

**URBAN ATTRACTIVENESS AND COMPETITIVE
POLICIES IN OSLO AND MARSEILLE**

**The waterfront as object of restructuring, culture-led
redevelopment and negotiation processes**

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List of abbreviations

ABD	Archives et Bibliothèque départementales Gaston Defferre (the archives and library of the District Department des Bouches-du-Rhône)
AHO	Oslo School of Architecture and Design
AGAM	Agence d'Urbanisme de l'Agglomération Marseillaise (the planning agency of Marseille's region)
BUK	Byutviklingskomiteen (Standing Committee on urban development in Oslo City Council)
CCIMP	Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie Marseille Provence (Chamber of commerce and industries Marseille Provence)
CIAT	Comité Interministériel d'Aménagement de Territoire (the inter-ministerial committee for territorial development)
CPE	Cultural Political Economy
CVPT	Centre Ville Pour Tous (local association "a city centre for all")
CiQ	Conseil de Quartier (Neighbourhood Council)
DATAR	Délégation interministérielle à l'aménagement du territoire et à l'attractivité régionale (Inter-ministerial Delegation for Territorial Development and Regional Attractiveness)
DDEAI	Direction de développement économique et des Affaires internationales de la Communauté urbaine (The Administration of economic development and international affairs in the urban agglomeration)
EPAEM	Etablissement Public d'Aménagement d'Euroméditerranée (Euroméditerranée urban development agency)
EU	European Union
FRAC	Le Fonds régional d'art contemporain (the Regional Funds for Contemporary Art)
HAV	The real estate company of Oslo Port Authorities
HLM	Habitation à Loyer Modéré (Low-rent housing)
INSEE	Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies [France])
MuCEM	Musée des Civilisations d'Europe et de Méditerranée (Museum of Civilization in Europe and in the Mediterranean)
KHiO	The Norwegian Academy for the Arts
KIBS	Knowledge-Intensive Business Services
KOP	Kulturoppfølgingsprogrammet (The Cultural programme for Bjørvika)
NOK	Norwegian kroner (1 euro is ca. 8 NOK)
OIN	Opération d'Intérêt National (Operation of national interest)
GPMM	Grand Port Maritime de Marseille (Port of Marseille Fos)
PACA	Provence Alpes Côte d'Azur (the region forming a territorial authority)
PBE	Plan- og Bygningsetaten (Oslo's Agency for Planning and Building Services)
R&D	Research and development
ROM	Norwegian Railways' real estate company
SNCF	Société Nationale des Chemins de fer Français (French Railways)
ZAC	Zone d'Aménagement Concerté (Concerted development zone)

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1. INTRODUCTION TO THESIS

Framing the study

The sea has nourished and mobilised man, it has been a practical and necessary element to human survival and development, and it has connected cities around the world. The force and immensity of the ocean have given it a dangerous and mythical image, yet from the 18th century, the image of the sea changed from one of danger to a locus of recreation (Corbin, 1994). It became depicted as an aesthetic object, part of a landscape. The view upon cities also took a turn. A range of port cities developed as wealthy, bustling and growing places as part of industrialisation. The horror previously described and felt to be lurking in nature was now seen to inhabit large, polluted and crowded cities: danger was no longer mythically ascribed to the world untouched by man, but was conceived in the unordered, unruly and unsafe industrial city, with uncivilised man as the threat (N. Smith, 2010:20).

Today, the seaside and the city are *in vogue*. Numerous cities are “shaking off” their industrial remnants. As port areas invite new uses, the waterfront represents a correspondence between the aesthetic water and rentable land. This landscape materialises and symbolises assets and values of the post-industrial city. Urban restructuring and revitalisation aim at meeting new spatial requirements and preferences. The competitive drive is currently a central trait of urban policies: in its most explicit version by a neoliberal rationale, in its discursive version by the requirements of the knowledge-based economy, and in its material and symbolic form as the production of an attractive city. Competition is dialectically connected to attractiveness, a joint political phenomenon signalling shifting priorities and strategies in cities, and which imply the strategic combination of space and culture in new urban policies.

The objective of the thesis is to investigate socio-spatial dynamics and implications of culture-led urban redevelopment policies and processes in Oslo and Marseille. The objective is addressed by a study of three research questions targeting: i) the aims of redevelopment projects and their role in urban restructuring; ii) how culture-led urban redevelopment processes are socio-spatially embedded and targeted, and iii) how waterfront projects are governed and negotiated. The questions are addressed by a comparative case study of the redevelopment processes of Oslo and Marseille, through the scope of the waterfront projects Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée. Before introducing the perspective, the cases and the research design, I will situate this study in relation to two fields of empirical research: urban waterfronts and culture-led urban redevelopment.

Urban waterfronts

Throughout history, the port has had a mystic and attractive aura, symbolising danger but also cosmopolitanism, wealth creation and exchange (Corbin, 1994). Though urban ports are still places of trade, transit and manufacturing, deindustrialisation and suburban living preferences have in the words of Gordon MacLeod *et al.* (2003:1656) “left many urban landscapes pockmarked with horrific scars, whether in the form of derelict warehouses, dilapidated housing or obsolete waterfronts”. In the words of Richard Marshall (2001a:3), the waterfront is now an urban space in which articulations of hope for urban vitality are endorsed.

Roy Mann identifies (1988:177) several trends on which contemporary waterfront developments are modelled:

Large-scale mixed-use development; open edge and access improvement; lessening of highway encroachment; small stream and canal bankside development; historic restoration and imitation; blossoming of the people-place/ market place; world exposition development on the waterfront; integration of environmental art and lighting; the growth of festivals and other ephemeral events; and the increase in the regulation of waterfront site development characteristics.

These characteristics are not confined to urban waterfronts, as urban ports are not the only “wastelands” resulting from deindustrialisation (Swyngedouw *et al.*, 2002; Fainstein, 2008). Urban mega-projects seem to be modelled in ways combining aesthetics with larger restructuring of the city to gain economic growth. Aesthetics, as the relationship between man and environment, whereby the experience is appreciated, perceived and enjoyed (Dewey, 2005), orient urban waterfronts in a visually distinct framing.

The characteristics of waterfront development have been investigated in a wide array of research, which Peter Hall (1991) called the “new urban frontier” more than two decades ago. Several themes treated in waterfront studies can be identified as follows, though with a non-exhaustive mention of references; Not only has the nature of the waterfront been studied as *a new mode of planning* (Breen & Rigby, 1994, 1996; Malone, 1996b; Marshall, 2001b; S. V. Ward, 2006; Desfor, 2011), it has more generally been a laboratory for studies of urban redevelopment policies ranging from studies of *governance* (Bassett *et al.*, 2002; Desfor & Jørgensen, 2004; Bezmez, 2008; Scharenberg & Bader, 2009; Shaw, 2013), *public participation* (J. T. White, 2014), *environment and security* (Cowen & Bunce, 2006; Bunce & Desfor, 2007; Bunce, 2009), *global-local relations* (Hoyle, 2000; Saito, 2003; T.C. Chang *et al.*, 2004), *tourism and place promotion* (Craig-Smith, 1995; Craig-Smith & Fagence, 1995; Page, 1995; McCarthy, 2004; Oakley, 2007), *culture* (O'Brien, 1997; A. L. Jones, 2006); *sustainability* (Shaw, 2013), *social inequality and conflict* (Campo, 2002; Oakley, 2005; O'Callaghan &

Linehan, 2007; Scharenberg & Bader, 2009; Doucet, 2010; Madden, 2014; Oakley, 2014), to applications in *developing countries* (Hoyle, 2002; Dodman, 2007).

Capitalism requires the production of space (Lefebvre, 2000) whereas today more than before, mobile capital and the spatiality of production result in inter-urban competition (Cox, 1995:214; R. Hudson, 2001). Following from this, urban redevelopment and revitalisation has become a core agenda, implying that large redevelopment projects occupy a central role in urban policies (Rodriguez *et al.*, 2005). The waterfront constitutes a globally circulated model of development and planning (S. V. Ward, 2006). It has fostered homogenised seaside spaces in a range of cities, referred to as material expressions of globalisation (Wood, 1998) and as packaged landscapes, with the design of an exclusive area for distinct ways of living, working and consuming (Knox, 1993). Yet, the local-global nexus cannot be simplified (T.C. Chang, *et al.*, 2004). Despite its role in revitalisation, culture has not suddenly entered the port. The waterfront is as old a settlement as civilisation itself (B. J. Hudson, 1996). It is thereby inherently cultural (Monge, 2004:232):

Ports, portrayed as huge human artefacts dictated by the impersonal forces of nature and functional necessities, did not free themselves from the functional dictatorship of past forces to become today's cultural expressions of the memory of the city and the city's willingness to look forward. They have always been cultural.

Urban ports were central spaces of economic activities, but as Fernando Monge stresses, they were socially constructed spaces where cultural practices took place. Their transformation into today's "waterfronts" implies changed forms of economic and cultural relations and new trends in urban redevelopment practices. Waterfront redevelopment projects thus represent and illustrate wider shifts in urban societies and urban policies.

With this in mind, to understand waterfront projects, we should acknowledge the importance of context, of historical, cultural and institutional conditions. Another point is that raising the attractiveness of cities aim not only to provide a spatial product, the waterfront, but also to distinguish it from competitors. A focus on the comparative advantages of the city is reflected in an aim to build upon unique qualities (Turok, 2009). Thus, whereas Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée share characteristics of the waterfront model (Rodrigues-Malta, 2004; Bergsli, 2005, 2008; Bertonecello & Dubois, 2010), the local and historical contexts of Oslo and Marseille add distinctiveness to the projects. Their institutional welfare state context potentially negotiates competitive policies and neoliberal rationales. The cultural strategies used are another potential contribution to the particularities and uniqueness of these cities' waterfront projects.

Culture-led urban redevelopment policies

Culture is now seen as the magic substitute for all the lost factories and warehouses, and as a device that will create a new urban image, making the city more attractive to mobile capital and mobile professional workers (P. Hall, 2000:640).

Urban redevelopment policies target both cultural production and cultural consumption, and its economic relevance is conceived to be important in both manners. Culture is also conceived to play a role to the vitality and cohesion of cities, and a means to counteract the homogenising effects of globalisation (Nylund, 2001:227). Culture-led urban redevelopment has been the term capturing the use of culture in redevelopment policies (Cf. S. Miles & Paddison, 2005), concerning various policy strategies that combine urban redevelopment and the use of culture. Four forms have been identified as particularly prevalent. One caters to the growth in cultural production and the cultural industries in cities (Scott 2000a), whereas the other three cater to cultural and recreational consumption.

The *first* policy form is the facilitation of “creative quarters or clusters,” whereby creative industries (e.g. media, design, and clothing industries) can co-locate and enjoy synergies from each other’s creative capacities (Scott, 2000b; O’Connor & Xin, 2010; Mathews, 2014). The *second* is the development of cultural districts, consisting of a “vibrant milieu” combining cultural and consumption offers to give an atmosphere of buzz and trendiness (Cf. McCarthy, 1998, 2006). *Thirdly*, culture is also used as a means to give the city a new image and to create pride, and sometimes it is used to increase social cohesion and/or to enhancing quality of life (Rogerson, 1999; Bailey *et al.*, 2004; Bayliss, 2004; Bassett *et al.*, 2005; Avery, 2006; Hetherington & Cronin, 2008). Here, festivals and other cultural events (such as the European capital of culture) are used to promote the city and contribute to its development and identity (Kearns & Philo, 1993; Garcia, 2005). *Fourthly*, cultural flagships, architecture, design and public art have been used to produce symbolic landscapes (Zukin, 1995). These strategies have become widespread means to reinvest culture in cities.

There is an ambivalence when qualities of culture are sought to be liberated by the requalification of urban space, urban spectacle, or to boost the urban economy (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993; Zukin, 1995; Sæter & Ekne Ruud, 2005). Culture is operative through the distinctions it may make, in use and theme, between social classes and national or ethnic identities. Culture is necessary to human development, but it is not “innocent” or neutral. It implies collective, meaningful practices shared within groups but not necessarily between groups. An inside and an outside are demarcated following stratifications based on class and

ethnicity, and according to worldviews, ideologies, lifestyle preferences and economic powers (Bourdieu, 1979). Today, cultures are diffused, fused, and appreciated in new ways, implying that globalisation has diminished some of the social divisions that culture can make. This adds to the diversity of cities, where a range of both peoples and cultures add multiple experiences and practices. In urban redevelopment projects, cultural strategies might thus contribute to diversity, but also to social distinctions and divergent spatial patterns.

As a range of Western cities is characterised by social inequalities, segregation and gentrification, the city centre's role as a place of diverse enactment of citizenship is at stake, as is the right to stay put in the city (Lefebvre, 1982; D. Mitchell, 2003b; Kohn, 2004; Harvey, 2009b; Harvey & Potter, 2009; Brenner *et al.*, 2012). Urban mega-projects such as waterfronts have regularly been contested because of the market rationales that promote urban land as mere investment objects, which may stand in contrast to the role of city centres and inner cities as important social spaces and meeting grounds. They are lived and meaningful places of inhabitants, and targets of their desires and needs. But they are also diverse places with the qualities that follow a great range of cultures and social identities. They are hybrid places of everyday life, which requires some stability, and they are restless expressions of difference and change, which require mobility. Thus, there are permanent contrasts, further challenging because of historical paths. Cities have evolved with symbolic events and materiality that are connected to collective resources. The city centre has on this basis social, historical and symbolic values that can come in conflict with the aim and need of modernisation.

Studies of waterfront projects have scarcely included the investigation of projects in a broader perspective on city centre and citizenship, or as part of urban restructuring and national urban policy. The reason for the lack of this relational approach to waterfront projects might be their spatial demarcation, implying that they lend themselves as cases to the study of urban, area-based policies. The consequence is that they are easily treated as “containers”, within which redevelopment processes or dimensions of these processes are isolated for analytical purposes. The waterfront projects of Oslo and Marseille are developed with a perimeter, but to understand their political rationales, strategic role and outcomes, their development will be studied in connection to wider urban restructuring policies.

Placing the phenomena in perspective

To understand complex urban development and restructuring policies, Jessop *et al.* (2008) stress that socio-spatial theory must include more than one spatial dimension. Development of historical configurations and interconnected socio-spatial dimensions such as territory, place,

landscape and scale within wider restructuring processes must be emphasised (p.392). Urban theory acknowledges the dialectical relations between society and space, whereby human agency shapes material surroundings, which in turn shape social actions (Nylund, 2001). This is the understanding of the “socio-spatial” with which this thesis is concerned.

The inner city, within which the waterfronts Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée are developed, is a spatial entity including landscapes and places within wider territorial systems. These geographical concepts are included and combined in the perspectives informing this thesis research. Perspectives on competitive policies and perspectives on landscape and place have mainly been treated separately in the discipline of geography. The former perspectives have been discussed mostly from a political economy perspective, the latter from a cultural geography perspective. This study is motivated by the aim to contribute to a more integrative conceptual understanding. To bring the theories together, the perspective of (critical) cultural political economy offers a frame of analysis. This perspective encourages a framework where cultural and economic explanations might be combined to gain knowledge about the nature of competitive policies (Sayer, 2001; Jessop, 2004). It means that historical and institutional aspects of the political economy, the relations between social structures and meaning, and “the cultural turn” in the social sciences are included in an explanatory framework (Jessop, 2004). The ontological basis is that reality is constituted by the interplay between meaning and materiality (Dannestam, 2009:55). Cultural political economy further encourages the denaturalisation of social phenomena, which in the case of this study means a critical investigation of attractiveness by focus on its socio-spatial dimensions in urban redevelopment policies.

