

Planning from visions

An investigation of the future of Gamlestaden

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ABSTRACT

This study concerns the vision regarding construction in Gamlestaden. During the last century the urban district Gamlestaden in Gothenburg, Sweden, has been regarded as a node for the industry that came to define the city. However, the area is now facing large-scale construction, shifting the focus from industry to metropolitan. The vision for the foreseeable future includes a new travel centre which will contain a library, a shopping precinct, and a hotel. 3000 new flats are to double the inhabitants in the area. As visions have become an influential part of modern urban planning, it is an interesting concept to study. The vision for Gamlestaden is particularly interesting due to stakeholders' variations regarding how the vision will affect the area. This study aims to investigate what parts of the vision are enhanced through different actors in the area. Through qualitative methods, interviews with inhabitants, business owners and planners have been conducted regarding the vision for Gamlestaden. What components are characterising it, and what spatial implications the vision could result in. Through a content analysis certain attributes in the vision have been found, these have made some discrepancies regarding the vision for Gamlestaden visible. Among them, the history characterising the area indicates a conflict of discourse between actors and thus a complicated situation. In addition, many inhabitants are unaware of construction. The study reveals components such as communication, movement and history as emphasised elements in the vision. Although visions are abstract and the planning has not been implemented yet we can hint a twofoldness coming to influence the future in Gamlestaden.

Preface

I got this idea the way I get all my good ideas, being sleep-deprived, listening to Cohen in the middle of the night. I am glad I did.

My deepest gratitude to all those contributing to this study.

To my supervisor, Mikael Ring, Associate professor of Geography - thank you, for walking the extra mile with me.

Cecilia Eriksson
May 2018.

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1. Introduction

Visions have an influential part in modern urban planning, they are described as a desirable state for the future (John, Keeler, Wiek & Lang, 2015). Gamlestaden, an urban district in Gothenburg, Sweden, is facing extensive development. The vision for the area shows a future where Gamlestaden is a part of the inner-city, has better services and an increase in population and density (Göteborgs Stad, 2016). The vision is also declaring a better life (ibid). What we notice here is a gap. How could a vision possibly state that people's lives will be better by densifying a district, filling it with more flats and a shopping-centre? The gap between vision and reality has been noted by many, that; things might not turn out as intended (Westin, 2010. p.16). This thesis will further investigate what components of a vision matters for a place and to those using it on a daily basis and if there are any spatial implications worth noting from the vision for Gamlestaden. So mind the gap – between vision and reality.

1.1 Background

Although concepts such as urban visions, more known simply as visions, are rarely heard of they are widely used in modern planning. Cities today are arguably dependant on visions, as they are often described as a desirable state for the future (John et al. 2015). They are utilized in all stages of the planning process; from the very start in exploiting, continuing through restoration or redevelopment and finally during the marketing of an area. Furthermore, the outcome of the implementation is fed into the development of new visions and plans for other areas and places. Meaning that visions are travelling, and are reproduced regardless of geography (Wheeler & Beatley, 2009. p.376; Watson, 2015). This is the reason we can see similar constructions across the globe, as urban planning is affected by trends, which influence visions.

Visions are not new within planning. Just decades ago they were considered a rather individual process, developed by one actor - the planner, as a way to sell a future to a city or other stakeholders (Levy, 2016 p.179; Tunström, 2009. p.144). Whereas visions nowadays often are developed by multiple actors on multiple occasions. Planners, organisations, companies, citizens or other participants are usually referred to as stakeholders, this is because it is often the participants that have interests in development.

Visions are widely used but can be abstract or even too universal to be used in a constructive manner. Almost anything could be interpreted as a vision, as they lack criteria. (Wheeler & Beatley, 2009. p.251; Wiek & Icaniec, 2014). Concepts such as 'smart city' or 'compact diversity city' are related to large-scale visions, such as visions for whole cities. But

districts or quarters also have them for the same reasons, if yet to emphasize uniqueness (Carter, 2013. Nov. 22nd). Urban visions are a complex subject, but also interesting as we can find them in many different contexts. Thus, the spatial implications of a vision depend on how it is used in urban planning. However, one must think about what gaps or difference in meaning visions may contain and if they are based in epistemologies. Visions are often created by stakeholders in the very beginning of construction. What it then contains is very much a question of intentions or what stakeholders or actors want for a place (Westin, 2010. p.20). How we, as civilians, see visions is most likely a considerable reduction of what the vision once was. To begin with, by applying the classical example of a funnel: to establish what could be plausible, visions often need narrowing (Wheeler & Beatley, 2009. p.249). Seeing, however, that this does not always occur, it might result in that notable gap between visions and reality. Therefore, one must ask if the visions originate from a reality or if what we see being built actually is the vision of a city (Westin, 2010. p.19).

Gamlestaden, the area this study will focus on, is an area in the northeast of Gothenburg that has already started a large-scale transformation towards densification and modernisation. The area has long been regarded as interesting due to its industrial connections. SKF and Volvo, two companies coming to influence both Gothenburg and Sweden, were once founded in Gamlestaden (Klassén, 2010. Sept. 3rd). Landshövdinghus¹, once constructed as tied cottages, are found in the area and have become a symbol for architecture in Gothenburg. Due to favourable communications in the area and its localization within Gothenburg, Gamlestaden has been targeted as an area for densification by the comprehensive plan for Gothenburg. (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2009). What awaits is a construction with the aim of making the district a part of the inner city of Gothenburg (personal communication. April, 16th. 2018).

As urban visions become a more frequently used concept in planning, it is important to look at specific cases. There are studies concerning urban visions, but these are often applied on an overall level or noting the difference between the vision and the implementation *i.e.* the vision against the finished construction. This study will try to understand the vision for Gamlestaden in relation to the different actors' views of the future, and will through this try to identify possible spatial implications beforehand. In doing so I will need a versatile view of the vision for Gamlestaden. Therefore I have limited the study to concern inhabitants and

¹ Landshövdinghus, an architectonic style unique to Gothenburg. A three-storey house, where the first storey is built in stone or brick, and the two upper-storeys in wood. Commonly found in areas built in the early 20th century.

business owners as actors. A planner is interviewed in order to receive a full view and explanation regarding the vision for Gamlestaden as intended by those responsible for development.

1.2. Purpose and research questions

The aim with this study is twofold, firstly to identify what the vision of Gamlestaden would be and what parts of it for Gamlestaden are particularly emphasised to actors in the area and secondly to examine what the spatial implications of the vision would be.

The research questions follow:

- Are there any components of the vision emphasised as particularly important by actors in Gamlestaden?
- What are the spatial implications of the vision as perceived by actors in Gamlestaden?

2. Study area, Gamlestaden

This chapter will take a closer look at Gamlestaden, its history and vision. Below is a map of the study area: Gamlestaden and its location within Gothenburg, Sweden.

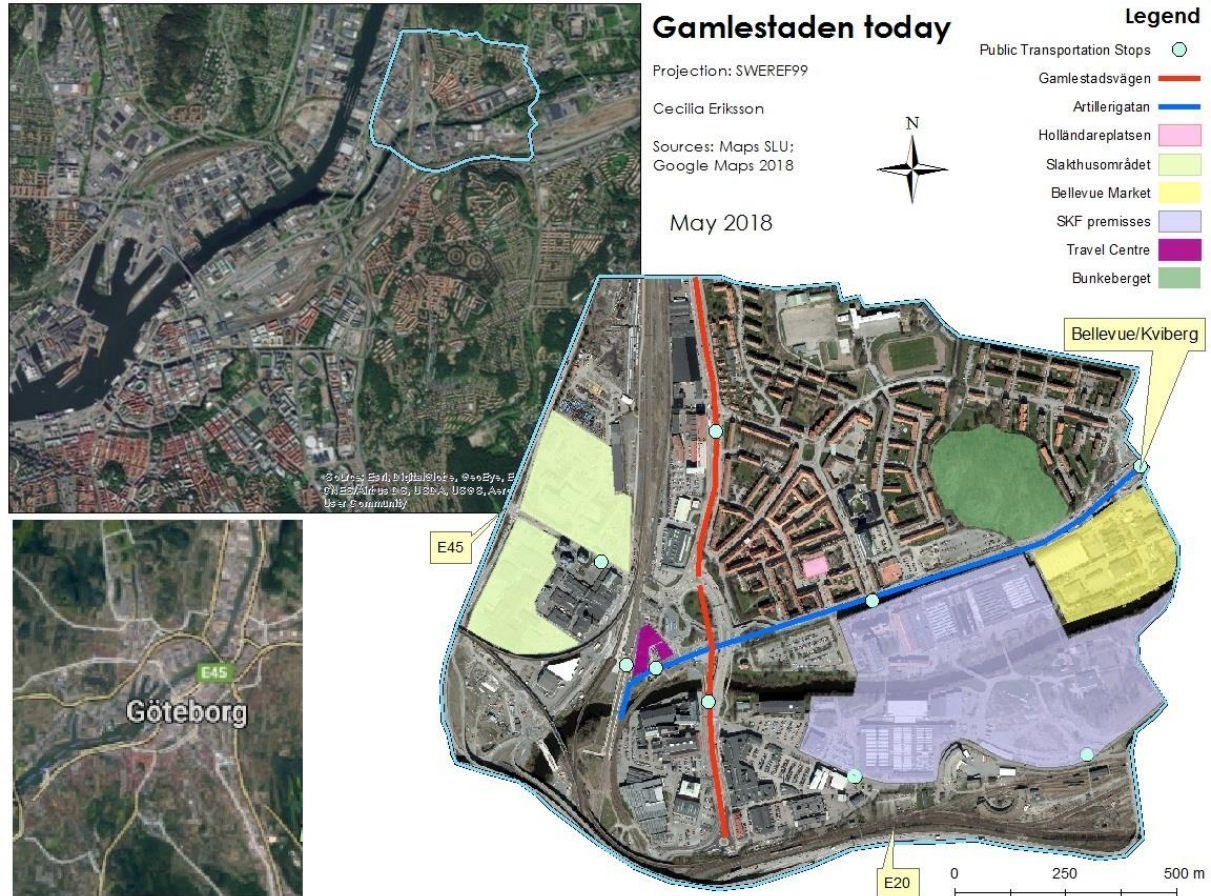


Figure 1. Study Area: Gamlestaden Today and location in Gothenburg.

