans to make the most of the park's architectural heritage. These plan were also certainly in line with the centre-right's desire to preserve this heritage site in the most low key way possible, thereby not having to grapple with narratives that invariable made their opponents the historical subjects. The fragile political majority did, moreover, certainly not want to be caught in the unavoidable local protests that any renewal risked unleashing. Again the traces of a politically charged past was an important

element, shaping how urban planners shifted from a vision of heritage-focused renewal to a much more mundane focus on public green space.

1995: Discovering the development potential of a lingering past

When the Social Democrats once again regained control of Malmö City Council in 1994 a window of opportunity opened for revisiting how the park's past could inform renewal. This can first be noted in discussions about formally returning to calling the park "Malmö People's Park", rather than the "Park of Malmö" brand that had been used for the 1986 amusement park misadventure. Johnny Örbäck, the Social Democrat who wrote the motion suggesting the return to the original name framed his arguments through a lengthy narrative of the park's history, underscoring how everyday use remained shaped by this past and that the new name was not used by locals. The planners at the Streets and Parks department could not but agree, stating that the name was a "question of cultural history". The Park of Malmö brand was viewed as a "historical parenthesis", whereas "in everyday speech" the "People's Park has remained used". This old name should therefore be "introduced to new generations" (Malmö Gatu- och Trafiknämnd 1994).

These arguments were all referenced when the issue was settled in Malmö City Council. Further, Örbäck drew on the Urban Planning Department's argument that it was not only "important to preserve the People's Park in every way", but that there were "no records showing any official decision to change the park's name" to the Park of Malmö. Furthermore, official maps used the older name. With the park's initial name persisting both in everyday vernacular and in official presentations, Örbäck argued that it was time to adjust formal policy to "reality". Malmö City Council could thus agree to not even vote on the matter, but simply notify the Real Estate Department to "take down the sign" that said The Park of Malmö (Malmö kommunfullmäktige 1995).

This rather undramatic way of re-embracing the park's social-democratic past was followed by a more contentious struggle concerning what to actually do with the park. Just over a year after the 1994 election a committee discussing the park's future began to meet. It was however not the Social Democrats, perhaps still shook from the trauma of selling the park to the municipality in 1991, that initiated the process that would again bring heritage to the fore in a renewed nostalgic visions. It was instead the Real Estate Department that had crunched the numbers on rent revenues and maintenance costs. With particularly the park's largest buildings haemorrhaging money, a more business-minded renewal strategy, again geared at real estate sales, offered an untapped potential for capping maintenance costs (Malmö Gatukontor 1995a).

While the Real Estate Department's calculations were untroubled with heri-

tage, or even the park's use as a public green space, other municipal bureaucrats seized this moment to push their respective agendas in ways that not only opposed commercial renewal but again brought the park's past into the planning process. One such actor was the representatives of civil society interests still entrenched in the park (*Kulturföreningen Folkets Park*), complaining that the park was under-used by both the public and the large disinterested commercial leaseholders. Instead these veteran grassroots pushed for ramping municipal spending on culture to turn the park's buildings into hubs of movement activities with cheap offices and meeting rooms for labour, migrant, community, and other cultural associations. This would contribute to a vision of a "cultural park" of the future informed by "a more than 100-year tradition as meeting place for entertainment, recreation, and community" (Malmö Gatukontor 1995b).

Meanwhile, City Head Gardner Ericsson used this window of opportunity to return to the ambitious late 1980s plan that unintentionally had laid the groundwork for the humble 1990s "community park". Like the civil society representatives, the Head Gardener painted a picture of the People's Park as a largely abandoned public green space. Despite a head start in terms of a regional pattern of visitors going back to its previous glory days, the kind of everyday use by those living in the vicinity that might have been expected was absent. But by referencing a fresh poll, the City Head Gardener showed that a lingering sense of place stemming back to the People's Park for decades having been one of the city's most important places for popular culture continued to colour people's perception and uses of the park as a regional meeting place (Malmö Gatukontor 1996a). It was in order to draw on this untapped potential of nostalgic visitors travelling from outside the neighbourhood to visit the park, that the City Head Gardener suggested that the municipality should not only start thinking about a comprehensive renewal plan for the park's worn down outdoor environment, but also make plans for making better use of the parks several sizeable buildings as cultural venues (Malmö Gatukontor 1996b).

The Real Estate Department's strictly commercial plans were foiled by the alternative visions' way of arguing for a more heritage-sensitive renewal process firmly entrenched in representations of everyday uses that went back a century, again showing how the park proved tricky to turn into a narrative asset for renewal plans (cf. Ashworth, 2009). Yet, no one seemed willing to fund any of the cultural projects that underpinned nostalgic visions of the People's Park returning to its roots as a site for popular mass entertainment. The more recent past, of the 1980s funfair debacle, with big empty lots where the massive roller coasters stood cast a shadow over the park, pointing to yet another way that remnants in the landscape undid planning visions enmeshed in heritage narratives. And while the working group's plans thus petered out in the late 1990s, the visions they had articulated would inform the next round of planning.

2001: Politicising heritage through commercialisation of public space

The park's civil society association representatives did not abandon the idea of moving away from the only just materialising community park through mobilising visions informed by the park's past. In 2000 they again tapped municipal authorities, asking for a strategic renewal plan focused on finding uses for the park's key buildings in line with the park's past. The result was, again, a temporary renewal group including the same parties as in the 1990s, but this time led by a consultant. Their work was presented in February 2001 and, with a revised foreword, again in December the same year (Malmö Tekniska nämnd 2001a, Malmö Tekniska nämnd 2001b).

While the civil society representatives, and the City Head Gardener, at this moment sought to re-ignite visions for drawing more visitors to the park in order to inject it with a richer cultural life, the problem of wrapping it in the language of fiscal responsibility demanded by the Real Estate Department remained unsolved. The consultant leading the group however managed to defer this contradiction. In contrast to how opposing factions in the previous planning group posed a return to popular culture *against* a development strategy concerned with private real estate renewal, she saw these strategies as complementary. The park's lingering uses and attachments should be the basis for a strategy that drew on heritage to boost commercial mass culture *and* public spending in a private-public partnership, all wrapped in nostalgia for the park's 1950s glory days (Malmö Tekniska nämnd 2001a). In line with Ashworth's (2009) emphasis, heritage was now fully embraced as place-marketing resource.

The consultant arrived at this conclusion by mapping the patterns of use associated with the park's different venues and sites, and through repeatedly retelling the story of the People's Park's movement to show how her vision fitted therein. But unlike the early 1990s visions of drawing on the legacies of the past to create a viable public space or a grassroots culture centre, this plan saw this landscape as heritage that could be mobilised in a plan otherwise primarily concerned with creating "attractive space" through turning it over to market forces. If this vision sought to mobilise the place and history by wrapping up future visions in a coat of nostalgic heritage, it was the Real Estate Department's vision of seizing a development opportunity that was at its core (Malmö Tekniska nämnd 2001a). In a way, this was a plan that repeated the 1986 "Park of Malmö" turn to public-private entrepreneurialism, but utilising a broader range of lingering attachments, everyday uses and artefacts than the 1980s narrow focus on re-articulating the park's past commercial against its political past and informed by 15 years of work integrating neoliberal ideas with Malmö's more social planning tradition.

Again plans were however disrupted by how tensions of past politics unleashed by the planners turning to heritage provoked conflicts articulating with present tensions. The political right strove to undermine the plan by arguing that the kinds of everyday residual use as an entertainment site that plans were premised on did not hold up, and that the People's Park in fact looked more like a disused and "closed-down amusement park" which hardly could be imagined to become the region's next "experience centre" (Malmö Tekniska nämnd 2001c). Most fiercely, however, the right criticised plans for seeking to reintroduce what they saw a political facet of the park's history belonging to its time as movement space before the 1991 buy-out.

For instance, the centre-right representatives in the Technical Council that dealt with the proposal protested vigorously, arguing that "in the early 1990s the City Council decided that the People's Park should be run as community park" (Malmö Tekniska nämnd 2001c). While this interpretation was not exactly true, it was clear that for those previously involved in the 1991 deal that the plans now discussed entailed a re-appraisal of the park's *political* past as the heritage narrative used to market the renewal project. That it was this context, rather than any principled rightist criticism against the city embarking on yet another entrepreneurial private-public partnership with new commercial firms in the park, was made evident by another protest from a Moderate politician in the city's Recreational Council. Similarly angered with the proposal, he instead leaned towards more commercial interests in the park. Since "the Social Democrats have already allowed 'the money-changers back into the temple'" by "allowing all kinds of actors to make money from this once historical and non-commercial land" there was no need for the public to take a leading role in the public-private development partnership. It was instead to be up to the market actors if they wanted to invest heritage renewal or develop the site in less historically sensitive way (Malmö Tekniska nämnd 2001d).

If conservatives and liberals tried to mark a distance towards the park's past, both in terms of a lingering sense of place and the periodisation of historical narratives, there were plenty of responses that instead used this opportunity to more firmly anchor the present to this political past. Of the 27 stake-holder responses to the 2001 renewal plan, at least nine were organisations aligned with the Social Democrats (Malmö Tekniska nämnd 2001b). This illuminates how the People's Park's past attachments were still considered a legitimate source for speaking about the park's future and claim stake-holder status. All these letters were positive to the plan, with several noting that a turn away from a modest community park was in line with the site's history as a regional hotspot for entertainment.

The social-democratic responses were however not entirely uncritical of the plan, and the contradictions articulated were, just like the right's criticism, related to the park's past. Several of Malmö's municipal councils, dominated by the Social

Democrats, took a stance against the plan's reliance on commercial actors at this historically sensitive site. Most fierce in its criticism of plans' commercial aspects was the Swedish Pensioners' Association (*Sveriges Pensionärsförbund*), specifically arguing against any limitations to access that commercial actors might lead to, and the Swedish Confederation of Trade Union's local branch (*Landsorganisationen*) that also wanted the plan to shift away from anything that would "compete" with commercial interest and instead pleaded for focusing on providing a "'PEOPLE's' Park" (Malmö Tekniska nämnd 2001e, Malmö Tekniska nämnd 2001f).

Unlike those that sought to keep the past at bay through maintaining the park's present status as a community park, these groups not only understood heritage to be a substantial resource for renewal but also in terms of history and lingering uses of space that commanded a certain sense of respect. Heritage again turned out to be as much a problem as a resource. Inviting the park's past politics into the planning process provoked reactions from all sides, and made what could have been a fairly straight forward renewal plan into a highly contentious issue.

In the end the social-democratic majority caved in, and essentially purged the plan from the ambition to introduce more commercial forces, while emphasising that the park should both be a public space, the kind of cultural destination that echoed its past and contribute to the municipality's increasing planning focus on marketing itself to "desirable residents" through the production of "attractive space" (see Pries 2017). This meant that many of the key visions and much of the institutional infrastructure that have framed Malmö's People's Park various development up into the present had been put in place. The stage had been set for new variations of how the park's past was articulated with present concerns, both in terms of historical narratives and remains in place.

Conclusions:

As mentioned above, Malmö People's Park is today a well-maintained, popular, community park that embeds heritage in more mundane kinds of use. But our account shows that this has not always been the case, and that the recurrent attempts to develop this site has provoked fierce conflicts over how to handle remnants of a once highly politicised space as cultural heritage. Thus we have accounted for the often thorny problems arising as a succession of liberal-conservative and social-democratic municipal majorities have since the mid-1980s striven to reshape or retain the perhaps holiest ground for Malmö's social-democratic labour movement. In so doing we illuminate how narrating the city is best understood as a socio-material process not only about telling and retelling particular stories, but also about reshaping or retaining the social, cultural and material landscapes entangled with these. In striving to usher in "new times for Malmö" (Ollén, 1985),

the first non-social-democratic coalition steering Malmö since the introduction of universal suffrage in a rather palpable way strove to etch their ideological visions and their take on Malmö's history into the very fabric of the People's Park (see Mitchell, 2008). In hindsight we can see how this re-etching failed, but how it was simultaneously a kind of starting point for a now almost 30 year long process where Malmö's various municipal majorities have experimented, and still continue to experiment, with the kind of stories to be told about and through the People's Park.

Importantly, these redevelopment attempts came after Malmö People's Park had experienced decades of decline. At the onset redevelopment visions could therefore depict the park as a run-down landscape that *something* had to be done about. Unlike in many other renewal plans for Malmö, from the mid-90s onwards usually framed by a political consensus emphasising a narrative rupture with Malmö's industrial legacy (Holgersen 2017), plans for the park's renewal were here all concerned with explicitly mobilising (particular parts of) the past as cultural heritage. The past should in other words not be abandoned, but rather selectively marshalled as resource (Ashworth 2009). Hence, planning visions essentially had to address and make sense of the remaining elements produced by past processes, be they material artefacts, everyday uses or lingering geographies of attachment and representation. Usually the park's less overtly political role as Malmö's key place for popular entertainment during the early twentieth century was taken up in heritage narratives, no matter if renewal plans were primarily initiated by bureaucrats or politically elected decision-makers, and regardless of the city's political majority's alignment.

But despite attempts to marshal de-politicised nostalgic framings of the past, the park proved problematic to mobilise as heritage. The park as a complex socio-material landscape, with lingering practices and artefacts *in* place enmeshed with historical narratives *of* place, time and again articulated with contemporary political tensions. Social-democratic attempts to more gently de-politicise the park while protecting it as heritage, for example, opened for tensions around how important aspects of the parks lingering past was neglected – as happened both in 1989 and in 2001. When the right instead sought to break with the past by *only* emphasising the park's commercial past, this instead sparked tensions around how aspects of the park's history were explicitly erased – as happened in 1985-89 and in 1991-94. In both cases the contradictions that this attention to the past invited led to the complete break-down, or serious revisions, of renewal plans.

Legacies of the labour movement's leftist politics, such an important part for many decades, proved impossible to purge from Malmö People's Park's. Hence, rendering the park a "mere" cultural heritage propping up renewal attempts, time and time again opened up spaces for conflict seized by politicians of all kinds as

well as civil society groups. It seems to us that the ways that the past thereby entered planning-processes was crucial for provoking political tensions that made planning unstable and unpredictable. What perhaps caught planners and politicians most off guard was the silent endurance of patterns of everyday use from the park's more overtly political period. Just as the landscape has many "authors" (Mitchell 2012), "contemporary society"'(Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996: 6) thus proved less of an actor and more of a cacophony of voices tugging at heritage-centred renewal attempts, itself haunted by the contradictions of past politics..

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Memory-Making in Kiruna – Representations of Colonial Pioneerism in the Transformation of a Scandinavian Mining Town

By Johanna Overud

Abstract

This article considers colonial rhetoric manifested in representations of early settlement in the mining town of Kiruna in northernmost Sweden. Kiruna was founded more than 100 years ago by the LKAB Company with its centre the prosperous mine on Sami land. Continued iron ore mining has made it necessary to relocate the town centre a few kilometres north-east of its original location to ensure the safety of the people. The ongoing process of the town's transformation due to industrial expansion has given rise to the creation of a memorial park between the town and the mine, in which two historical photographs have been erected on huge concrete blocks. For the Swedish Sami, the indigenous people, the transformation means further exploitation of their reindeer grazing lands and forced adaption to industrial expansion. The historical photographs in the memorial park fit into narratives of colonial expansion and exploration that represent the town's colonial past. Both pictures are connected to colonial, racialised and gendered space during the early days of industrial colonialism. The context has been set by discussions about what Kiruna "is", and how it originated.

My aim is to study the role of collective memory in mediating a colonial past, by exploring the representations that are connected to and evoked by these pictures. In this progressive transformation of the town, what do these photographic memorials represent in relation to space? What are the values made visible in these photographs? I also discuss the ways in which Kiruna's history becomes manifested in the town's transformation and the use of history in urban planning. I argue that, in addressing the colonial history of Kiruna, it is timely to reconsider how memories of a town are communicated into the future by references to the past. I also claim that memory, history, and remembrance and forgetting are represented in this process of history-making and that they intersect gender, class and ethnicity.

Keywords: memory, history, gender, postcolonial, Kiruna, town transformation

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Introduction

In a memorial park in the mining town of Kiruna in Northern Sweden a pair of historical, black-and-white photographs from the early days of the settlement are etched in large format onto concrete. These historical photographs depict motifs of the town's beginnings, highlighting, perhaps unintentionally, its colonial past. The first photo shows a family standing in front of what appears to be their home – a simple cabin or hut. The family's father is centrally placed in front of the hut door, with a baby on his arm. The mother and three older children stand beside him, their demeanour gravely solemn. What immediately strikes you is their house. The hut appears to have been built from wood that has just been lying around, and it has no proper roof. The photo is taken in wintertime and long icicles on the walls of the cottage indicate moisture and coldness inside. What gave rise to this photo?

Perhaps surprisingly, the central motive for its inclusion is the little baby girl on her father's arm. This picture represents Kiruna's "firstborn" and her family, and relates to the following story, announced in the local newspaper: On August 21, 1899, a girl was born in a simple turf hut, on the shores of Luossajärvi. She is referred to as the firstborn in this locality, which was soon to become the town of Kiruna. She was named "Kiruna" as suggested by LKAB's Managing Director, Hjalmar Lundbohm. He became her sponsor and donated 100

Kiruna's "firstborn" and her family outside their residence in 1900. Photo: Borg Mesch. Belongs to the Kiruna Photo Collection.

Swedish kronor to be used as her "life annuity" (Hansson 2006). The photograph of her and her family was taken in 1900 and, as a remnant of the early days of the settlement, is used as a commemoration of colonial pioneerism. The girl grew up in Kiruna as Kiruna Söderberg, but died at a young age, only 27 years old. Nonetheless, her story has generated another link through time. Before she died, she gave birth to a daughter, who was also named Kiruna, and thus started a family tradition, dictating that the firstborn daughter would be given Kiruna as a middle name. Some years ago, the sixth generation Kiruna was born (Forsberg 2009). This family tree of girls/women can be viewed as a parallel to the history of Kiruna town.

The second photograph in this series shows a group of men standing on the doorstep of a big wooden house. They are wearing black suits with coats, walking sticks and tall hats, indicating that they are important men in society; however, three of them are wearing traditional Sami clothing. The Sami men stand on the bottom steps, and one of them is even standing on the ground, while the men

On the Doorstep of the LKAB Company Hotel: The Original Committee Separating Kiruna from Jukkasjärvi, May 1902. From the bottom left, they are: engineer C. I. Asplund, Kiruna; Lars Johan Jansson, Kiruna; E. Wikman, Vittangi; sheriff F. Bergstrom, Vittangi; reindeer owner Olof Olafsson Tuuri, Dálmá Sami herding community; the LKAB managing director Hjalmar Lundbohm; elementary school teacher Abraham Johansson, Vittangi; reindeer owner Mickel Mickelsson Inga, Lævas Sami herding community; the merchant Carl Hannu, Kiruna; Mickel Mickelsson Niia, Gabna Sami herding community; county sheriff CA Olsson, Kiruna and yeomen Joseph Lahti and H.W. Hansi, Vittangi. Photo: Borg Mesch. Belongs to the Kiruna Photo Collection.

in hats and suits are mainly positioned higher up in front of the door. This photo is usually called "On the Doorstep of the Company Hotel" [På Bolagshotellets trapp]. It was taken in early May 1902 and represents "The Original Committee Separating Kiruna from Jukkasjärvi to become its own Municipality and Parish." The Committee is posing at the entrance to the then newly-built Company Hotel, which was used for LKAB company affairs and guests (Brunnström 1981: 94). At that time Kiruna belonged to Jukkasjärvi municipality and parish, but was about to be separated off to become its own municipality. Standing on the doorstep of the hotel, the men of this Committee represent the authority of the territory at that time. Hjalmar Lundbohm was the leading man in Kiruna, and the photograph signals a social hierarchy reflected in the appearance of these men, the way they stand, dress, etc. They were the few with sufficient income to qualify for a right to vote in matters concerning the town affairs in 1902. Representation on the Committee was a great advantage for the LKAB Company, as becoming a municipality would exempt the company domains from taxation. Hjalmar Lundbohm himself held over a hundred votes in this group. In contrast, the Sami Committee members had no right to vote, they acted solely as representatives for their Sami communities (Persson 2015: 120-121). The photo thus illustrates power inequality between men, especially between Swedish men and Sami men.

Kiruna was founded on Sami land by the LKAB Company around its prosperous mine. For the Swedish Sami, the indigenous people, this meant exploitation of their reindeer grazing lands and forced adaption to industrial expansion. Their land, Sápmi, stretches over four nations: the northern parts of Norway, Sweden and Finland, as well as the northwest corner of Russia. In the Kiruna region there are eight different Sami herding communities. As a result of the mining industry and urban expansion, the Sami population has gradually been marginalised. Today, the Sami faces further changes. The continued expansion of the mine has led to the risk of major subsidence, threatening the town of Kiruna itself. This has made it necessary to relocate the town centre a few kilometres northeast, to ensure both the safety of the people and the continued iron ore mining. This process, the Kiruna City Transformation, constitutes a profound change in Kiruna. The transformation has impacted upon areas that are relevant to reindeer management and has restricted the reindeer migration routes which are located close to the town.

For the town itself, the transformation involves both demolition of existing buildings as well as the careful dismantling and rebuilding of a few selected buildings in new neighbourhoods on new ground. The memorial park will serve as a barrier against the mine as the ground cracks. The park is laid out with footpaths, lawns and trees. Along these footpaths we find the photo stones, which are about two metres high and four metres long and designed as works of art, to be

viewed along the promenade. But now, as the open pit approaches the city, even the parkland is a temporary space – and the photo stones are removable.

The transformation process tends to recall the time of the original town plan, once built as a model city around the mining company. Certain ideas and ideals around Kiruna's history are being reinforced by these images. This article argues that both photos can be connected to colonial, racialised and gendered space during the early days of industrial colonialism. The context has been set by discussions about what Kiruna "is", and how it originated.

A starting point for this study is that, during the early 1900s, colonial, capitalist and patriarchal power structures were established, and that these structures have taken different forms in different locations/regions based on gender, class and ethnicity. There have been discussions as to which parts of the old town core are worth saving, which buildings will be moved and rebuilt, and which parts will be left to collapse as the ground falls away beneath them. This requires further discussion about whose history is allowed and legitimised for the future Kiruna.