A critical perspective on competitive policies is provided by the theorisation of neoliberal urbanism and its localised and global forms (Peck *et al.*, 2013). Shifts in the political economy of cities are herein investigated as part of wider systemic changes. The Fordist-Keynesian system developed during the 20th century combined industrial mass-production with a state-supported system of mass-consumption and the provision of inclusive forms of social security. After the economic crises striking Fordism, the knowledge-based economy has replaced the Fordist-Keynesian consensus (Jessop, 2002a:Ch.3). The changed character of the state in the global knowledge-based economy can be referred to as the competition state, which characterises:

a state that aims to secure economic growth within its borders and/or to secure competitive advantages for capitals based in its borders, even where they operate abroad, by promoting the economic and extra-economic conditions that are currently deemed vital for success in competition with economic actors and spaces located in other states (Jessop, 2002a:96).

The competition state is not only characteristic to the national state, but also to other territorial

authorities such as a city. The nature of these competitive policies in the realm of urban redevelopment is of interest in this thesis.

Neoliberalism implies enhancement of policies stressing deregulation, privatisation, growth orientation, and trickling-down effects to reduce social inequalities (Harvey, 2005). In cities, neoliberalism is combined with entrepreneurial policies, which apply private sector management techniques and the facilitation to business to assure local, economic growth (Harvey, 1989b; Leitner, 1990). What is new is not only these political forms, but also, and importantly to this thesis, a supportive rhetoric and strategy of “the creative city” which has gained political force. “The creative city” brings urban space and culture together in new ways as part of the goal of economic growth (Peck, 2005). As both rhetoric and strategy, the “creative city - creative class thesis” most prominently developed by Richard Florida (2004) has been largely adopted and circulated in Norwegian cities (Bergsli, 2005; Lysgård, 2012). In France, the thesis tends to be less explicitly adopted, yet strategies employed by local governments include the cultural sector and creative professionals in urban regeneration (Le Galès, 1993; Girel, 2003),

The current study of the redevelopment policies of Oslo and Marseille aims to assist the understanding of localised and temporal forms of competitive policies and their socio-spatial implications in the city. If neoliberal ideology travels freely as a specific idea about societal transformation, its actual materialisation in policy outcomes must still be investigated as contextualised in the various settings within which the ideology is transformed into political practice (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Peck *et al.*, 2009). Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée are mainly planned and developed by public authorities, in countries characterised by generous public spending on distributional measures to assure social protection, hence what can be characterised as strong welfare states. The extent to which ideals of an inclusive welfare state persists in informing urban redevelopment policies is thereby of interest.

Welfare is provided by the state, the market and in civil society (Halvorsen & Stjernø, 2008). The domains of the welfare state have been characterised as social benefits, pensions, schooling, health and housing (Stamsø, 2008:195). Universalism in the context of the welfare state implies that all citizens have equal status vis-à-vis the welfare state, whereby public authorities guarantee equal benefits and services (Dahl *et al.* 2014). The cornerstone of the universal welfare state is concern for all citizens and their wellbeing, where the aim of equality means giving everyone the capability to create a good life (F. K. Hansen, 2009:57). Norway and France are categorised within two different welfare state regimes, a socio-democratic/ universalistic regime and a corporative-conservative regime respectively (Esping-Andersen, 1990). In identifying different types of welfare state regimes, three principles are central: “de-

commodification, referring to the decoupling of the welfare of individuals from market dependence; levels of social stratification, pointing to the role of welfare states in maintaining or reducing social stratification; and the relative roles of the state, the family and the market in providing welfare (Bambra, 2006:74).

The *Norwegian* welfare state model builds on universalism, which implies that a range of welfare arrangements such as child benefit, elementary education and health care include all citizens (Dahl *et al.*, 2014). They are still complemented by targeted arrangements, such as social security and housing benefits. Universal welfare states represented by the Scandinavian countries are characterised by less social inequalities, as income is distributed more evenly in society, and because the social contract implies that the middle classes have interest in sustaining this system since they are included in the arrangement (pp.26-27). The universalistic welfare system as it is developed in the Northern European welfare states is comprehensive and institutionalised. It includes a broad range of public services, particularly provided by local authorities. The system depends on tax financing and redistribution (Lundberg *et al.*, 2008).

The *French* welfare state model evolving after World War II depended on labour market relations taking responsibility for social security (Hassenteufel, 2008:227). However, a comprehensive welfare state was developed, that included health care and robust social security and pension plans (Nasiali, 2012:1022). The model has come to include universal benefits, although current French welfare policies are reliant on both professional and national solidarity: The former includes benefits obtained by work, whereas national solidarity refers to health care, family benefits and policies carried out to prevent social exclusion (Hassenteufel, 2008:227). Patrick Hassenteufel (p.239) stresses that the French state has a stronger yet new role today because of reforms in retirement and housing policies launched in the 2000s. Yet according to the author, they tend to be mainly symbolic. A central role of universalism in French policies that is relevant here is also what Mark Ingram (2011:xxi) refers to as “republican universalism”, “the idea that the preservation of the Republic depends on its being composed not of distinct communities and diverse cultural identities but on individual citizens equal under law and linked directly to the state without intermediary representation”.

A *liberal* welfare state regime is typified by the Anglo-Saxon Atlantic countries, which are characterised by minimal and highly targeted measures as well as the promotion of private welfare provision (Esping-Andersen, 1990).

Transferred to the urban context, I hold universalism to include goals of social cohesion and social equity. In urban redevelopment policies it may include development of functions and accessibility for all citizens, as well as ways to assure participatory methods that result in

inclusion of different social groups in planning and in the distribution of outcomes. Susan Fainstein (2008:782) compared four urban mega-projects in Europe and the US and concludes that despite the competitive rationales of all projects, a minimal commitment to socially just policies were evident due to requirements for jobs and affordable housing (p.783). Still, the European projects were in comparison to their American counterparts assuring more governmental decision-making powers and commitment to egalitarian goals, and the Dutch case more so than the English one. These findings point to the role of the welfare state as important to inclusion of socially just goals in new redevelopment projects.

A shared general vision of Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée is to provide universal access to the waterfront. Whether this vision is materially expressed is related to political goals to decouple attractiveness from social categorisation. Based on the perspectives introduced in this section, connections between competitiveness and attractiveness and their socio-spatial implications are studied in the urban redevelopment policies in Oslo and Marseille, two cities found on each side of the European continent.

Introducing the empirical study

“The idea competition is over. Time will tell whether the success will have a lasting effect - whether the ideas stay visions or become a reality”. This reflection initiates the report summarising the results of the concept competition “The City and the Fjord - Oslo year 2000” (Oslo Heritage Society, 1983), which sets off municipal plans for the redevelopment of Oslo’s inner city port areas. Later these areas were encompassed in Fjordbyen, the fjord city, a municipal plan to transform Oslo’s central seaside into a multi-functional and recreational waterfront, part of the restructuring of the inner city. In Marseille, plans for larger redevelopment initiatives at the central industrial port and its surroundings were outlined locally in the early 1980s, necessitated by a precarious economic situation and a materially degraded inner city. The modernisation of Marseille was turned into the plan for one of the largest recent state-led redevelopment projects undertaken in France: Euroméditerranée. The geographies of the central parts of the inner cities of Oslo and Marseille are largely changed by Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée. The waterfront projects constitute an expansion of the city centres with emphasis on three interlinking aims: economic development, cultural effervescence, and the activation of urban space. These shared traits encourage a comparative study of culture-led urban redevelopment policies. Illustrations on pages 12-15 show the maps of the city districts (ill.3-4) and maps of the inner cities indicating functions and places central to this study (ill.5-6).

The cities

Oslo and Marseille are located on each side of the European continent. They share topographical characteristics, with hills and protected forests constituting natural surroundings. Marseille is located between mineral hills and the Mediterranean Sea, covering a largely intensified surface of 240 km² (City of Marseille, 2000a). It is the second largest city in France, with a population of approximately 850 000 inhabitants in 2009. Oslo, Norway's largest city and its capital city, covers a surface of 454 km². It is located between the Oslo fjord and forested hills, with political consensus to preserve the forests. The municipality of Oslo surpassed 640 000 inhabitants in 2014. Strong population growth has been a matter of municipal concern throughout the 2000s and has fostered a high construction rate (City of Oslo, 2008c). Fjordbyen is aimed at accommodating a share of Oslo's growth and increasing the city's recreational and business offers. In Marseille, Euroméditerranée targets the accommodation of a desired growth.

Compared to Marseille, Oslo is not in pressing need of economic restructuring. It has a diverse economy characteristic to national capital cities and a low level of unemployment (City of Oslo, 2010b).¹ The period between the mid-1960s and the mid-1980s was characterised by population decline. Growth began in the early 1990s and became unprecedented in the 2000s. Marseille, historically known as a port city *par excellence*, has struggled to regain its dynamism after economic crises, delocalisation of companies, lack of investments and demographic decline in the 1970s and 1980s (Morel, 2005). Marseille's specialised industrial base made the city vulnerable to the structural crises. Between 1975 and 1990, the unemployment rate tripled in Marseille, from 7.1 to 23.3 percent (Donzel, 2005). In 2005 it was 14.1 percent.

In their national contexts, both Oslo and Marseille have had large income inequalities between individuals and between districts (Statistics Norway, 2003; INSEE, 2004). Both cities have a symbolic "division line", with similar patterns of socio-economic segregation. Marseille is divided by the main street la Canebière in a South and North axis, whereby the South is more residential and rich than the more mixed northern parts, containing industrial sites and a large part of Marseille's public housing estates (Roncayolo, 1996). Compared to other large French cities, Marseille was in 2001 the city with the largest income inequalities. The richest part of the population earned a salary 15 times greater than the poorest part (INSEE, 2004). Oslo is known to be divided by the river Akerselva, along which industry and working class dwellings were developed in the 19th century. The river came to symbolise the division between a working-class East and an upper middle-class West (Kjeldstadli, 1990; Hagen *et al.*, 1994; Barstad, 1997).

¹ The official unemployment rate was at 0,1 percent in 1971, 0,6 in 1981, 5,1 in 1991, 2,8 in 2001 (NAV, 2007:28-33), and 3,8 percent in 2014 (City of Oslo, 2014: Ch.4).

Oslo is characterised by greater disparities in living conditions and unemployment than the rest of Norway (Mogstad, 2005). Settlement patterns among immigrants have also followed these divisions, with larger concentrations in the North of Marseille (Sayad *et al.*, 2007:Ch.2), and in the East of Oslo (Kvinge *et al.*, 2012), partially due to provision of public housing and differing real estate prices. Oslo has also been more segregated than other Norwegian cities considered by several variables such as income and education, household composition, unemployment, immigrant settlements, and mortality levels (Barstad, 1997:Ch.3). Though the level of segregation in Oslo was reduced between 1970 and 1993 (Wessel, 2000), it increased between 1980 and 2003, most likely due to the deregulation of the housing market in mid-1990s (Ljunggren & Andersen, 2014:15).



Illustration 1. Marseille's topography.



Illustration 2. Oslo's topography.

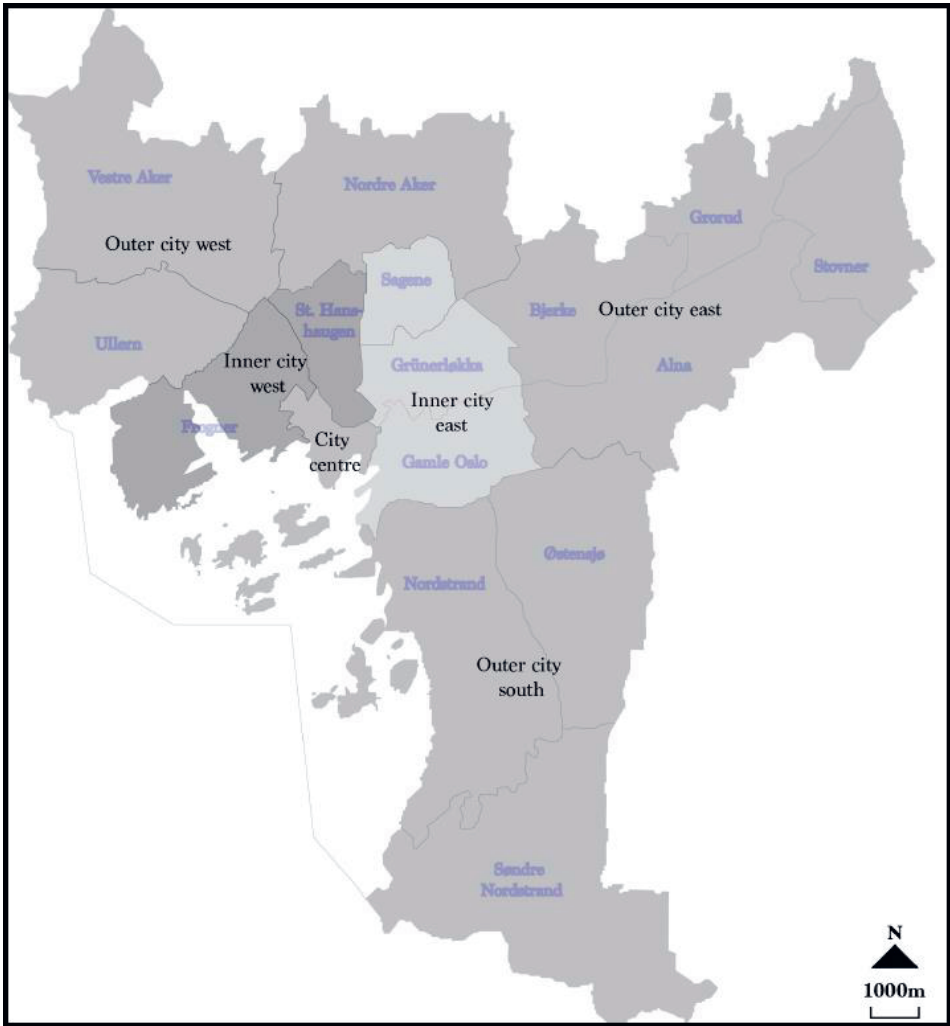


Illustration 3. The districts of Oslo. The following maps are credited Liv Bente Belsnes.