2.1. Geographical limitations

There are always difficulties defining limits of an area and Gamlestaden is no exception, although the area has visible natural barriers such as water, and physical ones in the train tracks, the new construction in Gamlestaden will exceed these. Thereby are the limitations are partly set by administrative factors; to the north and east, limitations are set by the Swedish Election Authority, in 2010 (Svenska Valmyndigheten, 2010.). These will be used in determining a border between Gamlestaden and Kviberg. Although the construction as shown in the vision will not reach this far from Gamlestads Torg and the new travel centre (see fig. 1). Now, the limitations regarding south and west will be set by physical barriers (due to lack of inhabitants), the motorways E20 and E45, which are connected by the motorway axis *Partihallsförbindelsen*, in Gothenburg known as *Röde orm*. These are set in order to include

the areas *Gamlestadens fabriker* and *Slakthusområdet* areas that are targeted in the vision.

2.2 A brief history of Gamlestad

The area, today known as Gamlestad, has been inhabited since the 15th century, then known as Nya Lödöse. Located northeast of the central parts of Gothenburg, the area has since the 19th century been closely associated with industries and factories, among them SKF which, since its start in 1907, has come to make a vital part of Gamlestad. SKF, one of the largest manufacturers of bearing in the world, has its headquarters in Gamlestad and although most production has moved abroad the company still serves as one of the most important employers in the Gothenburg region (Klassén. 2012. Sept. 3rd). The area today is mainly recognised by Landshövdinghus, which in this area were conducted as tied cottages by SKF, in the early 20th century. The area has since expanded further northeast with more residential buildings and a major industry south of the river called Sävån, which is a marked Natura 2000 area (Länsstyrelsen. n.d). In the 1960's some of the old SKF buildings were demolished to make room for traffic and parking (Göteborg Stadsmuseum. n.d).

In the 1950's Gothenburg grew through suburban areas, among them Kortedala just east of Gamlestad. This expansion continued a decade later, through the million programme Gothenburg grew rapidly to the northeast, the construction of one million new homes in Sweden resulted in areas such as Bergsjön and Angered. This resulted in Gamlestad coming to serve as a hub for the Gothenburg tram network as there are six routes passing by Gamlestads Torg.

Nevertheless, In 2006, the City of Gothenburg released a deepened comprehensive plan for Gamlestad and Bagaregården which stated that renewal in Gamlestad was needed (Göteborgs Stad, 2006). In 2009, a new comprehensive plan for Gothenburg was declared, which is the document stating to densify around nodes and places with good public communication. In this, most recent comprehensive plan, Gamlestad was declared as one of these nodes (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2009). In 2012 a train platform opened by the railroad passing by Gamlestadens Torg which connects Gamlestad north towards Vänern and then Norway as well as commuter communities further north along Göta Älv. Increasing communications from Gamlestad was the first step in constructing the travel centre that is now erected on Gamlestads Torg (see fig. 1). In February 2014 the zoning plan for the construction regarding Gamlestads Torg was approved (Göteborgs Stad, n.d). A film regarding the planned development in Gamlestad, and an important document in this study was released in March 2016 which will be discussed in chapter 6.1.

Nevertheless, Gamlestaden used to be an area associated with criminality and burning cars but during the last decade, Gamlestaden has seen many changes such as renovations and redevelopment of public spaces (Larsson, 2017, Apr. 2nd). One example is Holländareplatsen (see Fig. 1.) where a new block of flats was constructed, which contains a restaurant and playground, this replaced an old parking space. Holländareplatsen made Gamlestaden nationally renowned as it also marked the start of an unofficial BID (Business improvement district) called *Hela Gamlestaden*, in which local business and property owners have been involved in changes concerning Gamlestaden, often with shareholders equity. During recent years a notable exploitation in the area east of Bellevue Market (fig.1), has emerged and continues expanding east. Despite development and modernisation nearby, Gamlestaden is still labelled a working-class quarter. In 2016, the number of inhabitants surpassed 9000² (Göteborgsbladet, 2017), represented by a large group aged between 20-39. Medium income was however slightly lower than average Gothenburg (ibid). Below is a picture of intended development in Gamlestaden (fig 2).

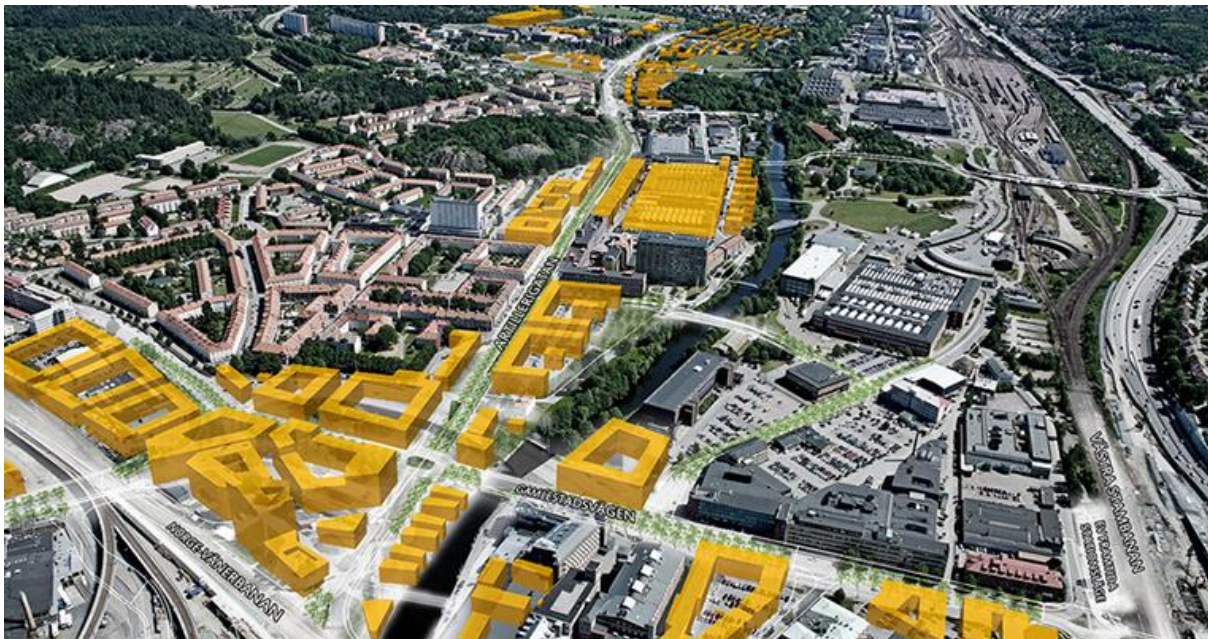


Figure 2. The vision, aerial view (west to east) over Gamlestaden towards Bellevue. The dwellings marked in yellow is the intended construction (2015) for densifying the area. To the right motorway E20 can be seen. Not featured in this picture is Slakthusområdet. Source: Göteborgs Stad (2016).

² The exact number of inhabitant in 2016 was 9421. The borders for Gamlestaden was however unclarified.

3. Theory

To understand the forthcoming, or rather the envisioned, future for Gamlestaden, this section will examine visions when planning along with different theories often used in studies about urban visions. However, it is good to remember that visions are dependent on the scale of change, which ultimately is how they are determined and what or who they involve (Ortegon-Sanchez & Tyler, 2016). Of course, while not part in this study, it is worth noting that visions have gained momentum and new meaning due to technological advancement, as virtual envisioning is becoming an effective way to involve stakeholders (Levy. 2016.p.179).

3.1. Visions as a planning mechanism

Through literature and research about visions in urban planning, visions are often used within one of two contexts, *i*) as a method/tool (Ortegon-Sanchez & Tyler, 2015; Tusikunen, Rytönen & Nenonen, 2015; Wheeler & Beatley, 2009; Cuff & Dahl. 2015) or *ii*) as a process with a destination (Wiek & Icaniec, 2016; Watson, 2015; Nyström & Tonell, 2012. p.241; John et al., 2015). Meaning that visions can be used as *i*) tool in order to make stakeholders collaborate, unite and discuss, making the realisation of the vision less important than the dialogue (Cuff & Dahl, 2015). Or *ii*) a vision can be seen as static, a potential future. A process of advancement and thus using the vision in order to implement, motivate or sell the concept of change (Westin, 2010. p.184). However, the one does not preclude the other, visions could arguably be used for all of the above.

Occasionally these visions stop as just ideas as an envisioned development might not be enough to raise a vision as a legal matter in moving forward by conducting zoning plans (Nyström & Tonell, 2012. p.241). Nyström & Tonell (2012) discusses that one of the purposes of a comprehensive plan is to create a vision for the future and to develop guidelines for a desirable place. Visions are often considered to help sustainable urban development due to them mediating information and possibilities for broader alliances. The vision can therefore be seen as the framework that will aid stakeholders engaging in the changing of a community (Valcik, Jordan, Benavides & Stigdon, 2018 p.224; Nyström & Tonell. 2012). Westin emphasises the importance of putting the vision into short terms or words in order for it to work as a concretised way forward (Westin, 2010. p.156). When a vision is concretised, one can use it as a method for dividing expertise. These terms, known as ‘sub-visions’ mean that a vision contains multiple smaller visions and that these are often specified towards a specific actor or geographical area (Valcik et al. 2018).