This article explores the representations that are connected to Kiruna's colonial history and the creation of these memorial photo stones. My primary aim is to study the role of memory and nation-making in mediating a common past through these pictures; this article thus engages with the uses of history and narrative. In relation to the ongoing, progressive city transformation, what do these photographic memorials represent in relation to space? What values are made visible in these photographs? I also discuss the ways in which Kiruna's history becomes manifested in the city transformation, and the use of history in urban planning. I argue that, in addressing the colonial history of Kiruna, it is timely to reconsider how memories of a model city are communicated into the future by selective references to the past. I also claim that memory, history, remembrance and forgetting, the present and the future are all represented in this process of history-making and that they intersect gender, class and ethnicity.

The raising of memorial stones is one way to create and perpetuate a collective memory. However, memory has a history, and public or collective memory implies a shared memory or even common interests. But memory and history are far from synonymous, as historian Pierre Nora points out. "Memory is always a phenomenon of the present, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past" (Nora 1989: 8). History, in his view, is the problematic factor, being incomplete, a representation of the past. Memory, on the other hand, "is life" and emotions (ibid.). The strict separation of the two, as Nora suggests, is not necessarily the only way. The link between history and memory could be viewed as entangled, not sharply contrasting. Instead, in order to consider the connection between remembering and forgetting, the assumption is that memory is operationalised by forgetting (Dickinson et al. 2010: 9). The place and the

monument are both of great importance for the creation of collective identities. The monument can relate to places in different ways: materially, symbolically and functionally. In that creation, monuments and memorials can also exclude alternative memories and interpretations. Pierre Nora's conceptual memory location (lieux de mémoire) recalls that these are sites of memory, as there are no longer any real environments for memory (milieux de mémoire). The story is about both time *and* space. "Memory takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects; history binds itself strictly to temporal continuities, to progressions and to relations between things" (Nora 1989: 9).

Commemoration as a practice works to reinforce and reconnect a community by forging a consensus version of the past, the memory of a mythical city, a nostalgia – the fantasised memory of an irretrievable past. As human geographer Veronica Della Dora (2006: 212) points out, throughout history cities have constituted arenas for concurrent narratives. She argues that nostalgia is becoming a powerful political tool in urban planning. Dora shows how cultural, political and economic reasons are given in answer to the question of why nostalgic memories are revived in urban planning today. Cities are striving to communicate in a globalised world dominated by image. "Their success is largely determined by their ability to create evocative but at the same time easily readable icons, which characterize them as unique. The city stands as a totalizing, almost 'mythical' landmark for socioeconomic and political strategies" (Della Dora 2006: 231).

Thus, the following assumptions about public memory might lead the way in the discussion of these pictures: that memory is activated by present concerns; that it narrates shared identities; that memory is animated by affect; that memory is partial, partisan, and thus often contested; that memory relies on material and/or symbolic supports; and that memory has a history (Dickinson et al. 2010: 6). The source material consists of representations of Kiruna's history, such as historical accounts, photo collections, press materials, travel writings and policy documents about the city transformation. In a careful reading of this material I take guidance and inspiration from postcolonial writings, such as Anne McClintock's book, *Imperial Leather* (1995), which is a critical study of the progress of imperialism, shaped by western authority, knowledge and power. In her study, McClintock tries to understand how groups are created in historiography, through continuous processes of production and reproduction.

The article will proceed as follows: Firstly, I present how Kiruna was originally built around the idea of a Model City and outline some important historical meanings of its colonial history. Secondly, I discuss how photography came to be used in service of the colonisers, reproducing colonial values. Thirdly, I discuss the reproduction of power relations through these photographs, outlining the symbols of the colonising nation, and the reproduction of masculine ideals.

Kiruna – the Model City

> Hjalmar Lundbohm created a Model City, which made Kiruna famous both nationally and internationally. It contained a climate-adjusted city plan and also a plan for social development within the city. Now, with the city transformation process, it's time to develop a new model society. (Kiruna kommun 2011)

Kiruna town was officially founded over a hundred years ago inspired by the concept of the model city. The historical writings about Kiruna tell us that from the beginning this was a well-thought-out town plan. Hjalmar Lundbohm, the Managing Director of LKAB 1900–1920, and also the founding father of Kiruna, was strongly influenced by other model communities when he designed Kiruna (Brunnström 2008: 16). A model city would counteract social deprivation through good architecture, education and good working conditions. The goal was to build an attractive community in order to recruit and retain labour in this young mining community in the far north. The ideas were taken from model communities in the United States, Germany and England. Lundbohm is often described as a patriarch, a father figure, the creator not only of the city's design but also of a model mining industry. By developing a network of cultural personalities, Lundbohm was able to establish a range of high-quality art, music, literature and education in Kiruna. He contributed with financial and practical assistance to scientists and explorers, for example to archaeologist Gustaf Hallström (1880–1962). Hallström undertook archeological field studies in northern Sweden in 1907, and on his arrival in Kiruna was captivated by the unexpected modernity.

> I went out for a walk around the town, admiring the plants in the glow of Lux lights. What do I see? An electric tramway, modern cottage houses, vast stores. One person with a kindly smile pointed me to a "men's outfitter's" while I was in a linen shop looking to get ends for my braces. They thought I was from the countryside. So I felt, too. The hundreds of lights of Kirunavaara glimmered in rows, steam whistled and hissed, cars roared. I felt at home. It was like Stadsgården [referring to a port, traffic and railway area in Stockholm at that time]. (Hallström 1907: 294–295)

Hallström's notion of a "retarded" rural north is blown away when he meets technological progress in this young community in the far north. Historically, too, there has been an imagined cultural distance between rural and urban areas, which includes differences in the degree of modernisation. Concomitantly, this description can also be seen as an example of how Kiruna becomes alienated from

the Sami culture, and how by its modernity becomes incorporated into the general Swedish striving towards the industrialisation and modernism characteristic of a modern Swedish city at that time. In contrast to previous descriptions of a foreign location in the far north, it could suddenly be likened to Stockholm. Electric light, steam power and consumption were associated with Swedish society, modernisation, industrialisation and progress, while the Sami culture was becoming more and more alienated. The official Swedish policy stated that "Lapp should be Lapp", which meant that the Sami people should stick with their traditional life and not integrate into modern Swedish life. The Sami population is "preserved as living monuments in the Swedish mountains," the newspaper *Expressen* wrote critically in 1948 (*Expressen*, January 2, 1948).

Yet, today, Lundbohm's ideas for a model city are often associated with ideas of social equality. In the city transformation process, the specific character of Kiruna is highlighted, and is described as a unique and different city. Alongside the emphasis on the unique natural areas, the uniqueness of the city's history and heritage is also underlined.

> Kiruna is not an ordinary mining community. We expect that already through all the nicknames that the city has received. It has been called a model city, the world's best society, the democratic city, the artistic city, the largest city, and so on. (Brunnström 2008: 14)

During the transformation process, a central discussion has been to define, raise and exploit the values that characterise Kiruna. The official representations and information presented to tourists highlight what is unique about Kiruna: the unique location, the unique nature and the youth of the city. The geographical location, the climate, and the surrounding mountains are part of what makes Kiruna unique and form a central element of the image of the city as actively conveyed today. Nine different vision groups have discussed public services, housing, communications and sustainability, accentuating the values of democracy, equality and diversity. "We will set the bar high. This will be the world's most democratic city transformation", Kiruna Municipality wrote on their homepage. Ethnographer Bo Nilsson (2009) suggests that this emphasis on the democratic process is an approach to imbue the process with legitimacy. It gives the impression that everyone can participate, or that people at least have the opportunity to choose to participate in shaping the new Kiruna. This idea of consensus, the notion that the transformation is a common thing for all Kiruna's inhabitants, is largely a rhetorical product (Nilsson 2009: 25). In the vision documents for the city transformation, there is an ongoing discussion about what is worth saving for the new city centre, what should be preserved or re-built. Basically, the discussion appears to focus on

selecting past memories for the future Kiruna.

Another factor that can be said to characterise Kiruna is obviously the domination of the local labour market by LKAB. The mining industry traditionally means male jobs, which has also led to the accentuation of a male lifestyle in this region. Nilsson argues that, as mining is the predominant profession in Kiruna, the construction of masculinity in different types of representations is ongoing and reflects a masculine *continuity*. Women's labour and characteristics are of lower value. Nilsson claims that the "monumentalisation" of masculinity, in highlighting sculptures of male work in public spaces in Kiruna, is included in the shaping of a "we", a common identity. To be in control of the making of history is to be able to adjust history for your own purposes (Nilsson 2009: 83). This one-sided industrial life has meant that larger cyclical movements in the global market become highly visible and palpable in Kiruna, and have sometimes contributed to periods of high unemployment and other periods of labour shortages (Hägg 1993).

The way in which people talk about Kiruna also characterises the cultural environmental analysis that Kiruna Municipality has ordered, where one of the tasks is to determine the items of historical uniqueness and value and to save them. This is a rhetoric that is actualised in the work related to the city transformation and which struck the tone for what is stated in the vision document and investigations. Researchers in the field of communication, such as Burd, Drucker and Gumpert (2007), argue that cities are natural communication sites. Both interacting and conflicting practices, values, identities, dialogues and places constitute the countless symbolic artefacts that characterise urban areas. These artefacts help to construct the city by the ways in which streets and street names, buildings, residential areas, tourist attractions and other texts create and maintain meanings. According to Sieverts (2003), there is a myth about the "old" city, the urban city that has been there for a long time and which is assumed to persist. Seen from a settler perspective, Kiruna as a city has an unusually short history. Stretched out to its utmost, it started either when the LKAB Company was established in 1890, or in 1900 when the shantytown, which started growing in connection with mining the mountains at Lake Luossajärvi, changed its name to Kiruna.

In general, there are preservation acts to help preserve the character of a city. A preservation classification should guarantee protection of historic buildings. However, such protection has been rather violated in the city of Kiruna. Kiruna City Hall was protected as a historic building under the Cultural Heritage Act. LKAB and Kiruna Municipality jointly applied to cancel this protection, so that it could be torn down. The County Board approved the request. The decision to change the protection of historic buildings means that there are no restrictions on dismantling and reuse of parts of the features and functions of these buildings.

Photography in the service of the colonisers

Both the photograph of the Committee in front of the hotel and the Söderberg family photograph were originally taken by the famous Kiruna photographer Borg Mesch (1869-1956), who photographed Kiruna's emergence during its industrial development. He moved his studio to Kiruna in 1899, and thus came to follow its expansion from a central position within the new society. These photographs mainly came to be associated with displaying the growth and rise of Kiruna town and are regarded as two of Borg Mesch's most famous and widely-known images. Kiruna municipality owns a collection of these photos: "It's unique! […] The Borg Mesch collection is Kiruna Municipality's great pride" (Kiruna kommun 2012). A worker for Kiruna Municipality tells me that it was obvious that these two photos would be selected for exposure in the memorial park. They are typical Borg Mesch pictures, in part because of their historical motives. "The [memorial park] is to become an important symbol for the future Kiruna," Kristina Zakrisson, the Municipal Chair, said at the inauguration of the park in September 2011. This includes giving prominence to Borg Mesch as the photographer who documented the first decades of colonisation. Mikael Westerlund, LKAB's Planning Manager, believes that this type of image, depicting Kiruna personalities, creates a certain characteristic mood, a sense of Kiruna's history. "I think this is of great interest – not just to the people of Kiruna but also to visitors from outside" (*LKAB Nyheter* 2011).

> At lunchtime on Wednesday, the first phase of the [memorial park] in Kiruna was inaugurated. A joint project between LKAB and Kiruna Municipality, the park will serve as a mobile oasis between the mine and the town. […] LKAB's Managing Director, Lars-Eric Aaro, gave the opening speech and unveiled the park's artwork, two towering cement blocks bearing designs from the photographer Borg Mesch, picturing Hjalmar Lundbohm and the city's firstborn child, Kiruna Söderberg. (Westerberg 2011)

The physical size of the monumental photographs also helps to emphasise the message that modern Kiruna has evolved from extreme simplicity and poverty to prosperity. It is reminiscent of the early settlers' hard-working durability and abrasive resistance. It has become a tradition in Kiruna to honour the memory of the navvies and pioneers, where the term "pioneer" applies to the immigrating Swedish settlers, not the Sami.

Photography became big business during the second half of the 19th century. In growing towns like Kiruna, the commercial photo studio played a crucial role in this process, glossing over the contradictions between the coloniser and the colonised, providing a pictorial language to communicate "the truth" (McClin-

tock 1995: 123). Pictures and photographs provided a seemingly democratic and universal language, equally accessible to all. But, in fact, this seemingly impartial technology was in the service of Western knowledge production. With photography, the view of the coloniser became synonymous with the real, thus serving its purposes. "Photography became the servant of imperial progress" (McClintock 1995: 125).

To have one's photograph taken alongside a reindeer sledge, dressed in a Sami costume, against the background of a snowy landscape, could create the illusion of being in a different time period. As in colonial postcards, arrangements including primitive icons and relics around the posturing, meant that time could be reorganised as a spectacle; by choreographing these icons, the story becomes organised into a single, linear narrative with a clear relationship between photography and colonial advancement. Some exotic decor was provided to people by Borg Mesch in his photo studio. One day in August 1900, his brother Thor came to visit and then took the opportunity to be portrayed.

> Thor wanted to have his photograph taken wearing a Sami costume, which for some time was part of the studio props. Borg got several costumes, in which he attired railroad workers and many others of his customers. He had costumes for both summer and winter, Sami knives of various sizes, etc. For the future photos in this dress, he simply noted "Sami" in the record. (Hedin 2001: 51)

In the type of photo studio that was usually at hand in colonised communities, colonisation was created, replicated and reproduced as an exotic spectacle, the public performance of a course of events, apparently seen in full length, according to McClintock. Access to this vantage point and that sort of overview, the panoptical stance, was reserved for the privileged only (McClintock 1995: 122). The camera eye was seen as a reflection of nature and, with this approach, camera technology became integrated into the process of industrialisation and scientific progress (Hamilton 2003: 83). The images also reflect the priorities of the (white) photographers who took the pictures. Thus, photographing Sami people made them representatives of a less progressive race, and indigenous people came to implicitly represent all races that are considered less progressive. Stuart Hall speaks of this as the more incidental or supposedly documentary feature of photography. Photographs may seem to provide a very quick and easy way to "the truth". But placing people in a photo frame is not just a meaningless, practical action. What the photograph conveys is also determined by the arrangements around the person photographed, body language and situation, even if the photographer is not focused on these aspects (Hall & Back 2009).

The imperialist message was effective: colonial industrialisation is the progressive way. It might also be perceived as the only way. Being opposed to progression and advancement is a difficult position to sustain – even today. According to Gallagher and La Ware (2010: 90), marginalised communities, made invisible by urban development, struggle to regain access to and influence over public space. Yet, open resistance to the ongoing transformation process is seldom found. Nilsson suggests people in Kiruna have a small-town mentality and that they are used to the patriarchal structure and to placing their fate in the hands of the company (Nilsson 2010: 441). Or as a young woman interviewed for the national daily SvD expresses it: "No one is opposed to the city transformation. Without LK [the mining company] we are nothing, everyone knows that" (Efendić 2011).

The empty land

> A fair society, founded in the middle of nowhere in the kingdom of reindeer and wolves and bears. No harmful traditions existed. The inhabitants came from all regions in Sweden. The navvies constituted the core, and the followers must have been of good material, too. (Landin in Frank 1950: 11)
>
> Only the sons of Sami travelled across the vast expanses. Here they were born, lived and died, stung by the Almighty at last. They did not know much about the world, delighted however, and during the journey they grew their ancient, pagan cult. (Landin in Frank 1950: 14)

When Kiruna celebrated its 50th anniversary in 1950, a memorial book was published, beginning with this historic poetic work by Ernst Landin. What was expressed in the talk of the wild and pristine lands in the story about the colonisation of Kiruna? The place is described as a "no man's land", open to the conquerors. Landin's poem hailed the ideas of progress and the modern industrial society. It was a story of how the will of steel characterised the first Swedish immigrants, the pioneers, and how the wilderness was described as giving way to a rich industry. All this was shaped by the genius of the modern Swedish man, but at the same time it alienated Kiruna from its Sami background, which in this poem represents the unenlightened. According to McClintock, the myth of the virgin land in colonised areas creates specific dilemmas for women, especially colonised women. Women *are* the earth that is to be discovered, named and owned. From a male perspective, this female land is reduced to a space for male struggle. For women and colonised people, it is difficult to claim the stories of origin, of being "the first". With their symbolic connection to the land, women are relegated to a world beyond history

and thus have a complex relationship to narratives of historical change. Women are seen as property belonging to men (McClintock 1995).

"The myth of the virgin land is also the myth of the empty land", as McClintock points out, "empty of desire and void of sexual agency, passively awaiting the thrusting, male insemination of history, language and reason" (McClintock 1995: 30). In colonial narratives, the eroticisation of "virginity" is also a territorial appropriation, "for if the land is virgin, colonized peoples cannot claim aboriginal territorial rights" (ibid.). Historian Åsa Össbo uses the concept of industrial colonialism, which becomes central in her analysis of Swedish hydroelectric power development on Sami land. It is a concept that illustrates the utilisation of land for mining exploitation in Kiruna, where the Sami rights to land have gradually been restricted. "The naturalness of displacing and reshaping the original society is a colonial thought found in the Reindeer Breeding Act" (Össbo 2014: 47). Historian Patrick Lantto states that the Sami raised barely any protests against land development, despite the fact that the city of Kiruna emerged in the middle of the reindeer herding area of the Gabnea Sami community. The leaders of the mobilising Sami movement had little contact with these areas and, therefore, scarcely any attention was directed towards what was happening.

> The biggest industrial trespassing took place in the northern parts of Norrbotten where the political mobilization among the Sami was low for much of the study period. In areas where the Sami movement was more established similar intrusions probably had been met by larger and more pronounced protests (Lantto 2000: 288).

As a result, the Swedish male colonial expansion met with hardly any resistance. Land and land ownership became central in Kiruna both in terms of valuable ore deposits, and as plots of land in the new town plan. But at the same time the Sami population was prohibited by law from owning land. Thus, the state could take control over the right to land for mining. Legislation at the end of the 19th century was characterised by the idea that nomads could not acquire proprietorship. In contrast, they had "rights and easements". The settlers, however, arriving from all over the country, could acquire and use land, and ultimately pass on land, forest and water to their descendants. Many Sami took up homesteads to protect their tax land [skatteland], which was the land area that the Sami used and for which they paid a certain tax. If not, their nomadic life made it possible for settlers to settle on their tax land as the Lappmark Regulations no longer protected land that was not under cultivation and occupied within two years (Lundmark 2008). But the choice to stay on, inhabit and protect their tax land meant that they lost their Sami rights. "Those who took up new buildings stopped counting as Sami in the population statistics" (Lundmark 2008: 70).

The Kiruna Family

In the alternative story, the narrative of Kiruna Söderberg, encapsulated in the displayed photograph of her as a baby, can be read as a matriarchal family tree, a counterbalance to the "Macho City". In the ongoing city transformation, there is a desire to change the masculine features and attract women to stay (Nilsson 2010: 437). However, the Swedish rural North, as a region, is constructed as typically male and contemporary geographical notions of northern Sweden are dominated by rural problems. In this perspective, the sparsely populated northern Sweden is an area of emigration and unemployment. The mining character of places like Kiruna, Gällivare and Pajala has contributed to a gender-segregated labour market. The men here have traditionally been miners and is the reason this environment is full of masculine symbolism (Andersson 2012). The gender-segregated labour market thus plays an important role in contributing to the notion of the typically male northern Sweden.

The foundations of today's gender segregation can be traced back to old gendered patterns in the mining fields in northern Sweden, as shown in previous research. Historian Eva Blomberg demonstrates that a strong masculinisation process took place during the 19th century, especially in the newly-opened export pits represented by Kiruna. This differs from the older iron mills in Bergslagen in mid-Sweden, where this process was not as strong. Personnel policy in these mines did not operate in the same family-centred way (Blomberg 1995: 347). The masculine emphasis in the northern mining areas coincided with the ban on women working underground in 1900, which reinforced the process. Blomberg describes how a strictly gendered division of labour found its early forms in mining towns like Kiruna, where women and men belonged to different spheres and where the role of women as prospective wives was emphasised. She also points out that socially engaged managing directors, like Hjalmar Lundbohm, formed model societies in which women played an important role based on family and reproduction. Blomberg shows that the educational programmes were based on marriage between a man and a woman, not least as unemployment insurance for women, and emphasised women's role as wives. The arena for women was not formed for them as active participants, but as stabilisers. An active family and housing policy strongly encouraged a male breadwinner model (Blomberg 1995: 348). This societal organisation, combined with a social housing policy, aimed to keep workers on the site, but it was also an endeavour to curb the growing radicalisation among the workers at that time. In model societies for industrial workers from the late 19th century, parks and private garden plots were interesting features both for planners and residents. Housing types with distinctive privatisation tendencies were not only intended to bind the worker to his own turf, but also worked as an active agent against socialism (Brunnström 1981: 136).

The reproduction of Kiruna, symbolised by the photograph of Kiruna Söderberg and the story of her family tree, can also be seen as a recurrent accentuation of the importance of Kiruna as a place: the rebirth of Kiruna, the reproductive period of time. As suggested by Simone de Beauvoir, this reproductive linking to the body, as a natural order, thus represents cyclical time, while men, who claim to arrange nature and the body in terms of culture and reason, represent linear time (de Beauvoir 2002). The two models thus correspond to the notion of woman as an embodied creature and man as a rational subject not tied to his body. For her, only future time is open, she should not dwell on the ongoing present.