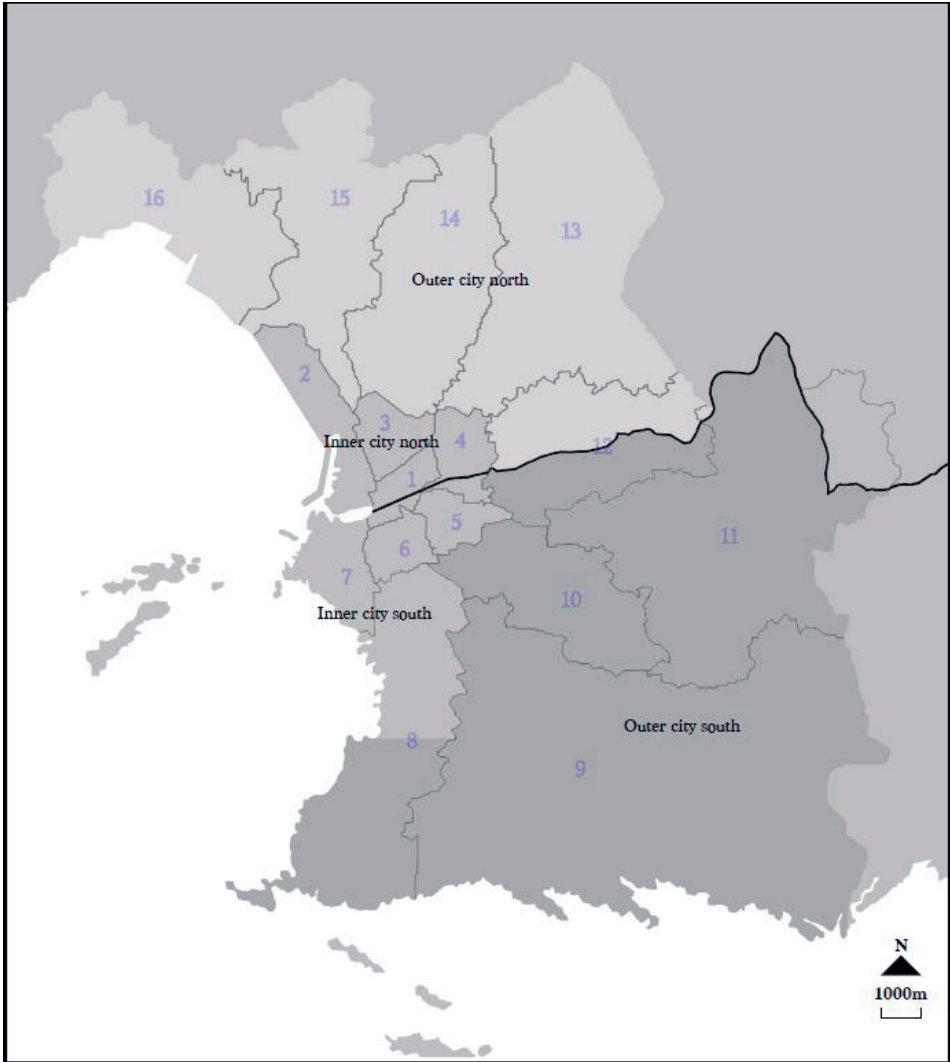


Illustration 4. The districts of Marseille.

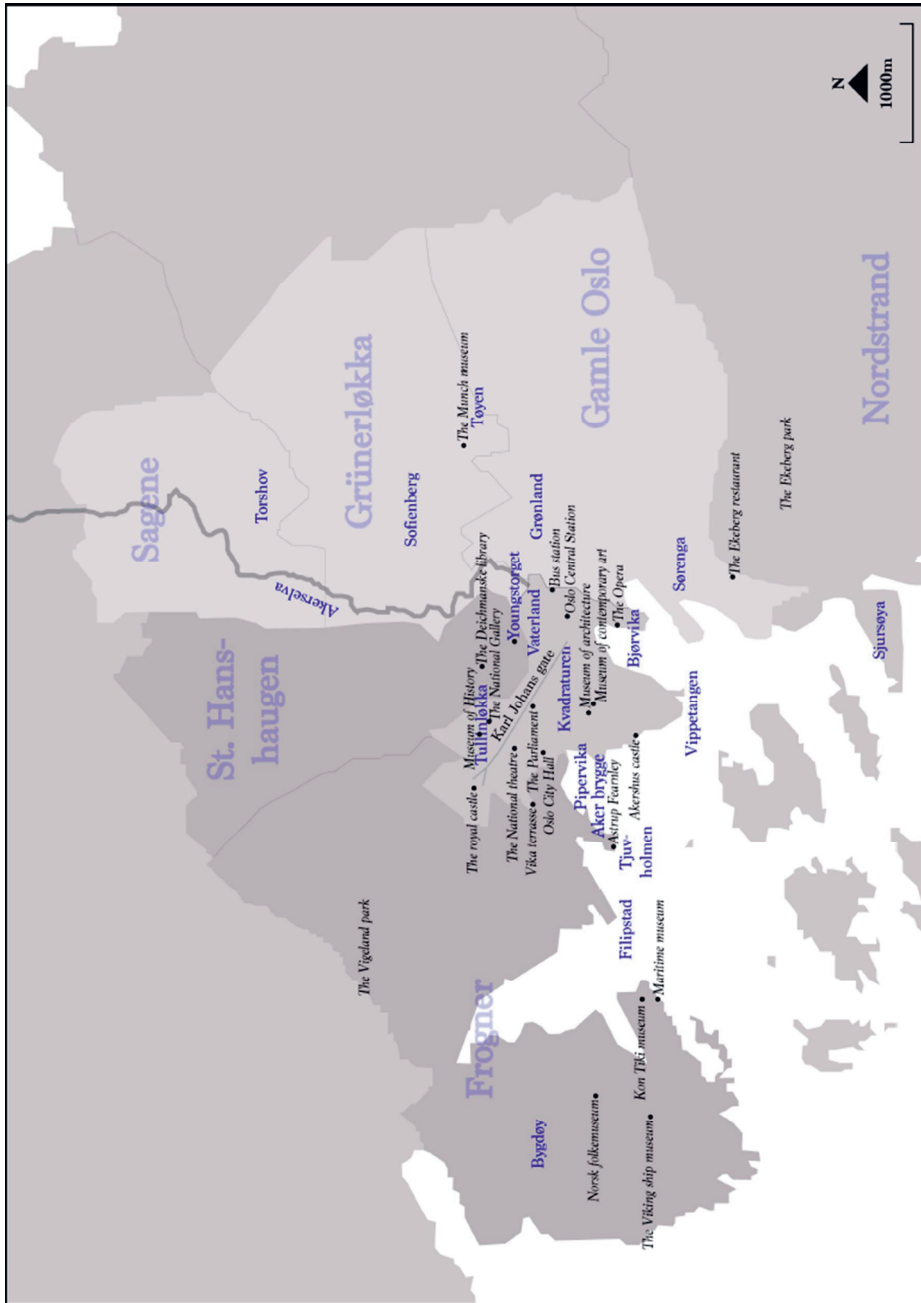


Illustration 5. The inner city of Oslo.

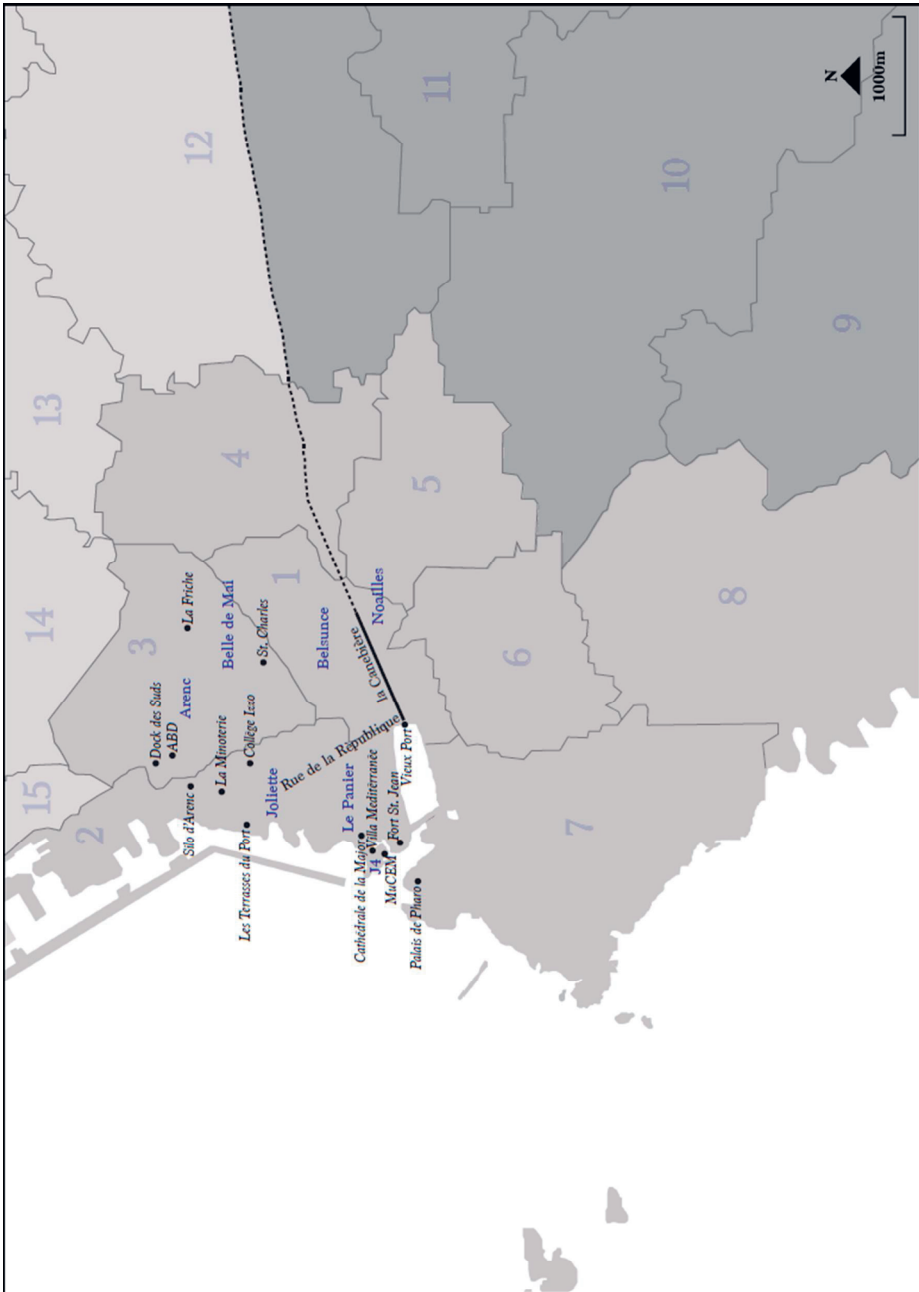


Illustration 6. The inner city of Marseille.

Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée

Fjordbyen covers 226 hectare and is divided into eleven sub-areas sequentially planned and developed along the seaside, as illustrated below. Aker Brygge was developed as early as the mid-1980s, whereas the general plans of Fjordbyen were enhanced from the late 1990s onwards. Bjørvika and Tjuvholmen were the first new areas developed, and Vippetangen and Filipstad are reaching the final planning stages in 2015. The industrial port has been relocated from the centre to the eastern peripheral area of Sjursøya, whereas Frognerstranda on the Western side is a leisure port. Together with Akershusstranda and Rådhusplassen (the Square of the City Hall), minor redevelopment endeavours characterise this latter area, compared to Tjuvholmen and Bjørvika, which are entirely redeveloped. In comparison to Tjuvholmen's perimeter of a mere 3 hectares, the perimeter of Bjørvika is 70 hectares.² In Bjørvika, the estimated number of inhabitants is 7-8000, and 15-20 000 employees. In Tjuvholmen, the estimated numbers are 1500 inhabitants and 1700 employees.

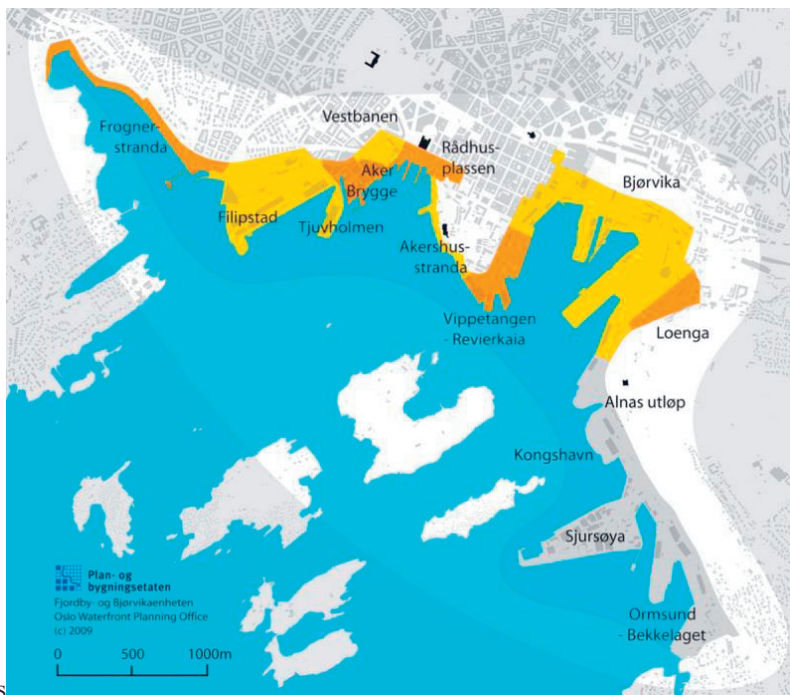


Illustration 7. Fjordbyen's areas. Source: Oslo Waterfront Planning Office, City of Oslo (2009).

² Project presentation: http://www.prosjekt-fjordbyen.oslo.kommune.no/english_pages/, retrieved 23 Sept, 2014.

The perimeter of Euroméditerranée originally covered 310 hectares divided into seven redevelopment areas, as illustrated below. These areas are developed as zones, with different identities and core functions targeted. Cité de la Méditerranée is the proper waterfront zone, with emphasis on recreation, public space, cultural institutions and signature architecture. Joliette represents Marseille’s new business quarter, whereas rue de la République constitutes a renovated street axis between the old city centre and the Old Port (Vieux Port) and the new waterfront. Saint Charles is the transport and university hub, whereas Belle de Mai is the media and cultural cluster. In between Belle de Mai and Joliette, neighbourhoods are rehabilitated. The first perimeter was defined in 1995, yet it was in the end of the 2000s extended to the north by Euroméditerranée II by 170 hectares. In total, Euroméditerranée is planned to accommodate 38 000 new inhabitants and 35 000 new employees.³



Illustration 8. Euroméditerranée and its zones and areas. Source: Euroméditerranée.

³ Project presentation: <http://www.euromediterranee.fr/quartiers/presentation.html?L=1>, retrieved 23 Sept, 2014.

The governance models selected in the two cities have interesting similarities and differences. Though *Fjordbyen* is a municipal project, central government has important stakes in its redevelopment (e.g. in the development of infrastructure and relocation of national cultural institutions). Oslo's Agency for Planning and Building Services (PBE) is in charge of the project in terms of providing evaluations, plans, information services, and by facilitating cooperation and launching initiatives promoting Fjordbyen. It also proposes area development plans and provides impact assessments and evaluations of construction plans. Through its Fjordbyen Office, PBE has a coordinating role to ensure the totality and connectivity of the respective projects areas, which are owned and developed by companies. The overarching decision to develop the entire seaside was made by Oslo City Council in 2000, whereas the Fjordbyen plan was adopted in 2008 (City of Oslo, 2008b). Thus, the City Council gives direction to Fjordbyen, whereas the companies are in charge of the actual development.

Euroméditerranée is governed by a council consisting of multiple territorial authorities, with the central state at the core. The state established the public development agency *l'Établissement Public d'Aménagement d'Euroméditerranée*, EPAEM, in 1994. An Administrative Council was appointed to politically steer the project's directions and survey its financial records. An agreement between central, regional, and local authorities was signed in 1993, in which the central state assumed financial responsibility for 50 percent of the project, with the remaining territorial authorities sharing the remaining financial costs. The central state's engagement was also reflected in the appointment of *Euroméditerranée* as an "Operation of National Importance" (OIN).⁴ The key responsibilities of the development agency EPAEM are urban planning and strategy, planning and coordination of operations; financial planning, operational management, project promotion and marketing (EPAEM, 2010:3). EPAEM is subject to public audits. Its main directions, investments and selected strategies are voted on in the Administrative Council, in which representatives from the territorial authorities and relevant ministries are eligible to vote. Fjordbyen and *Euroméditerranée* are thus governed by different models which influence the directions of the projects and their roles to Oslo and Marseille.