Visioning in planning is often linked to some sort of consensus between different actors. However, visions also could be interpreted as a non-rational idea of planning. Making visions a source of conflict as they often are an indication of change and exploitation, which are terms that tend to affect society (Westin, 2010. p161; Tunström, 2009). As the vision itself might be created by a small group in order to present a future containing the idea of many, connecting them to the theory of rational planning.

3.2. Rational planning

Rational planning is a planning theory which is mainly recognised by a top-bottom perspective. According to Allmendinger (2009), the theory was based on the notion of the planners rational and logical capacity to reason in questions concerning planning. The planner was therefore able to build a society by seeing things from others point of view. Doing this was argued to make planning effective and substantial. Theoretically, according to Khakee (2000. p.26) goals were set with an expectation that they could be reached. The goals were set by politicians, and the planner's main task was to structure a plan involving stakeholders and other actors to reach the goal. A noted problem in this theory was that goals sometimes lacked knowledge, both from politicians; to set goals that were possible to reach or that were realistic for an area, and the practitioners; in their quest to meet these ambitions substantially (ibid). Rational planning stresses an importance in the assessment of the problem, implementing solutions and lastly monitoring them, which was criticised for being a very time-consuming process (Westin. 2010. p.29). There is also a big risk in that the planner might have an inaccurate view of the problem (Kahkee. 2000. p.78).

Rational planning in Sweden was perhaps most noticeable during the 1960's when the million program was developed. During this time planning ideals were to consciously separate living and working geographically, causing suburbs (Westin, 2010. p.145). Rational planning preceded participatory planning which is commonly used today.

3.3. Participatory planning

Participatory planning also known as collaborative planning, communicative planning or discursive planning are different names for the same thing (Horelli, 2013. p.46). The planning of a future where the citizens' interests are represented. This form of planning emerges from a grassroots perspective where different actors rather than planners or politicians determine development. This is closely connected to the idea of democracy within planning. Public

participation is a form of participatory planning, which perhaps is the most used in Sweden and emerged coeval with the discussion about sustainable development. Accentuated as an inclusive process of planning which could be used in implementing sustainability (Kahkee, 2000. p.114). According to Khakee (2000. p.48), the idea is overall to plan through dialogues with stakeholders, shortly put as planning *with* citizens rather than *for* them. Public participation involves direct or indirect involvement from stakeholders, either through individual or collective participation. Meaning through citizens or inhabitants themselves or through representatives from organisations or other movements (Khakee, 2000. p.11). Furthermore, the different kinds of participants have different rights during the planning process. With individuals, it is usually a quantitative question, whereas with organisations it is more of a qualitative one. This is because organisations are representative of their members and can, therefore, have political or other involvement determining the state of their participation or engagement (Khakee, 2000. p.15). Decision-making is based on an everyday-life perspective which is usually determined by the interaction between different stakeholders all equipped with their individual appreciation, knowledge and focus (Evans-Cowely & Hollander, 2010). The approach includes certain guidelines where potential conflicts or problems are to be identified and solved, before moving on with development (ibid). However, in comparison to other planning methods, public participation planning lacks goals thus the main purpose is the dialogue between stakeholders and to have them correspond in order to succeed with planning. A noted problem in this planning approach is that there are no theoretical background or criteria which makes the planning strategy hard to implement (Khakee, 2000. p.14).

3.4. Gentrification

Peter Marcuse's (2015) theory about gentrification is roughly concluded in three different types; i) economic upgrading, which means that an area, because of its location is attracting investment and further physical advancement. ii) Physical Upgrading is fundamentally driven by the market and private actions. While terms such as *redevelopment* or *urban renewal* are related to public policy, meaning that the state or municipals lead upgrading through public funds. This is followed by iii) social upgrading, or upscaling, which is when groups of higher socioeconomic status become representative of an area. This term is closely associated with displacement which is when a socio-economic group is replaced by another stronger one which forces the group away from the area due to rent gaps, new housing or other changes in

an area. Gentrification is commonly referred to as the joint process of (social) upscaling and displacement. (Marcuse, 2015) This study however, has basis in economic and physical upgrading as these two mainly concern the built environment, which is steered by the visions in Gamlestaden and will help us in understanding the spatial implications. Clifford et al (2009) claim that planning often comes from a reaction to a social problem and that it also emerges as a solution to a defined problem at a given time and that planning can, therefore, be argued to solve yesterday's issues. Meaning that planning aims to solve social "problems" through the built environment. However, this sometimes raises the question of sustainable planning, that it is not responsive only solving problems instead of preventing them. The concept of sustainable development has very much influenced contemporary planning, as it is thought of as a democratic tool. Planning sustainably is therefore, in this focus, taking social factors as expressed by inhabitants into consideration (Parker & Doak, 2012. p.30). This leads us back to the vision and if the visions have a part in sustainable urban planning when their implications can lead to consequences such as physical gentrification or spatial separation. Gentrification, is often seen in relation to concepts such as sustainability, or rather the lack of it as it can lead to spatial separation. This can take many forms but essentially gives places barriers by social dimensions (Roberts, 2003) Leading us to usage of place.

3.5. Sense of Place

Sense of place is a concept often referred to the subjective feelings people have towards a place. The theory originates from the concept of *Ginius Loci*, Latin for 'spirit of a place' and often used in religious context (Relph, 1997). In modern geography, however, the concept often refers to the theory that some places are associated with more meaning than others (ibid). According to Clifford et al. (2009. p.159) people often associate certain places with certain feelings, for instance, safety in relation to light and open spaces or stress and crowds to a train station. Relph (1997) argues that sense of place should be seen as an ability rather than a theory and that it is this ability that determines how a place is thought of and that this is a reason in why places are perceived so differently to different individuals. Sense of place is therefore often referring to a determined place, a cornerstone in the theory is that places are unique due to meanings and structures found in them (Relph, 1997). When redeveloping places structures are often compromised because the usage of space might change (Clifford et al. 2009. p.167).

Place, seeing from an overall-perspective becomes a question of representation, what

meaning a place represent, these representations are often filled with symbolism (Asse 1994). The essential point to be made here is that planners cannot know beforehand what associations and meaning people will produce onto a certain place, which makes 'place-making' a difficult process (Clifford et al, 2009; Brorström. 2017). As Mohith et al. (2016) discuss, that the problem with visioning in urban planning might lie in what constitutes a place. Which according to the theory of sense of place is something different to every place. Place when in large scale is often a question of representation, these are filled with symbolism, this yet leads us to urban visions, going as far as to say that a vision is a representation of the future, visions often fill the future with meaning.

4. Previous research

This chapter will, unsurprisingly, discuss previous research regarding urban visions in planning. This will be followed by a discussion aiming to bind theory and previous research together as a framework for results.

4.1. Results from previous research

Having examined planning theories and visions role in planning in the previous chapter, this chapter will study previous research regarding visions when planning.

Tunström (2009) states that visions today often signify to the idea that planning should be more all-embracing, much to the correspondence of current planning theories. Tunström (2009. p.140) also argues that planning need to 'own up' to mistakes, make peace with the past and gain faith from the public through determined visions. Politics should lead and not determine evolvement, this indicates a significance of participatory planning. A vision can make many stakeholders in society to willingly share the same plans and therefore also contribute to construction. Tunström (2009. P. 145) declares that most people overall have common thoughts of what they want with their city or community - to live a good life and the mix of values this might include. Through finding and identifying what unites people one can also find key parts in creating goals for the city or space the planner's task is to plan based on unified interests. These goals, when shared by stakeholders, are the vision. Often it is not a question about physical planning but rather a question about living and community. The role of the planner can hence be to phrase or help the vision take form rather than solely creating it (ibid). Tunström (2009) argues that there is a big problem to plan for current ideals the way urban planning does today. In Sweden, this planning discourse mediates the importance of variety or diversity. We can see a difference, or even binarity, in contemporary ideals; that the central city with all its values are essentially good - and the suburbs, in a Swedish context the million programmes, and the values found in these would, therefore, be bad. Because of these ideals planning today emphasises a 'sense of city'. Meaning that the planning discourse has an urban bias (Tunström. 2009) This discourse, or these ideals, create a degree of favouritism, as well as a problem in the universality of visions and values. In conclusion, Tunström argues that today's visions, though based on participatory planning, idealises the city. These visions also reproduce ideals, but they also mean that the city itself might emphasis variety but really excludes everything that is not urban in a city.

Now, there is what Wiek & Icaniec (2016) calls: 'the visions need to be visionary',

meaning that visions can tend to be too big or even unrealistic, creating a backlash against planning and expansion from those affected by development (Wiek & Icaniec, 2016). Visions can be vast, and whilst this might create a direction for stakeholders, the changing - rather than developing - might not have the elements of sustainability. Which they argue there should be criteria for (ibid). The authors further argue that visioning or utopian thoughts provide direction for change but that they also can create communities and identity, which also is a big part of planning, to create spaces that have value to the people using it. However, the planning cannot fill these places with value, but visions are often eager to do so. Making criteria for sustainability in visions necessary.

Brorström (2017) argues in a report, that even though physical structures are an influential part of development they are not all that is crucial. Visions often concern infrastructure rather than people. Therefore, she stresses the importance of coherently filling new places with values, rather than only building them. This is put to the test when during construction all factors should be discussed and decided on what is to take place and what is to be left behind. The vision regarding Älvstaden (another development in Gothenburg) is thought to be a sort of steer document, the vision should be the smallest common denominator in all progress concerning this development. Furthermore, the vision can also become a way to say no, creating alterity rather than identity. Moreover, visions might contain a paradox in the sense that a vision always interacts with the development, however, the development rarely ends in the vision. Making visions difficult, as they are in an arguably unreachable state.