Therefore, the family has been central to national symbolism, using the bonds and hierarchies that are represented within it. As historian Ida Blom has suggested: "Identifying the nation with the family – a timeless and global unity of loyalty, evoking sentiments as well as hierarchies of gender and age – facilitated the construction of national identities and national loyalties" (Blom 2000: 8). This drawing on the connection between family, reproduction, nation and unity also points in a direction that means the opposite of democracy, party politics and conflicts of interest (Åse 2009: 107f). Personal memories can be seen as active elements in the creation of national memories. Rosalind Brunt shows how British nationalism, rooted in the royal family, and national consensus can act as a denial/rejection of class differences, and how it is enveloped in the family metaphor as organiser. From Orwell, she draws an illustrative example of how national identity interacts with class, and could also interact with a space metaphor: "Britain is a family. It has its private language and its common memories, and at the approach of an enemy it closes its ranks" (Brunt 1996:147). Here she is referring to the importance of using symbolic figures to maintain the myth of the family.

McClintock argues that the significance of the family metaphor is twofold. First and foremost, it acts as a rhetorical image to legitimise social hierarchy, which, within the family, takes on the significance of an almost natural given power. The family symbolises a harmonious and agreed-upon unity as a natural part of historical development, and became necessary to legitimise exclusion and hierarchy also in non-familial associations, such as nationalism, liberal individualism and imperialism. This metaphor of the social hierarchy as natural was therefore dependent upon the previous naturalisation of women's and children's social subordination.

Secondly, the family picture is invaluable to denote historical time, according to McClintock. She shows that, within the family metaphor, both the social hierarchy and historical change are presented as natural and inevitable, rather than as historically constructed and changeable. Projecting the family picture onto national and imperial progress legitimised its advance as an almost natural progression. Colonial intervention could therefore be perceived as a linear, non-revolutionary

progression with a natural hierarchy within the unit: paternal heads as benevolent rulers over immature children. The image of the family became invaluable through its ability to provide the imperialist state with a natural alibi. Therefore, the notable thing about claiming "first", or memorising the "firstborn", is that it only focuses on the colonisers. Nothing is said about those who lived in the place before. "There is no hint that the 'new locality' may not be so 'new' and that the process of 'forming a community' might be somewhat unfair" (Loomba 2005: 7).

Regarding the construction of a common Swedishness in the racialisation of cities and urban areas, Irene Molina points out that the creation of cultural distance separates "native" Swedishness from the "immigrated". A cultural distance is created regardless of whether or not the Sami is culturalised and distinguished from the Swedish. "Is there really one thing that unites all 'native Swedes' that automatically means that their cultural distance to any immigrant citizen whatsoever is larger than that of any other Swedish born citizen?" (Molina 1997: 50).

Since the democratic aspirations of the city transformation process have been greatly emphasised, the colonial past should be commented upon in the construction of the memorial park, to prevent the legitimisation of power relations by these images. Different stages of the ongoing city transformation reveal the different needs for both capturing and quickly forgetting, in a place that will be gradually emptied, relocated, disappeared, and futurised. But no discussion has yet argued what the democratic content should be, or what a democratic city transformation *is*. To create "a sense of Kiruna's history", or to create a future city by means of historical references, means balancing on the verge of a manipulated, problematic, national creation. With discursive references to the nation there is a risk of limiting the democratic discussion. In addition, a national unity might obscure the hierarchies and power structures that appear to operate in a national "we" (Jansson et al. 2011: 122).

The question of what memories represent can be problematic for the authorities since traces and fragments of buildings and streets may represent aspects of Kiruna's history that stand in contrast to the aims of the transformation process: masculine ideals, social inequality, colonising. In this light, the representation of the historic structure of the city risks limiting the meanings attached to the place (Crowley 2011: 360). When a place is threatened by dissolution, this may in itself create and reinforce an emotional commitment, a national community of emotions (Nora 1989, Dickinson et al. 2010). The past is an important aspect of national identity. It has the ability to channel an idea of continuity into contemporary time.

Conclusions: The legitimacy of the ancestors

In this article I have studied the role of memory and nation-making in the mediation of a common past by asking: What do these photographic memorials represent in relation to space? What are the values made visible in these photographs? I discuss the ways in which Kiruna's history becomes manifested in these ready-picked memories of a vast city. The picture of the Söderberg family and the men on the doorstep of the Company Hotel are considered to be two of the most significant images for the town of Kiruna. Through my reading of these photos, I have tracked down a classic model of colonialism in a country that has difficulty accepting its past as a coloniser. By forging a consensus version of the past, the Kiruna Transformation process works to reconnect with the mythical Model City. When evoking the image of the perfect city, or model city, a question appears out of the social structure; namely: how are the Sami included in Kiruna's history? How has the Sami past been legitimised in the story that is told about Kiruna? I discuss how power in the relationships between the Sami (minority group) and the nation (majority group) has played out, and how references to the past, but also how memory, history, remembrance and forgetting, the present and the future are represented in these photographs. These photographs become framed by our awareness that human ways of acting and being in place and space are dialogically generative, that people produce themselves through their spatial practices. Photographs invite speculation on their broader social and political ramifications, due to the way in which they invite the viewer to look and to position him/herself in a certain relation to meaning. Images are both a point of access to the social world and an archive of it. The Sami subject positions and their possibilities to speak, as colonised, are restricted in this process.

In my striving to study the role of memory and nation-making in the mediation of a common past, I have discussed representations that are connected to and evoked by these historical images. In the resurrection of Kiruna's history, the Model City, in denial about its colonial past, becomes the fantasised memory, the nostalgia of a mythical city. Nora's definition of history could be related to McClintock's declarations about photography as the colonial servant: its denoting of historical time and linear colonial interventions – a colonial time. The city transformation process generates a narrative around what Kiruna *is* and what it grew out of. A study of these stories may contribute to increased knowledge about how collective identity is produced and reproduced. Otherwise, the process propels a history that never challenges the colonial foundations upon which the site is built. In the arrangement of historical images in the memorial park, the photographs have a decorative role, according to LKAB, but they are also intended as identification, so that the people of Kiruna will recognise themselves. This allows the family picture to be used as a unifying factor and a reproductive resource, while

resistance or conflicts of interest are undesirable.

At the same time, the persistent male breadwinner ideal is an element that the future Kiruna is expected to expunge, but never does. The reason that we need to pay attention to the existing and ongoing history-writing in Kiruna is that the establishment of an official history of the town identifies and reproduces a normative history, and this conceals how the present is controlled by components of the past. The meanings that might be read into the image of the infant Kiruna Söderberg either allow or restrict democratic involvement in shaping the city of Kiruna. How are women positioned, as a resource or as part of the foundations of collective reproduction? The monumental photographic block picturing the firstborn Kiruna suggests that her role is to be the place, instead of taking place. "Kiruna", like Mother Svea, Marianne or Germania, becomes a national symbol, she appears in a metaphorical role. It is a way for power to reproduce itself, "by producing useful bodies and subjects" (Gedalof 2003: 93). With the powers of nationalism often at stake, McClintock sums up: "Nationalism is thus constituted from the very beginning as a gendered discourse and cannot be understood without a theory of gender power" (McClintock 1995: 355). While the remains are chosen to represent a common past, they might also represent a kind of oblivion. At the same time, as unwanted attention is drawn to the absence or the remains of a demolished past, they can also be seen as a memory of abuse by a past colonising authority.

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Black, LGBT and from the Favelas: an Ethnographic Account on Disidentificatory Performances of an Activist Group in Brazil

By Rubens Mascarenhas Neto & Vinícius Zanoli

Abstract

In this article, we address the processes of the production of places, identities, and cultures through analysing performances of activists from Aos Brados, in their political activities throughout Campinas, a 1 million inhabitants city located in the state of São Paulo, Brazil. Aos Brados is an activist group formed by Black LGBT people from the favelas whose main activities in the last ten years have been cultural activities. Focusing on the activities made by Aos Brados members in cultural centres and public spaces throughout Campinas, we discuss how, in such presentations, the group disputes meanings associated with the places and cultures that these places claim to represent. We sustain that it can be seen as a process of disidentification in which Aos Brados reshapes meanings associated with places and cultures, producing Black LGBT Culture from the favelas. The discussion results from shared questions in two different research concerning the effects of the intersections of race, gender, class, and sexuality on the political identity of Black LGBT activists and on the performances of young drag queens. The methodology employed congregated participant-observation and in-depth interviews.

Keywords: Disidentification, Culture, Space, Drag Queens, LGBTQ Activism, Intersectionality, Brazil.

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Introduction

The sun was setting when Jane[1], a young Black drag queen, was called to the improvised stage in Fazenda Roseira (Roseira Farm), an Afro-Brazilian cultural centre of Campinas, Brazil. The crowd was waiting to see what Aos Brados' drag queens had prepared for the 2015 "Fejuka[2] da Diversidade". Fejuka is a slang for feijoada, an important ritual dish for Afro-Brazilian religions, that was later appropriated as national symbol (Fry 1982). Parallel to the artistic presentations, the day-long event consisted of preparing and serving feijoada as a form of reconnecting Black LGBT with their Afro-Brazilian roots.

Jane stepped up, dressed in a white rounded dress with a turban covering the top of her head, dancing in a ritual manner. Her introductory piece started with a tribute to a spiritual entity worshiped in Umbanda[3]. At a certain point, the music changed to the fast pace of axé rhythm, and Jane started to dance samba, making fast movements like a samba school dancer.

This kind of performance has become a signature of the cultural activities of Aos Brados', an LGBT[4] organization founded in 1998 in Campinas, Brazil. The term "cultural activities" is used by Aos Brados to define the group's main repertoire of action in the present. According to Charles Tilly,

> the word repertoire identifies a limited set of routines that are learned, shared, and acted out through a relatively deliberate process of choice. Repertoires are learned cultural creations, but they do not descend from abstract philosophy or take shape as a result of political propaganda; they emerge from struggle. (Tilly 1993: 264)

The idea of "cultural activities" is inspired by the name given by Black cultural activists to their own activities. In Aos Brados' case, these activities usually composed by a variety of artistic presentations, mainly performed by LGBT artists[5], including – but not limited to – drag performances. In this article, we focus on drag performances in these cultural activities, because these artists are shown by the group as living examples of what they understand as a Black LGBT culture from the favela. In other words, the drag performances mobilize signs of what is broadly understood as LGBT, Black, and Favela culture.

The name of the group, Aos Brados, can be translated to English as shouting. During the interviews, the members stated that they chose this name because, as LGBT people from the favelas, they had to shout in order to be heard in the mainstream LGBT movement. In its early days, Aos Brados' members identified themselves as LGBT people from the favelas; having as their main political actions what they called social activities. More recently, since 2008, when the group established relationships with cultural organizations of the Black movement in Campinas and

started to organize cultural activities throughout the city, blackness became a central aspect of their political identity, turning Aos Brados into a Black LGBT organization from the favelas. One of its main goals is to create more opportunities for Black LGBT artists in the local and regional entertainment scene, as well as to fight sexism, racism, homophobia, transphobia, and class-based discrimination through its cultural activities.

Brazil's fourteenth largest city, Campinas has one million inhabitants and is located in the state of Sao Paulo, in the Southeast. The city is the centre of the Metropolitan Region of Campinas, composed of twenty municipalities with a population of more than 3 million inhabitants. Although some of the most well-known "gay cities" in Brazil are Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Campinas has achieved relevance in the national scene for a few reasons. It is a pioneer city in terms of public policies for LGBT, hosting Brazil's first LGBT Reference Centre (Zanoli, 2015; Zanoli, Falcão, 2015). Also, back in the early 1990's, it was the birthplace of one of the country's first activist transgender group, the Transsexual Movement of Campinas (Carvalho & Carrara 2013).

In this article we pursue narratives and performances that inform how perceptions of the city and its places, in relation to activism, are disputed, produced, and changed through Aos Brados' activities. Thus, by following the process through which Aos Brados produces what the group understands as Black LGBT Culture from the favelas, we observe which elements are taken as part of the culture Aos Brados aims to produce and how they are related to specific spaces and to the formation of the members' political identities.

Using the concept and notion of "culture" (Abu-Lughod 1991, Handler 1984), we do not seek a definite definition, instead we discuss how "culture" is given meaning when appropriated by social movements as part of their repertoire of actions. In this sense, rather than defining what the mobilized cultures stated above are, we aim to understand how some symbols are taken as representatives of these cultures and how they are being produced whilst being elaborated and performed.

This article is based on shared results from two different research projects, both concerned with gender, sexuality, race and politics among LGBT in Campinas, Brazil. The former (Mascarenhas Neto 2018), conducted between 2015 and 2018, focused on displacements and careers of young drag queens in Campinas, paying special attention to the role played by local LGBT organizations[6]. The latter is an ongoing study started in 2015, aiming to comprehend the circulation of vocabularies, categories, and repertoires of actions amongst social movements and how this circulation impacts the production of political subjects through coalitions between social movements[7]. The study follows the activists' networks formed by Aos Brados. The methodologies in both studies are qualitative congregating participant-observation, in-depth interviews, and document analysis. The

fieldwork focused on the group's meetings and cultural activities, of which drag queens play a central role.

This article is divided into three sections. In the first, we present the theoretical background of the relationship between identity, culture, and place. Since the production of the group's main repertoire of action is the result of its relationships with the LGBT movement and the Black movement, the second section recovers the history of these proximities and estrangements, understanding the foundation of Aos Brados as a result of a broader process named by Brazilian literature as specification of social movements. Inspired by Muñoz's (1999) work on disidentification, the third section is dedicated to analyse two cultural activities observing the process of production of Black LGBT culture from the peripheries, whilst looking to the formation of political alliances between social movements in Campinas.

Identity, culture, and place

To analyse how Aos Brados produces what the group comprehends as Black, LGBT, and favela culture, we approach the culture performed and produced as a process of disidentification (Muñoz 1999). According to Muñoz, the theory of disidentification "is meant to contribute to an understanding of the ways queer of color identify with ethnos or queerness despite the phobic charges in both fields" (Muñoz 1999: 11). Disidentification would be a third mode of dealing with dominant ideologies, since it is never a simple process of identification or counteridenfication with the dominant ideology. Disidentification processes aim to transform cultural knowledge from within or in Munoz's words, "disidentification is about recycling and rethinking encoded meaning" (Muñoz 1999: 31).

One of the examples of a disidentificatory process presented by Munõz is the creation of the Black Latina punk-rock drag queen Vaginal Creme Davis. When asked the reason why she chose to be called Vaginal Davis, she responded that the inspiration came from Angela Davis. She explains the idea of using Davis's last name as a result of her immersion in the 1960's and 1970's militant Black era. For Munõz, by selecting to identify with Angela (Davis) and not the Panthers in her drag persona, (Vaginal Creme) Davis disidentified with masculinist and homophobic characteristics of the early Black movement, using "parody and pastiche to remake Black Power, opening it up to a self that is simultaneously black and queer" (Muñoz 1999: 99). Not only her name, but her performances are examples of disidentificatory processes. In her punk-rock performances she tends to emphasize the lack of black and queer representation in punk-rock scene. In other projects, such as her group ¡Cholita!, she disidentifies with Latino popular culture by taking on another character. "As Graciela Grejalva, she is not an oversexed songstress, but instead a teenage Latina singing sappy bubblegum pop" (ibid).

In regards to identity, we follow Avtar Brah's (1996) proposition. In her formulation, subjects and experiences are always thought of as processes. She also remarks the need for differentiation between individual and collective identity. For her, even though the individual identity of a person can reverberate in the group's identity, the individual personal experiences are not a simple reflex of the group identity, nor vice-versa. Therefore, she proposes that in the formation processes of collective identities, individual experiences around different axes of differentiation – such as race, gender or class, for instance – are invested with particular meaning.

The Brazilian anthropological discussion on gender, sexuality, and space has been intimately influenced by urban anthropology and sociology, namely the Chicago school of social research. As França, Facchini, and Gregori (2017) demonstrate, seminal works in the early days of Gender and Sexuality studies in Brazil have elaborated interesting and original contributions through the observations of sexuality in urban spaces. One of the most relevant is Nestor Perlongher's (1987) study on male prostitution. Influenced by the Chicago school, as well as by the works of Félix Guattari and Gilles Deleuze, Perlongher inaugurated an original cartography of desire by observing the multiplicity of sexual identities performed by male prostitutes and their clients in 1980's downtown São Paulo. He observed how such identities were negotiated in relation to the space where they offered their services. Perlongher paved the way for further investigations on the relationships between space, identity, and sexuality in Brazilian urban anthropology.

Another important influence on Brazilian urban anthropology comes from the work of Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson in 1992. They criticise the lack of discussion at the time, on the issue of space in anthropological theory, calling for attention to processes that form space, instead of taking space for granted as a background for human action. Gupta and Ferguson proposed the notion of "imagined places", claiming that places are constantly being discursively (re)created from a series of social and political elements. They suggested a distinction between "spaces" and "places", where spaces become places when they are invested with specific meanings, such as a portion of land turning into a nation, as well as a street, or a village, being associated with a specific identity, such as gay villages or Jewish neighbourhoods (Gupta & Ferguson 1992).

Following a similar approach, Rogério Proença Leite (2007) analyses the production of public space in Recife, Brazil, through its usages and counter-usages. He defines public space as a place of dispute constituted through a relationship that simultaneously produces its attendees as well as the space itself. According to Leite, the appropriation of space is a political process in which the right to occupy and belong to certain spaces is disputed. His approach though, does not consider sexuality in the discussion of the appropriation of places.

Isadora Lins França (2012) draws inspiration from both Perlongher and Gupta & Ferguson in her study of the gay oriented market in São Paulo. Giving special attention to the "intricate processes of differentiation and subjectivation related to consumption and homosexuality (França 2012: 17)" she aims to understand how consumption shapes "subjectivities, identity categories and styles related to homosexuality in the context of market segmentation (ibid)". In this sense, França proposes that consumption not only happens *in* specific places, but the places themselves can be consumed, too. Hence, places are not simple backgrounds, they

> act in the constitutions of subjectivities at the same time they are constituted by its attendees; on the other hand, they work also as contexts that reveal and enable specific uses of goods or, circulate information on its respect, stimulating, or not, the interest for objects or specific consumption practices (França 2012:19)[8].

Inspired by this theoretical background we aim to explore how Aos Brados' activities produce what they understand as Black LGBT culture from the favela. We will do so by approaching their activities as processes of disidentifications where they dispute or challenge meanings and narratives related to cultures and places commonly associated with specific histories or social movements.

Proximities and estrangements

In order to contextualise the strategic cultural and political activities enforced by Aos Brados, we present here how alliances between different social movements have been part of a long history of proximities and estrangements between the LGBT movement and the Black movement in Brazil.

The literature on the LGBT movement in Brazil highlights the foundation of the organization Somos of São Paulo and the newspaper Lampião da Esquina as historical marks of the emergence of the Brazilian Homosexual Movement (MacRae 1990; Facchini & França 2013). Somos was founded in 1978, in the final years of the Brazilian civilian-military Dictatorship (1964-1985) – a reflourishing period for social movements in Brazil (Green 2018). At that time, some of its members were involved with the publication of Lampião da Esquina, edited by and for homosexuals, inspired by San Francisco's Gay Sunshine (Simões & Facchini 2008). In contrast to Brazilian periodicals published prior to it, Lampião was distributed nationally and had renowned journalists, intellectuals and artists on its editorial board.

The year of 1978 is not only central in the LGBT movement history, it is also the foundational year of a key organization of the Black movement in Brazil: the

MNU - Unified Black Movement (Movimento Negro Unificado) (Covin 2006; Gonzalez 1982). According to Domingues (2007), the MNU had amongst its' international influences the fight for civil rights in the United States and the fight against colonial dominations in Africa. As an important national influence, he cites the Trotskyist organization Socialist Convergence. As he points out, this organization was "the school of political and ideological formation for a great number of leaders of this period of the Black Movement" (Domingues 2007:112). Consequently, for the majority of members of the MNU, it was not possible to fight racism without addressing social inequalities resulting from capitalism.

The homosexual movement and the MNU had further connections. MacRae (1990) highlights that MNU was a significant ally to Somos, reminding that the first public appearance of Somos at a protest was at an event organized by the Black organization, in 1979. According to MacRae, there were two reasons for the connections between the two organizations. First, the influence of Lampião on Somos and its politics of alliances, since the newspaper – despite being centred on gays and lesbian themes – had published a lot of material on feminism, the Black movement, sexism, and racism. Second, members of the Socialist Convergence were present in both Somos and the MNU, thus the influence of the Trotskyist group had a connective effect. Third, there was active participation of members from both organizations in each other's activities.

With the end of Somos and Lampião da Esquina, the mid-80's marks the beginning of another phase of the movement (Facchini 2005; Facchini & França 2013), characterized by the numerical reduction of groups and the fight against HIV epidemics. One of the most important organization of this period is Triângulo Rosa (Pink Triangle), famous for leading the campaign to include guarantees against discrimination based on sexual orientation into the 1988 Constitution of Brazil, being drafted at the time. Despite the effort, Triângulo Rosa did not succeed in convincing the majority of the lawmakers (Câmara 2002).

The number of LGBT groups and organizations began to rise again in the 1990's. In this new phase, influenced by the policies targeting the HIV epidemics, most of the organizations became NGO's and started to engage in proposals, executions and evaluations of HIV policies. The period is also marked by the multiplication and specification of the political identities of the movement. This is illustrated by the metaphor of the "alphabet soup" (Facchini 2005), referring to the process of adding letters to the acronyms (such as LGBT), where each letter represented "new" gender identities and sexual orientations that became part of the movement. On the other hand, what Facchini (2005) has named as specification, is connected to debates on intersectionality and to the claims that gender identities and sexual orientations were not sufficient to represent how people experience their life, taking other social axes of difference, such as race and class, as central

to subjects' experiences. This process is marked by the emergence of groups and networks acting at the intersection between social movements.

It is important to highlight that this process named specification (Facchini, 2005) is not restricted to the LGBT movement. An extensive research on social movements and social participation in Brazil, coordinated by Lopes and Heredia (2014), points to processes of learning and exchange among social movements. They found that "universalist movements", such as workers' unions or rural workers organizations, have been opening up space for debates on sexual and racial inequality, for instance. Furthermore, activists' organizations often claim to fight against "all inequalities".

Despite the rise of all these groups and networks, few academic works have been produced on the Black LGBT movement in Brazil. Some of the works mention the schisms that originated in the organizations; however, just one of these works, Santos's (2015) on the Rede Afro-LGBT, analyses the political trajectories and repertoires of action of a Black LGBT organization. Moreover, even though it is possible to cite a great number of works focused on the intersections of race and sexuality in Brazil, most of them focus on sociability, desire, consumption, and sexual practices.