⁴ Opération d'Intérêt National. *Euroméditerranée* was the second OIN after la Défense in Paris.

The research design

The objective of the thesis is to investigate socio-spatial dimensions and implications of culture-led urban redevelopment policies and processes in Oslo and Marseille, by an investigation of the following research questions:

- (i) What are the aims of the redevelopment projects, and which role do the projects play in the territorial restructuring of the cities?
- (ii) How are culture-led urban redevelopment strategies socio-spatially embedded and targeted?
- (iii) How are the waterfronts projects governed and negotiated?

The investigation is empirically addressed through three domains of enquiry that correspond to the research questions: urban restructuring and rescaling, culture-led urban redevelopment strategies and governance/negotiation.

The *first* domain, urban restructuring, addresses the role of the waterfront projects in relation to wider aims and rationales of urban transformation and the reconfiguration of the city centres. I enquire this first domain by discussing the processes through which the aims and strategies of Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée have developed, the agents involved, and the scales on which the projects are targeted. By so doing, the scaled and relational aspects of competitive policies are investigated, as is the question of how attractiveness is linked to wider concerns of territorial competition. This domain also includes a scope on the relational aspects of the waterfront projects as part of inner-city reconfiguration. This scope brings forth questions about social and spatial cohesion in contemporary redevelopment policies and processes.

The *second* domain of enquiry targets the cultural strategies selected in the waterfront projects. Economic strategies and outcomes of the selected redevelopment policies are not targeted per se. This focus is not feasible within this thesis, and should rather be enquired in depth elsewhere. Instead, the focus is on the role of competitive policies in the concerns with urban attractiveness and how urban space and culture are combined, and how these strategies are universal or targeted. To answer this question, the cultural offers and design and the new role of culture in redevelopment and territorial policies are investigated. Culture is therefore conceptualised as the cultural domain, in other words, the institutionalised cultural sector and how it is oriented in social and territorial ways, and as the ways in which meaning is constructed in and through collective practices taking place or intended to take place in the inner cities of Oslo and Marseille. The production and creation of place and landscape are among the practices constructing meaning, which I thereby have included to investigate how the projects are socially

oriented. Connected to both definitions are the roles of cosmopolitanism and diversity, as these are characteristics at once defining cities, yet also being an explicit feature of 21st century European cities due to the global circulation of peoples, cultures and lifestyles. The extent to which cosmopolitanism, difference and diversity are included in the plans, strategies and outcome indicates the ideas, rationales and role of competitive policies.

Third, the governmental, participatory and negotiating dimensions of the redevelopment policies form a domain of enquiry necessary to the understanding of the redevelopment processes, and the ways in which socio-spatial configurations are shaped and reshaped to enhance specific forms of attractiveness in culture-led urban redevelopment. Various visions of urban development exist, and agents have different powers and strategies to realise them. The distribution of powers in the decision-making process and the capability to impact, or negotiate, socio-spatial aims and the strategies carried out in the redevelopment process is thus targeted. I will in this regard discuss the governance regimes formed to develop the redevelopment projects as well as the role and actions of cultural institutions and local associations in impacting the projects.

Using a comparative case study design

The methodological framework is discussed in depth in Chapter 3, but should be briefly introduced here. The waterfront projects are investigated by a qualitative case study design. The projects are selected as cases of new urban redevelopment policies, in which the investigation is made by a triangulation of document, interview and observation data principally collected mainly between 2007 and 2010. The document data consist of planning and policy documents as well as promotional material. Fifty-eight semi-structured interviews were conducted with politicians, developers, planners, consultants, state officials, artists, architects, intermediaries and directors of cultural institutions, as well as representatives of local associations engaged in the redevelopment processes. Participation at public and political meetings, organised excursions, observation of the evolvement of the redevelopment processes and the uses of the areas have complemented the analysis. The research design is shown in Figure 1 below.

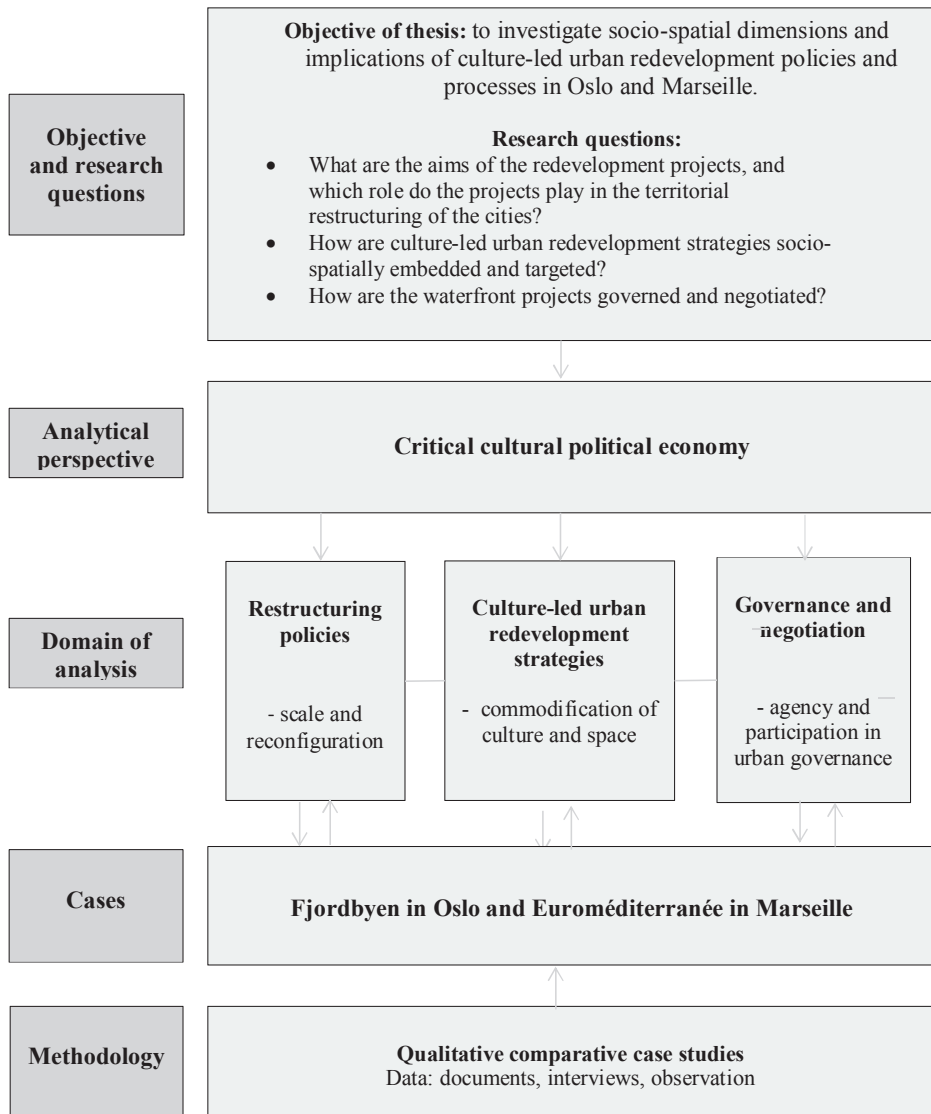
The selection of Fjordbyen in Oslo and Euroméditerranée in Marseille for a comparative case study is made on three grounds. *First*, both waterfront developments are mega-projects largely transforming the inner cities of Oslo and Marseille. The former port areas are planned to be accessible to citizens and visitors and to provide attractive and multifunctional spaces by the use of cultural strategies.

Second, these similarly outlined projects are developed in two cities which are largely dissimilar. The decline in Marseille's industrial economy and population and a degrading urban landscape implied that the city was in precarious need for development. The transformation of Oslo's waterfront is based on the possibility to modernise central territories, which the port authorities no longer depended upon to meet their functional needs. The redevelopment processes therefore offer different contexts for the projects' rationales, which may illuminate the particularity of policy incentives and strategies. Both cities have, however, been governed by conservative parties for a long time; Oslo from 1997 and Marseille from 1996.

Third, national similarities in welfare state characteristics provide a contextual framework motivating the thesis. Policy trends such as neoliberal urbanism have been largely studied in liberal states, whereas continental European welfare states with important universal characteristics offer a context in which other approaches to redevelopment policies is assumed to negotiate neoliberal policies. Both projects are predominantly initiated by public authorities, thus political priorities in question of social cohesion and social diversity can be addressed.

The comparative approach selected does not correspond to a stringent comparative analysis developed by the use of a predefined set of variables. The project's motivation is to study the redevelopment processes in depth and to pay attention to the contextual conditions of the waterfronts. The focus on process further implies that a stringent comparison is difficult. Rich and in-depth case studies are also interesting because of their peculiarities. Finally, the names of the two waterfront projects reveal some of the change in scope between them: Fjordbyen, the fjord city, calling attention to Oslo's local, recreational aspects, and Euroméditerranée, calling attention to the pan-region and exchange. These differences invite discussions of contextual conditions and separate orientations supplementing the comparative analyses.

Figure 1. The research design.



Outline of thesis

I have in this chapter introduced core concepts, methods and questions that inform the analysis of urban redevelopment policies and processes in Oslo and Marseille. The next chapter introduces and elaborates upon the theoretical framework of this thesis. The chapter discusses economic and cultural explanations of urban redevelopment policies, and their mutual benefit, as encouraged in the perspective of CPE. In chapter 3, I present the methodological basis on which this study rests, as well as the data and methods used in the case studies.

Chapter 4 and 5 narrate the cities' development separately to focus properly on process and the contextual conditions important to how redevelopment policies are carried out as part of urban restructuring. The evolution of the projects from visions and plans into strategies and materialisation is analysed within the spatial dynamics conditional to the two redevelopment projects. In chapter 6, two national cultural institutions are presented as sub-cases illuminating how multiple scales are activated in culture-led urban redevelopment. The aim is to illustrate how this process affects and engage the institutions, and how both sub-cases represent factors contributing to the upscaling of Oslo and Marseille as "capital cities".

In chapter 7, the waterfront projects are analysed as part of the consolidation and reconfiguration of the inner cities. I discuss the meaning of cohesion in these policies, and the extent to which "landscape" is a planning concept and goal replacing the aim of social cohesion. In chapter 8, I zoom in on the waterfront projects and on spaces produced within them. I investigate ways in which places are produced in contemporary area-based redevelopment policies. The cultural strategies used in the projects are discussed in Chapter 9, in the form of cultural planning and in connection to the creative city thesis.

Chapter 10 targets the negotiation of the redevelopment policies, yet with a particular and narrow approach. I restrict the discussion to deal with how difference is treated and expressed in the projects in terms of the cultures of cities and a cosmopolitan outlook. Secondly, I discuss how public and cultural institutions can become inclusive arenas based on different ideas about attractiveness. I discuss how this scope may substantiate the cosmopolitan city as ideal and realisation of the just city. The third approach deals with how voices have been raised to emphasise alternative perspectives and to put social inclusion and universal access on the agenda. I briefly discuss how the governance processes allow such perspectives to impact the projects. The final chapter provides a concluding discussion where the comparison between the cases is discussed more generally.

2. URBAN POLICIES BETWEEN ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL EXPLANATIONS

In Chapter One, I introduced a limited discussion about research on waterfront projects and culture-led urban redevelopment aimed to position this thesis in a research tradition. The objective is enquired in three domains of analysis: restructuring policies, culture-led urban redevelopment strategies and governance processes. I aim to address these three domains from the perspective of cultural political economy (CPE), which brings a framework allowing economic and cultural explanations to be combined in the understanding of urban policies. Within this perspective, pragmatic theoretical approaches can inform the analysis of the empirical cases of Oslo and Marseille.

This chapter sets out to present and discuss an integrated theoretical framework of competitive policies and economic, cultural and social realities informing urban redevelopment processes. The comprehensive perspective of cultural political economy is useful, as it not only encourages the integration of cultural and economic perspectives, but also targets the nature and discourse (understood as idea-based conception (Nylund, 2014:43)), of the knowledge-based economy, which I for the current purposes will reconceptualise as “the knowledge society”. CPE also favours a multi-conceptual framework in order to make truthful, theoretical claims about the complex social world. The perspective may contribute to diminish the theoretical distance between scholarship focusing on the cultural domains and political economy (Ribera-Fumaz, 2009).

I will elaborate on the theoretical focus on three relevant phenomena based on Bob Jessop’s (2004) point that CPE should address historical and institutional aspects of the political economy, the relations between social structures and meaning, and the cultural turn in the social sciences. The focus on these aspects is in this thesis encouraging the use of the concepts of urban restructuring, the knowledge society and the creative city/city of culture. The critical dimension of CPE advocating the need to de-naturalise political discourses and practices is central, and is here discussed in terms of the unequalising aspects and effects of competitive policies. This theoretical framework is intended to prepare the analyses of Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée within their wider rationales and contexts, and the understanding of the relations between competitiveness and attractiveness in culture-led urban redevelopment policies and processes. By so doing, the ways in which social categorisation is engaged is analysed as part of the concerns with the socio-spatial dynamics of contemporary urban transformation processes.

Cultural political economy (CPE)

The overarching analytical framework of this thesis research is cultural political economy (CPE), which shares views with critical realism in its critique of the positivist view upon society as shaped by universal laws, an object of measurement, predictability and law-like, regular patterns (Bhaskar, 1998). Andrew Sayer (2000) has been central in advancing the perspective of CPE. Another significant contribution is made by Bob Jessop (2004), who has also elaborated on the notion of the knowledge-based economy. CPE, like critical realism, rejects universalistic understandings of reality and reductionist economic analysis. The focus of this thesis is not on economic processes or systems per se, but on the strategic realms of competitive policies. They are conditioned and motivated by both economic and cultural dynamics. Thus, I will not discuss the CPE scope on the capitalist system, but rather introduce the concepts necessary for drawing on the perspective in a comprehensive enquiry of urban redevelopment policies and processes.

The research community has increased its attention to what valid knowledge and theories are in critique of universal and totalising theoretical systems (R. Hudson, 2001:6). This means that conceptual pluralism can be valuable, but that we should be critically observant of the limits of theoretical claims and of all-encompassing theoretical frameworks. Following critical realism, our theories and conclusions about social reality are fallible and a constant object of revision. Society's complexity must be grasped as an open system, allowing theoretical and methodological pluralism in enquiries. In a critical realist perspective, social scientists might not only explain and interpret societal phenomena, but also contribute to the understanding that society could be different and changed. The task is thus to explore the apparent and that taken for granted, which naturalise social phenomena as matters of fate (Sayer, 2011:222). Social sciences should in this perspective offer some form of opportunities for social improvement, hence making use of critical theory and moving beyond the aim to understand and explain society (aligning the Frankfurt School). Normative standpoints are included in questions of unmet needs, and what ought to be and not. Theory with socio-political aims, that seek to bring in critical concepts such as value in order to contribute to change, can thus be used (R. Hudson, 2001:11).