4.2. Framework

Ultimately, studies point towards participatory planning as a proper creation method when using visions in spatial planning. As working from a grassroots perspective could perhaps influence the vision in not being too unrealistic or unalterable. Theoretically, people are asked what elements are most important to have near. These values are then transferred into a physical implementation and thus the vision could be a sum of these values. Because visions can affect the perception of development using a 'democratic method' could have an impact in preventing the backlash Wiek & Icaniec (2016) noted. However, due to the difference we can find between rational and communicative planning, we must also ask what kind of power what particular stakeholders should have in planning. When concerning visions, which are abstract, backlashes might be unavoidable if the vision is extensive. Regardless of how the

vision is produced, the risk with participatory planning is that the list of stakeholders is endless, and knowing whom to listen to is difficult. And in rational planning, a question is whether the planner can see things from the *'affecteds'* point of view?

As Brorström (2017) argues, the vision wants to fill a place with values, arguably construct a sense of it. Furthermore, we must also ask how much it takes to create a sense of place, of course, this lies in what Mohith et al. (2016) asked; what constitutes a place? Can I have a sense of a place without having been there physically, if so is it then possible for planners to rightfully plan places? And if planning has a basis in participatory planning, how can one ensure that all voices are heard? However, the fact that research and literature regarding visions point toward the importance of creating visions out of participatory planning might also be a result of research and literature, in this study, being contemporary as the study of visions is rather new. So all in all research, visions, methods and participants could be argued having an urban bias in idealising a future that is urban, inclusive and attracting investment.

In all planning from visions there is the question of spatial implications, and how the vision represents the future use of space. When redeveloping a place, some sort of physical or visible difference is almost always implied. What ties everything together is if the vision can represent the future of a place, how planning would make this possible and lastly how places are affected in terms of investments etc. Therefore, questions about spatial implications are of importance, but in order to answer this we must also ask what parts of a visions make it a helpful, or at least a frequently used, tool in planning.

5. Method

This study was conducted through a series of interviews with individuals, business owners and officials. As the purpose states, the hopes of this study are to investigate what parts of the vision is enhanced by respondents. When composing a case study, such as this, in many ways aiming to gain a deeper understanding of a phenomenon, it is closely related to how people perceive their surroundings or changes in it. In doing so qualitative methods are appropriate (Esaiasson et al, 2017. p.262; Cope, 2010. p.36). As the thesis mainly concerns the future of Gamlestaden according to its inhabitants or actors affected, semi-structured or non-structured interviews in have been used to ask questions regarding the vision (Esaiasson et al, 2017. p.262; McDowell, 2010. p.165). The selection of respondents has been what we can argue being ‘actors affected but without a mandate to influence’. In order to perceive a versatile view of the future for Gamlestaden, there has been one interview with an informant, involved in developing Gamlestaden.

5.1. Research structure

The empirical material has been obtained through interviews with people residing in Gamlestaden. Four longer interviews with individuals living in the area, each at about 30 to 45 minutes, in which visual and verbal components were applied were composed. These were video clips, pictures and quotes. These interviews were done on-site in Gamlestaden - at the local library or at a café. These were semi-structured a sense that there was one, or a few questions after each component. Interviews began with information about my study, what answers would be used for, and their right to decline participation (Forskningsrådet, n.d.). These interviews were upon agreement. The interviews can be simplified through these steps:

1. Introducing my study to the other party.
2. Presenting a short list of the changes determined for Gamlestaden.³
3. Show movie, let respondent give a description and let respondent discuss freely.
4. Read vision statement, ask for opinions or reflections.
5. Show pictures, ask for keywords and motivation.

If the discussion was inert questions such as; a retelling or description of the film, if there were anything concerning them with the film to or even how they thought development would affect them, was asked. Each interview ended with the question if they had any further notes

³ In the vision: objects targeted for renewal or exploitation determined at this point are the new shopping district, dismantling of the viaduct, the 3000 new flats, double number of inhabitants, traveling centra, moving library to travel centra, erecting culture centre, hotel etc. See chapter 6.1.

or questions which they wanted to discuss.

In order to complement the longer interviews and with an aim of reaching saturation in the study, there have also been eleven shorter interviews, with thirteen individuals. (Baxter & Eyles, 1996). Each conducted in approximately 5-10 minutes, with people living in the area. These were asked in the library or in the street. Respondents were told about my study, purpose and what their answers would be used for. None of these were recorded, though noted by hand during the interviews and transcribed the same day to minimise confusion. To ensure the selection all respondents were asked:

- a) If they were currently living in Gamlestaden (Yes, in order to ensure selection).
- b) How long they had been living in Gamlestaden.
- c) An approximate age.

These respondents were shown the vision film and asked for thoughts or a description of it. These were non-structured interviews as the only question asked were opinions and thoughts regarding the movie (Esaiasson, 2017. P.291.)

Furthermore, there have been interviews with three local business owners, all of whom running small-scale businesses in Gamlestaden. In order to speak with the actual people working in the area, the main targets were shops or restaurants, to have physical places to visit, rather than offices with people working off-site. Nevertheless, these interviews were carried out with the owner/s or manager/s of the businesses rather than the employees, this was motivated by the potential involvement these persons already might have had or experienced with the developers (i.e. the City of Gothenburg). These interviews took about 15-25 minutes to fulfil, two of which were recorded after agreement. All of them took place before lunch as these were the least busy hours according to respondents. A total of three declined to speak with me due to lack of time or other reasons and one did not respond to emails or phone calls made beforehand. These respondents were also asked to watch the vision film, and listen to the statement and then to discuss a series of questions regarding subjects such as:

1. If and how they thought the future was to affect their businesses.
2. If there were any parts of what they saw and heard that made them worry or hopeful about the future in the area.
3. Questions about the location of their localization.

All respondents regardless of kind of interview were asked if they thought that anything was missed in the vision that would make them think of it in other ways on the planned. In asking this question, respondents, in general, seemed to reflect upon things that were said in the

vision thus generating some sort of dependability to the study as, when researching qualitative the researcher is dependent on the answering parties time (Cope, 2010. p.30-31).

Furthermore, there has been one interview with an informant from Stadsbyggnads-kontoret (*Department of urban development*), at the City of Gothenburg. This interview has the main purpose of getting a deeper knowledge of the vision as intended for Gamlestaden along with the views of those developing the area (see 6.1). This was a semi-structured interview based on an interview-guide (Jackson & Russell, 2010. p.181)(apx 4). Informant interviews often offer information which is not public, meaning that one can get a hold of data or information only known by people involved with a project (ibid) In these interviews one, as a researcher has to be aware of influences or bias' one might have especially as interviews such as these often put relations of power into consideration. The informant was sent a few questions/themes from the interview guide beforehand.

In total, I have interviewed twenty respondents and one informant.

5.2. Coding

Coding was done by analysing each interview into a few marking terms or words. Each set to establish attitudes and then assumptions toward the vision. In order to answer research questions, a form of content analysis has been used, which Rose (2001) describes as an attempt to understand content, suitable when using visual components such as films and pictures. In searching for what Rose described as; a unity of style and content in descriptions of the vision for Gamlestaden, certain attributes were found. Certain attitudes and concepts in what people seemed to find notable, and thus not notable have been made visible. A content analysis is a useful approach when trying to establish views of content when working with written, spoken or visual contents in research (ibid). When coding one analyse *how often* and *how much* certain views or words takes place in answers. By finding attitudes one is led to certain attributes which are the basis for results in this study. Based on the data collected in this study, I have categorized peoples' answers into attitudes by stating what attributes makes up each category. By doing so three general groups were noted: 1) Affirmative, 2) Interested and 3) Cautious. These will be discussed in the next chapter (see 6.).

5.3. Collection of respondents

Regarding longer interviews, two of four respondents I got in touch with by sheets/fliers

which had been put up at different locations in Gamlestaden. The third respondent I met at a local café, and the fourth respondent I got in touch with by mutual connections in the research area. In qualitative studies, one often aims toward centrality (Esaiasson et al, 2017), meaning that one steers away from 'extreme thought' as these tend to make generalising rather difficult. In the collection of the first two respondents, there is a dilemma, while ensuring a selection, people with opinions on the far ends of matters are thought to be motivated to participate as they could see participation as a platform for influence (Jensen & Glasmeier, 2010).

The respondents who participated in shorter interviews were collected by chance, in being at the same place at the same time as I. To ensure a difference in the selection, these types of interviews were done on two separate occasions, one around lunchtime on a weekday and the other on a late Friday afternoon. By choosing two occasions, one could broaden the selection, however, it might come down to a question of localization. As all these interviews were done on Holländareplatsen or a nearby tramstop (SKF) (see fig.1) to ensure a crowd, however, the places proximity to each other did also exclude people around other parts of the area from the possibility of participation, simply because they were not at a certain place at the same time as I, therefore the selection cannot be confirmed as random.

The collecting of business owners was based on localization. Where different venues were visited and through asking if owners were willing to participate in a short interview regarding Gamlestaden either at the time or agreeing upon a time later on. Walking into shops was also based on a certain knowledge of availability, furthermore, I cannot argue that the venues visited during this study have been with a reasonable geographical distribution. Rather the opposite as Gamlestaden has a 'cluster of businesses' centred towards Holländareplatsen or SKF in the middle of the chosen area (see fig. 1). There have been interviews with three respondents, although more would have been ideal, some of the businesses asked, I found, were reluctant to answer. None of the respondents in this category stated that they had not been included in previous discussions about the future of Gamlestaden.

5.4. Discussion of methods

Firstly, there are a few concerns that need explaining. The word *development* is used frequently in this thesis, it is a rather 'charged' concept in geography as it leads us to the question of the 'right to develop'. However, in this thesis it is used to describe a planned construction and implementations affecting the area. Therefore, it is not implied that developing the area would be good or beneficial to everyone. Secondly, a large part of the literature regarding urban visions in this study is conducted during the past decade, this is

because urban visions is a rather young subject to study. Even though the phenomenon ‘planning through visions’ is old, the study of it is new and partly unexplored (Ortegon-Sanchez & Tyler, 2016).

