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Connecting Harbour and City - Strategy, Collaboration and Growth. Hot Topic Results and Roadmap for local Mutual Mobilisation and Learning workshops.

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Hansen, Jesper Rohr; Mechlenborg, Mette

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MARINA

WP3 Stakeholder Dialogue & Citizen Awareness

Mobilisation and Mutual Learning Workshops - RESULTS

Date 23 02 2017
Duration From 10 hrs to 16 hrs
Location Denmark, Copenhagen
Title (English/Danish) Connecting Harbour and City – strategy, collaboration and growth. Sammenkobling af havn og by – strategi, samarbejde og vækst
The hot topic that the MML workshop has tackled How can we make a city- and harbour development which is holistic, social sustainable and growth-related?
Type of workshop Local
Round First
Selected methodology Focus Group
Language of the workshop Danish
Name of the organizing institution Aalborg University, Danish Building Research Institute
Name of the person in charge Jesper Rohr Hansen; Mette Mechlenborg
E-mail of the person in charge Jesper Rohr Hansen (jer@sbi.aau.dk). Mette Mechlenborg (mme@sbi.aau.dk)
Telephone n° of the person in charge +4531217855

Results and Roadmap: Background information

The purpose of this document is to collect the results from the workshop described in the table above and condense the results in the format of a roadmap.

The roadmap is developed on the basis following 3 knowledge inputs. These inputs have been framed within existing research concerning harbour developments that emphasize that the integration of the city and the harbour is essential for ensuring long-term sustainability of both public and private values¹. Within such a broad framework, the knowledge inputs are classified on the basis of an interpretation made by the responsible researchers:

1. Three presentations at the workshop (in Danish), each describing different types of harbour developments
 - The 'Køge Kyst'-project in the small coastal city of Køge. Presentation by Project Director, Køge Kyst, Jes Møller. The Køge Kyst-project can be interpreted as a transformation of an industrial harbour into a housing and culture-neighbourhood by means a comprehensive public-philanthropic partnership approach.²
 - The 'Sydhavn'-project³ in Copenhagen inner-harbour: Presentation by Researcher, PhD, Aalborg University, Jesper Rohr Hansen. The Sydhavn project can be interpreted as a transformation of an obsolete industrial harbour into a housing- and office-space neighbourhood by means of a crisis-driven housing-policy approach
 - The Frederikshavn Municipality's strategy for enhancing two types of well-functioning harbours⁴:
 - Skagen Harbour and Frederikshavn Harbour. Presentation by Marianne Ellersgaard, municipal civil servant, Centre for Development and Business, Frederikshavn Municipality. Although each harbour demonstrate a mix of functions and business areas, the harbour developments can be interpreted as an enhancement strategy for, respectively, tourism (especially cruiser-tourism) and for revitalizing the weakening mental, physical and relational linkages between Frederikshavn city's population and the industrial harbour.

¹ See, for instance, the cases described in the following publication: (Desfor, Laidley, Stevens, & Schubert, 2010)

² <http://koegekyst.dk/english>.

³ No single project page as such exists for this urban-development project. For an overview of the case in English, please consult the following publication: [Sydhavn, Copenhagen: Why different types of self-organization have varying adaptive qualities.](#) / Hansen, Jesper Rohr; Enqberg, Lars A. *Planning Projects in Transition: Interventions, Regulations and Investments*. red. / Federico Savini; Willem Salet. Berlin : Jovis Verlag, 2016. s. 114-139.

⁴ See the following municipal link to browse the municipal strategy plan 2015-2019 (Danish): <http://frederikshavn.dk/Sider/Udviklingsstrategi-.aspx?topemne=ff4db632-3014-41b8-b443-7af957f9577b&emne=602358a3-d2b5-44ff-9b82-96bf89b3e984>

2. Participants' discussions and questions regarding the three harbour-development presentations
3. Participants' recommendations for a holistic, sustainable and growth-related harbour development.

In the remaining part of this background-information section, each of the three knowledge inputs is shortly described.

This background information should be based on a reading of the Hot Topic-description of the MML workshop: 'Connecting Harbour and City – strategy, collaboration and growth', parts of which is repeated in the appendix 1 section below.