Political economy as the basis of CPE engages research on the relations between economic and political systems, and in CPE, it is further connected to how other social practices relate to these systems (Jessop, 2004). From debates in the social sciences about the relationship between economy and culture and their respective importance to societal change in the 1990s, the "cultural turn" was conceived by Andrew Sayer (1997) as resulting in a reduced focus on the substantial aspects of capitalism, and thereby a lack of enquiry of redistribution and class, as well

as in a dominating focus on representation. CPE was therefore aimed at informing combined cultural and economic explanations of social change, meaning that research should be critical of its object and allow both explanations to be included in the analysis (Sayer, 2001). The critical dimension is thus central to the perspective, and a neo-Marxian position can be taken without being reductionist, as various forms of domination are acknowledged and as explanations are sought in cultural domains inasmuch as in economic ones (Fainstein, 2000:468). Positioning the research within CPE that is critically based is coherent with Noel Castree's (2005:541) definition of "critical geography" as research that seeks to question the existing social order.

In Sayer's (2011:Ch.7) terms, critique is enacted as de-naturalisation, an aim to uncover meanings and values embedded in practices that might be conceived as natural in and to society. Following Antonio Gramsci, David Harvey (2005:39) refers to related critiques of "common sense" - the sense of the common - cultural ideas and political rhetoric that may mask real problems, whereas a "good sense" encourages "critical engagement with the issues of the day". In line with these aims, the value and idea behind the call for competitiveness and attractiveness in urban redevelopment is in need of de-naturalisation and critical enquiry. It further implies investigation of how the city's diversity can be sustained as a matter of social equity. Diversity is a trait of cities, but in line with a critical standpoint, it can also be seen as an aim and value of urban society. By urban society, I refer not to Lefebvre's (2006) understanding of the urban colonialization of rural space under industrial capitalism, but rather to the socio-spatial entity of the city where citizens share abstract and socio-material space within an urban jurisdiction.

Bob Jessop (2004) emphasises three dimensions of CPE, and these are theoretically central here. The *first* is the insistence on the inclusion of historical and institutional aspects to the understanding of the dynamics of the political economy. This means to give attention to the path-dependent and institutional aspects of change, which for the current purpose are discussed in terms of urban restructuring. The *second* dimension focuses on the interdependent relations between the inter-subjective production of meaning and practices, and on the generation of social structures, currently illustrated by "the rise of the 'knowledge-based economy' as a provisional, partial, and unstable semiotic-material solution to the crisis of Atlantic Fordism" (p.160). I will discuss this dimension in terms of "the knowledge society", a term I hold to better incorporate urbanity and the social and cultural context of the city when discussing urban redevelopment. The *third* dimension is the combination of institutional political economy and the cultural turn, also in the methodological sense, implying that attention to the co-construction of meaning can help explain and interpret social phenomena. It means that attention is paid to argumentation and narratives, discourses, identity and historicity as part of the construction and co-constitution of

social relations (p.161). This aspect is discussed in terms of the relations between economy and culture, the spatial expression these relations take, and the role of policies and politics in the production of urban space. Though the structural dynamics are stressed in the perspective, denying the reductionism implied in pure social constructivism, the orientation of CPE is open to the interchanging forces of agency and structures in shaping social reality. To the discipline of human geography, there is promise in enhancing CPE by its focus on both discursive and material practices as well as thick geographical knowledge (M. Jones, 2008).

Based on Jessop's three dimensions I shall discuss urban policies and social change by using urban restructuring, the knowledge society, and the cultural turn as organising concepts. I will discuss these phenomena and dimensions with a continuous focus on their roles within the understanding of urban policies and urban society.

Urban restructuring and competitive policies

Urban restructuring concerns the spatial ordering of cities from one economic paradigm to another. In the current era, this shift is referred to as a paradigm change from a Fordist economic system to a knowledge-based economy (Jessop, 2002a:Ch.3). The latter system is connected to specific modes of regulation and different modes of production of commodities and space. As Jessop (p.97) stresses, the knowledge-based economy:

as a rationale and hegemonic guide for economic, political and social restructuring, resonates across many different systems and the lifeworld, and reflects the general importance attributed, rightly or wrongly, to knowledge as a factor of production in the post-Fordist labour process, accumulation regime and mode of regulation (p.97).

The term knowledge-based economy refers to the ways in which knowledge is central in the economy by emphasis on knowledge as a commodified output, increased knowledge intensity through symbolic products in existing commodities, and in terms of relations between people and things, and between services and things, that are less bordered (R. Hudson, 2011:998). The specific forms of competitiveness sought in urban restructuring processes imply new ways of producing urban spaces. Capitalism requires the production of space in order for capital to circulate (Lefebvre, 2000), whereas today more than before, mobile capital and the spatiality of production results in inter-urban competition (Cox, 1995:214; R. Hudson, 2001). Redevelopment and revitalisation have formed a core agenda, implying that these processes are parts of urban restructuring and competitive policies (Rodriguez, *et al.*, 2005).

By introducing the concept of “production of space”, the aim of Henri Lefebvre was to integrate human practice and space based on the notion that geographical space is a social product (N. Smith, 2010). Production, Lefebvre (2000:83-84) writes, has to do with invention, creative capacities and imagination. In the largest sense, humans, as social beings, produce their life, their history, conscience, and their world. We produce nature when we modify it. Following Neil Smith (2010:107), the production of space includes “the production of meaning, concepts and consciousness of space which are inseparably linked to its physical production”. We do not live, act, and work “in” space (as a container), but we produce space by living, acting and working (p.116). Lefebvre (2000) stresses that nature creates works (*oeuvres*), which are not staged. In social practise, works are created and things are produced: “In either case, labour is called for, but in the case of works the part played by labour (...) seems secondary, whereas in the manufacture of products it predominates” (p.71). Creation and work connote uniqueness and that which is somewhat irreplaceable, primordial and original, whereas the product can be reproduced exactly, the result of repetitive acts (p.70).

Connected to urban restructuring is the rescaling of the state. The focus on scale benefits epistemological perspectives in geography. Scales have to a large extent been conceived of as stable and static, whereby the nation state has been treated as the centre of activities (Swyngedouw *et al.*, 2005:10). Now, research focuses on the relativisation of scale (Mahon & Keil, 2009:12). Spatial scales are conceived as unfixed, and a range of scales as affecting the organisation of the capitalist system and social life. Scales are thereby “socially produced, and [they] work as a geographical organiser and as an expression of collective action in the context of capital’s drive toward the continual de- and reterritorialization of social relations” (Brenner, 1998:29). Reterritorialization refers herein to “the reconfiguration and re-scaling of forms of territorial organisation such as cities and states” (Brenner, 1999:431). Social relations are formed in networks and actions forming the global structures of the capitalist system (Keil & Brenner, 2006). However, the historical processes of cities imply a long-term embeddedness within a shared global and national political-economic context which must be considered in the study of urban restructuring (Abu-Lughod, 2006). This complex interplay is identifiable in waterfronts, which are contextually embedded within local, urban, regional or national systems. They are developed by enduring institutions and political struggles.

Every political struggle is inherently spatial, and scale is one outcome. The scale on which struggles take place expresses earlier struggles, but struggles are also caught up in new scales (Swyngedouw, 1997). Scale configurations are consequently the arena of current political struggles and the result of past ones. Neil Smith (2003:229) has elaborated the notion of up-

scaling in what he calls “jumping scale”, referring to the reorganisation of specific forms of social relations to a higher scale. Scale jumping is accordingly a powerful act since it breaks the fixity of given scales and provides a wider terrain on which powers can be enacted. Connected to this latter argument, Jamie Peck (2002:334) holds that neoliberal globalisation is naturalised in the ways in which the global scale is promoted as one of market imperatives and competition. The national scale is promoted as one of deregulation and accommodation of economic global forces, whereas the local scale is promoted as where the processes should be accommodated. On this basis, the struggles and conflicts over urban restructuring and the production of place must be explained and interpreted as both scaled and path-dependent, and the role of various scales considered in the analysis of Oslo and Marseille’s restructuring.

State rescaling is a process enhanced by the competition state, characterised by Jessop (2002a:96) as:

A state that aims to secure economic growth within its borders and/or to secure competitive advantages for capitals based on its borders, even where they operate abroad, by promoting the economic and extra-economic conditions that are currently deemed vital for success in competition with economic actors and spaces located in other states.

The dominant type of this competition state is, according to Jessop, engaged with innovation, technological change and enterprise. It is accordingly heavily entrepreneurially oriented in the ways governance is modelled, as I will come back to. The nature of this form of state, that makes the cultural political economy perspective useful, is the competitive dependence on extra-economic factors, particularly because of the role of the knowledge base and its qualitative and social foundation (p.108-109).

Competitive policies include the political prioritisation of pro-growth, locally responsible economic development and associated organisational and institutional changes in governance models and perspectives (T. Hall & Hubbard, 1998:4-10). What is new is the strategic orientation, connected to their speculative drives (Imrie & Raco, 1999; Jessop & Sum, 2000). They are related to neoliberalism, new forms of governance and entrepreneurial strategies, and involve changed ways in which economy and society are regulated, from a Fordist-Keynesian to a fused knowledge-based economy and neoliberal complex.

Keynesianism is related to the modern welfare state, which in Gösta Esping Andersen’s (1996:1) words became “an intrinsic part of capitalism’s post-war “Golden Age”, an era in which prosperity, equality, and full employment seemed in perfect harmony”. In this “Keynesian consensus”, there were “no perceived trade-offs between social security and economic growth,

between equality and efficiency” (p.3). The failure of the Fordist system legitimised the introduction of neoliberal ideas promoted through the “Washington Consensus”. Think-tanks delivered ideas on new ways to organise and regulate the economy using market-like forms of political rule in all kinds of social spheres (Peck & Tickell, 2007:28). Institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank were central in globally diffusing and insisting upon neoliberal ideology (Peck, 2010:1-2).

The crises of the Fordist system of mass production which burst in the 1970s challenged the Keynesian welfare state and its regulatory practices. These practices backed mass production by macro-economic state-based regulation; supported collective bargaining and industrial relations systems; advocated for social integration, demand-side stimulation and welfare provision; and favoured high levels of consumption among various social classes (Fielding, 1994; Peck & Tickell, 2002b:385). The Keynesian welfare state was an essential project undertaken by European governments in the decades after World War II, yet, of course, with various political cultures and structures (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Salet, Kreukels, *et al.*, 2003:6). Keynesian policies were challenged by technological and social innovations, which facilitated the liberalisation of finance and new markets, resulting in inflation, unemployment, deindustrialisation and fiscal deficits (Harvey, 1989b). Crises in the Fordist-Keynesian model paved the way for neoliberalism, understood as novel regulatory mechanisms centred in new ways on the market (Peck & Tickell, 2002b:385).

Privatisation of state industries and services, reduction and strong conditionalization of welfare provision, resistance to labour union bargaining, tax reductions for business, security, control of public spaces and intensified territorial competition and capital mobility are central neoliberal policy measures (Brenner & Theodore, 2002:350). Social policies turned into social investment strategies through workfare programmes and the facilitation of job-family relations (Esping-Andersen, 1990:3). The state has not reduced and transferred its power to the private sphere, but has rather absorbed market solutions and embarked on business models for governance. This is neoliberalism in action, implying a restructured state with new strategic orientations (Peck & Tickell, 2002b). Neoliberal policies also exist alongside other policy forms. Whereas there have been important cuts in welfare budgets, the welfare state has not necessarily been rolled back, but rather restructured and marketised (Guarneros-Meza & Geddes, 2010:116).

The most central policies identified as neoliberal are based on the values of the individual, freedom of choice, market security, laissez faire and reduced government. These values underpin the insistence on privatisation and deregulation (Larner, 2000:7). Neoliberal policy based on free market competition, deregulation and an intensified focus on economic

growth is rolled out on several spatial scales, and across national boundaries and political parties (Peck, 2003). Neoliberalisation is now a global phenomenon (Leitner *et al.*, 2007). Yet ideologies such as neoliberalism do not circulate freely; they are carried about by interested and flexible agents who integrate neoliberal thoughts in economic and political institutions (Burawoy, 2000a; MacLeod, *et al.*, 2003). Agents circulating neoliberalism take part in networks exchanging ideas and practices, which are transferred globally (Peck, 2005; Cook & Ward, 2012). Pan-regional bodies such as the European Union (EU), NAFTA and the World Bank have been influential in promoting liberalisation of markets and deregulation as part of a neoliberal agenda (Brenner *et al.*, 2010:12). In Europe, competition between companies and territories was accelerated through EU policies such as the initiation of the Single European Market in 1992 and the Single European Currency ten years later (Wilks-Heeg *et al.*, 2003:23). EU's position on the role of European cities testifies to an emphasis on broad economic development rather than policies to tackle specific problems of urban deprivation, hence to the promotion of the entrepreneurial city (Tofarides, 2002).

The roles of political choices and contextual conditions such as a specific state system to the actual forms of neoliberalism make it is important to study their outcomes in nations where Keynesian policies are still highly potent, such as Norway and France. This may contribute to the understanding of how neoliberalism is diffused as a policy model, and how it is articulated differently or confronted in different contexts. As Wendy Larner (2000) points out, neoliberalism is not an agenda with defined and coherent aims. Instead, she defines neoliberalism as “both a political discourse about the nature of rule and a set of practices that facilitates the governing of individuals from a distance” (p.6). She further stresses that neoliberal policies are carried out by both socio-democratic and conservative parties and governments. Like the welfare state, neoliberalism is an ideal and ethos, and not a political coherent programme or established institutions (p.20). It is in this sense required to study the contingent character of neoliberalism, including the political, intellectual and practitioner bodies and networks that promote neoliberal ideas (Peck & Tickell, 2007:27).

Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant (2001:4) hold that neoliberal policies have become accepted as the natural outcome of the evolution of the nation, and that globalisation is a legitimising discourse. They suggest that Keynesian policies with aims at balancing class forces are tipped in the favour of the owners of capital, that these new class policies are rationalised as inevitable results of structural conditions, and that they are also the result of domestic political decisions (p.4). Structural changes such as the diffusion of neoliberal policies and economic globalisation converge with political *choice* at the local and national scale. Though globalisation

is indeed a discourse, it is also part of current structural changes affecting everyday life in both economic and cultural ways. It is shaped by various forms of governance that reflect local political factors and national institutional contexts (Syrett & Baldock, 2003). It is also changed by the ways in which politicians and other agents enable global mechanisms through their decisions and practices. On this basis, I will discuss the changed modes of governance accompanying neoliberal policies.

Changed forms of urban governance

The emergence of “competitive policies” involves urban governance whereby both the form and actions of urban government have changed (Harvey, 1989b; Cox, 1995; T. Hall & Hubbard, 1998). Substantial changes are how political priorities change from income distribution to economic growth. *Urban regimes* and *growth machines* were theoretical notions developed to describe and discuss public-private partnerships and the institutional-strategic reorientation in US cities in the 1980s (Logan & Molotch, 1987; Stone, 1989). The concepts were transferred to Europe mainly during the next decade (K.G. Ward, 1998). These regimes referred to the shared interests and dependencies between public and private local agents in attaining economic growth, resulting in powerful public-private collaborations to secure common goals (Wilks-Heeg *et al.* 2003:31). These forms of growth coalitions were mainly studied within a rather secluded local context and not as part of wider inter-scalar negotiations (Jessop & Sum, 2000:2287). Though public-private interests merge and mount in projects in European cities (Swyngedouw, *et al.*, 2002; Salet, *et al.*, 2003), the concept of urban regimes fails to acknowledge that European cities are continuously preoccupied with service and welfare delivery, and they still base their incomes on redistribution, compared to American cities. Furthermore, multiple state-levels are often involved in urban redevelopment projects, and the public sector is more regularly represented as landowner (Wilks-Heeg, *et al.*, 2003:32).