Now, when trying to generate a deeper understanding of questions regarding personal opinions there is often a risk of subjectivity. Perhaps deeply emphasised in this study where inhabitants of an area have been asked about the change in that area. As the interviewer faces difficulties to be and remain objective (Esaiasson. 2017. p.236). However, as Herbert (2010. p.72) emphasises qualitative researchers can work with subjectivity. Although researchers are limited to abilities, we can still attempt to understand and talk with insightfulness about the world as it is built and experienced. To analyse well, a researcher must reflect upon how to incorporate theories in their research as well as positionality (ibid). Positionality can regard questions concerning ethics, power and narratives as well as concerns about constructing neutral questions when interviewing (McDowell, 2010. p191). In this study, questions have often been short and ‘to the point’ in order to avoid leading questions.

The most central part of the substratum for this study has been the vision film, called *Gamlestaden - på väg in i framtiden*, which was watched by all respondents. This does not, which is important to accentuate, mean that the movie gives a just picture of the actual development. This film could arguably give a refined picture of the future as visions tend to give a bright picture of the future. What this film shows is not what Gamlestaden will look like in 2035, it is merely a suggestion for development and densification from the City of Gothenburg (see 6.4). This does, however, mean that there is a lack of correspondence between the film and the planned renewal. It could also be suggested that showing this film have given respondents a wrongful view of the future. It could have influence results as some of the respondents were unknowing of the construction and could have comprehended the vision as an intended reality (Jensen & Glasmeier, 2010).

Worth noting is that this study would have been improved by more informants and respondents. Firstly, because it does not consist of any communication with property-owners, nor *Hela Gamlestaden*, the BID active in the area (see 2.2). The latter organisation is a stakeholder in developing the area, they have issued reports regarding the development in the area, these views have been positive towards renewal in the area. Fastighetskontoret (Department of property management) at the City of Gothenburg is also a member of this organisation. This means they did not fill the criteria of the sample and were therefore not interviewed. It furthermore means that the organisation has ‘political’ alliances meaning that these are actors, who affect and have the capacity to influence because of organisational

involvement actors in this group could have bias'. Regarding the business owners, it shall be noted that the substratum is based on too few to get a sense of the development and its impact on the current businesses in the area. Admittedly, business owners have been asked different questions than inhabitants as intentions with this group were to have more interviews and a larger basis for these actors. To generalise notions from these three onto business owners overall in Gamlestaden, I argue, is not justifiable. However, their opinions can give a hint of development here based on factors other inhabitants might not have. Furthermore, participants in shorter interviews were not given a way to contact me, which also means that they were not given a chance to decline participation afterwards if they wanted to, which would be an ethical right of theirs.

There are a few concerns with the selection worth discussing. We could argue for saturation as many respondents have accentuated similar things in the vision, although it should not be forgotten that answers are based on a rather limited group. In hindsight, this study would benefit from more respondents in each category, or perhaps even a singular focus on one group determined by more criteria. As previously stated, this study gives a very limited view on what business owners thought of the future regarding Gamlestaden, it is based on too few respondents to make a proper generalization of their future in the area. Having these two categories of respondents may have the consequence of not creating enough depth in interviews and results being inconsistent, affecting the viability of this research as a case study. Also, worth discussing with this method, are the shorter interviews, originally composed to complement longer interviews done with inhabitants, there is strength in them being very focused on the vision and what it mediates. A flaw is a depth in these interviews, they cannot generate the same type of answers as longer interviews as these interviews are not based on the same questions and cannot generate the same answers. Ultimately, consequences are that we get a very narrowed view of opinions concerning the vision's implications for Gamlestaden.

As the main focus has been to find the components that constitute this vision rather than opinions of construction. I did not ask where in Gamlestaden my respondents lived, just that they did. This, of course, could have been an interesting explanation in their impression of the vision and their views for development. People living in the northeast parts of the area might not be as affected by construction as people living close by and in the future, might have construction outside their window. Another question is how to ensure 'a with mandate to influence'? This is very hard to do, although, most development in Sweden is determined by politics and led by municipal authorities, I do not know about respondents' personal

involvement or approaches to development. In hindsight, it would have been better to focus on one group such as inhabitants and carried out through more structured interviews with a selection determined by more criteria.

All in all, this study does not give us a complete picture of what all the inhabitants of think about the vision and development in Gamlestaden, it does, however, give us an understanding of the complexity in both the vision and redevelopment.

6. Results

This section will explain a possible scenario for Gamlestaden according to the vision and informant. The vision will later be explained through the attitudes as identified through coding interviews, where we will get a deeper insight into what the different actors enhance from the vision and its implications.

6.1. The vision - Gamlestaden 2030

Starting with the vision in written form, which was provided by the informant at the city of Gothenburg. It shall be seen as the basis for the film and not as a separated vision for Gamlestaden. Both versions have been used simultaneously and as the basis for the empirical study. Furthermore, the term vision will refer to both of them unless specified. The written vision follows:

Gamlestaden är en del av innerstaden och knyter samman city och nordost fysiskt och socialt. Det är en tät och dynamisk stadsdel som rymmer vardagsliv, arbete och fritid med det historiska arvet synligt. Resecentrum vid Gamlestads Torg är en strategisk knutpunkt och mötesplats, dit du enkelt tar dig till fots, med cykel eller kollektivtrafik. Säveån erbjuder promenadstråk och möjlighet till rekreation.

“Gamlestaden is a part of the inner-city and connects city and the northeast, physical and socially. It is a dense and dynamic district which contains everyday-life, work and leisure with the historical legacy visible. The travel centre at Gamlestads Torg is a strategic junction/hub and meeting-point, where you easily get afoot, by bicycle or public transport. Säveån offers boardwalks and a prospect to recreation.”

- Informant, Stadsbyggnadskontoret (personal communication) April 16th, 2018.

According to the informant at Stadsbyggnadskontoret, the vision, in written form has developed by the different departments working with developing Gamlestaden at the City of Gothenburg. He argues that an aim with the vision was to make it as clear and concise as possible. The written vision contains a sub-vision in each sentence, enhancing a factor. Factors such as a social connection to other areas, transport and communication, densification, leisure, work, recreation and so on. Meaning that the full-scale development regarding Gamlestaden can be found within the different components of this vision.

The vision regarding Gamlestaden is mostly communicated through a vision film,

called *Gamlestaden - på väg in i framtiden*. It was released by the City of Gothenburg, narrated by Thomas Von Brömsen, a famous Swedish actor. The changes we can see in the film starts where the new travel centre is emerging. This site already bears the name Gamlestads Torg, which is not to confuse with Gamlestadstorget, a soon-to-be-removed tram stop some 150 meters away. The travel centre will house a library with an international focus, the current library in Gamlestaden will be moved to this location as well as some of the collection from the library in Kortedala, which is to be closed (Holmgren. 2017. Dec, 20th).

West of Gamlestads Torg, around ten new buildings are to be constructed in Slakthusområdet, situated between the travel centre and motorway E45 (fig 1.). Directly south of the travel centre, across Sävån, the area known as Gamlestadens fabriker is to be further developed. Plans are to densify what is currently parking. Along Artillerigatan there are around a dozen new buildings planned, which will *blend in* with the current dwelling according to the movie. One building, where Artillerigatan and Gamlestadsvägen meet will house a 10-storey hotel (informant, personal communication, 2018. April 25th) The film states calmer streets, less traffic, and the river visible in a new manner. The current viaduct Gamlestadsvägen/

Artillerigatan will be dismantled (Göteborgs stad, 2016). At least three new crossings over Sävån are planned, one to replace the old one at Gamlestadsvägen, one pedestrian and one for car-use planned to cross the river directly west of SKF. There is also a planned connection between Gamlestaden and Munkebäck, an area south of E20 (Göteborgs Stad, n.d). Nya Kulan, the old parts of SKF, is to be built into a shopping area, with shops, restaurants, cafés, service, a culture centre, a nursery school and more flats (Göteborgs Stad, 2016)(see apx 3). With Nya kulan intentions are to make parts the SKF premises public, an area which is currently gated.

Furthermore, the new buildings that are to be constructed in Gamlestaden will house around 3000 new flats, with intentions of a 60-100% increase in population. (Personal communication, April 25th 2018; Hela Gamlestaden, 2017). According to the film, these are the planned changes in the built environment to be made by 2030, the vision shows the forthcoming 15 years of urban development, stated in the autumn of 2015. The exact location, shaping and scale are not determined and will be changed (Göteborgs Stad, 2016).

Jag tror inte planeringen i Gamlestaden har varit ett underverk av medborgardialog. Att det har varit "bäst i klassen", det kan jag inte säga att det har varit...

'I don't believe the planning of Gamlestaden has been a wonder of participatory planning. That it would have been 'the top of the class', I cannot say that it has been.'

- Informant (personal communication April 25th, 2018)

Developing Gamlestaden is not only determined by the comprehensive plan, moreover, there is a bigger political agenda behind the expansion of the central parts of Gothenburg, which is to bring the suburbs closer to the city. This indicates that Gamlestaden is planned from politics. An important part of developing Gamlestaden, as the first line of the vision declares, is to make it a central part of Gothenburg. The informant explains an aim, that Gamlestaden within a generation being a hub, or rather a meeting point in the future Gothenburg. Gamlestaden is therefore primarily important to enhance the inner city. This is a reason behind a well-enhanced part of the vision is to connect City and Northeast through Gamlestaden, socially and physically (personal communication, April 25th 2018). The informant also hints towards new people in Gamlestaden, as it will be a part of the inner city we would also find people enjoying an urban environment in the future Gamlestaden.

The new travel centre, and what will be constructed nearby will never compose Gamlestaden itself, the informant argues. However along with what he refers to as structures from the 1910's and 1950's it will be a blend. This blending is another aim, according to the respondent. To create a contrast in Gamlestaden, where the local environment meets the dense city. Especially emphasised is Sävveån with its natural components meeting a dense city with social components. The informant reasons that Nya Kulan, new commercial/industrial buildings in the study area, the travel-centre and all other new dwellings along with the current buildings and structures in the area will together offer all components one would find in an inner city. The new travel centre will never compose Gamlestaden itself, the informant argues. However along with what is referred to as structures from the 1910's and 1950's the area will blend. To create a contrast in Gamlestaden, where the local environment meets the dense city. Especially emphasised is Sävveån with its natural components meeting a dense city with social components.