It is in this context, marked by conflicts and a plurality of political and social identities, that Aos Brados was founded as a dissident from an earlier organization – Identidade (the second LGBT organization of Campinas). According to its older members, the creation of Aos Brados was due to the lack of space and voice for LGBT from the peripheries in the Identidade meetings[9]. When Identidade decided to set up an e-mail list in order to keep in contact with regional, national, and international organizations and networks, the future founders of Aos Brados were very critical to the usage of the internet, since internet access was limited and expensive in the late 1990's. Therefore, they created the newspaper Jornal Aos Brados to reach people from the peripheries. Later that year, due to increasing disputes, they decided to leave Identidade to found their own organisation while keeping the journals' name.

As we pointed before, more recently, the group has gone through some changes; shifting from actions they called social activities to what they call cultural activities. The main goal of these activities is to fight homophobic, racist, and classist behaviour through performances that connects what the group understand as Favela culture, LGBT culture, and Black culture. The two main cultural activities organised by the group are Pedala Bich@ and Fejuka da Diversidade, both being given special attention in the next section.

The Cultural Activities

Campinas, where Aos Brados' actions take place, has a historical significance regarding slavery. The city was known for the cruelty of slave-owners, the refusal to accept the Abolition, and for severe restrictions of the presence of enslaved and Black people in public spaces (Martins 2016, Giesbrecht 2011)[10]. Moreover, Giesbrecht (2011) and Martins (2016) highlight that urban transformations in downtown Campinas are marked by the relocation of poor and Black people from the city centre to the outskirts. On the other hand, Campinas was a place where part of the Brazilian Black Press[11] was being organized, sowing seeds to new forms of Black Associationism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Aiming to rescue fragments of the memories of Campinas' Black and slavery history, in 2011, Aos Brados created Pedala Bich@. The name alludes to a central activity in the event, a bicycle ride. Bicha is a slang used to describe male homosexuals. Pedala is the imperative form of the verb to pedal (pedalar in Portuguese). Thus, the name is an invitation to ride with the group.

The event, which happened usually on Sundays, consisted of two parts: a bicycle ride throughout Campinas' downtown arriving in Largo do Rosário (an important square for public demonstrations) where a variety show took place. The ride was planned to cover streets of historical importance regarding racial segregation, with prohibition and social restrictions of attendance by Black people. Martins (2016) and Giesbrecht (2011) observed that even though the legal restrictions ended with 1888's slavery Abolition, the social restriction remained up to the 1940's.

As the riders arrived in Largo do Rosário, they were welcomed by the variety show hostess Grace, a black lesbian woman and founder of Aos Brados. In the 2015's edition, while cycling around the audience, she welcomed everyone. In the opening speech, she reminded that Black and poor people have not always been welcomed in public spaces and central neighbourhoods, remarking Campinas' spatial segregation and relocation policies. Adding that LGBT people share this exclusion, due to the fear of psychological and physical violence, and recalling that Brazil is the deadliest country for LGBT people in the world[12], Grace stressed the importance of being part of events like Pedala Bich@, as a response to the historical segregation imposed on Black, poor, and LGBT people in Campinas. She also addressed the whitening and gentrification processes of downtown Campinas, remembering that contemporary upper middle-class central neighbourhoods were formerly Black neighbourhoods and that these Black communities were dismantled and evicted in the second half of 20th Century.

Taking into consideration Leite's (2007) discussion on urban transformation and segregation in Recife, it is possible to understand Pedala Bich@ as a form of counter-usage of public space, and of history as well. For Leite, although gentrifi-

cation results in urban segregation, it cannot prevent the emergence of new forms of appropriation of the space named as counter-usages. Following the same logic, although racism, classism and LGBTphobia work intricately to erase and segregate people from public spaces, the segregation itself can be responded to by appropriations of the space such as the activities organized by Aos Brados. The narratives and history of segregation and slavery are central to Aos Brados' actions of empowering Black LGBT from the peripheries of Campinas. It is through retelling and rescuing these fragments of history that Aos Brados disputes and challenges meanings attributed to those spaces. Thus, when the activists cycle through streets and organize a variety show with a cast of Black and LGBT artists, they effectively propose a counter-usage of the space, appropriating, occupying, and claiming their right to use it.

In 2016, the last time Aos Brados organized Pedala Bich@, Grace introduced the cast of the variety show, this time an ensemble of drag queens and "partners" such as samba and hip-hop groups. In every edition of Pedala Bich@, Grace presented the origins of each member of the ensemble, usually from the peripheries of the city, by naming each neighbourhood. She also reminded the audience that most Black LGBT artists were excluded from the gay segmented entertainment market, especially if the artists chose to perform songs and rhythms associated with "Black culture" in a broader sense.

That same year, due to lack of municipal support, Aos Brados had to find a new venue, since the municipal administration would not offer a stage, nor authorize the use of the square, due to a restauration of one of the streets used in the event. Fearing they would lose the event, Aos Brados accepted to go to Central Station Cultural Centre, a municipal project in a deactivated downtown train station. As a part of the Secretariat for Culture of Campinas, the Station is the home of cultural and artistic projects and events in the city, most of them free of charge. The place has an extensive range of activities organised by local community groups. For example, the hip-hop movement of Campinas uses the Station as its headquarters, for rehearsing and performing.

The members of Aos Brados did not see the change of venue to the Station as a major problem. At one meeting, Grace recalled that the Station is "the home of the hip-hop movement of Campinas", a key partner of the group. For Grace, the change had to be followed by an alteration in the variety show, suggesting a dialogue with hip-hop and rap in their performances, to appeal to a wider audience that would now potentially attend the event. This suggestion was not made without political discussions amongst Aos Brados' activists. Hip-hop as a culture is often seen as straight and masculinist[13]. Therefore, Grace proposed that the move to the Station could be regarded as a kind of occupation of the home of the hip-hop movement, to demonstrate that LGBT people can also be part of hip-hop

and favela culture. In other words, the move to the Station and bringing LGBT and feminist artists to perform hip-hop can be seen as a disidentificatory deterritorialization as proposed by Muñoz (1999), since it occupies a space often seen straight and masculinist, with LGBT bodies.

In addition to Pedala Bich@, Aos Brados organizes Fejuka da Diversidade. Fejuka is part of the recent efforts of the group to act in the intersection between the LGBT Movement and the Black Movement through cultural activities. Moreover, it is also an event in which the group has been disputing not only meanings associated with Black and Afro-Brazilian culture, but also the ones associated with Fazenda Roseira (an Afro-Brazilian cultural centre and Jongo reference centre) as a site of African-Brazilian tradition. In Fejuka da Diversidade, Aos Brados works to show that spaces of African-Brazilian tradition are also spaces for Afro-Brazilian LGBT people, and can also be performed and produced by LGBT.

The Fazenda Roseira cultural centre – or Roseira – is located in Jardim Roseira, West Campinas, close to a previously poor neighbourhood that recently went through a process of gentrification. The premises are formed by an old colonial manor and two annex buildings. The estate, closed in 2007, was squatted by Dito Ribeiro Jongo Community and other local Afro-Brazilian cultural and religious movements, and re-opened in 2009, as a cultural centre. Since then, Roseira has been a site of celebration and protection of Afro-Brazilian traditions. Nowadays, the community holds the legal possession of the place.

In the opening section of this article, we described Jane's performance at a Fejuka da Diversidade event. Alluding to Afro-Brazilian religion Umbanda, she dressed and danced in a ritual manner and lip-synched songs with Afro-Brazilian influences from the Brazilian singer Daniela Mercury. Her presentation is an example of blending LGBT culture with Afro-Brazilian traditions. The mashup she delivered combined symbols seen as part of Black culture. Its genre, axé, is a musical rhythm from Brazilian Northeast with Afro-Brazilian influence. Axé is rooted in Afro-Brazilian musical movements from Salvador de Bahia and is strongly linked to Afro-Brazilian religious movements[14]. In addition, the song is a tribute to Ilê Ayê, an important Black cultural organization of Bahia. Moreover, if axé symbolizes Afro-Brazilian culture, Daniela Mercury[15], as a lesbian singer, is also taken as a representative of LGBT culture, since she came out publicly, which gave her some publicity in media.

However, not all members of Aos Brados that do drag are Black, but most of them come from poor backgrounds and live in the peripheries of the city. Claire is one of the few white drag queens that has been actively participating in Aos Brados meetings and activities. In 2016, she was the hostesses of Fejuka. By the end of the event she made a small speech:

> First of all, I would like to thank Fazenda Roseira for receiving Aos Brados again this year. As you might know, it has been a pleasure to work with you. I would like to say that this space here is very important for us. Not that I am criticizing the clubs where I work, the ones that pay my salaries, but here we have the right to create, we are free to dialogue with our traditions, to perform Brazilian songs and artists and to celebrate Afro-Brazilian Culture. (Fieldnotes, September 2016)

What Claire stresses in her speech is an aesthetic shift from the nightclubs where she works, to spaces such as Fazenda Roseira, where she performs as an activist. The performances of young drag queens, like Claire and Jane, are a vital part of the events organised by Aos Brados, taking a considerable time to arrange. When they are singing and lip-synching, the songs should preferably be samba, axé or Brazilian popular music – rhythms strongly associated with Black culture in Brazil. When the songs are in English, the group prefers the ones performed by Black artists, and rhythms associated with African-American culture, such as R&B or hip-hop.

Claire's perception of Roseira as a place to exercise their creativity and freely dialogue with traditions of their own choice, suggest that among Afro-Brazilian movements, somehow, her drag art can be performed in more experimental ways. Jane's perception follows the same path. Even if she, at the time, balanced between Candomblé and evangelical Christianism, it was important to her to explore and honour the Afro-Brazilian roots celebrated in that place.

For instance, different from the whitening foundation used when performing in nightclubs, in Aos Brados's performances some drag queens prefer makeup that emphasizes their black skin; and instead of blond and straight wigs used in nightclubs, they choose big and curly black hair. Furthermore, their outfits usually vary from most common drag gowns to African motives, as well as white dresses and turbans, in reference to Afro-Brazilian religions such as Candomblé and Umbanda. If nightclubs are usually the best place to do drag – for its structure, technical features and public – the sense of creativity is constricted by expectations from patrons and managers. Roseira, however, when opening its doors to drag artists, transforms the audience's perception of tradition by embracing different forms of experimenting with Afro-Brazilian culture.

If drag queens performing and reinterpreting "Afro-Brazilian Culture" in Roseira do not seem to be a problem nowadays, according to Grace, this is only possible due to her critical engagements – or disidentifications (Munõz 1999) – with Afro-Brazilian tradition. Since the late 2010's, she has been also a member of Dito Ribeiro Jongo Community, engaging in the activities around Jongo, an Afro-Brazilian cultural expression characteristic of Brazilian Southeast that congregates

percussion, circular dancing and magical-poetic elements. When performing, the participants of *roda de jongo* (circle of jongo) are disposed in a circular manner, where a couple dance in the centre while the others sing and play percussion instruments. According to Grace, when she started to participate in *rodas de jongo*, she wanted to dance with women. Her girlfriend at that time was also part of Dito Ribeiro Jongo Community, and, since traditionally yoyôs (men) dance with yayás (women) in a roda de jongo, it was not possible for her to dance with another woman. After some debate and time, she was able to convince the members of Dito Ribeiro that she could dance with other women without contradicting tradition. In order to do so, she begun to dress like a yoyô, switching the usual long skirts for trousers.

For Handler (1984), the production of an objectified culture goes through the selection of what elements can be seen as part of that culture. What we have tried to portray in this section, is which elements, symbols, and activities Aos Brados uses and performs as part of the culture that the group aims to produce and how they relate to specific spaces and cultures through processes of disidentifications.

Conclusion

We explored in this article the narratives and performances that inform how perceptions of the city and its places are disputed, produced, and changed by the activities of social movements, particularly by Aos Brados, a Black LGBT organization from the peripheries of Campinas, Brazil. By presenting Aos Brados and its activities, we discussed how the group disputes the meaning attributed to places by recovering the history of exclusion of Black, poor and LGBT people from the city centre and by "occupying" places seen as traditional for the Black movement and the hip-hop movement. In such disputes, as we addressed here, the group's presence and performances create "new" places for Black LGBT people from the peripheries. In other words, Aos Brados' cultural activities disrupt the established signifiers related to spaces not by contradicting them, but rather by intertwining them with other signifiers.

While disputing spaces through their presentations, the members of the group are also disputing what is understood to be Black, favela, and LGBT culture. The production of culture in Aos Brados' events is a complex process of bricolage that reflects the reality of the members, as people whose lives are crossed by several cultures and identities on an intertwined axis of differentiation (Brah 1996). By taking drag as a specific practice of LGBT culture, they are reproducing certain ideas associated with LGBT culture (which of course is not an uncontested, stable, or fixed culture). At the same time, when they perform songs related to what is understood to be Black or Afro-Brazilian culture, they challenge assumptions

of LGBT culture as white, middle class, and Americanised. With the same logic, when encouraging LGBT artists (especially drag queens) to perform songs and other cultural expressions considered Black or "from the favela", the group is also challenging assumptions that those cultures and traditions are heterosexual and cisgender[16].

More precisely, the production of black, LGBT, and favela culture, as well as the spatial disputes in the group's activities, are processes of disidentification and deterritorialization (Muñoz 1999). As Muñoz proposes, disidentifications can be produced *through* processes of deterritorialization. The aforementioned Vaginal Davis, by singing punk songs and occupying punk stages, is not only disidentifying with the elements of punk culture seen as white and straight, she is also reterritorializing punk stages, occupying them with a Black queer body. In the same way Aos Brados, by challenging assumptions that favela culture and Black culture are straight and masculine, reterritorializes spaces traditionally associated with these cultures, opening them up to LGBT bodies.

These processes are not only changing cultural codes from within, Aos Brados is also performatively writing and rewriting cultural meanings alongside spatial disputes. Taking into consideration what Gupta and Ferguson (1992) have elaborated, spaces turn into places and places into new places when they acquire different meanings. In the cases here discussed, when places are associated with an established practice or tradition, we have seen that social movements, through disidentificatory and deterritorializating practices and performances, have the capacity to change the meanings associated to places.

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Notes

[1]When referring to our interlocutors, we use pseudonyms in order to preserve their identities.

[2]In Candomblé, food is associated with specific deities (orixás). Preparing, serving and sharing with fellow religious people is a form of connection between humans and deities. Feijoada is a dish associated with the orixá Ogum (Lody 2004).

[3]Umbanda is an Afro-Brazilian religion from the beginning of the 20th Century (Prandi 1990).

[4]The usage of the "LGBT" acronym rather than "LGBTQ" is due to the fact that "queer" is not commonly used as a category of identity in Brazil. However, we understand that queer is a central notion for theoretical and political elaborations produced outside Brazil. So, in this article, when dialoguing with queer theory, we use the term queer as un umbrella category that refers to LGBT, as well as other sexual orientations and gender identities.

[5]In most of Aos Brados cultural activities, partner groups are invited to perform. Some of them are composed of non-LGBT artists, but all of their artistic presentations are recognized by Aos Brados as expressions of Black or Favela culture.

[6]Research funded by São Paulo Research Foundation (FAPESP), grant number: 2015/00640-5.

[7]Research funded by the National Research and Technology Council (CNPQ) and São Paulo Research Foundation (FAPESP), grant number: 2015/11134-3.

[8]Authors Translation from the original in Portuguese.

[9]In spite of Aos Brados founders' narrative, some of the members of Identidade that lived in the peripheries of the city remained in the group.

[10]According to Martins (2016), Campinas was known for being the last city to abolish slavery due to the reminiscences of slavery practices in the city after the abolition.

[11]According to Domingues (2018b), the Black Press consists of newspapers created by Afro-Brazilians and dedicated to discuss their issues.

[12]The LGBT organizations in Brazil tend to base this information on the annual reports produced by Grupo Gay da Bahia (Gay Group of Bahia). According to the latest report, launched in 2018, 445 LGBT were killed in 2017 in Brazil. This information is available at: https://homofobiamata.wordpress.com/2017-2/. Accessed in 22nd of August, 2018.

[13]We highlight the critics of mainstream hip-hop culture made by Luana Hansen, a renowned Brazilian feminist lesbian rapper and DJ. Luana had participated in many Aos Brados' activities. In her songs, as well as in public declarations, she remarks about the reproduction of sexism and LGBTphobia within hip-hop.

[14]The rhythm's name axé, comes from the word "asè" in Yoruba, that represents the vital spiritual energy that exists in all living beings.

[15]Liv Sovik (2009) makes some remarks on the controversial figure of Daniela Mercury in the axé music scene. Mercury was born in an Italian-Brazilian family in Bahia and become a major success in Brazil and abroad in the early 1990's with her songs mixing Afro-Brazilian influences learned from Salvador Afro-Brazilian cultural movements and groups. She was recognised as an Afro-Brazilian cultural pop icon, but the groups that inspired her didn't share her success. Sovik highlights the contradiction of such a situation, since it was a white woman dancing and singing songs with Afro-Brazilian

elements that reached success and became the symbol of Afro-Brazilian culture and music.

[16]Cisgender is a term emerged from transfeminism activist discussion, a cisgender person is someone whose gender identity is conformed with the one they were assigned at birth. It can be described as the opposite of transsexuality.

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Narratives of a Fractured Trust in the Swedish Model: Tenants' Emotions of Renovation

By Dominika V. Polanska & Åse Richard

Abstract

Research shows there is a current wave of housing renovation in Swedish cities, where private as well as public rental housing companies use "renoviction," or displacement through renovation, as a profit-driven strategy. This article focuses on emotions and renoviction, in particular the emotions of tenants currently facing forced renovations, in Sweden. We discuss how power is reproduced and questioned, and illustrate methods used by housing companies to carry out extensive renovation. The following questions have guided our analysis: What kinds of emotions are evoked among tenants experiencing an extensive, top-down and costly renovation? What particular injustices and violations are identified by the tenants in this situation? How can these violations be understood in relation to the current housing policy? Our research is qualitative and builds on semi-structured interviews with tenants as well as extensive ethnographic work in a neighborhood undergoing renovation, followed by steeply increased rents. We use the metaphor of "fractured trust" to conceptualize the emotional reaction of tenants, and argue that citizens´ trust in the Swedish welfare system is being broken locally, in the wake of ongoing top-down renovation processes, by use of a rationality that does not take into consideration tenants' perspectives and needs. We conclude that anxiety, angst, anger, and loss, attached together in a common feeling of shock, were the most prevalent emotions expressed and were described by tenants as a response to unfair treatment. In the interviews, a complex set of violations performed by the housing company in a renoviction neighborhood is brought to the forefront here, and set in this context of systemic violence exerted against tenants in contemporary Sweden.

Keywords: emotions, renovation, displacement, tenants, violations, housing, Sweden

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Introduction

The national housing regime is regarded as a cornerstone of Sweden's welfare politics. This model, introduced in the country after the Second World War, is internationally distinguished for its universality and egalitarian approach, such as its high percentage of public housing, strong tenants' rights, and exceptionally good standard in housing. The "Swedish model" is often referred to when describing universalistic welfare policies dating back to the 1930s and the post-war period of social democratic rule, industrialization, and wealth growth in the country. From that period and "up to the 1970s the Swedish Model was regarded as something successful and progressive with regard to the economic and social development of a mixed economy" (Lundberg 1985: 1). Sweden became a people's home, *Folkhemmet,* guided by ideas of solidarity and universalism, with the vision of creating a society based on ideas of "a home, or family, in which national solidarity would prevail and all members and different classes would gain from the state's universalistic social policy" (Hajighasemi 2004: 97). The model culminated in the Million Programme (*Miljonprogrammet*), which set out in the mid-60s, to remedy the Swedish housing shortage in only ten years, through the construction of a million state-subsidized dwellings. This was followed by the multicultural citizenship model in 1975, with an ambition to guarantee inclusive citizenship, even for non-citizens, covering most social, civil, and political rights (Schierup and Ålund 2011).

Today, the situation of residents in the housing stock of the 1960s and 1970s is problematic. Tenants experience the consequences of at least three decades of deregulation, resulting in a situation described by researchers as "the end of Swedish exceptionalism" (Schierup and Ålund 2011), along with high levels of residential segregation (Scarpa 2015), the racialization of urban space (Molina 1998), and an end to "the era of Social Democratic hegemony" following the election of a center-right government from 2006-14 (Larsson *et al*. 2012: 4). Scholars observe that "neoliberal politics have rapidly transformed the provision of housing, exacerbating the impacts of increasing income inequality" (Hedin et al. 2012: 460), and that housing in Sweden has turned into a "monstrous hybrid" of regulation and neoliberal components (Christophers 2013). Recent studies stress that this current turn in the national housing policy, with the introduction of legislation allowing for business-like principles in the running of municipal housing companies, has potentially set off processes of large-scale displacement (Baeten and Listerborn 2015). Today, we can see the consequences: deepening segregation in Swedish cities, increasing displacement of low-income households, the creation of "urban nomads" (people moving several times as a consequence of renovations and raised rents), along with growing discontent among tenants (Boverket 2014, Lind *et al*. 2016, Westin 2011).

We argue that the narratives of tenants are lacking in the public debate on

housing, and we seek to explore how these changes in housing policy play out on the ground, on an individual and neighborhood scale, with a special interest in the emotions expressed by affected tenants in the early stages of the renovation process and how these are understood and narrated by tenants. Looking back, early sociology studies tend to categorize emotions as mostly negative and derogatory. Emotions were, in Western philosophical thought, often deemed childish and unreasonable and in juxtaposition with rationality (Turner 2009). Following Negt and Kluge (1993), shedding light on how private experiences are deemed unimportant and seen as undesirable in capitalist regimes, we argue that emotions and lived experiences of renovation processes are systematically being excluded from the public debate on housing and Swedish housing policy. Thus, our ambition is to analyze how the particular Swedish housing regime interplays with occurrences on the ground. And we do this by studying emotions evoked in a neighborhood experiencing *displacement pressure*, a term referring to pressure put on households in an area undergoing displacement (Marcuse 1985). Emotions are defined as constructed socially, culturally, and politically (Hochschild 1979, 1990, Flam 2005), and our inquiry probes into how these are fostered and affected in addition to questioning and challenging general and particular ruptures. We discuss how power is reproduced and questioned, and illustrate the tactics used by housing companies to carry out large-scale top-down renovation projects. The following questions have guided our analysis:

- What kinds of emotions are evoked among tenants undergoing a costly renovation?
- What particular injustices and violations are identified by the tenants in this situation?
- How can these violations be understood in relation to the current housing policy?