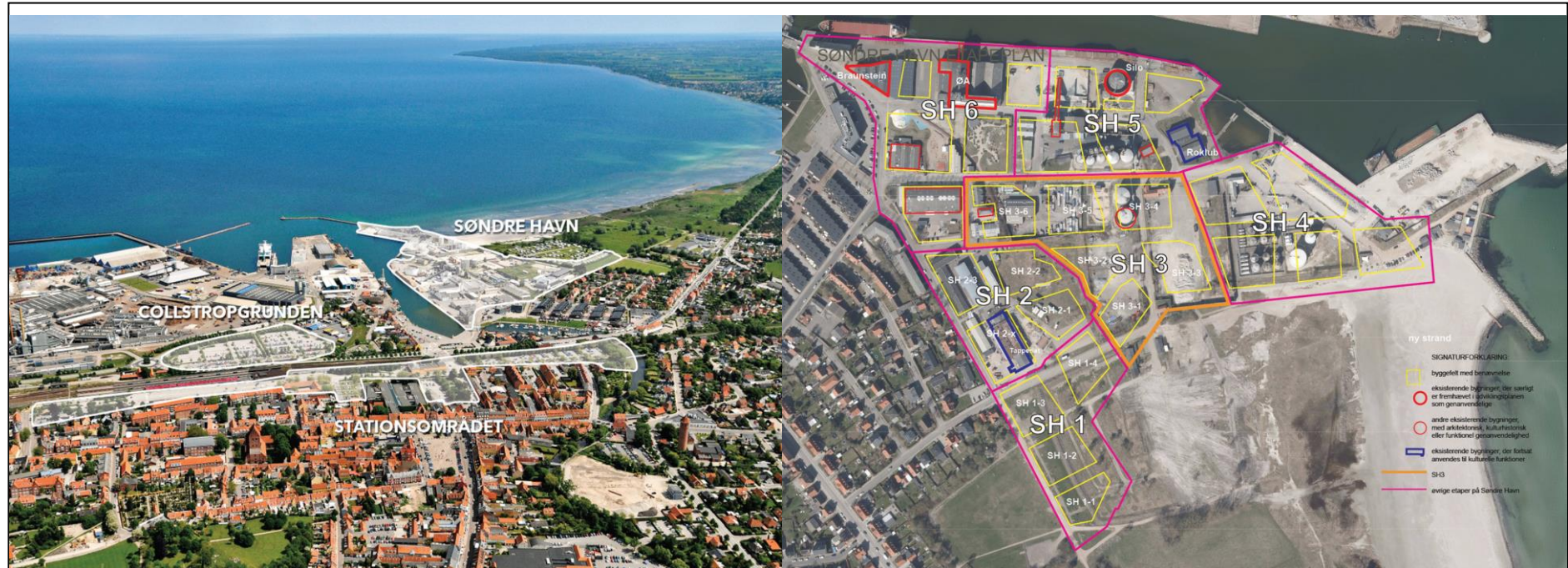
Knowledge input 1: Different types of harbour development

In order to enable European reflections of the harbour-cases presented at the present MML workshop, the cases is described using the following categories each highlighting the innovative values of the project: key words, visual overview, motivation, organization, strengths and challenges. The descriptions are primarily based on an interpretation of the presentations.

Køge Kyst-Development

Keywords: transformation of industrial harbour development; housing; culture; temporary activities; comprehensive public-private partnership approach; philanthropic ownership and intervention; metropolitan region

Visual overview:



To the left the three project areas managed by the public-philanthropic land-development company Køge Kyst. To the right, the largest of the three areas, Søndre Havn, presented in a detailed phase plan. For more information: <http://koegekyst.dk/english>;
Source: Møller, Jes (2017): Strategisk Havneudvikling v. Projekt direktør Jes Møller. Presentation AAU CPH Feb 23 2017.

Motivation: The current transformation of the Køge City Docks is motivated partly by political decisions dated back to 1995, partly by on-going large, regional and state investments in Køge Municipality (regional hospital, new railway). The City forecasts a potential for attracting citizens, thereby improving the City's tax base. Such a municipal housing strategy requires the construction of new housing. Further, Køge City in terms of retail are lacking behind in terms of regional position. Accordingly, the purpose of the transformation of Docks and two other project areas close to the railway station are to integrate railway station and the docks with the remainder city in a way that improves the city's level of retail. Finally, the industrial harbour was in need of expansion and should be relocated.

Organization: The Køge-Kyst Company is a public-private land development company that has the complete ownership of land and whose responsibility is to develop and sell the land. The organization is novel in a Danish context due to the fact that Company is managed by a board of both municipality and a large Danish philanthropic fund (Realdania), a fund which is engaged in increasing the quality of the built environment. The purpose of the Køge Kyst Company is to develop and sell land for profit in order to finance infrastructure and public-service offerings.