When asked about what *the historical legacy* means the informant responds that it will be implemented through new well-lids (see apx 2), which we can already find in Gamlestaden, these contain Gothenburg's former coat of arms. It will also be implemented

through a laying of setts which will represent the scale of houses and streets of Nya Lödöse, which ruins the new Gamlestaden is built upon. The informant also speaks of stairs that will be built close to where the new Travel Centre, in which all steps will be imprinted with names that have a connection to Gamlestaden. Names such as Sven Wingquist (a founder of SKF), but also names which have been found in old trial protocols from Nya Lödöse. The flowerbeds will also have plants dating back to late medieval Sweden, and the time of Nya Lödöse.

6.2. *Affirmative*

Alltså alla nya boenden som ska byggas... Och förutom det, typ resecentrumet och då tänker man ju på vilken knutpunkt det kommer bli och att det inte bara kommer bli ett till bostadsområde utan [...] den knutpunkten kommer ändra hela Gamlestaden, det kommer bli ett helt annat liv.

“All the new residences that will be built... And beyond that, the travel centre and then one thinks about what a node it will be and that it won't be just another residential area but [...] that node will change Gamlestaden, it will be a different movement”

- respondent 20's (personal communication) April 23rd, 2018

Many reactions towards the vision film have been positive, the travel centre in particular has been pointed out as favourable. Some stating that the communication is key to the area, even arguing that the vision [film] did not accentuate transportation enough. Another few pointing out that there was nothing at Gamlestads Torg before which they argued made the travel centre a new and exciting part of Gamlestaden.

One respondent, after seeing the movie was positive and stated that more people in the area would create a friendlier atmosphere, enticing other types of people, which someone will change the impression of Gamlestaden in other parts of Gothenburg (personal communication. April 20th, 2018). Around a fourth of respondents also thought that shopping was a positive part of the vision, as some argued that the possibility of proper shopping were missing in Gamlestaden today. Although one stated that a new *Nordstan*⁴ was unwanted, he did not mind more movement in the area. Another respondent developed this in saying that

⁴ Nordstan is a shopping centre in central Gothenburg, one of the biggest in Sweden, housing around 200 venues (Goteborg.com. n.d).

new ‘things’, more people might improve safety for us living here (Personal communication. April 19th, 2018). One person reasoned that she was indeed positive to the development if it would effect in people living in other parts of town coming here as it would create a more friendly environment and that having a destination, other than the industry as a place of work, in Gamlestaden could help people understanding this. Six persons, when asked, answered that development intended for the area would motivate them to continue staying as residents in Gamlestaden.

Some persons expressed particular support in the exploitation of what now is parking between Artillerigatan and Sävån, arguing that it is unused and uninviting in its current form. The construction called *Makrillen*, which has begun further east on Artillerigatan, across SKF and Nya kulan, has had similar comments.

6.3. Interested

This is a category determined by the fact that a vast majority of respondents participating in this study have been unaware of the planning and construction in Gamlestaden, which led to returning questions.

Det historiska arvet synligt, vänta - vad betyder det?

“The historic legacy visible, wait - what does that mean?”

Respondent ~30’s (personal communication. April 24th 2018.)

A few respondents argued that Gamlestaden had been neglected for long and were therefore positive about the fact that something is about to happen in the area. A business owner stated that Gamlestaden in its current form was somewhat forgotten and that this was the reason for local entrepreneurship, but that it was still good that other people had started opening their eyes towards the area (Personal communication, April 18th, 2018). However, others indicated that there is little that can be done in the current Gamlestaden due to lack of space. Thereby development that would connect the area to others in buildings and infrastructure were argued positively. Some people approached the vision similarly, admitting that little could be done in the current area, in form of buildings, but that moving things such as the library, were not decisions for the current population but rather for the people they [politicians] wanted to live there, indicating not only a change in appearance but also in people, which was not desirable as they argued that Gamlestaden would lose authenticity and atmosphere. Further two persons

spoke in the same manner, saying what was really needed was something connecting what is already here, saying a new travel centre will not create that for us [current inhabitants].

Toward the travel centre people overall remained positive, one person stated that he thought it was positive to find a new use of the premises, saying that this space used to be surrounded by ‘nothingness’. In total five persons have emphasised the fast route to the central parts of Gothenburg. Regarding the shopping precinct, people argued similarly, that new use was good, or that they were curious to see SKF’s premises. However, hoping for something that would serve as a central meeting place rather than a mall in Gamlestaden. Some thought that traffic in consideration to a shopping centre would become a problem. Two men reasoned in terms that Artillerigatan already was very occupied by car and traffic, continuing by saying if this [vision film] is the future, they [politicians] will have a problem, arguing that although it takes seven minutes by tram to the central parts of Gothenburg people do not begin their journey from those parts indicating that in order to get to Gamlestaden people will continue using cars (personal communication. April 20th, 2018).

One shop owner in Gamlestaden expressed support stating that vision seemed to emphasise walking and bicycles more, which he saw would be good for his business as it would increase movement within the area. He said that people today do not drive around Gamlestaden unless they know where they were going. He did, however, express some worry for Gamlestaden being too commercial (personal communication, April 17th, 2018).

By all the respondents with whom I have had long interviews, and further three participants in shorter interviews have all spoken of Gamlestaden as culturally and historically interesting, the Landshövdinghus and the connection the industry and SKF has also been described as an important part of the atmosphere in Gamlestaden. One calling the area authentic. Another expressed disappointment if some of those buildings were to be demolished.

6.4. Cautious

... Alltså jag vet inte riktigt vad dom tror det därborta kommer förändra här.

“... Well I don't really know what they think that over-there will change here.”

Shop Owner (personal communication) April 19th, 2018.

This respondent with his place of work in Gamlestaden reasoned that more business is always good but that he already had enough to do, so he did not see the necessity for change. When

asked about the localization he argued that the rent Had been almost the same the last 10 years, thus finding it hard to believe that business would change due to development 'over-there'. A restaurant owner in Gamlestaden knew about 'the many restaurants and pubs' emerging in Slakthusområdet (see fig.1). And that he was supportive of all entrepreneurship, however arguing that he did not see it [the development] as any reason for worrying, as these venues were too far off and further arguing that very different people visited his place versus those who went to Slakthusområdet, arguing the people living in the new (forthcoming) houses would stay near the new houses (personal communication. April 17th, 2018).

One man, in his 60's who had been living in Gamlestaden for his whole life stated that things were going in the right direction, but expressed hesitation as to whether Gamlestaden would change despite development. Some other concerns noted were; new houses obstructing sun was a concern for one person, another said that the trams would become more crowded which were unwished for, a lack of recognition in the area was noted as worrisome by three respondents. One respondent, who participated in a long interview, pointed out the lack of parks, green areas or open areas. One individual, interviewed at the local library, expressed disappointment arguing:

Dom vill förändra allt ser det ut som, men jag tror inte sånt brukar gå så bra, jag kan ju ha fel, men jag tycker det är bra här, jag har allt jag behöver här. Det känns som om de försöker centrera allt dit bort, för folk som inte ens finns där än.

“It looks as if they want to change everything, but I don’t think that usually turn out too well, I could be wrong, but I like things as they are, I have everything I need here. It feels as if they’re trying to centre everything to over there, for people who are even not there yet.”

Respondent ~40’s (Personal communication, April 19th, 2018)

Although not negative, various persons did point out that the areas that areas targeted for construction in Gamlestaden were quite small, hence questioning how much of the vision that was to be constructed. Some said the current Gamlestaden being changed because of both new investments but also redistributing assets to new dwellings (personal communication, April 18th 2018). A respondent stated that the vision did not show any humans and that the buildings looked sterile. Saying that the whole area looked unfamiliar in the vision. (Personal

communication A

pril 20th 2018) A few were overall positive but hinted scepticism, some stating that what is planned was an improvement, but incredulous as to whether this was to be a new reality.

Förändringarna är redan gjorda, dom kan göra vad dom vill nu. Vi är för gamla och för få för att göra motstånd, det finns ändå ingen poäng för vi kommer snart inte finnas kvar.

'The changes have already been made, they can do whatever they want now. We are too old and too few to oppose, there is no point in it anyway as we soon won't be here.'

Respondent 70's (personal communication. April 18th, 2018)

This statement, although morbidly sounding, came from a man who had been living in Gamlestaden the past 30 years, he was fond of the area, he had noticed a lot of new inhabitants in the area during recent years and thought of it as nice, moreover he did not mind the changes, he just stated that these were not intended for him or his generation.

6.5. Results - concluding remarks

From results, we can arguably find a few themes of key components in the vision. Firstly, communication as enhanced through the travel centre and the proximity to central Gothenburg. Both inhabitants and the planner talk about it as not only important in the vision, but for Gamlestaden too. Secondly, movement and people, although the vision [film] does not talk about social factors, this is a crucial aspect of the future according to respondents. Lastly, history and atmosphere in Gamlestaden now and in the future, would be mentioned as significant. However, we can also find certain dissidents in answers regarding these themes, these have to do with spatial implications regarding the future of the area. A conflict of discourse concerning the future Gamlestaden can be found through words such as 'there' and 'here' while referring to the new structures such as the travel centre and the old, or rather current structures which would be today's Gamlestaden. These would be concerned as spatial implications of a place. With this, we can hint a twofoldness in Gamlestaden. These are components which will be further investigated and explained with theory and in relation to previous study in the next chapter.