Our research is qualitative and concerns housing, with a special interest in emotions expressed by tenants in neighborhoods undergoing renovation followed by a considerable rent increase. To date, in Sweden, as well as internationally, few studies of displacement have focused explicitly on the lived and emotional experience of those directly affected, despite a recent increase in interest (Baeten et al. 2017, Baeten and Listerborn 2015, Polanska and Richard 2018, Pull and Richard *forthcoming*, Westin 2011). Our study builds upon unique empirical material from an early stage of the renovation process of one specific area: the Gränby neighborhood, located in Uppsala, north of Stockholm. Gränby was built during the Million Programme in the late-1960s and beginning of the 1970s and was, at the time of our study, mainly occupied by low-income households of various ethnic backgrounds and levels of education. Apart from rental housing, amounting to 60 percent of the stock, Gränby consists of owner-occupied apartments as well as

privately owned single-family housing. Prior to the renovations, there were 1,400 households in the rental housing stock of the neighborhood, all of which at the time of our interviews were to be subjected to large-scale renovations (including the renovation of bathrooms, kitchens, ventilation, plumbing, and so on), with an initial plan to subsequently raise rents up to 43 percent. Since then, considerable relocation has taken place, but also resistance (Baeten et al. 2017, Mauritz 2016, Polanska and Richard 2018, Söderqvist 2012).

Our empirical material is unique as we interviewed tenants at the very beginning of the renovation process, collecting voices from those often neglected in displacement and gentrification research (Atkinson 2015, Slater 2006). The study consists of 31 semi-structured interviews and several years of ethnographic work in the area (2011-18). The interviews were conducted in 2011-12 and the selection was guided by the interviewees' personal experiences of renovation and are numbered 1 to 31. That is, interviewees were purposefully chosen (based on personal knowledge and recommendations by others) as they were expected to give a rich picture of the phenomenon studied: personal accounts of having experienced forced renovation. The interviewees consisted of 24 women and 14 men, all residents of the rental housing stock in Gränby. The youngest interviewee was 21 years old while the oldest was around 80, and in total 38 persons were interviewed. The ethnographic part of the study consisted of participant observation; the collection of photographs, notes, and media reports; and a large number of informal talks in Gränby, but also in adjacent neighborhoods subjected to renovation. The aim of the research project became apparent during the process, as strong emotions were expressed throughout the material when the interviewees were asked about their experiences. Tenants expressed strong emotions as well as vivid descriptions of physical reactions caused by the renovation plans. The interviews encompass themes like descriptions of the neighborhood, the experience of the situation, specific feelings and responses, along with the tenants' perception of the future and the past. In the beginning of our study, tenants faced a rent increase proposal of 43 percent; however, due to massive collective protests, the final rent increase was confined to a range of 18 to 34 percent.

In the next section, previous research on emotions studying displacement in Sweden will be presented. We draw upon current discussions, claiming that displacement research tends to present abstract conceptualizations, ignoring the emotional dimension of the phenomenon at hand. Our theoretical framework and the importance of emotional sociology is introduced and highlighted. We introduce the concept of *emotional regimes* and argue that power relations are inherent in emotional expressions, shaping the way these are communicated and articulated at the same time as the emotional regimes are embedded in culture. The emotions expressed in the interviews are analyzed with the help of a *fracture*

metaphor in order to understand how current housing policies are breaking the trust in the Swedish welfare system (including the state and institutions) among the tenants. Fracture is defined as the act of breaking or a state of being broken, demonstrated by the emotions distinguished in our material. However, the metaphor of a fracture is not fixed and leaves room for improvement and recovery. Thus, we believe that trust can be damaged but also recovered.

Housing, displacement and emotions: previous research

The universality and egalitarian approach of the Swedish housing regime, encompassing a high percentage of public housing, strong tenants' rights, and an exceptionally good housing standard, have been important in forming expectations on the functioning of the housing market in the country. Rapid national deregulation, initiated in the 1990s (Hedin *et al.* 2012), paved way for the current ongoing large-scale renovictions, or displacement by renovation, in rental housing areas set in motion by private as well as public housing companies (Baeten *et al.* 2017). Molina and Westin warned in 2012, that new legislation encouraging municipal housing companies to be run according to "business-like principles" opened them up to, and legitimized, projects "that dramatically increase rents and cause displacement of low-income households" (2012: 5). Today, tenants in Sweden have very little to formally act upon regarding the scope and performance of renovations in their neighborhood and homes, and thereby just marginal possibilities to influence their rent (cf. Westin 2011). Governmental reports declare that current renovations result in socioeconomically vulnerable tenants moving to poorer neighborhoods, thus increasing housing segregation in the country (Boverket 2014). Adding to this, a fresh study from Uppsala shows that the renovations cause residents to suffer from an increase in poor mental health and weakened place attachment (Mauritz 2016).

There is a significant body of literature in environmental psychology on place attachment, exploring, among other things, how humans are embedded in their places of residence, and what role stability or disruptions play in their attachment (Brown and Perkins 1992, Brown *et al.* 2003). The focus on place attachment is dominating the field of studies on turnover and displacement (Altman and Low 1992, Bailey and Livingstone 2007, Bailey *et al.* 2012), and the health issues and wellbeing of residents connected to processes of displacement and place attachment are explored in that research (Davidson 2009, Fullilove 1996, Manzo 2014). Our ambition is to add to this body of research by focusing on the emotional dimension of displacement processes staged in the current Swedish context where housing policy, after decades of rapid deregulation, is shaping a hard-to-handle system of state regulation and market-orientation (Christophers 2013).

Inner-city renewal projects, reaching most Swedish municipalities during a period from the late-1950s to the mid-1970s, followed traditional gentrification patterns and caused a steep increase in displacement (Selander 1975, Thörn 2013, Gullberg 1998, Vidén and Reppen 2006). During the 1980s, state-initiated programs for renovation of rental housing led to a marked increase in the displacement of dwellers (Wiktorin 1989). And, in the 1990s, psychological studies concluded displacement, both temporal and permanent, severely affected elderly people and caused emotional disruptions such as stress, mistrust, powerlessness, self-estrangement, and a feeling of having been violated (Danermark and Ekström 1993, Ekström 1994). Since the clearance of inner-cities between the 1950s and 1970s, today´s wave of renovations is one of the most extensive so-far, covering the large housing stock built during the Million Programme. Thus, displacement is once again on the rise in Sweden (Boverket 2014), and only a few critical studies have been found to focus on the experiences of displaced residents, their emotions, and perceptions of violations (Baeten et al. 2017, Baeten and Listerborn 2015, Mauritz 2016, Polanska and Richard 2018, Pull and Richard forthcoming, Westin 2011).

Displacement has been defined as "what happens when forces outside the household make living there impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable" (Hartman *et al.* 1982, quoted in Slater 2009: 295), and is a process reported to have severe and negative physical and psychological consequences on affected groups (Fried 1963). Critical research, with its prime focus on North America and Great Britain, has identified displacement as the main negative outcome of urban gentrification, extensively damaging for the working-class and urban poor (Atkinson 2000). Chatterjee argues, in an attempt to conceptualize the global urban condition, that displacement should "be transported from the very local contexts of its actualization to form the body politic of analysis" as it forms the very heart of urban exploitation (2014: 4). Research has shown that (re)development processes eradicate important cultural, business, social activities, and homes on a global scale, including Sweden (Hedin *et al.* 2012; Thörn and Despotovic 2015). Our objective is to focus on the local consequences of the current ongoing rental housing renovation processes in Sweden, proven to generate displacement and increased segregation.

Displacement, in the context of the paradoxical "monstrous hybrid" Swedish regulatory system, is currently rolled out at the local scale as objective violence exercised by stakeholders operating "anonymously, systematically and invisibly through the very way society is organized" (Baeten *et al.* 2017: 642). On a national scale though, this is to a large extent a process going on in silence (Baeten *et al.* 2017), and empirical studies of resistance and emotional responses from a micro-scale perspective, individual and neighborhood, are lacking. The lack of qualitative studies of displacement at the local scale is a perspective recently articulated

by Atkinson (2015), arguing that the main body of research tends to present abstract conceptualizations of the phenomenon at hand. Instead, Atkinson encourages researchers "to grasp the lived realities of neighborhood conditions and their negotiation by residents to fully understand affective ties and the damage done to them by rapid capital investments and population changes" (2015: 377), thus following Slater (2006), who emphasizes that the 'eviction' of critical perspectives from the discussion on gentrification is partly a methodological problem requiring qualitative and informed research.

Emotions and fractured trust: theoretical framework

In the capitalist order, emotions and lived experiences have been systematically excluded (Negt and Kluge 1993). Feminist scholars were among the first to emphasize the importance of emotions as lived experiences, claiming them to have political character and embeddedness in culture as well as in power structures (Boler 1998, Campbell 1994). Within a particular regime, norms are established, framing certain emotions as acceptable to express while others should be repressed. Here, we employ the term *emotional regime* to refer to a set of norms dominating emotional life in a society complying, for instance, with state-imposed censorship, dominant economic interests, and the political and military exercise of power and control (Reddy 2001). Similar sets of norms, each emphasizing different aspects of such modes of expression, have by sociologists been described as "feeling rules" (Hochschild 1979), "emotional discourses" (Zembylas 2005) or "emotional vocabularies" (Chang 2016). In her work on culture jamming, Wettergren (2009) connected the emotional regime of late capitalism to commodification, seeing strong emotions as undesirable and repressed by the capitalist order. Emotions, though, keep us invested in relationships of power and could be crucial for the transformation into acts of resistance (Ahmed 2014). Thus, in our study, we consider power relations as inherent to emotional expression, shaping the way they are communicated and articulated, suppressed, or encouraged, and setting the rules of who can and cannot express emotions: where, when, how, and so on. In this light, emotions are regarded as reproducing, challenging, or reinforcing power structures in a specific setting (Zembylas 2005). As depicted by Turner and Stets (2005), emotions are considered to be a crucial link between the micro and macro perspectives of social reality. This study stresses the social and cultural (and less so the biological) dimension of emotions, where norms, logic, and symbolic elements are emphasized as dictating the emotional expressions in a certain setting. We define emotions in line with Hochschild (1979: 551), as "bodily cooperation with an image, a thought, a memory – a cooperation of which the individual is aware," and we focus on *how* these emotions are connected to perceptions of

injustice and violations in the sphere of housing.

Here, we do recognize the complexity of emotions, reproducing and challenging power structures in a society or a specific setting. An important starting point of our study is thus the question of power and status, and how it is reflected in the process of renovation, following Turner's argument on the stratification system of emotions:

> Like any other resource—power, prestige, material well-being, health, education, and the like—emotions are unequally distributed across the class system in societies; and their distribution operates in a manner very similar to the distribution of other valued resources in a society (Turner 2009: 350).

We recognize, in line with Collins, that "truly powerful persons do not become angry in a sense, because they do not need to; their get their way without it" (1990:43), and agree with Barbalet arguing that emotions "must be understood within the structural relations of power and status which elicit them. This makes emotion a social-structural as much as if not more than a cultural thing" (1998: 26).

What Baeten and colleagues (2017) have called "objective violence" in their work on Swedish tenants, we use to understand how emotions are conditioned in situations when tenants face displacement. We explore particular injustice and violations identified by tenants in the early stage of a large-scale renovation process and analyze the interconnectedness of expressed emotions and identified violations. Moreover, we use the metaphor of *fractured trust* to conceptualize the emotional reaction of tenants to renovations in Sweden. We define fracture as the act of breaking, or a state of being broken, but also as a state that can be reversed through participatory approaches and a clear tenant perspective on renovation and urban renewal.

Emotions and renovation

The feeling of *shock* was the most prevalent emotion expressed by tenants, described as a response to unfair treatment, a lack of influence regarding the renovations, and experiences of encounters with the housing company. Fullilove (2016) has described the traumatic stress felt by African American communities in the US as their neighborhoods were demolished on a large scale. In our case, the neighborhood was not to be demolished, but the tenants still perceived the coming renovation as a disruption and threat to their wellbeing and community. The shock was amplified by neglection of tenants' requests, needs, and questions regarding

the coming renovation, along with the tenants' perception of lacking influence over the process.

The interviews put forth a complex set of violations performed by the housing company in order to put pressure on the residents, exemplified by our interviewees as "next time we talked, she didn't remember anything of what she had promised" (19), or "I don't dare to ask XX [the housing company][1]. They threaten us. Maybe we will be squashed" (22). The interviews also make known experiences of financial penalties, withdrawn sanctions, and written information described as biased, intimidating, and incorrect. A situation where landlords are forcing their renovation plans upon the residents was previously unthinkable to a majority of the tenants, and was perceived as unreasonable and unjust. The situation was referred to in relation to local and national housing politics and tenants had difficulties in combining their view of a "just" and "equal" Sweden with the current situation. A fracture in the belief of a fair and democratic Swedish society became visible as the vast majority could not combine their previous beliefs and perception with the current situation, lacking in influence and leverage as tenants. Some tenants recall specific moments of strong emotional response that radically changed their perception of the coming renovation process:

> I got a shock at the meeting where XX [the housing company] told us about their proposed rent increase. From that day on we were very scared, we didn't know at all what was going to happen. Will we be able to stay put? (6)

The tenants often recalled previous knowledge and experiences of a welfare housing system (i.e. collectively negotiated rents or renovation funds where the tenants' position in negotiations and influence on decisions about their homes was described as strong) and claimed that these were incompatible with the current renovation plans, the lack of tenant involvement, and the planned rent increases in their residential area. The tenants also emphasized the fact that housing shortage in the country and in the city of Uppsala was used by their housing company to create pressure and legitimize the renovation plan. Physical reactions to the renovation plan that were commonly stated in the interviews were extensive perspiration, irregular heartbeats, acute difficulty in breathing, insomnia, or panic attacks.

The overarching emotional response, as we put forth above, was shock. In the interviews, this was in some cases described as mere shock, a sudden alarming change including features like surprise, disbelief, and worry for the future. In the words of one tenant, whose whole family was impacted by news of the planned rent increase:

> We think it's really shocking that rent will be increased like this. We're a family with children and a limited income; we don't know where to go. Are we supposed to pay rent and then live on ketchup and spaghetti? What do they think? (7)

The family experienced a sudden change that questioned whether they would be able to stay in their home and retain their position and role in society. Others described a paralysis as a result of the shock they experienced connected to uncertainty about the future: "I have no words right now, but every second it hits the brain, this thing. But I have no words and dare not speak of what will happen" (22).

The feeling of shock was depicted as always present and encompassing different fields of the interviewees' everyday life. To many, the shock resulted in a realization that their economic means would no longer be sufficient to cope, that the new rent would lead to cost-cutting in other areas of everyday expenditure, resulting in the deterioration of their living standard. The situation for elderly tenants, often living alone, was described in quite dramatic terms, often depicting physical reactions to the renovation plans:

> You know it's, it's panic. I suffer from panic disorder. I believe it's because of this separation [referring to the coming compulsory move]. I've lived here for nearly 25 years. . . . and I expected to stay here until I died. (17)

The shock described by the tenants was a very complex set of emotions that, contrary to what we expected, did not include shame and guilt. In previous international studies on tenants, shame and guilt have been emphasized as significant emotions in displacement processes (Annunziata and Lees 2015), or as an important emotion to overcome in collective identity formation among tenants (Polanska 2017). The non-presence of these emotions in the context of Sweden is related to the unique Swedish post-war housing policy ambition of neutral forms of tenure, the system of collectively negotiated rents, the strong position of the Tenants' Union, and the determination to raise the attractiveness of rental dwellings. Many of the tenants interviewed in the study expressed a fractured trust vis-à-vis Swedish society, its institutions, representatives and the position of tenants (often previously used as a source of pride). The perception of a strong tenants' position collided with their current experiences and lack of influence in their own neighborhood, thus creating a fracture in trust. We interpret the specific Swedish historical housing context, fostering neutrality between tenure forms and concentrating on universality as an alternative to a system of social housing, as crucial to the lack

of shame and guilt among tenants. Shame is internationally present in contexts where tenants are being marginalized. Moreover, none of the respondents expressed feelings of hope, joy, or anticipation when describing the renovation plans in their area. This could be a result of the fact that our material was gathered at the very beginning of the process, after the housing company had proclaimed their suggested sharp rent increase of 43 percent. Instead, the empirical material brings forward tenants' **anxiety, angst, anger, and loss**, all together attached in a common feeling of shock. These four emotions are the most recurrent in the interview material and will therefore be presented in the following subsections. In the case of anxiety and angst, we have chosen to present these emotions in combination as we believe them to be intimately connected.

Anxiety, angst, and lack of control

A common emotion articulated by the interviewed tenants was the feeling of anxiety, caused by the planned renovation of their housing. Anxiety was, in the interviews, expressed as a physical/bodily feeling of worry, fear, or panic with strong physical symptoms such as speeding heartbeats, chest pressure, or dizziness. As one of the elderly interviewees, when asked about the way she was informed about the renovation, responded:

> Through the mailbox, only through the mailbox. My heart started clapping, and I almost had cardiac arrest and a stroke. And, my husband who was alive at the time—he stayed in a retirement home his last years—he told me "[Name] please, how are you going to cope with this? How are you going to handle this?" I told my husband "Don't you worry, you need your peace and quiet." But, [this renovation] was his great anxiety before he passed away; how I would cope. (17)

It was common among the tenants to focus on the future and worry about how they would cope economically, physically, and mentally. Not only were those living in the area affected by anxiety, their families and relatives from outside the neighborhood also voiced concern:

> My kids are worried about my [starts crying] . . . they're worried about my . . . mental health, if I might say so. Because you know, I think a lot about this. And I enjoy my nice apartment so much. It is bright, nice, and all that, but I can't stay put. I can pay up to 6,000 Swedish crowns [app. 600 EUR]. That I'll manage, but not more. (27)

For larger households living in the area, one of the most acute questions was how

they would cope economically: "What are we going to eat? What are we going to pay? How will we pay other bills?" (23) and "We'll probably starve. We can't make our children feel bad by moving to another neighborhood. We'll pay one whole salary as rent only" (7). Anxiety was usually mixed with other feelings of powerlessness and sadness. The emotion of anxiety communicated a sense of hopelessness, and expressed from the point of view of lack of influence over the course of matters, imagining either a negative or no-way-out situation.

The emotion of **angst** in our material blended the emotions of anxiety and hope. Angst is an interesting emotion thanks to its inclusion of the latter element—which might spur people into action—and, above all, the potential to formulate coping strategies. It was not as paralyzing as anxiety and was described in the interviews as a passing feeling: "Really, I feel very bad [close to tears]. But my temper is such that I can deal with it, sometimes. I'm usually very happy but then I get into these dark moments, and then it, then it passes, you see" (27). It was also common that angst was combined with anger in the interviews:

> No, I have no alternative but to stay in the streets, put up a tent in the streets. I cannot afford 10,000 Swedish crowns [app. 1000 EUR] rent. There is no alternative, there is nothing in Uppsala. It is totally fucked. It is impossible for us to pay this much, these rents, they're not normal. This is not normal in Uppsala. (15)

The impossibility of the situation was here turned into an analysis of the cause behind it, not an individual cause but one located outside of the inhabitants living in Gränby, stressing the unusual and extreme character of the renovation and the resulting rent. Structural explanations were used, and it was not common among tenants to blame themselves for the situation. This, we would like to argue, relates to the particular emotional regime and historical past in Sweden, where tenants have been a collective with a rather strong position in society, not categorized and treated as a marginalized group.