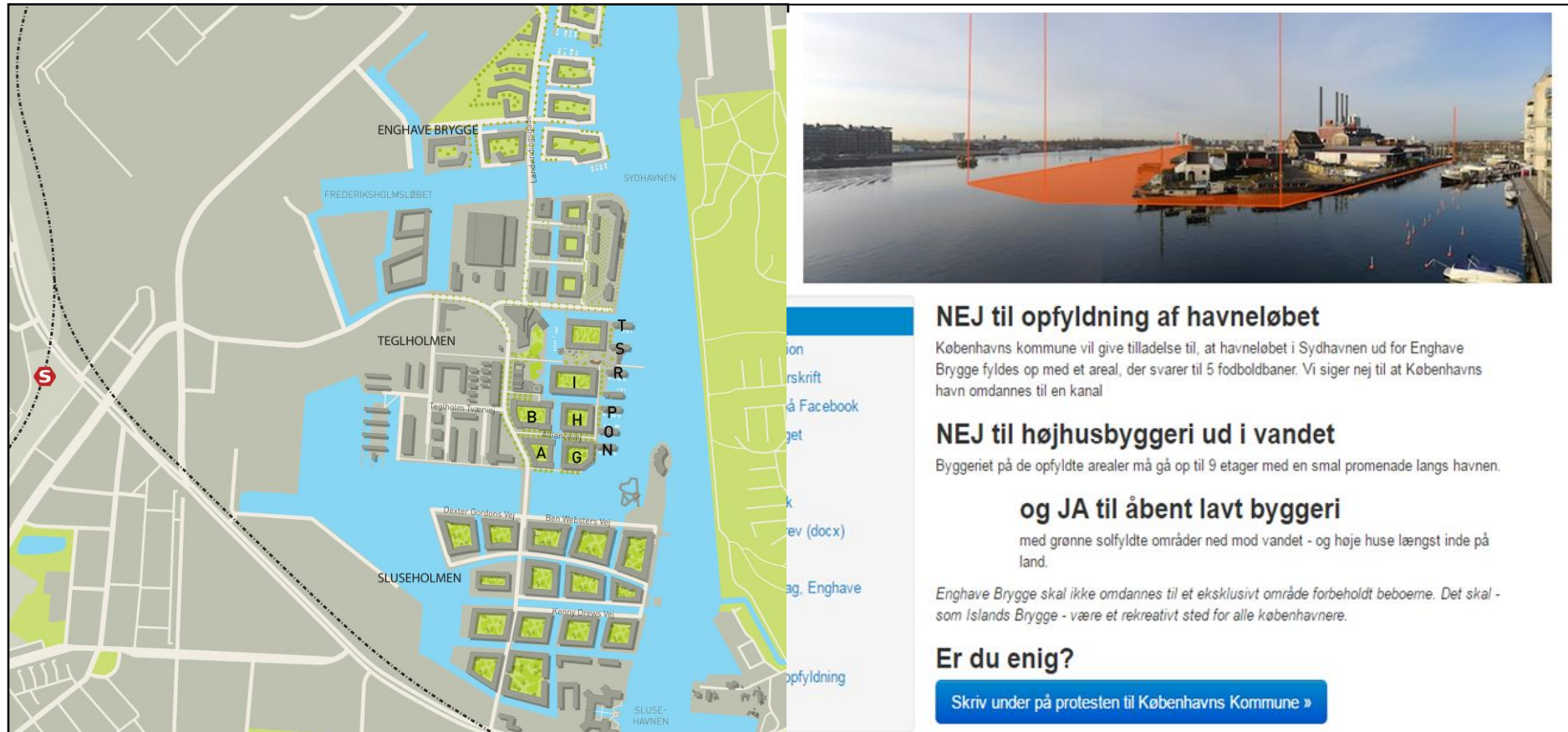
Strengths: The control of the Køge Kyst-company over land for development is narrowly defined and complete. Having a philanthropic fund as part of the organization with ambitions of public involvement and the preservation of the building heritage makes it possible for the Køge Kyst-company to develop detailed, comprehensive and long-term development design plans in a way that ensure coherent demands for investors and developers, thereby increasing the quality of the building stock produced. The high-profiled involvement of citizens in temporary activities enables experimentation that inspires future project development of the area.

Challenges: The stage of development currently is that a detailed phase plan has been produced and construction work has begun. However, due to existing lease contracts for harbour business/industry, housing and industry have to co-exist for a couple of years. Due to legislation concerning noise, it is difficult to develop as fast as is actually possible.

Sydhavn development

key words: transformation of industrial harbour development; housing; office space; crisis-driven city development; housing policy; public-private partnership approach; metropolitan region.

Visual overview:



Picture One to the left: The new Sydhavn area, showing the three main sub-areas, developed first from the south (Sluseholmen) towards the north (Enghave Brygge). To the south-west is the neighbourhood of Kongens Enghave. Source: By & Havn 2014 (http://www.byoghavn.dk/~media/news2014/sydhavnen_2_11_2014.jpg?la=da-dk&h=1500&w=1600)
 To the right, a protest-home page criticizing the northern project Enghave Brygge, the orange colour on the water visualising how the office- and housing project fills up part of the watershed. Source: <https://havnelaueget.dk/>

Motivation: Throughout the 1980s-90s, Copenhagen Municipality was at the brink of bankruptcy. The City had many elderly and young citizens, whereas middle-class citizens and families preferred the suburbs. Further, The City experienced a dwindling industry. A new housing strategy was developed throughout the 1990s, approved in 2001, having the ambition of using especially parts of the inner-harbour (Sydhavn, Nordhavn) to rebrand the city and attract middle-class citizens and new companies in need of office-space. By means of state intervention and regulation, a publicly owned land-development company (shareholders: the state and municipality) was given ownership of specific parts of the inner-harbour docks. The profit generated should be used to finance metro-lines in the Copenhagen region.

Organization: For Sydhavn, the strategy for housing development was inspired by the Amsterdam Canal-city, leading to a local-plan for the entire Sydhavn in start-00s. By means of an entrepreneurial municipal leadership in the end-90s, the market was convinced that the middle-class would actually want to live in an otherwise low-status post-industrial harbour area such as Sydhavn. By means of novel legislation, municipalities were given tools to move the financial expenditure for infrastructure and public facilities on to private actors (developers, investors) by means of requiring formation of land-owner associations as part of local-plan approval.