7. Discussion

The development in Gamlestaden as highlighted in the vision is merely a suggestion, it will not be reality as some of the planned buildings as noted in fig. 2 will not be constructed (personal communication, April 25th. 2018). Below is a map concerning the future Gamlestaden, from data collected through this study (see apx. 1)

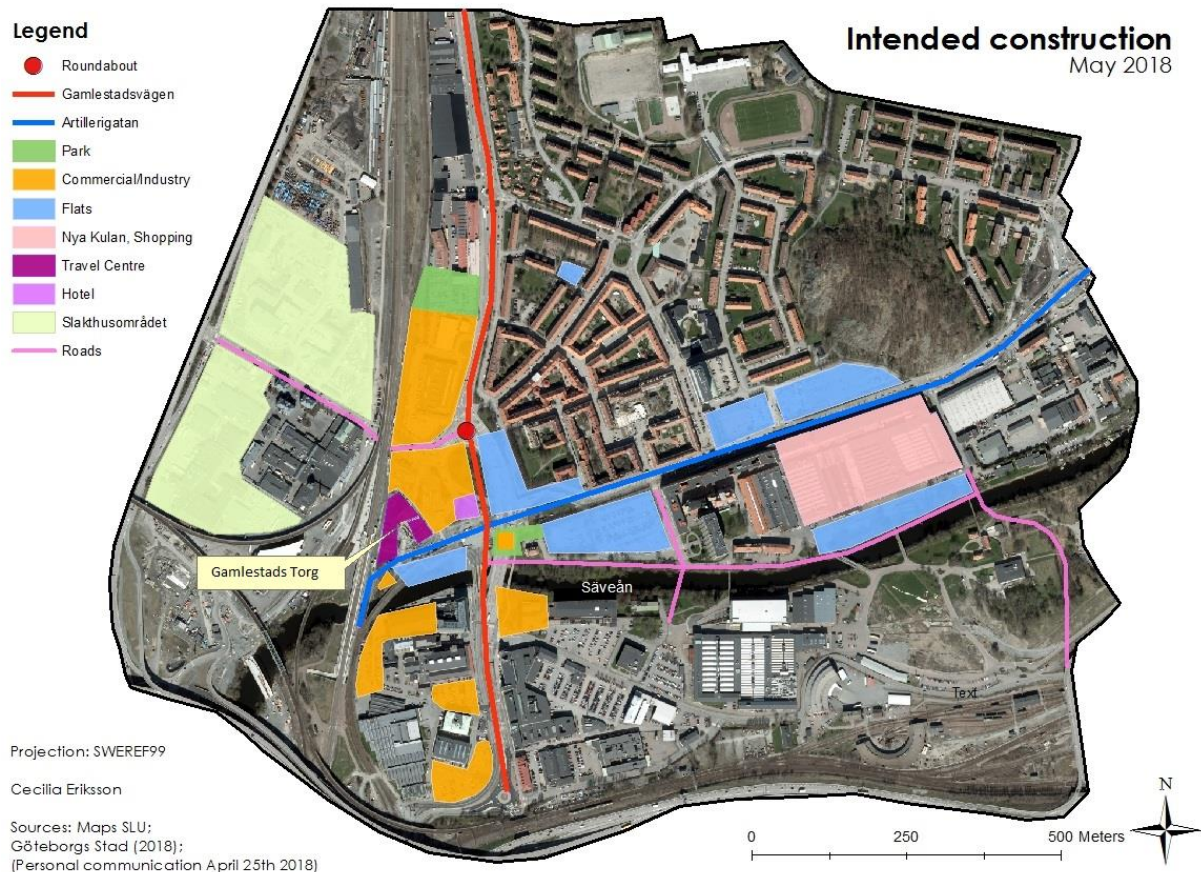


Figure 3. Intended construction. These are areas which is mapped for densification. Most areas intended for construction are yet to receive zoning plans. What is shown on this map is likely to change in the future.

7.1. Discrepancies

Results made some notable discrepancies in the vision visible. Among them are many respondents using terms such as ‘there’ or ‘over there’ when referring to the future of Gamlestaden. This is an example of spatial implications. Respondents did not talk about the construction as happening in Gamlestaden, rather marking the planned development as occurring elsewhere. Despite being in the same area as the planned construction, we can notice the travel centre being considered a point of inception (personal communication, April 23rd 2018) Meanwhile, the informant and some affirmative towards the vision (see. 6.1.) tended to describe Gamlestaden as one entity. This discrepancy would indicate a twofoldness,

the old - current and the new - forthcoming. For instance, the travel centre is accentuated as a node from both respondents and informant. It is closely associated with communication and movement, but it is nonetheless referring to one specific position in Gamlestaden that are to be constructed and not necessarily as contributing to Gamlestaden as one place. This is a hint of something we could call an interspatial separation. Although, it should be noted that these indicators of interspatial differences could be very contemporary, due to construction not having gone far enough for people to reflect upon its impact in the area or even or to use terms such as here when talking about it. Gamlestads Torg with the new travel centre is still a place of construction, and there are probably both physical and mental barriers separating the new site from the current Gamlestaden. In the future, when the viaduct that is part of Gamlestadsvägen today, is dismantled and planned constructions are in use, with people living, working, and using these parts of Gamlestaden it might be spoken of differently. Same goes for the space between Artillerigatan and Sävån, as parts of it are currently gated, people hint that what is north of Artillerigatan as a place but south of it as industrial space.

Nevertheless, the vision states that Gamlestaden in the future will have the historic legacy visible. However, the historic legacy is interpreted differently between actors. With respondents naming the architecture and connection to the industry as important, naming these as factors affecting the atmosphere in the area. The informant, however, discusses 'historic legacy' in slightly more subtle ways. As noted in the results, the informant stated historical structures to be shown in detail such as plants, an inscribed stair and well lids (see apx. 2) Although these are arguably *new* reminders of history as an emphasised connection to Nya Lödöse, which ruins are to be buried under the new development. These structures are emphasised as important by the informant, however, not one respondent (regardless of kind of interview) has named the connection to Nya Lödöse during interviews. Meanwhile, what we could call 'current history', being the architecture and industry having a close connection to both Gamlestaden and Gothenburg are structures that are to be 'hid' behind new buildings. Construction that will reach higher, for instance, the hotel is to be a ten-story building (see fig 3 & apx 1.). But right across Gamlestadsvägen the dwellings are no more than three. This is arguably not having a historical legacy visible. Therefore, we can draw a conclusion that the historic legacy according to the informant is referring to something historical, but not old.

The reminders of Nya Lödöse will likely not have sentimental or historical value to the current inhabitants of Gamlestaden. However, the question to be asked here is what kind of meaning one wants the historic legacy to have, what does references to history mediated through well lids contribute to a place? Or what historical sense do inhabitants want a place to

have? Notable is that as Gamlestaden is inhabited by a rather young population, these historic reminders, whatever they might be, might not have sentimental values regardless, then again these would be reminders of a historic legacy as the vision declared.

7.2. Discussion and theory

In this case, based on interviews and material collected, the vision is seen as ii) static - a process with a goal. The goal would be to make Gamlestaden a part of the inner city as explicitly declared in the vision. But as stated by the deepened comprehensive plan another goal would be physical renewal. Social newness could be a side-effect of approximately 6500-10000 new inhabitants, as calculated by a 60-100% increase of the current population.

We could argue that a possible explanation to the interspatial separation suggested in Gamlestaden have an answer in the lack of participatory planning, which the informant admitted being inadequate. Therefore, the planned construction might not originate from the current inhabitants' views regarding their area, or rather as the vision might be made before involving inhabitants in the process the vision might be both rational and 'undemocratic' (Kahkee 2000). Then again planning in this thesis is discussed as an 'either-or' situation, as in either it is planned participatory, and therefore democratic, or it is planned rationally and undemocratic. In reality it is rarely this simple. This would mean a lack of consensus on what different actors want, both in terms of the vision but also, the future of Gamlestaden to result in or represent (Westin. 2010). The difference in meaning regarding history and atmosphere could be a potential source of conflict, as respondents interviewed in this study speak of it in different terms than the informant, who has the mandate to influence and decide, this would be a further indication that Gamlestaden is not planned from participation, as conflicts are to be solved in the early stages of participatory planning (Evans-Cowely & Hollander, 2010). So forth, it could be argued that Gamlestaden has been developed through rational rather than participatory planning.

The twofoldness can have an explanation in the current atmosphere of the area, with the new construction and investments as a 'threat' towards the sense of Gamlestaden as a place (Clifford et al. 2009) As noted, in the chapter *sense of place*, certain structures in a place can be compromised when redeveloped, atmosphere can be argued as being one of these abstract structures. As investment can cause gentrification, mainly regarding economical and physical upgrading. In long-term, these investments could 'spill over' and further change both atmosphere and physical appearance in and around the current area, which then would have a

big influence in the sense of Gamlestaden, as it is noted today. We could also argue that investment, from both public and private stakeholders, causing a potential risk for future displacement (Marcuse. 2015). As people living in the ‘working class quarter’ that Gamlestaden is argued being today might not afford to live in the ‘inner-city’ of Gothenburg which the vision aims for Gamlestaden to be. The lack of participatory planning would also be a possible explanation for the unawareness of development noted in this study (Kahkee, 2000). Simply, because people having a voice in planning would most likely result in them knowing about development too. This also suggests that Gamlestaden has been planned rationally, or that actors with mandate to influence have planned the area for rather than with the inhabitants (Allmendinger, 2009). Then again planning in the area could have been in alignment with other movements, making planning representative. Although this would theoretically make planning participatory, it would still be a question of what representatives were involved. Either way, Gamlestaden is still not likely to have been planned democratically (Kahkee, 2000; Allmendinger, 2009). We could also interpret the means of planning, and the twofoldness as spatial implications to indicate a gap between the different stakeholder's view of needs for the area. Lastly, we would ask the same question as Mohith et al. (2016) did, what really constitutes a place? And can it even be pinned down as different groups have different relations to places?