Anger to injustices

Anger was an emotion continuously recurring in a majority of the interviews, and was expressed as a strong uncomfortable emotional response to a perceived unjust situation. The economic threat the renovation posed was mentioned unanimously in the interviews: "I almost get angry; it takes a whole salary to pay the rent. We can't manage that" (16). The "almost" marks the moderate level of anger expressed in a specific context historically characterized by peacefulness and collaborative attitudes. It was not uncommon that the housing company's renovation plan generated conflicts within families, such as in this case:

> It is really hard, to think about it every day. The worst thing is my husband; he is so angry because of all this, and he wants to move. But not me! He doesn't want to pay this new rent. (31)

What was perceived as unjust treatment was not simply accepted, but could lead to reactions of refusal. What tenants perceived as unreasonably high rent evoked anger and generated conflicts between spouses as well as between children and parents—as this woman describing a situation where her husband had signed the letter of consent[2] while she was at work:

> But, once when I wasn't home, he signed the letter. I wouldn't have let him, and he knew I wouldn't. It felt completely hopeless, that he would do such a thing. Maybe it wouldn't have mattered for us that we didn't sign, but it would help other families that . . . it does matter a lot! (3)

Above all, the renovation plans threatened the living conditions of numerous families because of the unaffordability of the new rent. Low-income households of non-Swedish background articulated anger mixed with a worry about the future:

> I get angry all the time. I don't know what we should do. You know, we're not Swedish. You regard each other differently [as non-Swedes], as a family [referring to the difference between the nuclear family and relatives in Swedish culture]. Now they will divide us. This is why I am really, really angry. (20)

The above quoted tenant interpreted the renovation as a threat to her family´s wellbeing and the risk of being divided. When the personal boundaries or **perceived shared principles were violated**, interviewees articulated anger. In some cases, this seemed to have facilitated boundary setting among the tenants, leading to the formulation of a common position and identification of the root causes behind their situation. An illustrative example is this quotation where the interviewee attributed the blame to the housing company and its immoral, systematic, and unjustified behavior:

> What XX [current housing company] is doing to us, former XX [housing company], XX [housing company] and before that, XX [housing company], it is a scandal. It is a scandal, marked with a red pen! (17)

This person perceived the immoral behavior of former and previous housing ow-

ners as scandalous. To describe the situation as a scandal assumed that the tenants had more influence than was given, and expected treatment where the needs and wishes of the tenants were recognized. Some expressed **anger** over a passive state "why doesn't the government do anything?" (18), and put their own situation into a wider social framework:

> It is a scandal in a way, them raising the rent like this. Actually, the same thing happens in Stockholm. It happens all over Sweden, I think XX [the housing company] has changed owners and names many times. Aren't landlords obliged to save money in funds, to use during reparation? (30)

In several cases the anger expressed by the interviewees seemed to have turned into intensified communication with neighbors, common meetings, and the withdrawal from signing the approval letter, and so on. The emotion of anger was often connected to the feeling of having been treated unjustly. One of the tenants expressed their anger with the situation in the following way:

> We get along so well here, we don't want to move, but they force us. In some way, this is how it feels. Some of us are just working to pay rent, others are buying everything else, and that's not possible. No! (10)

The forced relocation from the area was described as upsetting and unfair. The interviewee argued that even though they were employed, their salary was not enough to cover the new rent, and compared their situation to other more well-off households. Others portrayed the renovation as a thought-through strategy of the housing company:

> It is not reasonable to raise rents as such. And one more thing . . . actually they should not in-crease at all. Why are they raising the rent? I think this has been a plan of theirs for a long time. We pay the rent, some should be saved for repairs and renovation and stuff. This has been well planned for a long time, and we have no one to defend us. You know, they changed owners four times. This is well planned. (26)

Yet others described it in war-like terms, without explicitly identifying the causes behind the current situation but referring to their previous experiences:

> It's almost like moving from the war, almost. We have moved from the

> war, and we have found war here as well. It is almost as if the war has come to Gränby. It is almost like a war here, there has been peace and now we have war. (20)

The increased rent was described as irrational, and the interests of tenants as non-existent in the calculation. One tenant simply concluded: "They don't care about us" (9). Others referred to the unfairness of the whole situation: "I believed our society to be unfair [referring to Syria], but no, the whole world is unfair!" (31). The fracture in trust occurred among the tenants as the trust in Swedish society and its well-functioning and democratic character were experienced as incorrect in the renovation process. The interviewees questioned their role as citizens, the forced character of the renovation, and the lack of protection as a group of tenants.

Loss of meaning

Loss was an emotion expressed in the interviews, describing the failure to gain, win, obtain, or utilize something, but also as something that has been lost and thus not available to the interviewees anymore. When loss was discussed by the tenants, most often the cost was emphasized in relation to the gains. Tenants perceived themselves as paying the price of renovations, while the housing companies or some more abstract entity ("they") were in control of the cost and profited from the situation. Loss could encompass: 1) loss of a home, 2) loss of social ties, 3) loss of a family, 4) loss of everyday routines, 5) loss of a sense of belonging, 6) loss of wellbeing and comfort, and 7) loss of a meaningful past. Often these aspects of loss were closely interwoven in the interviews and difficult to separate:

> You lose something, you know. Gränby has become part of my life, you know. I've lived here more than 35 years of my life. I know many people and have attuned to habits like taking a walk and exercising and shopping. Here the shops are close, people are close. (21)

Loss was often expressed with feelings of sadness and grief over something lost, that would have to be rebuilt from scratch:

> It is sad, it is. I told my husband that there are mixed feelings as both him and I have enjoyed living in the area, that is all. It is like, well . . . like starting all over again. It feels really hard. (21)

In one case, the procedure of packing and moving was described as mourning:

> This feels bad. It is so hard to get going with this packing process, I almost don't. I have to pack myself, my son will help me move. A process of mourning? Yes, absolutely, it is. (8)

The emotion of loss often lacked the energetic twist found in the emotional expression of anger. Loss was mixed with darker emotions of sadness and grief and, in some way, acceptance of the faced injustices. The interviewees not only lost the belief in the democratic functioning of the society, they also lost belief in their influence as tenants and the fairness of the Swedish housing system. The emotions expressed were rather contained and cautiously articulated collectively or in public. They were of a more private nature; however, it was a nature that strongly questioned the role of our interviewees in society as well as the protective role of society vis-à-vis its citizens.

Emotions are not isolated from social reality; instead they are responses to something. In the next section, we explore what the emotions expressed by tenants are responding to before we move on to analyzing how the violations identified by tenants facing extensive and top-down renovation are connected to current Swedish housing policy.

Social injustices and violations evoking emotions

As mentioned earlier, the housing company was perceived as putting tenants under heavy pressure by using a complex system of master suppression techniques. Here, we call these *violations*. We use the concept of violation as it illustrates the transgression of a set of rules, an offence or misdeed, or simply a violent act exerted by somebody—in this case, the representatives of the housing company. It is close to the objective violence discussed by Baeten and colleagues, as it appears neutral, necessary and "forces people to either accept increased rent levels or leave and live with all the physical and psychological disruption this entails" (2017: 642). Intertwined and expressed by tenants in our interviews, we identified strong emotional responses to these violations. Our analysis, distinguished by the tenants experiencing expansive renovation, builds upon a theoretical understanding inspired by Ås (2004) and her theory of master suppression techniques, in which she has distinguished: making invisible, ridicule, withholding information, double-punishment, and projection of guilt and shame. These five techniques were developed for a different context but have served as a source of inspiration for our formulation of the enactment by the housing company. The violations presented here are based on examples and descriptions given in the interviews, represented especially through the violent practices of making invisible; withholding information; threat, or threat of force and sanctions; inaccessibility of the housing company; and rule by division. These violations are also clearly reflecting the positions of

power and access to power, influence, and control in the renovation situation. The representatives of the housing company are by our interviewees described as those exerting power, not always justifiably or fairly.

Making invisible the needs of tenants

Tenants did not perceive themselves as involved in the planning process, instead notions of a housing company that did not listen were expressed: "They don't show any interest in our opinion" (5). Tenants trying to express their opinions were ignored or met by an evasive attitude: "XX [housing company] pretend they don't understand our critique" (1). Others, however, described the housing company representatives as hard and impermeable: "They're so tough, rock-solid. They don't respect other people's hearts" (22), and that all important decisions had already been made over the heads of the tenants.

Information letters and meetings were generally perceived as enacted "for show," a mere formality without relevant content. Information was provided in Swedish only, and some expressed this as an exclusion strategy (6). Tenants questioned the extent of the planned renovation and regarded the answers given by the housing company as unsatisfactory: "This is not necessary. Why do they do it like this? It is not necessary to do this much" (6).

Withholding information and not giving full answers

Written information from the housing company was described as meaningless and one-sided/biased. Tenants felt uninformed and perceived it as intimidating, and misguiding. Tenants described situations where they were not informed of their rights, regarding, for example, financial compensation during renovation: "They didn't know about their right to compensation (. . .), they have not gotten any information" (6). Questions were not adequately answered during meetings where, according to the tenants, housing company representatives did not add any relevant information. It was common among the tenants to stress that "We have gotten the information, but they just repeat the same things, over and over again. Nothing is new," (20) or "I've been to XX [housing company] information meetings. Some questions are actually left without answer. They can't answer our questions! Perhaps they don't want to reveal things?" (16)

Threat, or threat of force and sanctions

Representatives of the housing company were portrayed as exerting pressure to make tenants sign an approval letter. Without the tenants signing this formal paper, the housing company is not, in theory, allowed to go ahead with the planned rent increase. Other ways of exerting pressure described in the interviews were, for instance, harassing telephone calls from representatives of the housing com-

pany, threats that tenants will be removed from the queue for another (cheaper) apartment. These threats were perceived by the tenants as "a method of making people sign the letter of approval, because as soon as you sign, "poof," the lock [on the website] is removed" (31). This practice also included indirect threats in the written information given to tenants (cf. Westin 2011) or the threat to take the conflict to the Rent Tribunal (*Hyresnämnden*). In Sweden, conflicts between tenants and housing companies regarding renovations are solved in this tribunal, and the tenants are often aware of the minimal possibility of winning at the tribunal and thus fear ending up in court in the first place:

> Unfortunately, we had to sign as my husband felt extremely scared after having seen the letter from Hyresnämnden [the Rent Tribunal]. As the letter came, he immediately got scared, and he didn't want to go to Tingsrätten [local court]. He didn't want that. (3)

The sanction of a tough inspection of apartments when moving out has been stressed by the tenants and functioned as a discouraging example for others: "They told us we would have to sign the letter of approval, or we would have to pay for the inspection" (6). Tenants perceived themselves as being punished for their "lack of collaboration" with high and unfounded financial penalties. In some cases, tenants were promised help in moving but whenever they did not cooperate, the threat of withdrawing the help was stated by the company. Conversely, some tenants were offered privileges if collaborating.

Inaccessibility of the housing company

Tenants described difficulties in reaching the housing company at their offices or via telephone or email, and perceived the housing company as more or less inaccessible. This was also described as a lack of response and answers when contact was initiated. This specific violation was described together with a practice of not giving full answers. Tenants also spoke about constant worries to not receive help from the housing company, and about agreements that were not fulfilled: "You have to nag and keep getting back to them for help" (1). Tenants were concerned about the energy they put into getting in touch with, or being heard. Some told stories of housing company representatives shuffling their questions around to others, and described themselves as powerless in the situation, incapable of getting through.

Rule by division

Tenants described situations where the housing company organized small-scale local meetings, avoiding larger assemblies; giving out different and ambiguous in-

formation; or spreading rumors, creating frustration. Several felt that this kind of practice was confusing, creating divisions and distrust: "At the general meetings, they [referring to the housing company] say it is all speculation. I don't believe that. They say they might change things, but first they have to organize things more. Who should I believe?" (24). But it was not only with regards to the information given by the housing company, it was also described as practices of separating tenants physically. Tenants told of relatives and friends who used to live on the same street, now scattered all over town (6), and described the current state of their neighborhood as being emptied: "I see many empty apartments everywhere," (8) or "Yesterday, I saw eight trucks, people just move. Look around, it's only empty apartments everywhere" (25).

Conclusions

The emotions expressed in our interviews, by tenants facing extensive renovation in Sweden, are interpreted by us as responses to the violations exerted by the housing company. Our study shows that the most recurrent emotions were anxiety, angst, anger, and loss, all together attached in a common feeling of shock. Most importantly, emotions and the descriptions of violations exercised by the housing company were intertwined in our interviews, demonstrating how they are part of a larger systemic violence currently being exerted against residents of poor areas in Sweden, as described by Baeten and colleagues (2017).

We would like to argue that the shock and feeling of being unjustly treated and violated has its origin in the Swedish emotional regime, characterized by a common and exceptionally high trust towards the state and its institutions, as well as widespread confidence in the welfare system and the universalistic Swedish model (cf. Trägårdh 2009). The dominant emotional regime is characterized by the assumption that Swedish society is well-functioning and fair to its citizens, and that excessive emotional responses are unnecessary. This is also evident among tenants facing forced renovation. We have chosen to conceptualize this situation as a *fractured trust* to understand the emotional reaction of tenants experiencing and living in the midst of these processes. Moreover, we argue that today's top-down approach exercised by housing companies in the renovation of rental neighborhoods in Sweden, not allowing tenants to voice their concerns and needs or even silencing them by exerting their power and using the violations described, is one of the main causes of this fractured trust. The collision of the dominant assumptions of a fair and democratic society and the violations carried out by the housing company is a mirror reflection of the incompatible features inherent in the "monstrous hybrid" combining state-regulation (and, for instance, the traditionally strong position of tenants) with components of the market (Christophers

2013); in this case, profit-driven renovation, causing a state of shock among exposed tenants.

This is also, in our interpretation, why tenants' narratives in this study lack the emotion of guilt and shame. We understand this as a remnant of the country's past progressive housing policies and the subsequent trust in the state and welfare system. The collision of the expectations of fair treatment and democratic influence and the forced nature of the renovation could be interpreted as a result of "the reengineering and redeployment of the state as the core agency that sets the rules and fabricates the subjectivities, social relations and collective representations suited to realising markets" (Wacquant 2012: 66). Studies have demonstrated that the Swedish housing system has been undergoing deregulation and neoliberalization since the 1990s (Hedin *et al.* 2012). The ongoing and widely spread processes of forced renovations of rental housing in Sweden has resulted in deepened segregation and could be described as an example of "the centaur-state" put in motion, namely a state "that practices liberalism at the top of the class structure and punitive paternalism at the bottom" (Wacquant 2012: 66). This is particularly manifest in areas undergoing renovations, where the support offered to tenants by the state comes mainly as individual housing allowances alongside the recent introduction of a relatively small state fund directed to housing companies with moderate renovation rent increases (in 2016). What we see taking place in Sweden today is the successive eradication of past housing policies, holding equality and universality as ideals, and the crass takeover of the economic reason of neoliberal governing rationality. Tenants in neighborhoods under renovation, in public as well as private housing, experience this eradication of common values first hand, played out as displacement—whether temporal, permanent, actual, or potential. This rationality has been described by Wendy Brown as hollowing out democratic principles in the Euro-Atlantic world by "undoing basic elements of democracy" and replacing them with economic ones (2015: 17). In our case, the planning and decisions regarding how these renovations are carried out is done without the participation of those most affected, the tenants themselves, thus legitimizing the circumvention of democratic practices by use of mainly economic, environmental, and technical arguments.

However, in the last few years, we have observed an increased awareness regarding renovation and displacement, and mobilization among Swedish tenants outside the established institutions and traditional civil society organizations. In our understanding, this development is the start of a growing housing movement in Sweden, forming a response to the intensification of socioeconomic inequalities and, in particular, housing inequalities, during a severe housing shortage in a country where the myth of equal and universal housing prevails.

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Notes

[1]We have chosen not to use the name of the housing company in our study as we believe that the situation in Gränby is in no way unique to the area or to the housing company referred to in the interviews.

[2] A letter of consent is sent to tenants when renovation is being planned by a housing company. Tenants need to approve the renovation before it starts.

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Good and Bad Squatters? Challenging Hegemonic Narratives and Advancing Anti-Capitalist Views of Squatting in Western European Cities

By Miguel A. Martínez

Abstract

Mainstream mass media and politicians tend to portray squatters as civic evils. Breaking in and trespassing on private property is clumsily equated with the occupation of empty premises. Squatting is often represented as a serious criminal offence even before any legal verdict has been determined. The social diversity of squatters and the circumstances around this practice are usually omitted. Dominant narratives in Western European cities were effective in terms of criminalisation of squatting and the social groups that occupied vacant properties –homeless people in need of a shelter, those who cannot afford to buy or rent convenient venues for performing social activities, activists who squat as a means of protest against real estate speculation, etc. This article reviews the available evidence of those narratives and disentangles the main categories at play. I first examine homogenisation stereotypes of squatters as a whole. Next, I distinguish the divides created by the conventional polarisation between 'good' and 'bad' squatters. It is argued that both dynamics foster the stigma of squatting and facilitate its repression, although these discursive struggles engage squatters as well. As a consequence, I discuss the implications of 'reversive' and 'subversive' narratives performed by squatters to legitimise their practices and movements. In particular, the anti-capitalist features of these counter-hegemonic responses are identified and elaborated, which adds to the topic's literature.

Keywords: Squatting, discourse analysis, stigmatisation, polarisation, anti-capitalism

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Introduction

The occupation of vacant properties without the owner's authorisation has been increasingly criminalised in European countries, with law changes in the Netherlands (2010) and England and Wales (2012) among the most recent examples (Dadusc 2017, Fox-O'Mahony et al. 2015). Despite its prosecution, squatting continues to go on and has even proliferated in those territories more acutely hit by the global financial and refugee crises (Di Feliciantonio 2017, García-Lamarca 2016, Mudu & Chattopadhay 2017). Beyond their illegal condition, many squats manage to last for years and decades while developing a rich variety of social milieus, activities and residential alternatives (Cattaneo & Martínez 2014, Martínez 2018b, Van der Steen et al. 2014, Vasudevan 2017). This indicates the continuing existence of tensions and controversies about the nature and contributions of squatting, which are manifest in 'culture wars' (Pruijt 2013) and discursive struggles (Bouillon 2013, Dee & Debelle 2015, Manjikian 2013). This article contributes to these analyses by unveiling how hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses about squatting of buildings (for housing, cultural and political purposes) in Western European cities operate. I also add to the prevailing literature, emphasising the anti-capitalist views of squatters when they confront dominant stereotypes, stigmas and rhetoric strategies aiming to suppressing them.

According to many observers, mainstream mass media and politicians tend to portray squatters as 'folk devils' (Dee 2016), "gangs of thugs, layabouts and revolutionary fanatics, parasites, invaders who steal people's homes" (Fox-O'Mahony et al. 2015: 4). Breaking in and trespassing on private property is often clumsily equated with the occupation of empty premises. They all are quickly conflated into a representation of serious criminal offences before any research on the circumstances of an occupation or any legal verdict has been determined. These dominant narrations have the immediate consequence of criminalising squatters (Dadusc 2017). No distinctions between their income, residential and labour conditions are made – homeless people in need of shelter, those who cannot afford to buy or rent convenient venues for performing social activities, activists who squat as a means of protest against urban policies, etc. Rational discussions about the political, economic, social and urban contexts are usually neglected by media reports. Accordingly, capitalism, absolute property rights and real estate speculation are naturally taken for granted, despite the multiple legal regulations at play. Home evictions and homelessness are seldom associated with the human rights violations involved in the eviction of occupied places.

In accordance with Debord's insights, the term 'spectacular narrations' may be used to designate the aforementioned set of assumptions. According to him, 'spectacles' first *separate* and alienate workers from the products of their work, workers from other workers (also as inhabitants of the same city), and subjects to

a system of oppression from their potentialities to overcome it. Second, 'spectacles' are cultural weapons aiming to represent the world as a *unity* of interests, feelings, national identity and universal human values between the exploited and their exploiters, servants and masters, matter and culture, past and future.

> The unreal unity proclaimed by the spectacle masks the class division underlying the real unity of the capitalist mode of production. What obliges the producers to participate in the construction of the world is also what excludes them from it… While all the technical forces of capitalism contribute toward various forms of separation, urbanism provides the material foundation for those forces and prepares the ground for their deployment. (Debord 1967: §72, §171)

Mass consumption, political disenfranchisement and homeownership are some of the key areas that spectacular narrations bring together in order to foster an 'unreal unity' and to mystify the ongoing economic inequalities and spatial segregation which characterise capitalism and contemporary cities. When applied to squatting, it is worth questioning how the divisions among squatters and their supposed unity as a whole, in radical opposition to the rest of society, are disseminated. Furthermore, I wonder to what extent there are alternative narrations that manifest discursive struggles about the legitimation of squatting. Yet these questions have not been properly addressed by the literature on squatting. In particular, I have noticed a lack of distinction between 'homogenisation' and 'polarisation' narratives in the main works dealing with dominant discourses on squatting (Aguilera 2018, Bouillon 2013, Dee 2013, Dee & Debelle 2015, Manjikian 2013, Middleton 2015, Fox-O'Mahony et al. 2015, Pruijt 2013). While the split between 'good' and 'bad' squatters has been carefully disclosed, the accounts differ substantially. As a consequence, a more systematic categorisation of the cleavages among squatters imposed by the 'spectacular narrations' is needed. Moreover, the attempts to anchor counter-hegemonic responses and to legitimise squatting have not identified which dimensions are more oppositional to capitalism (Cattaneo & Martinez 2014, Hodkinson 2012, Madden & Marcuse 2016) and which ones do not imply such a radical view, although they may still help enhance the reputation of squatters. This article contributes to remedy these knowledge voids.

While disclosing the ideological turn operated by spectacular narrations there is also the risk of representing a false homogeneity or solidarity among all kinds of squatters. This would prevent us from recognising their significant social diversity as practitioners and activists (azozomox 2014, Cattaneo & Martínez 2014, Martínez 2018b, Mudu & Chattopadhay 2017). For instance, they can differ in terms of gender, race, age, cultural and economic capital, motivations, political affinities

and alignments, organisational membership, etc. The variety of occupied properties also intersects with the squatters' social networks and communities. The land use of the urban area and the building, the time span of vacancy, whether the property is subject to heritage protection, the state of maintenance and age of the building, who the owners are and what they did with the building before its abandonment, etc. are not pointless features (Martínez 2018a). Therefore, squatters can share an opposition to private property as far as it entails unacceptable inequalities, but squatters can also occupy buildings under very much different circumstances, without invoking private property as a pillar of capitalism. The avoidance of the above variations by the literature on squatting requires clear identification of the radical (anti-capitalist) and moderate grounds that justify the occupations of vacant properties.

In the following sections I first review the evidence from European cities in order to disentangle the underlying categories of the homogenisation and polarisation narratives[1]. Next, I discuss the counter-hegemonic responses expressed by squatters and their main anti-capitalist features. Finally, in the concluding remarks, a summary assessment of the findings and gaps is provided.

The performative powers of 'spectacular narrations'

The term 'stigma' dates back to the Ancient Greece when it referred to visual signs which "were cut or burnt into the body and advertised that the bearer was a slave, a criminal, or a traitor" (Goffman 1963: 1). Later on, it was generalised to encompass the identity attributes of specific social groups who are seen as "quite thoroughly bad, or dangerous, or weak… sometimes it is also called a failing, a shortcoming, a handicap." (Goffman 1963: 3) The stigma accentuates undesirable or discredited attributes of the 'stereotype', or biased social identity, held by the group members. Therefore, Goffman's sociological use of the term 'stigma' suggests negative connotations overall. Instead of taking for granted his interactionist and functionalist approach, I rather assume that stigmas, stereotypes, and social identities in general, are mainly, though not exclusively, the outcomes of dominant discourses. These discourses are produced according to the economic and symbolic means of production under the control of dominant social groups, elites and capitalists (Therborn 1980, Jessop 1982). I will thus interpret stigmatisation processes of squatters according to the ideologies and hegemonic discourses that intervene in the reproduction of the capitalist city at large, and the neoliberal city specifically (Madden & Marcuse 2016, Mayer 2016).