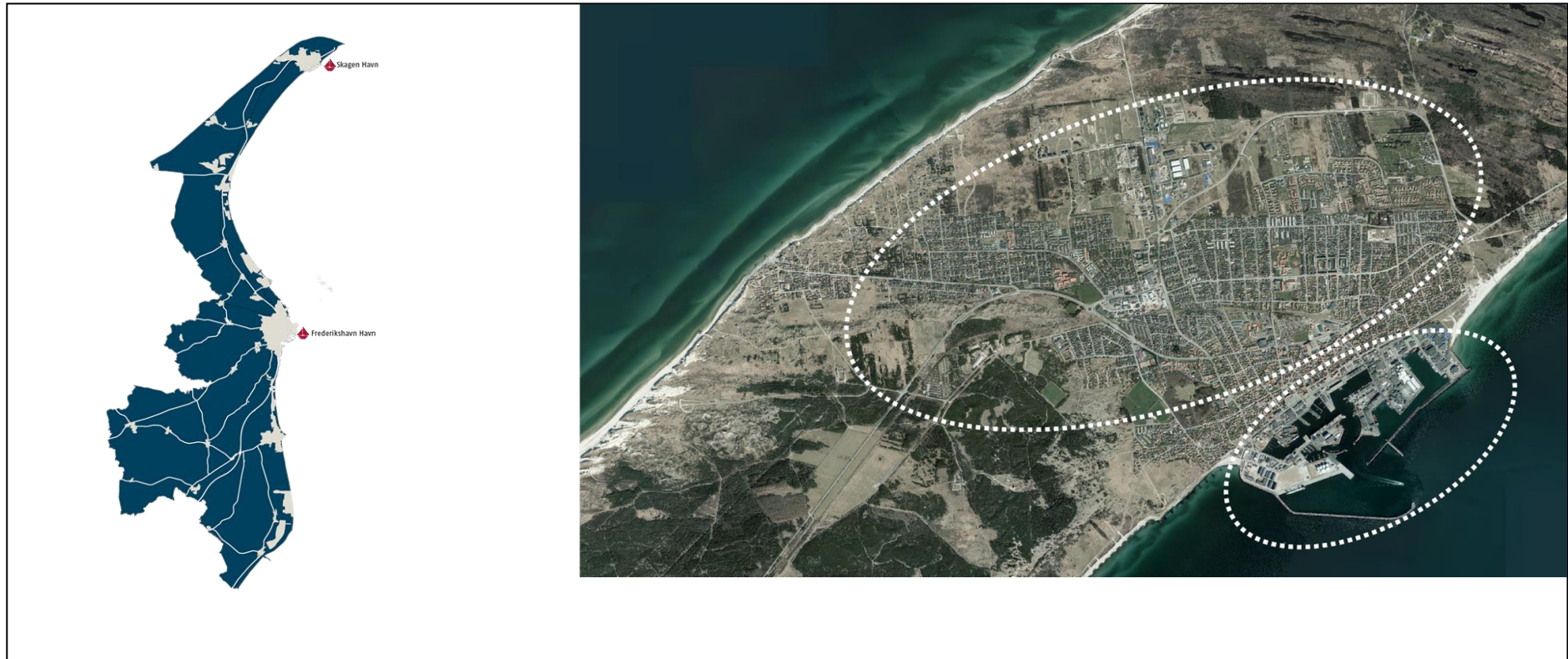
Strengths: For a City with almost no financial means to invest in urban development, the Copenhagen model (landowner associations, a large-scale housing-political strategy, a publicly owned land-development company) implemented in Sydhavn made it possible to develop a combined housing- and office space district which is currently fully planned for and which will be finally constructed within 4-6 years. The area in certain parts has a defined identity -the canal-city image.

Challenges: Sydhavn is characterized by a lack of coordination for completing the market-driven harbour development. The area is dense with few recreational possibilities barring the water shed. The public has not been granted a strategic role in urban development. Citizens fear that the completion of the Sydhavn development at the northern part of the area (Enghave Brygge) will: Result in a privatization of the watershed; make it difficult to continue having houseboats and practising leisure activities on the inner-harbour; pollute the otherwise clean inner-harbour water due to the digging out of additional canals for the housing projects in former industrial soil. Finally, the Sydhavn area is isolated; a close-by, old working class neighbourhood with historical relations to the Docks, Kongens Enghave, has not been part of the design of the 'new' Sydhavn. Hence, synergy between the two areas has not been utilized. Currently, however, a university in the area and the City have launched an 'innovation-district' idea - a business-strategy for both Sydhavn and Kongens Enghave that potentially could include broader business-elements such as socially-innovative, sustainable and socially inclusive projects.