The latest decades have seen a broader range of agents and organisations included in decision-making processes at the urban scale, which under Fordism was commonly connected to state activities and territories. The new and shifting coalitions involved in territorial decision-making processes are referred to as governance, a vague but more inclusive concept than urban regimes and growth machines. The seminal discussion in geography about the shifts from government to governance provided by David Harvey (1989b) enhanced the concept of “entrepreneurialism” in studies of new urban policies. Harvey defined the nature of urban policies as changing from a managerial approach (government) to an entrepreneurial approach (governance), in which various characteristics of business entered both the form and substance of

urban policies in new and profound ways. The competitive aspect of these policies is prevalent, evident in engagement of city governments in the uncertain, territorial competition taking place at a global scale (Savitch & Kantor, 2002).

For the current purpose, governance can be taken to refer to processes of “coordinating actors, social groups and institutions to attain particular goals, discussed and defined collectively in fragmented, uncertain environments” (Le Galès, 2002:15).⁵ It is thereby a concept which encompasses government. Defined in its simplest form, government concerns the general principles for building and organising a collectivity. Government is characterised by the election of those who govern, the latter’s relative independence, freedom of public opinion and trial by discussion, democratised by the extension of the electorate and of opinion (Manin in Le Galès, 2002:16). In managerial terms, government refers to the state’s structures, institutions and organisations that regulate social practices (Pieterse, 2008:86). Recently, state reorganisations have been characterised as new public management, referring to the adoption of private sector features such as delegation, disaggregation and contracting-out of public responsibilities and tasks to private companies. Concerns about legitimacy, accountability, control and openness have been raised in question of publicly-owned companies (Greve *et al.*, 1999:130).

State rescaling

The diffusion and sharing of power characterising current forms of governance are both horizontal, between public and private interests, and vertical, as a multi-scaled system (Gordon & Buck, 2005:12). Urban government has been repositioned because of the transformation of intergovernmental systems, which Neil Brenner (1999, 2003a) discusses as the *rescaling* of government structures into new state spaces (the spatiality of state power). The state is rescaled in its hierarchical, organisational and institutional forms, through which political decision-making processes are negotiated. Policies of urban restructuring are thus not only carried out by city governments and local forms of governance, but also by regional and national authorities, whereby scale is activated both in multi-level governance and in the scales on which restructuring processes are targeted. States are territorially constructed, involving national integration and disintegration, and state powers are delegated at various scales, involving governments and councils at different levels of political rule (Brenner & Keil, 2006; Keating, 2008:68). The state apparatus distributes capacities to various jurisdictions, which in turn are objects of different

⁵ Governance has been given a variety of definitions. For a brief summary, Le Galès (2002:13-18).

electorates. The state thereby builds on several and overlapping spatial scales, on which territorial authorities enact their political powers.

Emphasis on the role of national state policies in promoting scale configurations and competitive policies in the European context has been criticised by Stuart Wilks-Heeg *et al.* (2003:33) for ignoring local initiatives in which economic development strategies have been enhanced in opposition to or ignorance of national government. Furthermore, competitiveness is not the only policy concern in urban policies, as a range of other policy fields are emphasised and sometimes overruling strategies of economic development. To these authors, the concept of “multi-level governance” is better apt to grasp changes in urban and regional governance, as a means to address the cooperation and respective inclusion of different territorial authorities in European metropolitan governance. Contrary to the concept of scale however, the concept of multi-level governance does not offer an epistemological framework within which shifting powers beyond and within the state and their different territorial articulations are handled, or how the relative importance of space is connected to political and economic powers. Another deficiency is that it does not account for the spatial configurations in which scale is used both horizontally and vertically to create new power constellations.

State rescaling is connected to how capital has become flexible and mobile at the global scale, shifting locations across national borders, implying that the scope of city stakeholders in Europe has become increasingly international (Swyngedouw, *et al.*, 2005). Compared to the role of industrial production in cities during Fordism, today’s spatial shift of capitalist production implies that production sites are moved to or developed in low-cost countries and regions. The competition for global capital is not only for industrial and business locations, but also for investments, highly skilled professionals and tourists (Harvey, 1989b). This implies inter-urban competition, fostered by the contingent and interactive, shifting, multi-scaled processes of globalisation (Olds & Yeung, 2006:535). The competitive concerns and challenges to urban economies provide urban elites with opportunities to influence policies in their own interests (Swyngedouw, *et al.*, 2005:15).

Western cities depending on manufacturing industries experienced a great loss of jobs within industrial sectors as well as falling fiscal incomes in the transformation to post-Fordism. Some cities have capitalised on new and global forms of production and consumption, or have pursued distinctive strategies in which their industrial specialisation is enhanced in technological terms (Cf. Markusen & Schrock, 2006; Turok, 2009). Though cities have historically been hierarchically related to each other and judged on behalf of their economic performance and

population strengths,⁶ the emergence of an “urban hierarchy” and the global city has called attention to cities accumulating a greater share of global capital. In a first phase with attention to inter-urban hierarchical competition, favourable assets were locations of control and command functions, multinational and other globally oriented companies and financial institutions (King, 1996; Sassen, 2001; MacLeod, *et al.*, 2003). Current assets are also cultural and generated by tourism, image and changed transnational urban lifestyles. Awareness of competitive conditions has led city stakeholders to acknowledge their comparative advantages. The enhancement of the social, material and cultural character of their city are attempts at becoming more attractive (T. Hall & Hubbard, 1996). This point has relevance to the ways in which urban waterfronts are developed as multifunctional sites of production and consumption. I will discuss strategies enhanced to develop competitive capacities as entrepreneurial.

Entrepreneurial strategies

Based on circulated political models and increased territorial competition at a global scale, city governments are encouraged to “go entrepreneurial”, that is, to become innovative organisers of their own future. An integral part of competitive policies is the entrepreneurial strategies that have become widespread means by which cities aim to embark on trajectories of economic development and growth. Urban entrepreneurialism implies the political prioritisation of pro-growth, locally-based economic development and associated organisational and institutional changes in governance models and perspectives (T. Hall & Hubbard, 1998:4-10). It is not necessarily a completely new approach selected by local governments (Imrie & Raco, 1999; Jessop & Sum, 2000). What is new is the strategic orientation towards a global urban economy of mobile and fluctuating flows of capital. Because of their mobility, global investors and companies increase the competition between cities (Cox, 1995:214). Cities are not companies, but in a Schumpeterian understanding of entrepreneurialism, city governments approach the assembled capacities to provide innovative urban design and attain competitive frameworks in which social aspects of the urban economy are included (Jessop & Sum, 2000:2289). The other entrepreneurial characteristic is that they facilitate the performance of local business.

Schumpeter’s concept of entrepreneurship refers to the creation of opportunities for surplus profit whereby the entrepreneur introduces and implements new combinations of innovation (Jessop, 1998:79; Moulaert & Nussbaumer, 2008:46). According to Bob Jessop and Ngai-Ling Sum (2000:2287), three main characteristics are important to urban entrepreneurial

⁶ Patrick Geddes called them the world cities in 1915 (P.A. Hall, 1977).

policies. The *first* characteristic is that urban stakeholders aim to position their city or spaces within the city in relation to other economic territories by enhancing economic competitiveness. They pursue innovative strategies to do so, which implies that from a structural perspective, institutional and organisational capacities are enhanced for the city's offer of privileged and strategic spaces of innovation (Jessop, 1998). Entrepreneurial cities are still not necessarily competitively performing, and performing cities are not necessarily entrepreneurial. *Secondly*, these strategies are explicitly and actively pursued in concrete, entrepreneurial ways. The most performing economic sectors are stimulated from this strategic perspective. *Thirdly*, discourses through which these policies are promoted are done so through specific, entrepreneurial narratives. The city may be promoted as entrepreneurial, without necessarily being so. This point distinguishes entrepreneurial politics from urban regime policies, which are enacted by local coalitions, but which are not necessarily competitively or economically based. Entrepreneurial policies targeting competitiveness thus include private sector characteristics such as taking and accepting risks, inventiveness, promotion and marketing, and a focus on economic growth more than long-term development (T. Hall & Hubbard, 1996:153).

The spaces and infrastructure produced, facilitated and promoted that are beneficial to capital and capital accumulation include research and educational institutions, business parks, specialised clusters, waterfront projects catering to business and tourist sectors, as well as transport and communication structures facilitating mobility at wider spatial scales. Lovering (quoted in Jessop, 1998:80) has summed up the concerns with entrepreneurial policies at a more practical, yet also general level:

The state of the local economy; the fortunes of locally-based businesses; the potential for attracting new companies and/or promoting growth within indigenous firms; the promotion of job-creation and training measures in response to growing urban unemployment; the modernisation of the infrastructure and assets of urban regions (communications, cultural institutions, higher educational capacities) to attract investment and visitors and support existing economic activities; and the need to limit further suburbanisation, retain population (middle-to-upper income families) and workplaces and create compact liveable cities.

These concerns are increasingly found in urban political agendas, and are means by which cities aim to be attractive in inter-urban competition. Measures enhancing *quality of life* are not mentioned by Lovering, but have become important strategic concerns related to specific lifestyles and symbolic consumption preferences (Rogerson, 1999). These connections are related to the rise of the knowledge society, through which the renewed interest in the inner city can be understood as a rationale for entrepreneurial strategies. They are not the least interesting in relation to the concerns with attractiveness in competitive policies.

The knowledge society in an urban context

The knowledge-based economy is in Jessop's words (2004) a meta-narrative that CPE should address in order to de-naturalise and re-politicize economic and political narratives and target the mechanisms that turn some narratives into social constructions. Such narratives are interesting to the discussion of how selected visions of Oslo and Marseille are realised through waterfront strategies in the wider concerns with urban restructuring and how ideas, values, justifying discourses and imaginaries that can be subject to naturalisation, silencing or repression circulate. Worldviews ground these policies, and they are materialised by mechanisms of power. Visions thus point to the ideational foundation of urban restructuring.

The crises of the Fordist-Keynesian system and the rise of a global, technology-driven and service-based economy has largely changed the capitalist system and its regulatory frames (Dicken, 1992; Peck, 2010). As termed by Saskia Sassen (2000:2), the global economy is "a distinct configuration of geographical areas, industries, and institutional arrangements" in which cities are strategic nodes. This configuration works through a complex interplay between globalisation and urban development, in what is referred to as global urbanism (Olds, 2001). Post-Fordism implies a global division of production in which cities take on new roles as centres of service, finance, research and development (R&D) (Sassen, 2001). The thick economic, social and cultural infrastructure of cities encourages multinational companies and advanced service companies to concentrate their knowledge-based activities there (Scott *et al.*, 1997). The notion of attractiveness has, however, evolved throughout the last decades from a focus on money capital to human capital.

Scholars researching the concept of the knowledge society at the dawn of the post-industrial society worked with questions of the end of ideology and politics (Lane, 1966; Daniel Bell, 1976). Robert Lane's definition of a "knowledgeable society" is as a search and quantity of knowledge, and the use pattern of that knowledge. From this early use, the concept has evolved in two ways (Jessop, 2008:18). Research on "the knowledge society" has mainly been a sociological concern, focused on the knowledge-basis as a collective social resource, intellectual commons, differences between manual and intellectual labour and learning. In economics, the focus has been on "the knowledge-based economy" on factors such as production, intellectual property rights, transferability of learning and skills, management and innovation systems. The latter was Peter Drucker's term for the earlier-used "knowledge industry". Drucker stressed that the key to produce more was to work smarter instead of harder, and the key to productivity was knowledge instead of sweat (Beerens, 2008:3).

The knowledge-based economy

In order to explain some of the rationales of urban restructuring policies, a theoretical understanding drawn from economic geography on how the knowledge-based economy operates is relevant. City stakeholders have capitalised on new and global forms of production and consumption, or they have pursued distinctive strategies to enhance industrial specialisation in technological terms (Markusen & Schrock, 2006; Turok, 2009). However, the knowledge-based economy has during the 2000s come to be theorised as highly dependent on cities, and that competitiveness and innovativeness are gained from the city's diversity and not from its specialisation (Asheim, 2012:3).

In cities, the knowledge-based economy has been understood in connection to the capacities to transform knowledge into innovation in economic and business outcomes as well as organisational and institutional efficiency (Méndez & Moral, 2011:138). "Knowledge" has referred to "the intellectual basis of technological products or processes, and the know-how/experience needed to develop them into marketable commodities" (Cooke & Simmie, 2005:98). Human capital and innovation are core dimensions, where the asset of knowledge is conceived as both an input (competence) and output (innovation) in the production process (Lundvall, 2004). Highly innovative industries produce and use knowledge more intensively in the production process, by technological and creative input (Méndez & Moral, 2011:140).

Economic growth come to be conceived as an outcome of the interdependencies of knowledge production, creativity and innovation. With deindustrialisation, city governments aim to counteract economic decline by an increased emphasis on human capital (Rousseau, 2009). Competence has been conceived as a crucial factor of productivity, whereby large-scale assets, improved political and economic leadership, a more qualified workforce, adaptation skills and initiatives are seen as essential. A growth factor directly pointing to the employees' competence, understood as their ability to use their acquired knowledge and skills productively, is emphasised (T. Næss, 2006). This is the basis of human capital theory. In the words of James Coleman (1988:100), "just like physical capital is created by changes in materials to form tools that facilitate production, human capital is created by changes in persons that bring about skills and capabilities that make them able to act in new ways". The automation of the production process implies a systematic displacement of labour power by mechanics, and a demand for qualifications and skills obtained through education (Grøgaard & Aamodt, 2006:33). This role of human capital has contributed to the aim of urban stakeholders of attracting creative and educated people to the city.

Following Jessop (2005), real outcomes of political-economic mechanisms are generated by the traits of a knowledge-based economy. A task of CPE is to address how the knowledge-based-economy is a selective and strategic meta-narrative in which semiotic and material elements are brought together and enhanced, “for accumulation strategies on different scales, for state projects and hegemonic visions, for diverse functional systems and professions, and for civil society” (Jessop, 2004:159). Such meta-narratives work so that they can inform economic strategies on all scales, and in both market and non-market relations. They may also inform state projects. They become specifically strong when they in a time of political and social uncertainty offer a way to include private, institutional, and wider public narratives about past experiences, present difficulties, and future prospects. The more integrative the narrative is, the more influential it can be. The knowledge-based economy thereby becomes “an increasingly dominant and hegemonic discourse that can frame broader struggles over political, intellectual and moral leadership on various scales as well as over more concrete fields of technical and economic reform” (p.168). CPE should consequently address the knowledge-based economy in terms of what is silenced, absent and suppressed in dominating discourses.

These characteristics imply that the meta-narrative does not only concern the economy, but also includes various facets of social organisation, cultural practices and civic life. If the discourse on the knowledge-based economy requires substantiation to attain its potential powers, the knowledge society is both a discourse increasingly used and a concept that may capture the different domains activated or strategically targeted to consolidate a hegemonic vision of society through urban restructuring. Yet without using the term knowledge society, Jessop (2005) stresses relations between a knowledge-based economy and other societal phenomena, such as between economic, political and civic domains. Jessop relates societal phenomena to the knowledge-based economy in a number of ways relevant to this thesis, captured in Table 2.

The characteristics listed in the table are regularly involved in the discourses of city governments, administrators and other stakeholders, and these are discourses on which policies are based. In this thesis, attention is given to the ways in which the urban waterfront and the cultural strategies constitute specific relations between societal phenomena and the knowledge-based economy, which suggests that the notion of a knowledge society better captures these dynamics and the ways in which they are combined in competitive policies.