7.3. Discussion and previous research.

Before diving into this chapter, there is need of reminding certain things about visions overall, they are abstract as they often are thoughts put into terms, the gap between vision and reality is known because one cannot live in a vision. Therefore, the vision has an ability to state the future in a certain manner, something the ‘reality’ cannot because the reality of a place never is static – as time change things as it passes.

Nevertheless, there are terms as discussed which indicates that the vision and respondents have different views of how the planned construction will affect the area. This brings us to what Brorström (2012) discussed, the need for coherently filling areas with values. As the forthcoming Gamlestaden has not been built the place lacks values. To follow here we must refer back to chapter 3.4 about gentrification, and whether the vision for Gamlestaden is planned as a solution to a social problem? Perhaps it is by noting what Gamlestaden was known as in burning cars. However, the vision, as stated by the informant, aims to make Gamlestaden a part of the inner city and through this binding city and the million program together socially and physically. With this, we can suggest that planners

think that there is a problem which would be solved with renewal. As Tunström (2009) discussed, by making the city, with good values, to geographically 'begin' closer to the million programmes with the bad values, would mitigate a 'suburbanity'. Whilst it might not explain a twofoldness in Gamlestaden, it can be argued that the changes are not only happening to Gamlestaden. As some of the collection from the library in Kortedala was moved to Gamlestaden and the library in the travel centre. The planning here, making the vision and construction for Gamlestaden as extensive as it is would not only be a solution to a 'social problem', by moving resources it might create one for others. Which would arguably be counterproductive, it also leads us to the question of 'affectement' as those affected by Gamlestaden, and the vision will affect beyond those living in Gamlestaden.

People wanting the same things, as Tunström (2009) argued, could also be a possible explanation for people not knowing about development. If ideals are living in the city, which is the goal for Gamlestaden, and that this would equal in a happier life. Rationally speaking, one would not have to ask. However what we see with the twofoldness, is something indicating that interests are not unified, which would affect the planning according to Tunström's studies. However, the vision being large-scale can also have an answer in its need of being visionary, with an abstractiveness, as causing discrepancies and unawareness being the backlash, which Wiek & Icaniec (2011) noted. Accordingly, the vision of Gamlestaden is influenced by contemporary trends in urban planning. What Tunström (2009), called building a city explains accentuating elements such as communication and movement, as these are associated with urbanity. However, and this is an interesting part. The fact that communication, movement, and atmosphere are notable components in the vision regarding Gamlestaden. This could be a result of the argument that planning idealises that city, and why do planning do that? Urban bias is one answer, but likewise, because visions are travelling. Contemporary trends in sporadic skyscrapers and other high-rise construction is a possible explanation in building a vision of what inner-city looks like elsewhere (Watson. 2014). The idealising dense and modern cities would also be a possible answer to visions, in some cases, being regarded as a static process. with the goal being urbanism. Yet, as Brorström (2017) declared; the development rarely ends in the vision. Then we must ask what the point is in seeing the vision as static, with a goal?

7.4. Suggested Research

Regarding Gamlestaden, a new study 15 years from now would be interesting when change is

implemented. Although not based on this study, criteria regarding urban visions is suggested. As stated they can be too universal to be used in a constructive manner, and are hard to for the same reasons. Visions have potential to be a very powerful tool in planning but the two forms, a method or a static process is confusing when trying to pin down a vision, therefore one definition is suggested, seeing as visions is becoming a popular concept in modern planning.

8. Conclusions

This study reveals that there are certain components of the vision that are particularly emphasised. These are i) communications, ii) history and atmosphere and iii) people and movement. The latter being accentuated by business owners particularly. Communications, as closely associated with Gamlestadens geographical position in Gothenburg as well as movement. History and atmosphere as being important for Gamlestaden as a place. These three themes could be argued being key ingredients in a vision.

Notable spatial implications of the vision could be an interspatial separation which can be hinted within Gamlestaden, as the old - current against the new – forthcoming, as the new not (yet) being a place. Whether this will have a lasting impact on Gamlestaden is too soon to say. Further spatial implementations would be regarding movement, as to where people choose to be, in the old or new parts of Gamlestaden, however, this is something only time will tell. As investments tend to spill over, Gamlestaden two-generations from now will likely look very different. The implementations from the vision, that has been constructed as of May 2018, are yet to represent reality for Gamlestaden, which might be a reason to people reacting to the vision with both, interest and scepticism.

However, there is danger in studying phenomenon and consequences that have not occurred yet. In conclusion, it is not possible to say how the future Gamlestaden will look like if it will be a part of the inner city or more metropolitan. Lastly, we could also define potential problems with planning out visions. When actors do not share the vision, a possible risk is the noted twofoldness, which could affect the use of space. Another risk is the unawareness, which in itself is problematic. Moreover, a big risk when, such as in the vision for Gamlestaden, tending to see development as static with a goal, is of course tunnel-vision. A possible danger in working with visions in such manner is becoming too focused on an envisioned future, and therefore not coherently fill spaces with values that matter to those using it. Ending in, the now infamous, gap.

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Appendix

Appendix 1. Vision abandoned



From southwest: construction in this picture is that it will not come true. This picture is a visualisation of where Gamlestadvägen and Artillerigatan will cross where there currently is viaduct. We can spot the planned 10-story hotel to the left in this picture. The building we can see to the right will not be constructed as it, according to the informant, is too much noise and too close to the river. However something will be constructed here, just not flats. The buildings in the middle of the picture, the houses in different colors are what is to be constructed in front of Banérsparken. The roundabout will be moved further north as seen in Fig. 3. If looking closely one can spot landshövdingshus in the background in the upper-right.⁵

⁵ Göteborgs stad (n.d) From. https://goteborg.se/wps/portal/start/byggande--lantmateri-och-planarbete/kommunens-planarbete/plan--och-byggprojekt/!ut/p/z1/hY89b4MwGIR_SwdWvy_YsZ1u5isqRk2qRgp4iYASghogAidl_fwIW4dUve10z-l0YCAD0xf3tilsO_TFZfG54cedm7xJ31W43axifNnrXfyq0y1qBof_ALPE-lcUQr70xZF5G3QT5mrJfYEq1QHlWnCdCngHA2ayxcd0s_e6-ry0fQM5lYwqLw5pFPiBKGngeisRikNkq5jTCBlwbdmRueoIEio8Lpgr2FolyT3xc0v1JZUNmLE-1WM9ktu4vD1be52eHXRwnmdSLIOkGjoHHxXOw2Qh-83Btcu-9qfulCf19A2qK7nB/dz/d5/L2dBISEvZ0FBIS9nQSEh/

Appendix 2. Picture, well lid.

Well lid showing the former Gothenburg coat of arms.



4 photo: Cecilia Eriksson, may 7th 2018

Appendix 3. Interview material



5. Picture Nya Kulan, culture house envisioned



6 Travel Centre, Gamlestads Torg at night envisioned



7 Construction as seen from movie, Gamlestaden looking east.⁶

⁶ All pictures in Apx 3 originate from City of Gothenburg (Göteborgs stad (n.d)) and found through: https://goteborg.se/wps/portal/start/byggande--lantmaterierochplanarbete/kommunensplanarbete/plan--ochbyggprojekt/!ut/p/z1/hY89b4MwGIR_SwdWvy_YsZ1u5isqRk2qRgp4iYASghogAidl_fWIW4dUve10z-I0YCAD0xf3tilsO_TFZfG54cedm7xJ31W43axifNnrXfyg0y1qBof_ALPE-lcUQr70xZF5G3QT5mrJfYEg1QHIWnCdCngHA2ayxcd0s_e6-ry0fQM5IYwqLw5pFPIBKGngeisRIkNkg5jTCBlwbdmRueolEio8Lpgr2FolyT3xc0v1JZUNmLE-1WM9ktu4vD1be52eHXRwnmdSLlOkGjoHHxXOw2Qh-83Btcu-9qfulCf19A2qK7nB/dz/d5/L2dBIS9nQSEh/

Appendix 4. Interview Guide, Informant

Introducera mig, studen syfte osv...

Berätta lite om uppkomsten av visionen och Gamlestadens utveckling.

Vilket kunskapsunderlag baseras utvecklingsarbetet för Gamlestaden på?

- Metoder?
- Aktörer? Vem har varit inblandad i planeringsprocessen?

När börjar utvecklingen för Gamlestaden, och hur har processen sett ut?

Finns det något ni från kommunens håll upplevt som problematiskt eller särskilt välkomnati planeringen och förmedlandet av Gamlestadens framtid?

- Isåfall vad? Och vilka reaktioner har utvecklingsförmedlandet funkant?
- Anser ni att ni tillhandahållit den information som är nödvändig för människor i området?

När vi ser filmen, så målar den ju upp en väldigt stark bild av gamlestadens framtid, men detta är det enda förmedlandet som publikt satsas på att förmedla i Gamlestaden? Tror ni inte att det vi ser kan förmedla en felaktig bild av vad som väntar området?

- Ja – varför har ni inte gått ut med mer information om den då?
- Nja... - har ni givit människor möjligheten att reagera och påverka?
- Nej – men...

Vad skulle ni säga är det viktigaste för Gamlestadens framtid?

När jag ser visionsfilmen, så tycker jag att grönområden skriker med sin frånvaro, hur har ni tänkt där?

- En tät och dynamisk stadsdel hur syns det?
- Det historiska arvet synligt vad innebär det?
- "Den gamla bebyggelsen smälter in med den nya" hur, visionsfilmen visar små vita fyrkanter...

Finns det några särskilt intressanta delar eller "värden" av Gamlestaden som man jobbar med särskilt nu man går vidare med utvecklingen?

- Ja, Vilka då och hur ska dessa synas i implementeringen?

Området ska öka sin befolkning nästan dubbelt, vad tänker ni som planerare att detta skulle ha för inverkan på området?

Förtäta kring noder, vad vet ni om framtidsdiskursen gällande östra Göteborg?