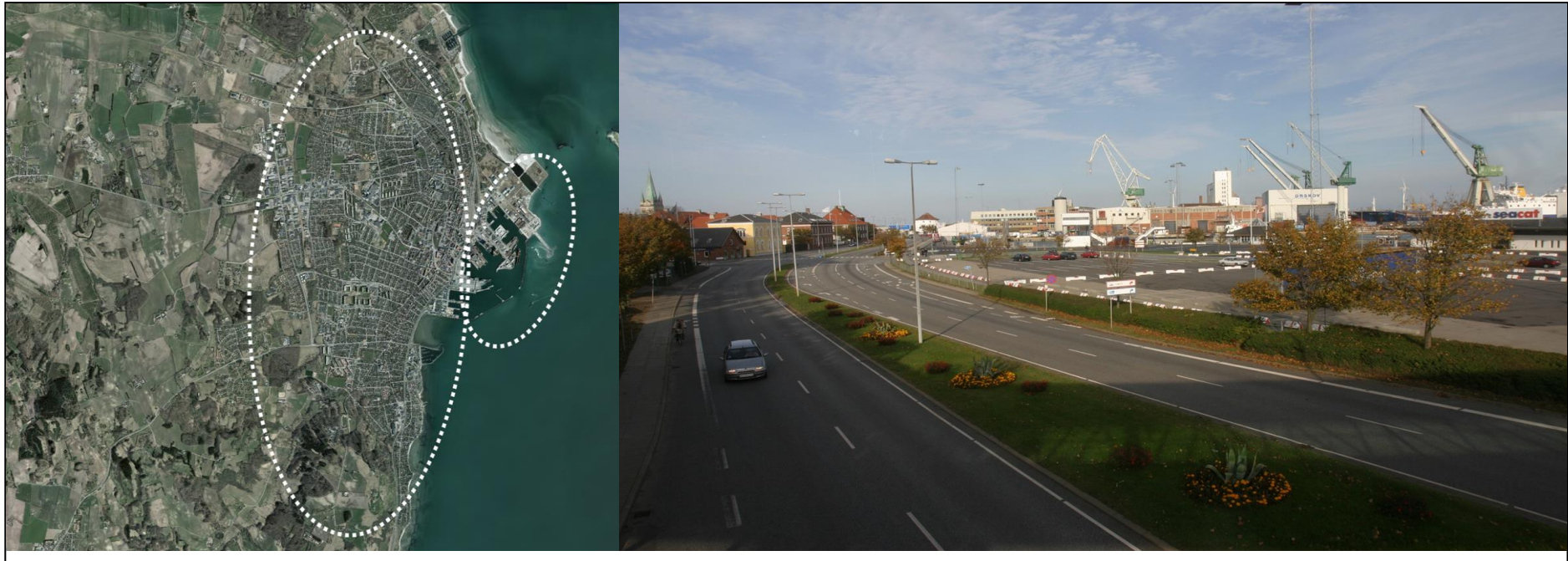
Frederikshavn Municipality's harbour developments

Key words: Industrial harbour expansions; growth; fisheries; tourism; cruise; goods; internationalism; small-city region.

Visual overview:



Picture one to the left: The geographic extension of Frederikshavn Municipality, covering the far most north-eastern part of the Danish peninsula Jutland, to the north and east being close to Norway and Sweden. Picture two to the right: Skagen Havn, on the north part of the peninsula, the most touristic and city-integrated harbour in the Municipality. Source: Ellersgaard, Marianne (2017): Udvikling af Havn og By. Presentation AAU CPH Feb 23 2017.



Picture one to the left: The Port of the city of Frederikshavn. This is the most industrial port but also the one most isolated mentally and physically, the picture to the right showing the infrastructural barrier separating city and port. Source: Ellersgaard, Marianne (2017): Udvikling af Havn og By. Presentation AAU CPH Feb 23 2017.

Motivation: Frederikshavn Municipality is located in the far most northern part of Denmark, a small-city region with rural areas. The municipality has about 60.000 inhabitants, and is highly dependent on its harbours: the two primary harbours (Skagen, Frederikshavn) plus a naval station boast 7500 workplaces and stands for about 40% of the municipal tax base. Both Skagen Harbour and Frederikshavn Harbour are currently expanding, maintaining a focus on especially energy, increased cruise tourism, fisheries, street food, offshore wind turbine, cargo freight, ferry transport to the Scandinavian countries and larger harbour depth.

Organization: The maritime policy area is deeply imbedded in the municipal's 4-track growth strategy – tourism, food products, energy and the maritime area. The current port expansions have widespread support politically, in civil society and amongst market actors, as everyone acknowledges the essential role that the harbours play for municipal economy. Further, the harbour industries are currently experiencing growth.

Strengths: The strengths of current developments are the uniform support the harbours experience across all stakeholders in the municipality. In this respect, the harbour developments do not demonstrate a radical break with past municipal practice but enhances and expands the harbours' role in generating growth and develop new, also international, business areas. The widespread acknowledgement of dependency of harbour business creates a fertile environment for securing the current proliferation of harbour business; for instance, immigrant port-workers and families from Eastern Europe are taking well care of by civil society.

Challenges: As is the case of other rural and small-city regions in Denmark, attracting and maintaining families are of outmost importance. Not only in terms of securing municipal tax base, but particularly for ensuring the future supply of labour. It is on these areas that the municipality is challenged. Within a decade, a significant part of the workforce will be retiring from the harbour businesses; however, the new generations, especially in the largest harbour of Frederikshavn city, have no or few relations to the harbour. So currently, the challenge is how to mentally and physically integrate harbour areas and business with civil society, educational institutions and other municipal stakeholders. Although the harbours should primarily be seen as locations for business, new relations (physically, visually and mentally) between city and harbour have to develop in order to secure the labour supply in the future. Current ideas for doing so touches upon issues of better access across express roads, create publicly accessible functions on the harbours, increase tourism in designated places, events, increasing entrepreneurship on the harbour locations, make use of the rough industrial image of the harbour to attract the attention of youth and continue enhancing the educational linkages between educational institutions and harbour businesses. The responses to these challenges have part of a process of novel collaboration amongst stakeholders, part of philanthropically funded project 'På Forkant'⁵ ('At the Forefront').