Table 1. Societal phenomena and terms of the knowledge-based economy. Moderated from Bob Jessop's selection (2005:153, table 7.1).

Technology	Smart machines, intelligent products, expert systems, new materials, dematerialisation, ICTs, information superhighway, innovation system
Economy	Knowledge creation, knowledge management, knowledge-based firm, learning organisation, knowledge-intensive business services, infomediaries, embedded knowledge networks, e-commerce, learning economy, reflexive accumulation
Capital	Knowledge capital, intellectual capital, IPR, informational capital, technocapitalism, digital capitalism, virtual capitalism, biocapitalism
Labour	Teleworking, intellectual labour, knowledge workers, symbolic analysts, immaterial labour, tacit knowledge, human capital, expert intellectuals, cyborgs
Science	Knowledge base, innovation, scientific and technical revolution, life sciences, technology foresight, triple helix
Education	Lifelong learning, learning society, corporate universities, knowledge factories, advanced educational technologies
Culture	Creative industries, culture industries, cultural commodities, cyberculture, technoculture
State	Virtual state, e-government, science policy, innovation policy, high-technology policy, evidence-based policy
Space	Innovation milieu, learning region, intelligent city, informational city, digital city, Silicon Valley, technopoles, knowledge flows, cyberspace, smart community
Societalization	Scientization, information age, information society, knowledge society, virtual community, virtual society, surveillance society, intellectual commons, digital divide, information overload

One reason why the knowledge society is a better concept here is that urban policies approach human capital as a key to urban development and growth. The interest is to understand culture-led urban redevelopment in the perspective of wider societal and political changes, and the ways in which economic and cultural rationales are combined. I will therefore elaborate on my understanding of the knowledge society in the urban context, before I discuss the cultural turn and its implications in the theory and practices of urban redevelopment. This emphasis is reflected in what I will call creative city policy, a widespread strategy addressing the urban expression of a knowledge society. These strategies have a competitive basis new to urban policies, and which has become increasingly focused on the role of attractiveness. The notion of attractiveness often used in the context of the city engage the social, material and cultural aspects of the city (T. Hall & Hubbard, 1996). These orientations are particularly present in the development of the inner city, where new economic and cultural uses among citizens, visitors and companies have been observed. This is based on the “back to the city movement” of people, as gentrification, and capital (Zukin, 1995).

The renewed interest in the inner city

A connotation of 20th century Keynesian policies in modernist planning is the concerns with social redistribution and proper housing as a universal right, which particularly arose as a requirement in the reconstruction after World War II. Ali Madanipour (2010:4) describes modernism as a fairly coherent movement that aimed to solve social problems by architecture and transformation of the built environment. The results are found in mass-fabricated, often high-rise housing estates and mono-functional zoning, culminating in many citizen-based struggles to preserve pre-modernist neighbourhoods from the massive anti-aesthetic and anti-historicist “bulldozers” of modernist urban planning in the 1970s (Wessel, 2000:1950). The modernist planning scheme attained a widespread geographical distribution in its era (Bøggild & Bruun Yde, 2011:123). From the 1960s, middle class fractions fronted “the liveable city” by an attempt to replace pro-growth policies with a quest for the preservation of neighbourhoods (Ley, 1996; T. Butler, 1997). Another central criticism of modernism was raised by architects, who advocated the rebirth of the complex European city (in contrast to the zoned modernist city). The city was conceived as a historical product, with a need to valorise the dialectical relations between the city and its organisational principles and urban culture (Ellefsen, 2005:64).

The renewed interest in the inner city has implied class shifts, which have been explained by both cultural and economic rationales. There is an interest in the inner city in particular and in the city in general which is central to the understanding of current restructuring policies. Inner cities have become a locus for wealth creation and new lifestyles among the middle classes. From the 1960s, more varied lifestyle preferences based on symbolic and cultural consumption as well as women’s entry in the education system and the labour market contributed to the celebration of “urbanism as a way of life”. Gentrification emerged as an urban phenomenon, a term conceptualising the class shift in which the working classes are displaced by the middle classes (Cf. Hamnett, 1991; Ley, 1996; T. Butler, 1997; Lees *et al.*, 2008). The built environment was reinvested and regenerated by individuals and large investors. It signals both changes in lifestyle choices and consumption and new combinations of cultural and economic organisation. The inner city has therefore attained a new territorial significance.

Gentrification and the inner city

In many working-class inner city neighbourhoods, the first groups moving in were not the “traditional” middle-class but a new fraction who played the role as *avante-garde* in the urban class shift (Bourdieu, 1979). This group was composed by artists and bohemians who opposed the middle-class suburban lifestyles and norms. However, the middle classes soon became

valuable investors in the inner city and the target group of city governments, as identified by Robert Beauregard (1986:37):

The ostensibly prototypical gentrifier is a single-person or two-person household comprised of affluent professionals without children (...). These “gentry” are willing to take on the risk of investing in an initially deteriorated neighbourhood and the task of infusing a building with their sweat equity. Presumably, they desire to live in the city close to their jobs, where they can establish an urbane life-style and capture a financially secure position in the housing market. Their lack of demand for schools, commitment to preserving their neighbourhoods, support of local retail outlets and services, and contribution to the tax base are all viewed as beneficial for the city.

Processes of gentrification imply that the socio-spatial structures of cities have changed in the last decades to involve new consumption choices, as Ley (1996) emphasised, followed by a renewed investment interest in the inner city. Neil Smith (1996) ascribed the back to the city movement of money capital to the rent gap, in which the increasing prices of suburban housing and commuting made it interesting to invest in the inner city where the price of building stock had declined. The movement of capital in search of profit predominates the role of consumer preference, Smith holds, and emphasises that “[t]he so-called “urban renaissance” has been stimulated more by economic than cultural forces (...) and that a theory of gentrification must therefore explain why some neighbourhoods are profitable to redevelop and others are not” (p.57). After debates in gentrification research in the 1980s and 1990s, scholars have generally come to agree upon the complementarity of cultural and economic explanations of gentrification, as each sheds light on different aspects of the complex process.

The political goal of attracting capital to cities as part of an inter-urban competitive climate reinforces gentrification as a generalised process in cities (N. Smith, 2002). Sharon Zukin (1982:19) observed the aspirations for a post-industrial city three decades ago:

Cities and regions hope for a regenesi in the form of a more advanced, some say “post-industrial” - society. What we see now in cities that pursue this dream is painful dislocations in the work force, the expansion of offices and middle-class housing into former working-class and manufacturing milieu, and political realignments that are based on which social classes, and which economic activities, have the right to use the city’s space.

Gentrification can thus be seen as characterising class shifts not only in neighbourhoods but also in production areas. It is part of urban restructuring as an effect of a new urbanity, but it is also inherent in the spatial strategies carried out by both state and business (T. Butler, 2005:174).

Urban class shifts stemming from lifestyle and living preferences and changes in the economy have gained political significance as city governments aim to increase the tax-base and

attract investors and visitors. There are two ways in which reflections of class and geographical mobility interestingly cross: these are in the notions of the classes cities aim to attract, and the results of the global integration of cities. Scholars such as Kees van der Pijl (1998), Mark Gottdiener (2000) and Leslie Sklair (2006) have theorised global and mobile classes, which are mainly defined as the transnational social classes. Their shared business and lifestyle preferences are connected to the global economy. Work, recreational and living preferences are shared among internationally oriented and mobile people, which are aimed met by the provision of transnational social spaces. As Sassen (2007:Ch.6) notes, the diversification of occupations has resulted in the use of class concepts that are more loosely defined, and which are based on postmodern lifestyles, “fragmented, identitarian, and basically not class-like - insofar as the deep foundational inequalities that continue to function fail to engender something akin to class consciousness” (p.166).

The competitive advantage of the inner city

Michael Porter wrote in 1995 about the competitive advantages of the American inner city as being a strategic location due to local market demand, integration with regional clusters and human resources. To firms, Porter (1995:57) stressed, the proximity to the central business district, infrastructure, consumption offers and business concentrations constituted an advantage. So is the potential of a new inner city market, he proceeded, since he in the American context observed a mismatch between the product and services offered and inner city inhabitants. Porter claims that the disadvantages of the inner city - the land, building costs, other costs (regulation, bureaucracy), security, infrastructure, management skills, capital and attitudes - were larger obstacles than those based elsewhere: They were often inflicted by government, and indirect efforts such as subsidies would only contribute to the continuous decline of the inner city’s competitive advantages (p.62). In overcoming the disadvantages and building on the advantages, Porter stressed that business, government and the non-profit sector must “[each] be willing to accept a new model for the inner city based on an economic rather than a social perspective. The private sector, not government or social service organisations, must be the focus of the new model” (p.65). Thus, policies facilitating conditions for the business sector are favoured.

Richard Florida’s (2004) creative city - creative class thesis starts with the premise of competitiveness, but in contrast to Porter, emphasises workers rather than firms as the generators of economic growth. The attention to these workers and their spatial and cultural preferences are seen as an intertwined relation between their personal and professional life. With the influence of this thesis, cultural assets have been intimately connected to competitive urban economies.

The cultural turn in geography and the city

The cultural turn connotes changes in epistemological frameworks of the social sciences whereby the role of meaning has attained more attention. I will also use this heading to discuss the cultural turn in urban economies and in lifestyles, whereby urban policies have come to embark on culture-led urban redevelopment and creative city strategies. I initiate this section with a discussion of geographical understandings of relations between the economy and culture. I move on to discuss changed understandings of the role of culture in the political context, and on discussions of the creative city as theory and discourse.

One way to interpret the cultural turn in human geography is the attention to the transference of the cultural in the economy and the economic in culture. This observation also encourages a combination of cultural and economic explanations. The dualism often made between economy and culture is summoned by Trevor Barnes (2005:65):

In the case of economy and culture, the first term, economy, is positive, and the second term, culture, is everything that the economy is not. As a result, while the economy is hard, culture is soft; while the economy is about facts, culture is about values; while the economy is strong, masterful and masculine, culture is weak, submissive and feminine. And on it goes.

Separation between “an economic world and a cultural world” is in some ways required as an analytical construct, but what becomes clear from Barnes’ quote is that a dichotomy conceals the complex reality where the two worlds intersect and converge. This “cultural world” includes both socio-spatial practices and cultural institutions. In its anthropological sense, as conceptualised in cultural geography, “[c]ultures are sets of beliefs or values that give meanings to ways of life and produce (and are reproduced through) material and symbolic forms” (Crang, 1998:2). Cultures are meaningful and shared social practices taking place in and through space. Social practices are embedded with meaning found in a wider signifying system, connected to sets of ideas that are specific to time and space. These specific connections make up cultures, in which we express, communicate and share meanings through symbols, forms and practices. We understand, interpret and re-present the world through cultural processes, which is fundamentally geographical: we construct places, landscapes, regions and environments where social life is constituted, structured and changed (K. Anderson, 1999:5). The second dimension of culture relevant here refers to its institutional and representative forms as cultural domains. The increased use of culture in urban redevelopment policies is connected to the growth in cultural consumption, as museums and other institutions are now visited by broader social groups, and not by only by the elites. Democratisation of tourism is another factor to the value of cultural

sectors in competitive policies (Hamnett & Shoval, 2003:223). Both are relevant to this study of culture-led urban redevelopment, as the focus is on its socio-spatial dimensions and implications.

Following Jessop (2005:146), the economy is substantially embedded in processes connected to the lifeworld, where this latter comprises “all those identities, interests, values, and conventions that are not directly anchored in the logic of any particular system and that provide the substratum and background to social interaction in everyday life”. Moreover, as Sayer (1997:17) emphasises, culture can be normative and based on judgements, but not reduced to that; it can be used to make distinctions, but it is nonetheless based on value, which is relational but not inherently instrumental. The intrinsic value of culture and cultural practices is consequently an aspect which makes it distinct from the economy. Economic activities are a means to an end, but they are always culturally based or affected. In contrast, cultural activities are not by necessity based on economic rationales or aimed at reproduction. The knowledge-based economy has become a central “economic imaginary” enhanced as an answer to the crises of Fordism (Jessop, 2004). This imaginary enables:

the re-thinking of social, material, and spatio-temporal relations among economic and extra-economic activities, institutions, and systems and their encompassing civil society. And, to be effective, it must, together with associated state projects and hegemonic visions, be capable of translation into a specific set of material, social, and spatio-temporal fixes that jointly underpin a relative “structured coherence” to support continued accumulation (p.167).

Of relevance to this thesis is not how “structured coherence” is potentially sought within the economic system itself, but in how extra-economic objects, such as cultural resources or strategies are engaged to obtain coherence and adherence to this imaginary. The knowledge-based economy is therefore of secondary interest here, since the idea about “the knowledge society” captures the broader processes of societal restructuring.

Cultural strategies in urban policies

In the 1990s, European urban cultural policies did not significantly enhance growth in employment and general wealth, compared to the improvement of image, competitive performance, inward investments and growth in the tourist industry (Bianchini, 1993). As in other sectors, cultural policies in Europe were characterised by increased transfers of responsibility from national to local government. In the 1980s, there was a clear shift in the policy rationale from social/political priorities to economic development objectives. This shift was caused by increasing pressure national governments applied on city governments to justify

their interventions on economic grounds, and to respond to structural socio-economic changes which earlier recessions had brought about (pp.5-6).

The changed scope in urban policies and planning was motivated by middle-class mobilisation (Ley, 1996), and changed patterns of work, consumption, and lifestyle (C. M. Hall & Page, 2006). These patterns are central, as leisure time has increased, and there is a transgressive time-use between leisure and work, in activities such as recreation and tourism. As Zukin (1995:271) stresses, the political aims of merging cultural and economic urban policies imply that culture is regularly shaped as a coherent visual representation in which the inner city is the target. Culture as a “way of life” is incorporated into “cultural products”; i.e., ecological, historical, or architectural materials that can be displayed, interpreted, reproduced, and sold. The growth of cultural consumption in the forms of the arts, food, music and tourism contributes to the city’s visible production of both symbols and space (p.2).⁷ It implies policies on how the urban landscape can be visually distinct and represented (Zukin, 1996). Aspa Gospodini (2006:312) calls it “the ‘selling’ of city as commodity to the ‘flaneur’, or the pleasure-seeking ‘urban voyeur’”. Another central aspect of culture is the distinction of class through cultural consumption (Bourdieu, 1979). It implies that the genre of cultural offers developed have implications on which social classes will use or are invited to use space.

Concerns with attractiveness make the recreational aspects of the city central. It follows that symbolic consumption and quality of life are connected to the celebration of the buzz, to vibrant and busy places people should consume to all hours (Zukin, 1995). The term “city life” has achieved a specific content based on recreational offers that serve the creative classes, who in turn should deliver the buzz. Herein, events are promoted as part of what has been referred to as “the experience economy” (Pine & Gilmore, 1999), where the limits between entertainment and culture are blurred. In competitive strategies, they include happenings and experiences which are to different degrees located. Examples are music festivals, sports arrangements, parades and other temporary festivities. They have in common that they use both global and local culture to create joy, play and extraordinary moments in the city. The element of experience is now central to a number of products by their symbolic aspects (Lash & Urry, 1994). Offers such as aquariums, experience and exhibitions centres are developed, blurring the relationship between culture, entertainment and *education* - culture as an education/ intellectual-aesthetic experience and culture as entertainment/ recreation (Gans, 1992).

⁷ Zukin terms this the symbolic economy, a concept that risks confusing the term of the knowledge economy and that will therefore be avoided in the current discussion.