Borrowing from Debord (1967), the stigmatisation of squatters via hegemonic stereotypes may take two basic forms: a) homogenisation ('all squatters are the same'); and b) polarisation ('there are good and bad squatters'). Squatters themsel-

ves may equally adhere to these rhetoric strategies by filling them with their own content. They can also reverse them by: a) revealing significant differences when its collective is seen as homogeneous; b) underscoring the commonalities among all the squatters as subjects to market oppression and state marginalisation when they are distinguished as 'good and bad' squatters. Let's examine first how homogenisation operates.

Opposition to squatting may be backed for different reasons. For example, a rooted belief in the primacy of private property that allows almost absolute power to those granted ownership, regardless of the legal limitations applicable in each national jurisdiction (Fox-O'Mahony et al. 2015). More often, it is due to urban elites' revanchism against poor people, migrants, racial minorities and young activists, all perceived as marginal, deviant and undesirable individuals whose mere existence in the city is not welcome (Pruijt 2013). Smith illustrates this revanchism with declarations of New York's former mayor, Rudolf Giuliani: "He identifies homeless people, panhandlers, prostitutes, curbside squeegee cleaners, squatters, graffiti artists, 'reckless bicyclists', and unruly youth as the major enemies of public order, the culprits of urban decline generating widespread fear" (Smith 1999: 100).

Elite revanchism against those altering the status quo tends to occur in association with a 'moral panic' that frames squatters who actively resist their eviction as violent, unruly or even a sort of low-key terrorism. Pruijt recalls how a majority in the Dutch Parliament and Senate have always claimed a 'sense of urgency' to legislate against squatting since its first public manifestations in the mid-1960s. They only succeeded four decades later, after three incidents in 2007 and 2008 that triggered the moral panic:

> The police reported that squatters had left booby traps in barricaded squats… Prime Minister Balkenende expressed shock… In 2008, the impression of a violent turn in the Amsterdam's squatters' movement was reinforced by a case in which the Amsterdam police reported having found various weapons during an eviction. (Pruijt 2013: 1121-2)

The Dutch anti-squatting law was passed in 2010 with a preface in which the association between squatters and violence justified the criminalisation. Dee (2016: 786-788) delved into the same three cases by citing the squatters' views. According to Dee's analysis, there was no compelling evidence for the accusations made by the police – i.e. no booby traps, no bombs and no guns. These counterarguments, however, were not reported by the mass media as much as the authorities' version. "The panic was used for 'agenda-setting'… but it is important to note that it was based on completely fictitious grounds" (Dee 2016: 789). Interestingly, during the process of stigmatisation that resulted in the end of tolerance towards squatting,

Dee interpreted the squatters framing as a 'symptom of the other' in a typical labelling process that assigns deviant properties to specific social groups: "as young, threatening, violent, disrespectful, foreign, different, and so on" (ibid.).

Based on parliamentary debates, government documents and politicians' statements to the press in the UK between 2010 and 2012, when the criminalisation of squatting in England and Wales came into force, Middleton (2015) confirms how effective the rhetoric of homogenisation is in successfully supporting a law change. She goes more in detail and distinguishes three tactics within that general rhetoric: a) squatters are not fair because they "are getting so much for free" when most people "are struggling to get by" (Middleton 2015: 101); b) "squatters are criminal and lazy" because they are not "virtuously hard-working and law-abiding" as most home-owners are (Middleton 2015: 101-2); and c) squatters are a consolidated and even 'professional' subculture that must be eradicated:

> They display 'arrogant behaviour', believing themselves superior to the rest of society, and in particular believing themselves to be 'above the law'. They are 'web-savvy', they have a predilection for high-value properties, they deceive us with their 'guilt and tenacity' and they are carefree, continuing 'on their merry way' when they are evicted. The term squatter is also frequently prefaced by 'prolific' and 'professional', qualifiers which connote success, implying that squatters view their activities with pride. (Middleton 2015: 103-4)

Similar generalisations about squatters as a whole are found in Spain as well. Although a legal reform was passed in 1995, which made squatting a criminal offence, the rise of this practice during the last economic recession has infuriated the most conservative voices. In particular, the right-populist party Ciudadanos has launched a parliamentary attempt to increase the prosecution and punishment of squatting. In a September 2017 op ed of an online newspaper, the leader of this party in Madrid, Begoña Villacís, combined all the above-mentioned stereotypes in a single column:

> No 'good morning', no introduction to their new neighbours – those simpletons, who paid to live in a house like theirs, in a neighbourhood like theirs, and, up to now, with the same tranquillity as theirs… For years we have produced laws that protect usurpers and opportunists, which allow some to 'live for free' and… evict this man [a legitimate owner] from his own home… Squatters impose fear and intimidation to deteriorate neighbourhood life. Some streets are now in the hands of gangs and bullies. There are now [occupied] drug-dealing flats… brot-

> hels and nests of terrorists. The phenomenon becomes viral… There is no such dichotomy between the right to housing and the right to property… We should not wait a minute more in getting rid of our condition as a paradise country for squatters. (https://blogs.elconfidencial.com/espana/mirada-ciudadana/2017-09-19/una-de-listos-y-tontos-hipotecados_1445886/)

According to this politician, all squatters are unfair, unlawful, criminal and a plague that should be supressed immediately because the criminalisation in force does not suffice. She only compares squatters with homeowners and presents the latter as the principal representatives of society as a whole. Private property rights and homeowners' rights, then, are the priority to be protected. Squatters are bad neighbours (no hello to others), outsiders, they do not pay rent, do not pay mortgage instalments, and do not comply with the legislation, which is assumed to be outdated and inefficient. In an effort to raise alarm (a 'sense of urgency' and moral panic), she also exaggerates her hard-line approach by suggesting that squatters can occupy principal homes when their regular residents are away – although this is not a proper case of squatting empty properties, but a completely different and more serious criminal infraction: housebreaking and intrusion into one's private home. The association of squatters with delinquents, drug trafficking, prostitution and terrorism are not chosen randomly. Without any evidence, these activities are attributed to all squatters and not distinguished from the practice of squatting itself. The newspaper contributes to the creation of panic by including four pictures without any actual squatters in them, as if they were unknown and dangerous ghosts that oblige owners to wall their front doors (photo 1) and keep a wary eye on their middle-class townhouses (photo 2), mansions with swimming pools (photo 3) and low-middle class developments (photo 3), where a group of eight new-buyers in their thirties represent the 'idiots who pay a mortgage' (according to the author's headline) as the lawful rivals, and potential victims, of squatters. Both discourse and images pursue the same pragmatic aim – instilling a revanchist mood in public opinion which would justify harsher criminalisation.

The above discourses stigmatise and homogenise squatters as a whole or 'other' against 'society'. Not so frequently, they can also be expressed in apparently less negative terms. The most well-known framing is made up of squatters as functional to the capitalist regeneration of urban spaces. The stereotype of squatters as artists (cultural workers and professionals) and, eventually, gentrifiers is usually produced by wealthy groups as a homogenising label but is also widespread among political (left-libertarian) squatters as a polarising category (Aguilera 2018). For example, an editor of an architecture magazine was quoted as follows:

> [The area] in London where our office is based was once full of squatting artists and designers who gradually transformed the area from one that was quite dangerous to one that is now home to Google, Facebook and a myriad of trendy bars. (Martínez 2015: 34)

Cities such as Amsterdam, where squatting enjoyed many decades of tolerance, and Berlin, where a rapid gentrification process occurred in formerly squatted neighbourhoods, have often shaped the paradigmatic imaginary for the dissemination of this discourse (Novy & Colomb 2012, Owens 2009, Pruijt 2013, Uitermark 2004, Vasudevan 2017). Although exceptional, this can be designated as the 'improvement frame' according to Manjikian (2013: 57-58). Another indicator of how squatting is portrayed in mainstream media is the graffiti murals on the walls of long lasting squats. These are used by tourist guides, airlines and fashion magazines as identity signs of cities, an evident turn to the homogenisation of the squatting culture, social life and politics by incorporating these flagship images into city branding and urban marketisation strategies (Mayer 2016). Freetown Christiania, in Copenhagen, occupied since 1971, also became a very well-known tourist attraction internationally (Thörn et al. 2011).

Recently, a report in the *Elle Décor Italia* magazine represented this general association of squatters with artistic venues and hip spots that eventually - against their will, though - paved the way for subsequent urban gentrification:

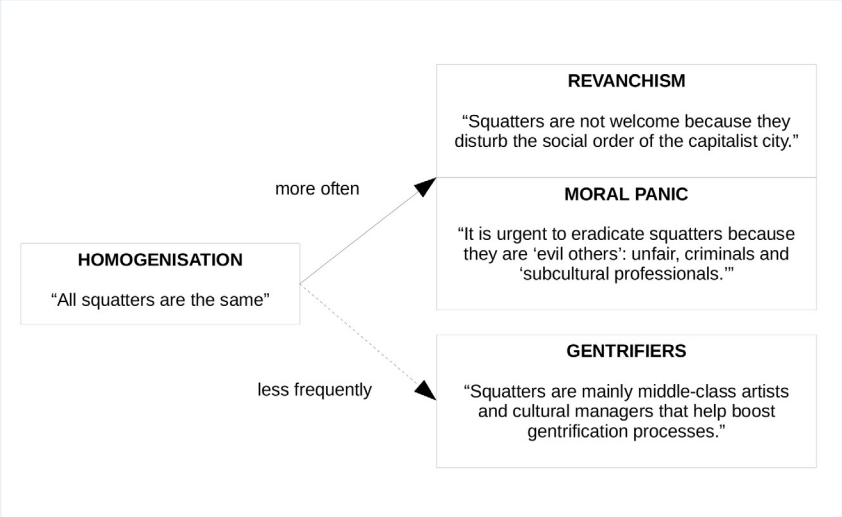
> SiViaggia.it, the Italian travel website, published a review of the most beautiful and socially influential European squats… Between Louvre and Centre Pompidou, in one of the most important commercial streets of Paris's historical centre, they [Rivoli 59] created more than thirty artist studios, visited by thousands of people every week, and an art gallery that sells the works of artists from all over the world… In 2014, a spectacular mobilisation pressured the city hall of Altona district [in Hamburg, Germany] to rule that the edifice [Rota Flora] will not be demolished and it will remain an active cultural centre… The Snakehouse, in Spuitstraat, in the heart of Amsterdam, it is a four storey squat occupied in 1983, where dozens of artists worked and lived together… The building was recently bought by the De Key construction company… The edifice will be turned into a complex of luxury apartments… After countless eviction attempts and notices, the Tacheles [in Berlin] was closed in 2012, and it is now under restoration as part of the renovation plan of the surrounding area... Kukutza III [in Bilbao, Spain] filled an institutional void on cultural and entertainment issues, providing

> spaces for dance, climbing, martial arts, a library, a canteen, a theatre, and a workshop for craft beer production. After the definitive eviction – one of the most difficult in history, with more than 140.000 euros in damages, dozens of people wounded, and 64 arrests – even the area's shop-owners complained about the loss of the effervescent atmosphere that made the neighbourhood vibrant. (http://www.elledecor.it/en/architecture/the-most-beautiful-squats-in-the-world)

Although there are many types of squatted buildings and squatters, Pruijt (2013: 1124) argues that 'entrepreneurial squatters' who promote studios, exhibition venues and gathering spaces for artists, and other cultural producers, hold the most positive image for local authorities. This often prompts legalisation agreements, state subsidies and the co-optation of former activists although squatters can also manipulate the discourse of creativity to convince authorities about how valuable they are for the sake of economic growth while, internally, keeping and promoting a middle-class discourse of leftist radicalism (Fraser 2015, Novy & Colomb 2012, Valli 2015). Nonetheless, the media and political manipulation of this positive image does not consist of a mere partial representation of squatters, but it promotes a role model for more radical or destitute squatters.

In sum (see Fig. 1a), the homogenising rhetoric unfolds in two directions: a) 'full stigmatisation' by accusing squatters of disturbing social order and behaving

Fig. 1a 'Homogenisation' narratives that stigmatise squatters



Note: Quotations are only paradigmatic discourses from my own recreation (based on the gathered data) in order to illustrate the meaning of each category. Source: Author

as 'evil others' (morally unfair, legally criminal and too socially tolerated); and b) 'partial stigmatisation' by selecting the portion of squatters which is more functional to the reproduction of the capitalist city – artists and middle-class creative squatters able to contribute to the vibrancy of urban life and the attraction of private capital investment by pioneering gentrification processes.

Divide and rule

Social discipline, normalisation and integration are the general weapons of 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu 1991). In our case, they are used against the internal diversity of squatters as a social group or urban movement. The main purpose of these stratagems is to undermine the squatters' political leverage. This applies to both homogenisation and polarisation rhetoric. The latter can be more accurately described as a 'divide and rule' tactic because the major attacks towards squatters take the paradigmatic form of a split between 'good' and 'bad' squatters (Bouillon 2013, Dee 2013, Dee & Debelle 2015). Four predominant axes are drawn here, according to the evidence collected from various European countries. First, the more squatters resort to socially perceived violent means of protest, or are unilaterally accused of doing so, the more they are classified as 'bad' squatters. Second, ideological and political radicalism is usually seen as a 'bad' thing. Conversely, the more squatters show restraint with their social, political, urban and cultural criticisms (or these are only expressed through harmless artistic means), the more they are categorised as 'good' squatters. Their disposition to talk to journalists and be reported on and recorded by mass media may be used as an additional distinction between 'moderate' and 'radical' squatters. Involvement of squatters in formal organisations with non-squatters and their own political agenda helps condemn them compared to only-squatters self-help initiatives. Third, squatters' attitudes towards negotiations with private owners and political and judicial authorities determine another bottom line for the divide. There are different kinds of negotiations, including interactions with the police, although the issue of reaching legal agreements regarding the status of the squat represents the highest stake. A plain refusal to accept the prevailing legal system as an extension of economic and political unbalance tends to label squatters as unreasonable outsiders who should not deserve recognition. In contrast, 'good' squatters are deemed and expected to, sooner or later, obtain legal status and durable arrangements for their illegal condition. This will to negotiate is proof that they are another acceptable social category among the diversity of city stakeholders. A fourth categorical cleavage directly frames squatters as either socially integrated (normalised) or attached to a marginal status (deviated). There are plenty of traits that fall under either side, so this frame stresses a supposedly resilient and original "wild" nature versus the

eventual process of "taming" squatters in order to comply with socially accepted conventions. For example, their public outlook, the way they dress, how clean or dirty are the squats, their lifestyle in relation to drugs and partying, their gender and ethnic identity, their jobs and education, whether there are children and elderly involved, their relationship with welfare services, politeness with neighbours, etc. I will further elaborate these axes in more detail.

Mass media plays a key role in the diffusion of the 'divide and rule' repertoire. Dee (2013) compared media representations of squatting in the UK and the Netherlands and found striking differences. For instance, the negative stereotypes of squatters as drug-users who trash buildings prevailed more in the UK than in the Netherlands, where 'krakers' developed cordial relations with the police, had expert knowledge about the occupied buildings and the planning legislation, and usually behave non-violently unless provoked (Dee 2013: 251). Polarisations among squatters in the UK date back to the 1960s and 1970s around an axis of deserving or undeserving poor. On the one hand, positive stories were told about homeless families who occupied council properties and were led by non-homeless activists. On the other, negative stories encompassed squatting actions by "single people, 'outsiders', 'hippies'… particularly if they turned their attentions towards empty privately-owned properties or were seen to have some sort of wider political agenda" (Platt quoted by Dee 2013: 252).

Dee provides more illustrations of the divide. One of the squatters of an expensive mansion in London declared to the Daily Telegraph: "I don't mind being called a squatter, but I am a good one. We are normal people, we go to work." (Dee 2013: 257) A neighbour of squatters in Brighton was quoted as saying: "They look like scruffy students… But they are very polite and well-spoken. They seem like your typical middle-class dropouts." (Dee 2013: 257) Another squatter plays the game of normalisation by insisting on the favourable label when talking to journalists: "We are good squatters. We treat the places we live with respect. We keep the place clean and tidy" (Dee 2013: 258). On the other hand, marginal and deviant attributions are placed upon the bad squatters, according to the media highlights: "a gang… and mostly in their early 20s and [Southern and Eastern] European… They were intelligent students, not impoverished… anarchist collectives living rent-free in Georgian townhouses…" (Dee 2013: 258-260).

In France, Bouillon interviewed policemen who confirmed that squats occupied by "people seen as marginals… isolated adolescents without papers from Maghreb… [and] Roma [people]… have the shortest life expectancy" (Bouillon 2013: 236). Racism and preventive stereotypes placed upon social groups who generate "a strong feeling of insecurity among neighbours" (ibid.) prompted police to swiftly evict the 'bad' squatters, even without granting them due rights to legal assistance and juridical procedure. This extends to squatters who are ignorant of

the legislation, are intimidated by landlords and neighbours, and are subject to forced mobility due to asylum or job seeking. According to her research, in 75% of cases, court sentences determined immediate eviction (Bouillon 2013: 237), which is a sign of the predominance of such negative stereotypes.

Bouillon also found that court trials are a privileged stage to test how effective stereotypes are. Judges distinguished first between good and bad landlords based on three conditions: a) Small private landlords may experience a higher loss than big corporations or state agencies when their properties are occupied; b) The longer the period of vacancy, the more prone judges are to blame the owner and acquit the squatters; c) The less active owners are in repairing, hiring or selling their property, the more favourable judges are towards squatters. But the burden may also fall on the side of squatters; if they are judged to be 'genuine poor' and 'good poor', they have more chance of avoiding eviction and further punishment (fines or imprisonment). Accordingly, defensive tactics in court trials play with these four arguments:

> [a)] They are not usurpers but 'truly poor'… [b)] The judge will be all the more indulgent if the occupants have exhausted all legal solutions [to find accommodation]… [c)] They are not 'drug addicts', they 'don't steal'… [d)] The question is to prove that they suffer from marginality and do not represent a danger for the collectivity. (Bouillon 2013: 238-239)

The appointment of an "anti-squatters police chief" by the Spanish central government in 2016, which could operate across the Madrid region, was announced with the overt intention of speeding up lawsuits and increasing the penalties for what is already considered a criminal offence according to the Spanish penal code (1995). In a meeting he held with residents' organisations, the police officer said they had identified 1,300 squatted houses in the region, and they classified them roughly as "social squatters" (homeless people who occupy out of necessity or 'deserving poor'), "ethnic squatters" (Roma people), "foreign squatters" (poor migrants) and "anti-systemic and 15M squatters" (political squatters who help others to squat and organise social activities) [15M refers to the Indignados movement that rose up in 15 May 2011] (https://www.diagonalperiodico.net/global/30611-dancausa-general-contra-la-okupacion.html) . Only the 'deserving poor' did not represent a serious threat. Madrid's supposedly progressive mayor also condemned "mafia-style squatters" while expressing concerns about the "needy squatters" who face homelessness (http://www.eldiario.es/sociedad/Cerco-okupacion-Madrid-coordinador-policial_0_504650296.html). Many local activists commented informally and online that those views were completely biased, misrepresented the actual diversity of squatters and created artificial divides to

spread fear and justify repression (Coordinadora de Vivienda 2017).

Other accounts of 'bad' and 'good' squatters in Barcelona confirmed the patterned boundary between "artists, bohemians… peaceful, eager to negotiate… with a visible spokesperson" and "rioters, violent… punks with dreadlocks… foreigners… far left, anarchists, independentist" squatters (Dee & Debelle 2015: 123-128). The most extreme attribution to 'bad squatters' is a link with terrorism, which is exceptional but not completely avoided by politicians and journalists (most recently via a diffused fear of migrants, refugees and clandestine jihadists: Manjikian 2013, Mudu & Chattopadhay 2017). Media stories about terrorists hidden in Spanish squats or disguised as radical squatters were common in two periods, 1999-2001 (Asens 2004: 320-327) and 2015-2016 (Debelle 2017: 181), although they were mainly based on specific police raids and followed by politicians and journalists' declarations instilling a sense of panic. These incidents added to the general negative discourse on squatting, but the terrorist connotation hardly contaminated the public identity of Spanish squatters in the other periods, from the mid-1980s to date (as verified in the three cities examined in Martínez 2018b).

Middleton (2015) identified a similar hegemonic divide in the UK when both conservative and labour politicians sought to dissociate homelessness from squatting. She provides many samples to illustrate this point: "Squatters do not fit the profile of the kind of vulnerable people we should be looking after… it is 'a FACT' that squatters are politically motivated and anti-establishment', 'not genuinely destitute'… In squats they [homeless people] have no protection." (Middleton 2015: 103, 105) Although poor people may be excluded from the category of 'bad squatters', according to UK politicians, the homeless should not dare to take matters into their own hands and cross the line towards self-housing themselves. If they dare to squat, they risk losing face, subsidies and any help from the authorities. To some extent, this discourse praises homeless people for continuing to sleep in the streets and marginalises them should they aim to find a proper roof (Reeve 2011). However, "in the absence of an alternative, it is highly probable that the persons concerned will sooner or later occupy a new building. Eviction thus contributes to producing the very situation it was supposed to end" (Bouillon 2013: 243).