Knowledge Input 2: Participants' discussions and questions regarding the three harbour-development presentations

Participants

The participants were predominantly citizens, NGO's, representatives from leisure/voluntary organisations, small businesses, university master students and representatives from local democratic institutions and citizens. As the MML was held in Copenhagen, in the Sydhavn harbour development area, most of the representatives had relations to Sydhavn and the adjacent neighbourhoods, such as Kongens Enghave. However, a representative from the ongoing Nordhavn Harbour Development, in Copenhagen, was also attending; so was a representative from Kalundborg City's 'harbour park'-project, due to the similarity of citizen-involvement processes with the Køge Kyst project; further, a representative from Køge Kyst's maritime leisure organisation (kayak club) was also attending. Due to the full-day design of the workshop, some people could not attend due to working obligations.

In this section, discussion points and questions are condensed. Answers and solutions are placed in the joint roadmap.

⁵ <http://frederikshavn.dk/Sider/Paa-Forkant.aspx?topemne=ff4db632-3014-41b8-b443-7af957f9577b&emne=ff4db632-3014-41b8-b443-7af957f9577b>

Presentation 1 and 2: Køge Kyst and Sydhavn

Discussions were focusing on the following issues:

- The problem of having proper standards of retail and business in development areas – how to ensure this aspect of urban life, so that residents do not risk living in a monotone housing and office-space neighbourhood?
- The replacement of existing maritime leisure organisations – where to locate such kayak activities, since they are vulnerable to waves and wind.
- To begin with, existing leisure organisations were highly included in development processes and used to brand the area for investors in Køge Kyst – but now the dialogue seems to be fading. Why is this?
- Køge Kyst-project is, in contrast to Sydhavn, an exemplary project when it comes to taking upon a responsibility for development and the involvement of citizens. Sydhavn is deeply characterised by a local democratic deficit, since the land-development company in Copenhagen seems to take upon it no responsibility for maintaining and cleaning up the watershed and harbour. In Sydhavn, it is the powerful and financially strong actors that decide – landowners and developers do as they please. The local politicians in Copenhagen have no influence and no political will to intervene in the maintenance of the harbour.
 - o How does Køge Kyst deals with these future challenges of upkeep and maintenance?
 - o And in Sydhavn and Copenhagen: who is really, in the end, responsible for urban development?
- What about housing mix – typically harbour-housing areas are only accessible for the affluent residents?
- How to ensure a good urban life in newly-developed housing areas – could the work of scholar Jane Jacobs: 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities' be revitalized? Because neighbours have to be able to meet, the physical structure needs to be able to accommodate this.
- In the case of Copenhagen and the use of private landowner-association: Who is really responsible for area problems – landowner associations or the Municipality?

Presentation 3: Frederikshavn Harbour Developments

- Which demands does increased cruiser tourism impose on a small city such as Skagen?
- Does cruiser tourism pose a problem for local residents and yacht-/pleasure boat-owners?
- Because of the current challenges of attracting citizens and attracting labour – what have the municipality done for improving the situation, e.g. new types of collaboration and organisation amongst stakeholders?
- Are harbour organisations/businesses able to see themselves as urban developers – have they got the capacities to think in city relations?
- Can small-scale entrepreneurship function as a broker for connecting city and harbour, in terms of new types of business at the harbour?

Knowledge input 3: Participants' recommendations for a holistic, sustainable and growth-related harbour development

The participants proposed, on the basis of a clustering of discussion points, solutions to three different themes:

- 1) coherence between old/new city/harbour
- 2) participation, ownership and dissemination,
- 3) The good life related to housing and urban life.

For Theme 1, the main challenge identified was that in order to involve more people in innovative harbour development you have to think in flexible, temporary solutions that can attract people and alter the mind-set of harbour industries and harbour stakeholders. If not, successful industrial harbour industries are in serious danger of running short of labour supply, because the local youth cannot identify with those types of work.

Solutions:

- Flexible and temporary housing solutions should be possible in old harbour areas, so that people can experience and colonise the docks and quay areas informally, which can open for more permanent development

- New types of ownership forms have to be considered, for instance: urban-industrial youth/student housing, for instance, in former industrial barges as a kind of kick-start of a development
- New attractors could be pop-up events that harbour industries could host, in order to make the vast parking and industrial areas useful for temporary leisure (for instance, 50 tons of sand to host a temporary beach volley event etc., an example from Kalundborg Harbour development, Denmark).
- The local government should facilitate a broader vision for industrial harbours, so that other, non-harbour stakeholders have new ways to contribute. For instance, local high schools, citizen groups etc. cannot directly relate or contribute to status-quo business strategies. However, if a broader vision for an industrial harbour is produced (e.g. 'our innovative harbour that in a sustainable and social way can drive city and regional development'), then a platform for creative solutions can be enabled; such vision processes requires that all stakeholders think of themselves as part of a broader spatial harbour-urban context.
- It is important to reflect upon and appoint who is taken the lead and drive the process onwards - citizen networks, harbour industries, local government or a partnership. A fully open process with no lead or appointed organizer with eventually collapse.

Concerning Theme 2: How to ensure responsibility, ownership development and citizen participation?

Solutions:

- Responsibility and accountability have to be established - who is supposed to do what in order to maintain newly developed harbour facilities?
- To bridge the gap between the municipality and the civil society, all citizens should be considered co-owners of a development project
- Digital solutions (smart technology and soMe, apps) are important in order to mobilize a broader civil engagement and thereby strengthen the democratic process.
- Citizens should be included throughout the entire harbour-development process.

Concerning Theme 3: how to ensure the good life related to housing and urban life? The main problem is that newly developed harbour areas are in the risk of becoming monofunctional/suburban housing enclaves with no ownership, no urban life and poor retail/business options. **Solutions:**

- In order to kick start a growth, it is suggested to ease the bureaucracy in order to enable and attract small scale business development in harbour areas For instance, building facilities should be open for pop-up food laboratories, small boutiques or fish selling
- In dense harbour development, the flexible resource is the water, and this should be utilized more; like a urban blue space - for instance, small boats with street food in order to make local options and city life
- In public-private harbour development in Denmark, most areas are privately owned but by law made publicly accessible, making the responsibility for the upkeep of these areas fuzzy. The responsible for upkeep and the regulation of unwanted behaviour on the recreational parts of the inner harbours should be clearly defined
- Create more life by social mix and various housing forms; in Copenhagen Sydhavn, the inner-harbour housing areas run the risk of having only tourists living there - people who own the condominiums typically rent out through Airbnb, creating lack of local ownership. Life has to be created in these areas.

Content of the Roadmap

We suggest that the roadmap includes the following elements:

WHY - Making a city- and harbour development which is holistic, social sustainable and growth-related is crucial for generating as much societal value as possible in the long run				
WHO - target groups and/or user groups, stakeholders in general, members of society that it will address, etc.	WHERE - where to go (specific objectives and goals for each target group)	WHEN - when shall these specific objectives and goals be reached (e.g. short, medium, long term))	WHAT - what to produce: what are the basic drivers and the added value of RRI and what are the benefits of doing that in a community?	HOW - how this will be achieved (the structure, processes/procedures to follow, resources to mobilise in terms of people, skills, infrastructure, technologies, other)
Researchers and scientists	Contribute with knowledge and conceptual frameworks that support interaction, collaboration, holistic recommendations based on research-based experience	Hypothetically be part of knowledge networks concerning harbour developments Important in the initial, formative stages	Contribute with international and historical knowledge of harbour developments and articulate aspects of unjust power structures	Could contribute with texts, knowledge and reflections on the MARINA WKSP
Policy makers and implementers	Facilitate collaboration amongst stakeholders. Support vision building so that a larger part of urban stakeholders can be included in supporting business and public participation.	Ongoing effort; however, in the initial phase local governmental intervention is important for facilitating interaction and harness a collaborative structure. In	Merging the divergent interests of educational institutions, businesses, local service providers	Apps, SoMe and digital platforms could be a way for engaging citizens more directly

	<p>Take lead in new PP-alliances and coordinate the process Ensure that the responsibility for harbour development is clearly defined and made accountable. Provide citizens a strategic role in harbour development (designated boards, etc.⁶)</p> <p>Break down the mental and physical barriers between harbour and city (bridges, other types of accessibility across/below infrastructure barriers).</p> <p>Allow more informal temporary housing constructions (for students) and food markets to kick-start a new harbour-experience</p> <p>Make regulations for developer and investors in order to guarantee more liveable areas in harbour transformations</p>	<p>the medium term, effort is important for adjusting initial strategies when unexpected side-effects may occur. In the long term, policy makers/public officials have an important role in contributing with new visions for reconnecting the harbour developments with the surrounding city in a way that make use of both old and new neighbourhoods</p> <p>Think in incentives for philanthropic funds to be engaged as owners in development projects Ensuring coordination of infrastructure in market-driven development projects</p>	<p>and social-innovative NGOs/businesses by means of inclusive business networks</p> <p>Encourage flexible housing types in relation to the docks</p> <p>Think of ways in which the strategic organizing of development could include boards in which citizens can have seats</p>	<p>Engaging organization, civil ambassadors and citizens in formal networks</p> <p>Organize public funds to support civil actions and events by the harbour</p> <p>Look to Køge Kyst who has work contracts with</p>
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⁶ See, for instance, the case-description of the Dublin's Dockland regeneration process and community involvement: Wonneberger, Astrid: Dockland regeneration, Community, and social organization in Dublin in Desfor, G., Laidley, J., Stevens, Q., & Schubert, D. (2010). *Transforming urban waterfronts: Fixity and flow* Routledge. This study describes how a strong community by means of strategic lobbying, local organization and political skill in the end managed to fight their way into influential development boards.