Polarisation between deserving and underserving poor is by no means the only dichotomous frame at play. The analysis of four cases in Western Europe (the UK, France, Denmark and the Netherlands), including Roma settlements, distinguished nine specific frames that shifted over time towards an increasing 'exclusionary narrative' (Manjikian 2013: 32). This discourse leads to waging a 'war on squatting' based on the assumption that squatters have become a security issue for nation-states. Internal borders are erected and increasing police stop-and-frisk operations target migrants who squat (Manjikian 2013: 11). All squatters, then, are likely to be demonised. As a consequence, this frame justifies the 'politics of emer-

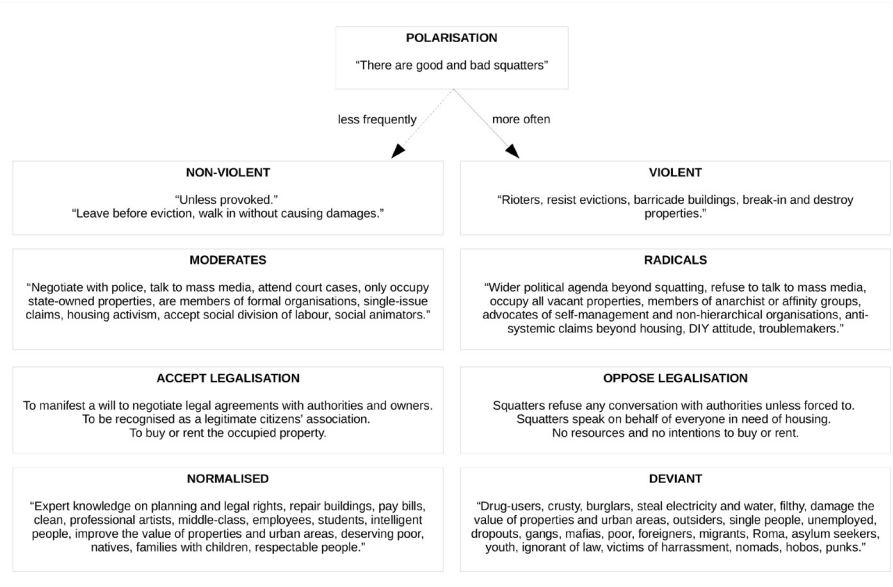
gency' that ends up in the criminalisation and quick evictions of squatters, while replacing standard democratic procedures and rights to housing. For example, Manjikian gathers media samples where squatters are pictured as 'free riders' (selfish, lazy, rent-free), 'blight' (guilty of damaging the home value and investments made by homeowners), 'barbarian' (uncivilised, vandals, intruders, illegal tenants), 'deviated' (nomads, hobos, hippies, living in communes, unemployed and not seeking jobs, alternative lifestyles and dress-hair codes, anarchists, refugees, nuisance to neighbours), 'security threats' (gangsters, invaders, army, "dangerous scourge", weapon-tool wielders). Although the exclusionary narrative takes the lead, Manjikian argues that there is also a subordinate 'inclusionist narrative' that entices public policies to support, subsidise, integrate and understand squatters' motivations based on their legitimate response to housing needs. However, this approach is rooted in a view of the good squatter as a passive victim of systemic conditions, in opposition to the 'empowered squatters' who actively challenge the system that excludes them (Manjikian 2013: 18-32).

Whether in court facing lawsuits or while interacting with neighbouring residents and journalists, some squatters also play the game and strategically take sides. Furthermore, stigmas and stereotypes enjoy a performative power within the squatting scenes, especially in the most militant ones (Kadir 2016, Dee 2013: 256). However, social, cultural, ideological and even economic diversity are the daily life experience of most squatters. Even the same individuals may go through different categories or combine their features (azozomox 2014, Mudu & Chattopadhay 2017, Polanska & Piotrowski 2016, Pattaroni 2014). A paradigmatic case is the Metropoliz squat in a peripheral area of Rome where migrants, natives, militants and artists cooperate with each other and live together on the same premises, a former salami factory (Grazioli 2017; Mudu 2014: 152). In Paris, the conflicts between the 'autonomous' (radical left-libertarian squatters who see squats as an end rather than a means to a legal place) and the 'institutional' wing (artists and housing activists in favour of legalisation of the squats, some even eager to fully participate in political parties) prompted Aguilera (2018: 135-140) to argue that this internal diversity and cleavage represents a strength of the movement. In interviews held with public officials from housing and cultural departments, he confirmed that the distinctions had practical consequences:

> They tolerate and legalise the 'animators' [who create services and house the needy,] who accept to negotiate, who are institution-friendly and officially organised through tangible structures like associations. They evict the 'troublemakers' [autonomous, survival and recognition squatters] who perpetuate a strong anti-institutional discourse and who self-organise in fluid and decentralised networks. (Aguilera 2018: 137)

After examining the reciprocal accusations the two *opposed* types of squatters express about each other, Aguilera observes that "every group of squatters attempts to represent itself as the 'good ones' while simultaneously denouncing the process of categorisation… [All] emphasise that they 'truly' need to squat." (Aguilera 2018: 138) His argument is that the radical wing helps the moderate one to negotiate and achieve its goals because the former represents a more critical threat unable to be managed by the authorities who, forced to choose, prefer to give concessions to the moderate squatters. Radical squatters contribute to the rejuvenation of the movement with their libertarian insight in terms of self-management. On their side, moderate squatters help to soften the repression against squatting by attracting the attention of more favourable media and policymakers. "Municipal officials consider them collaborators: 'They help me in my job to find vacant spaces in Paris… They are experts, they have lists. We call them, they squat, we implement projects with them and then we build social housing" (Aguilera 2018: 140). Figure 1b summarises the gathered evidence concerning the polarisation discourse.

Fig. 1b 'Polarisation' narratives that stigmatise squatters



Note: Quotations are only paradigmatic discourses from my own recreation (based on the gathered data) in order to illustrate the meaning of each category. Source: Author

Counter-hegemonic discourses

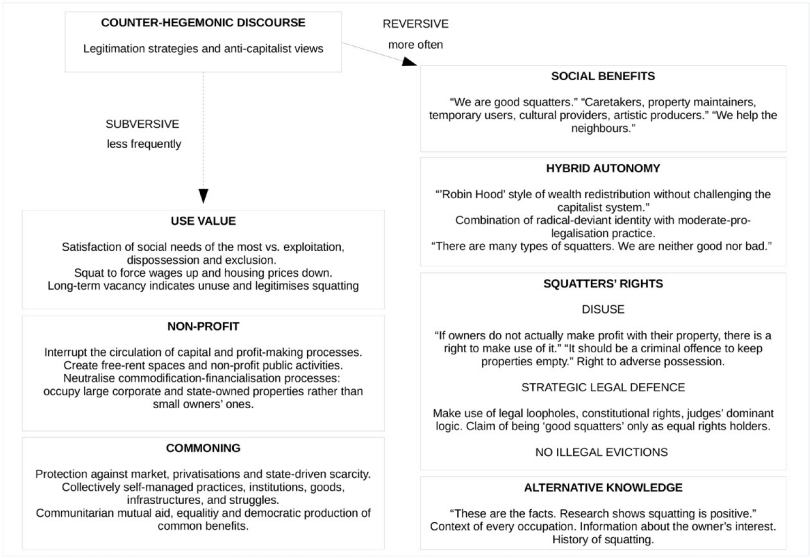
Both the dominant homogenisation and polarisation rhetoric intend to undermine squatting, hide its social diversity and make squatters speechless. As shown above, this operates by more frequently pointing out 'bad squatters', revanchism and moral panic. On a subordinate hierarchical level (that is, less frequently), the hegemonic narrative sometimes frames squatting as a "positive" contribution thanks to gentrifiers, artists, moderate housing activists and normalised 'good squatters' in general. This hierarchy and frequency is verified, for example, by the examination of media news in the UK showing the frequency of negative views as double when compared to positive categorisations (Dee & Debelle 2015: 120). How do squatters face these dilemmas or escape them?

Dee and Debelle identify two major counter-tactics: 1) 'trying to produce a positive image' of squatting by spreading the features of the 'good squatters' and by emphasising the social benefits of squats; and 2) a 'refusal to engage with the media' by embracing otherness, difference and subjectivity while "sidestepping subjectivities imposed from above", which may also entail an intense dedication to underground, face-to-face, independent and grassroots' communication (Dee & Debelle 2015: 135). They also mention more ambivalent tactics in which squatters adopted different identities to detach themselves from the prevailing stereotypes. This, for instance, has proved somewhat successful in the squatting actions carried out by the PAH (Platform for People Affected by Mortgages) in Spain (Coordinadora de Vivienda 2017, García-Lamarca 2016, Martínez 2018). Instead of using 'squatting' or 'occupation', they promoted their actions as 'recuperations' of public assets for those with a lifelong debt after forced evictions due to foreclosures. PAH squatters were also favourable to negotiations, legal arrangements and even the payment of affordable rents. In a similar vein, Dee argues that there is a certain social sympathy for those squatters "mythologised [as] 'Robin Hood' figures, taking back from the people what has been stolen from them by the ultrarich." (Dee 2013: 253) This figure, even without taking explicit anti-capitalist stances, may help to break down the dominant polarisations while justifying squatting as a necessary direct action.

Figure 2 compiles these and other responses to confront the hegemonic discourse on squatting according to the available research (e.g. Cattaneo & Martínez. 2014, Martínez 2018a). Drawing on Hodkinson (2012), the responses can be grouped in two large groups: a) additional; and b) oppositional. He employed these categories to distinguish squatting (as 'oppositional') from housing cooperatives (as 'additional') without, however, delving into the discursive struggles around squatting I am scrutinising here. Both categories hold potentials to dispute the hegemonic logic of capitalism and its attached discourses of legitimation, although only the 'oppositional' alternatives would confront them at its core. In or-

der to avoid the traditional distinction between reform and revolution, moderate and radical struggles, etc. that those terms may entail, I refer to them as 'reversive' and 'subversive' (Martínez 2008). In short, reversive strategies take advantage of system cracks, expand them, and drive the masters crazy. Guerrilla warfare, insurrections and everyday life resistance to domination fall under this category. Subversive strategies critically point to the pillars of the system and aim at prefiguring full alternatives to it. New forms of language, social organisation and practices, even placed within strongholds, are possible manifestations. As far as they both encompass a counter-hegemonic nature, we could also name them as 'radical reforms' and 'radical experiments'.

Fig. 2 Counter-hegemonic narratives that legitimise squatting



Note: Quotations are only paradigmatic discourses from my own recreation (based on the gathered data) in order to illustrate the meaning of each category.
Source: Author

Reversive responses

1) 'Social benefits'. Squatters can fight their usual bad reputation by claiming they contribute to society in very peculiar ways. Instead of parasites, many squatters argue that they take care of and rehabilitate the properties they occupy, which, otherwise, would continue to deteriorate (Dee 2013, Pruijt 2013). Vacancy in a building or urban area is also considered negative in terms of the potential cooperation among residents, so some squatters are welcome when they help other neighbours with their daily issues. This logic applies to 'squatted social centres' as

well. The more public activities are organised in the squats for visitors, the more squatters use them as proof of their altruism.

2) 'Hybrid autonomy'. The main battle here is waged around the distinction between the temporary occupation of disused properties and stealing. Discursive tactics employed by squatters vary from appealing to those in society critical of rich people who own many properties, to demands of more just housing policies and affordable real estate prices for the many. This opens up a fruitful avenue to legitimise squatting through various combinations of positive and negative traits which are invigorated by 'spectacular narratives'. A regular illustration of 'hybrid autonomy' (Martínez 2016) consists of embracing radical and deviant identities proudly while, at the same time, expressing the will to pay rent and reach legal agreements (Coordinadora de Vivienda 2017, García-Lamarca 2016, Martínez 2018). Equally, a refusal to identify squatters' spokespersons when engaging with the media and politicians, and the spread of confusing messages by all means possible (in a situationist-inspired fashion), may contribute to a certain political ambiguity that is able to erode the stigmatisation process.

3) 'Squatters' rights'. In this dimension, squatters use their legal expertise in order to remind both the authorities and the public of the owners' duties regarding the conservation and management of their properties. The lack of maintenance, ruin and vacancy are not tolerated in many legal codes, and 'adverse possession' was a historical means to grant squatters' rights to remain or even acquire or purchase the occupied property (Fox-O'Mahony et al. 2015). Disuse is often considered a source of problems for the building, the neighbours and the urban area at large. Squatters also address their legal rights to be informed in due time, to legal assistance and relocation in case of eviction. They also reveal the large number of illegal evictions worldwide, executed by police and private owners, to which courts turn a blind eye. By knowing the details of the applicable law, their constitutional rights as citizens and the judge's prevailing arguments, squatters can strategically plan their legal defence (Bouillon 2013, Cattaneo & Martínez 2014).

4) 'Alternative knowledge'. In general, a common resource that squatters, especially those more politicised, manage is a detailed knowledge of the targeted property, the state of the building and the economic conditions and behaviours of its owner. This research serves to assess the pros and cons of the occupation, but also to publicly justify the action. In addition, squatters can relate this key information to other alarming political and economic circumstances (corruption, housing shortage, gentrification processes, etc.). References to consolidated practices of squatting over decades in the same city or country have the advantage of cooling down the news inducing panic about single incidents (Martínez 2018b, Van der Steen et al. 2014).

Subversive alternatives

All the 'reversive' strategies (narratives and associated actions) can legitimate squatting, undermine stigmas and turn artificial splits upside down. However, there is no intrinsic content in them that is genuinely anti-capitalist, aiming to challenge the systemic conditions that foster squatting. Even the appeal to completely abolish private property, endorsed by left-libertarian squatters, is seldom realistic because squatters are focused on a specific contradiction of the capitalist system – the social management of empty properties, both privately and state-owned. In order to enhance the 'oppositional' or anti-capitalist nature of counter-hegemonic discourses, Hodkinson proposes various packages of prefigurative, defensive and circulating forms of commoning (Hodkinson 2012: 438-440). Similarly, Madden and Marcuse define 'radical' or 'transformative demands' as "system-challenging… non-reformist reforms: not attempts to make the current system more resilient, but actions that improve present conditions while also progressively enabling the building of a different world" (Madden & Marcuse 2016: 200). Regarding squatting, its radicalism entails a discourse with potential performative capacities in line with the 'oppositional' and 'transformative' practices suggested by Hodkinson, Madden and Marcuse, not only in the field of housing, but also in other facilities such as counter-cultural, anarchist and refugee squats. Without dismissing the radical potential of the squatters' reversive strategies, we can also envision three major dimensions of its subversive attempts, although both may be combined in practice. According to my own pool of pamphlets, fanzines, banners and articles written by squatters, and other researchers' analyses, we can group the dispersed pieces of subversive discourses in the following three categories: use value, non-profit and commoning.

1) 'Use value'. Capitalism works due to underlying processes of exploitation of the labour force within given social structures. Capitalists also manipulate the reproduction of the labour force (health, education, residential needs, non-working time, etc.). Some of their profits can be invested in the 'secondary circuit of capital', i.e. the production of the urban fabric. All these activities are driven by the pursuit of 'exchange value' at the expense of 'use values'. When squatters occupy empty properties, they claim a right to satisfy their needs for social reproduction, but also they resist exploitation as waged workers (Cattaneo & Martínez 2014). They also dispute the appropriation of resources by real estate developers and speculators. The alternative to focusing on the specific portion of vacancy among properties subject to profit-making in the real estate market means direct opposition to their extension. Given the primitive accumulation of capital that gave birth to private property, current forms of 'accumulation by dispossession' (Harvey 2006: 90-115) and privatisations of public assets such as social housing stocks, squatters argue that capitalists always illegitimately *squatted* larger spaces

than the ones that are taken back into the hands of the exploited, dispossessed and excluded. As a consequence, squatting is truly anti-capitalist when it is practised by homeless people and others who cannot access social housing or affordable and decent shelters (Reeve 2011). Even for those who are not homeless, to buy or rent an expensive dwelling may imply the serious erosion of other aspects of a buyer or tenant's well-being. People with low or unstable income, such as unemployed people, students and the elderly, may resort to squatting as a solution to their urgent economic needs, especially in the absence of any state measures that suit them. Squatting can mitigate these undesirable effects and erode capital accumulation in both the real estate and job market. In short, the better the living conditions enjoyed by the many, the less probable capitalists will force wages down and housing prices up. As Madden and Marcuse (2016: 207) advocate: "Privilege inhabitants… rather than investors, owners and landlords."

2) 'Non-profit'. When squatters are not so deprived economically, their refusal to pay high rents, selling prices and mortgage loans directly challenges the interests of capitalists, real estate financialisation and state policies that facilitate capital accumulation. Well-off political squatters (from the middle or well-paid working classes) may, remarkably, reject the argument of extreme necessity in their own case by stating that wealthier owners ought not to profit from their empty properties. Manipulated vacancy only boosts speculation and inflation, which results in higher living costs for all urban dwellers and inhabitants. This is especially justified when the targets of squatting are spaces left unused in convenient locations for collective gatherings and activities supplied by squatters at no or low cost. They could not be performed by paying market prices, and the right to the city centre (Cattaneo & Martínez 2014, Madden & Marcuse 2016) would be just a privilege of the wealthy. Theoretically, regulations of land planning, welfare services, financial transfers and taxation are intended to limit the absolute powers of real estate owners. However, these limitations have not been sufficient in impeding the commodification and financialisation of housing. Furthermore, state agencies may also set up for-profit housing corporations, urban plans and policies that reveal the failures of the capitalist system to properly accommodate everyone. By "breaking the monopoly of for-profit developers" (Madden & Marcuse 2016: 207), squatters can grant access to houses and social facilities to those more in need as well as to those that defy capitalism on different flanks. This approach implies that squatters cannot make any profit either by renting, subletting, or selling the occupied property to others. Selling food, beverages, books, clothes, or handicrafts is deemed legitimate when it is not for profit and democratically managed among the squatters.

3) 'Commoning'. Squatting contributes to creating 'commons' in direct opposition to the continuing enclosures and appropriations of all spheres of life and

nature operated by capital. Inequality is not only an outcome of capital accumulation, but also an intrinsic feature of capitalist production at the workplace and in all markets at large. Without equal conditions of work and consumption, common properties and an orientation of productive-reproductive activities to satisfy everybody's needs, there is no way out of capitalism. Historically, the commons encompassed portions of land and resources in a community-managed 'third space' between the state and the market. The notion of commons, however, entails much more: "Daily acts of producing alternative forms of sociality that protect against enclosure and accumulation" (Hodkinson 2012: 437). Therefore, instead of authoritarian forms of production and organisation of domestic and social life, commoning processes comprehend every collectively self-managed practice, institution, good, infrastructure, and struggle able to overcome the duality of state-owned and privately-owned modes of tenure and government. Squats are thus precious strongholds "of non-hierarchical, small-scale, directly democratic, egalitarian and collective forms of housing in our everyday lives" (Hodkinson 2012: 438) whenever they avoid the reproduction of economic, social and cultural oppressions within their walls. Their example can also amplify the cry to democratise the planning, provision and management of state-owned assets such as housing (Madden & Marcuse 2016: 211-215). In addition, commoning practices extend the social benefits of squatting to the surrounding residential communities not just as mutual aid, but also as a contribution to the self-management of common goods, historical experiences, institutions and struggles within their boundaries. This includes vacant spaces subject to the conflict between economic speculation, government decisions and grassroots claims. Moreover, squatters may be highly resourceful and valuable to the local community when they disclose the speculative processes underway.

Conclusions

Whether they like it or not, squatters are subject to a pervasive stigmatisation process in which the negative contents take priority over the occasional positive ones. Research across many European cities reveals three significant patterns: a) the stigmatisation process is performed according to a twofold rhetoric consisting of 'homogenisation' and 'polarisation' narratives; b) each dominant narrative always includes, as a subordinate dimension less often expressed in public, a relatively positive depiction (or 'partial stigmatisation', more precisely) of squatters; and c) the hegemonic 'spectacular narrations' about squatting are, at least in the long-term, performative, i.e. effective in terms of their prosecution, criminalisation and social exclusion. In particular, the divides between 'good' and 'bad' squatters are drawn out according to the dichotomies of 'non-violence/violence', 'moderation/

radicalism', 'pro-legalisation/anti-legalisation' and 'normalisation/deviation'. I interpret this finding as a result of discursive struggles in which squatters' agency plays a significant role in defying the circulation of negative stereotypes, although the dominant positive/partial ones are not necessarily what most squatters would wish to disseminate.

Going back to the literature on the topic, my analysis shows the limited scope that squatters enjoy when they engage with the media, politicians and juridical instances to overcome stigma and artificial splits, as some authors suggest (Bouillon 2013, Dee 2013, Dee & Debelle 2015). As these researchers also show, both the refusal to play the communication game in the media realm and political ambivalence may strengthen squatters' identity and discourse but, I would argue, without challenging the hegemonic system of categorisation and the capitalist structures that such a system ('spectacular narrations') obscures. In my view, Manjikian's (2013) main virtue is to delve into multiple discursive frames that underpin the increasing 'exclusionary narratives' about squatting. She also recognises the subordinate place of 'inclusionary narratives'. However, compared to other studies and my own analysis above, all these frames indicate more a plurality of squatters and hegemonic stigmas rather than a priority of the security-related ones (especially when associated to terrorism and violence, although her argument seems more valid when assigned to poor international migrants and refugees from Asia and the Middle East: Mudu et al. 2017). In contrast, I suggest fewer dichotomies in order to map the divide between 'good' and 'bad' squatters, and the need to look at how squatters react to them, by following, for example, Aguilera (2018), Dee (2016) and Pruijt (2013). More specifically, Dee (2016) proposes to conduct inquiries able to disclose facts and alternative voices which were dismissed by the dominant narratives. Pruijt (2013) also encourages the introduction of public opinion polls, the scrutiny of the diversity among politicians and media, and the squatters' own accounts such as the Dutch "white book", in which they tell positive stories about their practice and social contributions. What I miss in their analyses is a tighter connection of these and other counter-hegemonic tactics with the structural conditions of power and economic relationships within the capitalist system (some attempts, notwithstanding, have been presented in Cattaneo & Martínez 2014).

As a consequence, my final section identified two main strands of discursive responses performed by squatters –'reversive' and 'subversive' (Hodkinson 2012, Madden & Marcuse 2016). 'Use value', 'non-profit' and 'commoning' principles would be, in my view, the main components of the most radical-experimental approach, while also considering the more moderate responses (or radical reforms) a crucial source for a broader legitimation of squatting. This distinction is useful, although neither Hodkinson nor Madden and Marcuse distinguish speci-

fic variations among squatters' practices and discourses. These authors contribute a general framework that helps the understanding of how squatters root their anti-capitalist discourse among various housing struggles, despite its exceptional occurrence according to the evidence examined here and more general trends in European social movements (Mayer 2016). Future research will hopefully illuminate more in detail how effective these counter-hegemonic narratives are in terms of consolidating and expanding the cracks opened up by squatters.

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Notes

[1]The main empirical sources for this research stem from personal and group interviews, and mass media and activist documents I collected in Spain from the mid-1980s to present. In addition, I relied on secondary data provided by other researchers about various European countries (Spain, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Denmark, Germany, and the UK). Critical discourse analysis (Wodack & Meyer 2001) with a sociosemiotic approach (Ruiz 2009) were adopted in their interpretation.

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