				developer/ investors concerning liveable spaces between the buildings / green areas etc.
Citizens and CSOs	<p>Citizens should be invited into harbour development.</p> <p>CSO's have a role to play in creating a socially inviting atmosphere and insisting on being included in harbour development.</p> <p>Local democratic bodies are essential for giving voice and representing neighbourhood interests, influencing strategy processes.</p> <p>Contribute to more inclusive business-case processes, such as socially inclusive, social-innovative solutions</p> <p>Be involved in creating a city life which is inviting to new comers, such as new workers and their families</p>	<p>Especially in the project-defining phases, when the overall decisions for harbour development are being made.</p> <p>Continual challenge as cities compete and liveable for citizens</p>		
Business representatives	<p>Should be involved in broader collaboration processes that not only relate to their traditional core activities, but also could include cultural and socially innovative business areas.</p> <p>Should enable temporary public activities and events in order to make the public aware of harbour potentials (jobs, entrepreneurship)</p> <p>Should think of how to provide citizens a</p>	<p>Think of networks or other types of synergy in which retail and city functions can be produced before development is fully completed (housing scenario)</p>	<p>Pop up events like concerts, food markets etc.</p>	<p>Vacant square meters</p>

Appendix 1: extract from the Copenhagen Hot Topic description

In major European coastal cities, harbours are currently used to obtain different financial purposes. Most often cities will exploit dwindling industry to kick-start processes of redevelopment, so that such areas can be used for attractive and expensive housing construction. As industry is moving out, municipalities and regional bodies have vital decisions to make concerning future strategies. Three ideal-typical strategies are discussed in the MML, based on Danish examples:

- *Housing*: enabling a redevelopment process in which industry and business are compelled to move out completely, transforming these industrial areas into housing areas attractive for housing and office-space construction. Case: Sydhavn, Copenhagen.
- *Mixed-function*: maintaining a mix of industry, retail, office, housing and culture, developing strategies for how these different kinds of stakeholders can coexist in the same area and create a synergy. Case: Køge Kyst, Køge.
- *Creative redevelopment of harbour businesses*: re-developing and/or enhancing the harbour strategies for tourism and industry, Case: Frederikshavn.

As researchers Moulaert, F., Rodríguez, A., & Swyngedouw, E. (2003)⁸ have documented, large urban development projects are a means for boosting and reinventing city economies, although issues of social polarization, increased segregation and social exclusion is a considerable side effect that these interventions seem unable to address. The transformation of high-profiled, large harbour and waterfront development projects are no different in this respect⁹. So, on the basis of these Danish cases and international research, it remains an open question how harbour areas can make use of place-bound qualities (geographical, physical, symbolic, existing industry) and available resources (administrative, political, human, financial, civil-societal, businesses) in order to enhance short and long term qualities, related to the above-listed ideal-typical example-strategies?

Industrial harbour areas in transition confront planners, policymakers, civil society and building industry with some fundamental choices concerning urban-planning models on a city-wide strategic level. Should the harbour areas be used strategically to attract well-off families, construct more office space for business or create innovation-growth hubs in order to spur growth? These decisions often have a path-dependent institutional nature, defining financial models and stakeholder relations many years ahead. Often these both short-term and long-term institutional consequences are only experienced by stakeholders in a mix of long-term strategy objectives and ad-hoc muddling through decisions, the full consequences of decisions only to be discovered through years of transition. For instance, public value may be lost due to the use of legislative tools that hampers the quality of the built environment; or harbours are unable to attract the right type of labour or industries because of neglecting harbour-city issues such as urban liveability, flexible housing and public services (kindergartens, international schooling).

Consequently, stakeholders engaged in harbour transitions need to be aware of probable path dependencies and useful actions to take in order either to remedy unforeseen consequences or enhance potential values (public, business, civil-societal).

Politically, harbour transitions can be contentious, as previous decisions concerning land-use planning, regulation and investment relations limit political flexibility years ahead. This limitation clashes with the role of politicians, in some instances giving local or regional politicians

⁸ Moulaert, F., Rodríguez, A. & Swyngedouw, E. 2003, *The globalized city: Economic restructuring and social polarization in European cities*, OUP Oxford.

⁹ Desfor, G., Laidley, J., Stevens, Q., & Schubert, D. (2010). *Transforming urban waterfronts: Fixity and flow* Routledge.

a limited range of influence on these matters. This may in the end reduce the political and democratic legitimacy of harbour transition, especially if civic engagement has not been spurred and maintained throughout the different phases of harbour transition.

Economically, harbours have been sites of great revenue for city governments and the building industry, both parties gleaning huge values from these developments. However, harbour transitions are long-term development processes in which market, civil-societal expectations and city policies will change. Accordingly, the areas and the actors who are investing in these areas (up-start companies, developers, buyers of dwellings, city government) run great financial risks.

Socially and culturally, citizens may have great expectations from new development areas, some of which cannot always be met – the typical citizen's public-good demands (recreational sites, use of water shed or post-industrial buildings for cultural purposes) sometimes are not related to the business-case projects of developers and investors. In particular, harbours in transitions in large cities may lie adjacent to old working-class neighbourhoods, which may provoke conflicts between the new stakeholders in the overall city-district. these conflicts relate to local culture, retail, traffic, public service level, schooling as well as the fear of gentrification (i.e. old inhabitants are being pushed out of the neighbourhood due to increase in land- and property values). Further, the cultural value of old harbour buildings likewise is often neglected due to short-term profit interests, leading to demolition which cannot be undone and which in the longer term decreases the attractiveness and adaptability of the area.

In terms of environment, industrial harbour areas typically have much polluted soil. As this is expensive to clean up, stakeholders interested in closing deals (either politically or financially), will have an interest in neglecting such issues. In these respects, the legal supervising of state agencies or other authorities with legal intervention options are crucial for safe-guarding such developments.