Urban spaces are not only important to cultural and spatial consumption. They have also become locations of cultural industries, which have become central to urban economies (Scott, 2000a). Variations in how cultural and creative industries are defined indicate the complexity of the cultural economy and its symbolic content. In this thesis, the concept of “cultural industries” is favoured as it includes both the aspects of consumption and production, as well as being a “socialised” concept (Pratt, 2008). The “cultural” bears more connotations to tension with the arts and with social underpinnings, such as notions of high and low culture and exclusion, and is perhaps also therefore, Pratt notes, a reason for the political preference for the term “creative industries”. In a similar vein, Norwegian sociologist Per Mangset (2009:16-17) stresses that the concept of the creative industries allows dissolving and perhaps also concealing the historical division between high and supportable culture and the low and not supportable culture, reflecting also the division between art and commerce. Creative industries include both high and low culture, both art and business. Hence, these nuances are important when thinking about cultural strategies and their social underpinnings. This discussion is also connected to a model of urban renaissance that emphasises the role of creative individuals to the urban economy.

The creative city thesis

The creative city is a model and ideal of cities in need of regeneration, and is a tool that has been linked to entrepreneurial policies and neoliberal rationales. Various theories and indicators have been developed to measure the creative and innovative capacities of cities, aimed also to help them position themselves vis-à-vis other cities (Cf. Charles Landry’s Creative Cities index).⁸ Yet as a comprehensive and diffused model, the creative city - creative class thesis developed by Richard Florida is most relevant here. Testing its validity in terms of its theories on innovation and growth is not the task here, but has been broadly researched elsewhere (Cf. Marlet & van Woerkens, 2004; Isaksen, 2005; Clifton, 2008; Houston *et al.*, 2008; Asheim, 2009; Storper & Scott, 2009). The thesis’ importance to the study of Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée mainly regards its role in discourses and practices where it enforces particular urban strategies. Its effects can be discussed in terms of class policies, as attractiveness is not a neutral concept.

Florida’s (2004:249) main argument is that cities can be more competitive by the use of creative capacities and the stimulation of talent, tolerance, technology and diversity, thus including the principles of variety and openness:

⁸ www.charleslandry.com/, retrieved on 7 Dec. 2014.

[R]egional economic growth is powered by creative people, who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas. Diversity increases the odds that a place will attract different types of creative people with different skill sets and ideas. Places with diverse mixes of creative people are more likely to generate new combinations. Furthermore, diversity and concentration work together to speed the flow of knowledge. Greater and more diverse concentrations of creative capital in turn lead to higher rates of innovation, high-technology business formation, job generation and economic growth.

Creative capacities of a cultural, artistic, technological and economic kind are, according to Florida (2007:xv), essential means to position cities in the inter-urban competition by distinguishing cities. According to this thesis, companies follow creative people, or they are established by them. In a broad sense, Florida's generic concept of "the global creative class" includes scientists, engineers, artists, cultural creatives, managers, professionals, and technicians (p.272). The argument is that the creative class chooses "creative centres" because of specific amenities that cater to their lifestyle preferences. Rather than searching for jobs as a main prerequisite for location choices, Florida (2004:218) argues that the creative class searches for "abundant high-quality amenities and experiences, and openness to diversity of all kinds, and above all else the opportunity to validate their identities as creative people". Even though Florida stresses the important of margins and warns against the pitfalls of packaging and selling experience, the insistence on the orchestrating of specific principles in place-making and its basic concern with increased competitiveness implies that the thesis has served neoliberal aims and resulted in new forms of urban class policies (Peck, 2005).

Florida's thesis has been criticized in terms of the class concept and its effects on social injustice and neoliberal policies. Regarding the first concern, Ann Markusen (2006) argues that artists as a group share few causes with the other groups constituting the creative class, and that this class concept is consequently weak. This point is also stressed by Andy Pratt (2008), who argues that the concept of a creative class is hollow and its values unexplored. Pratt further argues that the social embeddedness of knowledge and creative processes is ignored, an argument which resonates with Markusen's point that artists are distributed geographically according to education, employment and local nurturing of artistic activities. To Pratt (pp.113-115), the creative city - creative class thesis has been forceful as it has nurtured ranking and place promotion. City stakeholders have adopted this ranking because, as Pratt notes, who would like to be uncreative?, and, I would add, unattractive?

Adopted in urban policies, Florida's thesis naturalises the class component in the view upon attractiveness, which is also clear in the theories themselves:

Left to its own devices, the highly innovative Creative economy is generating concentrated and uneven development on a world scale. To continue down our current path will likely mean greater regional concentrations of wealth, mounting economic inequality, growing class divides, and potentially worsening political tension and unrest within countries and on a global scale. Never mind implications for social justice. It's huge waste of human creativity and talent, pure and simple (Florida, 2007:xv-xvi).

As the quote indicates, social inequalities need not be on the political agenda, since local governments should focus on the breeding of talents. The discourse on competitiveness might however result in a practical adoption of these theories where social justice is altogether ignored, based on neoliberal aims at trickle-down effects. Furthermore, the focus on attracting the creative class in the thesis to gain competitive force in the knowledge-based economy undermines the quote's indication that all people are seen as creative and talented. Florida (2004) assembles quality of life and city life as defined above as the city's "quality of place", also referred to as a need for "a people's climate". A good people's climate is seen to attract and retain creative and talented people, preparing a competitive business climate, which in turn should bring about economic growth (Asheim, 2012:5-6). As stressed by Graham Evans (2009:1005), the promotion of the creative city has become a global phenomenon as urban governments and states adopt quasi-scientific policy rationales - lacking a clear theoretical foundation and based on weak evidence - as a means to become competitive and attractive. The risk is that goals targeting social cohesion and the entire urban society are undermined.

The goal of social cohesion in new urban policies

Neoliberal urbanism, a concept summing up the form and content of neoliberal urban governance, is connected to new strategies used in urban restructuring. The interest in this thesis is to enquire contemporary redevelopment policies carried out in Oslo and Marseille, in the context of the welfare state, in how the policies include a comprehensive and inclusive scope on urban society in the strategies carried out. One concept diffused by the EU and adopted in both urban research and by local authorities is "social cohesion", which I will now define before I substantiate the ways in which the aim of an inclusive urban society are justified and theorised.

As a general concept, I set out with the understanding of social cohesion "as a policy objective with reference both to the social forces and public actions that are needed for the inclusion of all groups, citizens and migrants into urban society and, (...) as an opportunity for diverse urban communities and the collective making of 'their' city" (Miciukiewicz *et al.*, 2012:1855-1856). In following Konrad Miciukiewicz *et al.* (pp.1858-59), two additional foci

must be included. *First*, an aim of social cohesion must be to counteract the disintegrative effects of social inequality on the access to recourses which allows universal wellbeing, and to create a sense of fairness and belonging. Belonging and sense of place, however, need to include accept of the plural ways in which one can belong to place and to the city. *Second*, participation in public affairs is central to the opportunity to be a full and acknowledged member of local society. To have the capabilities to negotiate politics means political acceptance of the right of individuals and groups to be different.

Universal support to inhabitants was an ideal in modernist urban planning that was connected to Keynesian and welfare-state interventionism in Europe. This ideal has been challenged by neoliberal urbanism, where area-based approaches more than people-based approaches are common, and where social programmes are not automatically included (Swyngedouw, *et al.*, 2002:567-568). In the metropolitan context, urban planning is affected by institutional fragmentation and public-private partnerships, which imply a complexity in social and economic activities (Salet, Thornley, *et al.*, 2003). The relations between these new forms of governance, corporations and partnerships can thereby challenge local development (Guarneros-Meza & Geddes, 2010). This implies that regulation and mediation take place at spatial scales out of reach of local society. Competitive policies can result in less focus on the needs and wants of inhabitants because external capital is favoured (Amin, 1997). They occasionally result in conflict and politics of resistance (Swyngedouw, 1997; Harvey, 2000).

Several scholars have discussed the status of social cohesion in contemporary urban restructuring and redevelopment policies. “Social justice and the city” and “the right to the city” are headlines under which various concerns of a socially just city have been discussed (Lefebvre, 1982; D. Mitchell, 2003b; N. Smith, 2008; Harvey & Potter, 2009; Sæter *et al.*, 2013). Instances of social injustice and the ways in which they can be spatially patterned are central themes in studies of how cities are negotiated, for instance, in how urban change can be spatially differentiated and uneven due to economic, political and cultural processes (Heynen *et al.*, 2006:10). Following Lefebvre, the right to the city concerns the right to stay put in the metropolitan centre and not to be expelled to peripheral areas, a right to urban life and the city as a space of centrality, gathering and convergence (C. Butler, 2012:144). The right to the city concerns the right to inhabit urban space, not only in the form of housing, but to be able to physically inhabit urban space. It concerns the capabilities involved in appropriating space and the development of participative methods that allow inhabitants to fully engage in decision-making processes where urban space is produce (pp.144-145). Furthermore, “[a]ppropriation is concerned with the production of urban space as a creative and fulfilling aesthetic experience,

which encompasses the full and complete *usage* of space by its inhabitants in their daily routines, work practices and forms of play” (p.145). Inherent to the theory, appropriation of space must imply the struggle to enhance the use value of space for everyday inhabitation of the city (*Ibid.*).

Approaching the right to the city in question of inner city and city centre redevelopment in this thesis is based on values of social justice, which is connected to dignity and just opportunities to inhabit the city in good conditions across social strata. Living conditions form a central individual and societal measure for the opportunity of wellbeing. In research it includes indicators such as material standard, health, living environment, leisure activities, the labour market, social contact, income and working environment (Barstad, 1997:15). These indicators are conditions important for the individual’s opportunity to live a good life.

The power to negotiate the environment in which one lives, and the opportunities to be represented in urban society can in a perspective on the role of economic resources be understood as based on people’s capabilities, the actual and comprehensive opportunities and powers based on freedom to achieve things which people have reason to value (Sen, 2009:231-232). On this basis, I follow Amartya Sen’s concept of capabilities more than Martha Nussbaum’s theory. I focus on political responsibilities in connection to social needs. Capabilities correspond to that which can protect human dignity and fulfil needs (Lid, 2012, ch.5). Normatively it concerns the goal of human life and of the good state, which in Aristotelian terms is a state including all, because human beings live their lives in community with others (p.133-134). The act to achieve social justice by political action requires both general and targeted approaches to citizens and cultures. In planning, it can include the idea of values in practice instead of the planners filling the role as facilitators in urban redevelopment (McClymont, 2014). A just city is one with just outcomes, where the city provides amenities such as affordable housing and small-scale economic development, accessible transport and it accommodates social diversity (p.189).

A city of justice also requires the politics of difference, securing political representation for diverse social groups (Young, 2011). Just as cities are characterised by as well as promoted by their plurality and diversity, social and cultural diversity are represented in various ways, for example in everyday life experience, urban policies and globalisation (Cf. David Bell & Haddour, 2000). Lefebvre includes the right to difference in the right to the city, as fundamental qualities of the urban make it a place of encounter and simultaneity, an ‘ensemble of differences’” (C. Butler 2012:152). Whether social diversity and a range of cultural practices are acknowledged and sustained in contemporary redevelopment projects is a question of interest.

In the cases of Oslo and Marseille, socio-spatial inequalities have been found in both

cities. In Oslo, there are larger disparities in living conditions than in the rest of Norway (Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, 2007b). There are also persistent differences between the eastern and western districts in disfavour of the former in terms of rates of poverty in households with children, social benefits dependencies, income and mortality (Kvinge, *et al.*, 2012: Ch.2). In Marseille, inequality, segregation, and high numbers of people in precarious conditions have been an enduring focus of attention, and its severity is evident along several dimensions. In 2009, the poverty rate in Marseille was 26 percent. Other indicators of poor living conditions are low median income, high numbers of people dependent on social benefits, a high level of one parent household, lack of proper housing, socially isolated persons, a low level of education, and high unemployment levels (CVPT, 2014:2-5). Inequalities between districts and neighbourhoods are particularly high, and they tend to increase (p.3). The districts characterised by the most precarious conditions are found in the inner city's central and eastern districts (1st-3rd district), which are partially targeted by the perimeter of Euroméditerranée, and the northern 14th and 15th districts in the outer city. These indicators of existing socio-spatial inequalities and challenges to universally good living conditions in Oslo and Marseille form a backdrop for the enquiry of how issues of the right to the city is approached in redevelopment policies. They further form a basis for the investigation of the role of the city centre as a shared arena for the enactment of citizenship, difference, and the consolidation of urban society.

Returning to the concept of social cohesion on this substantiated basis, I support the conclusion that rather than understanding cohesion as consensus, as a general agreement fostering a rigid form of equality, it should be a concept that comprehends and allows conflicts between social, political and cultural relations (Eizaguirre *et al.*, 2012; Miciukiewicz, *et al.*, 2012). In the words of Santiago Eizaguirre *et al.* (2012: 2012), it has resonance to urban governance, which can be seen as fostering social cohesion “when policy intervention goes beyond the idea of sharing spaces without conflict and takes into account social and cultural differences and acknowledges conflictive views on particular issues”. Such a view supports various actors and groups and different ways in which the just city can be enhanced.

Concluding the theoretical framework

In this chapter, I have aimed to outline a theoretical basis apt to inform the analyses of contemporary urban restructuring and culture-led urban redevelopment policies in the cases of the redevelopment carried out in Oslo and Marseille. Using the perspective of CPE enables the combination of perspectives in a pragmatic and context-sensitive way. CPE can assist the understanding of competitive policies and offer a critique that is not reduced to a question of

economic versus cultural explanations, structure or agency. The framework of CPE further adheres to geographical concerns with the spatial relations engaged in social change, whereby concepts such as territorial structuring, scale, landscape and place can be fruitfully brought together in the study of urban redevelopment policies and processes and their socio-spatial dynamics and implications. I will study the interests, powers and meanings characterising the production of space in culture-led urban redevelopment in the context of the knowledge society. By so doing, I am attentive to the local level in the investigation of wider urban restructuring policies and the multiple scales upon which the policies are motivated and engaged.

I will enquire the processes and practices in the socio-spatial realm of the inner city/city centre, which are both value-loaded spaces of cultural expression and a market place. In other words, it is a space where attractiveness has both cultural and economic reasoning, and where attention to social categorisation assists the understanding of the interests at play in enhancing competitiveness and attractiveness. The role and implications of these theoretical perspectives to the methodological approach to the selected cases, and how comparison is made in this thesis, are discussed in the next chapter.

3. RESEARCHING URBAN POLICIES

Conducting empirical research means that the role of theory is manifold and dependent upon research aims and research objects: “[a]s social scientists we are conventionally taught to rid ourselves of our bias, suspend our judgments so that we can see the field for what it is. We cannot see the field, however, without a lens, and we can only improve the lens by experimenting with it in the world” (Burawoy, 2000b:28). This thesis is motivated by the aim to illuminate how culture-led urban redevelopment policies and processes are enhanced in Oslo and Marseille, and in turn, how these policies demonstrate theoretical principles. Michael Burawoy’s words reflect how theory, methodology and empirical material are connected in this thesis. These are topics which also rest upon research ethics, and which are discussed in this chapter.

The ethos of science, as discussed and conceptually elaborated by Robert Merton, is “a set of cultural values and mores governing the activities termed scientific” (Kalleberg, 2007:137). As such, it denotes one of the fundamental items characterising science as institutionalised practice (Merton, 1968:605). Merton is one of the initial researchers theorising the norms (“the mores”) to which the research community should adhere, theories which have been elaborated and turned into research ethics (Cf. Kalleberg, 2007 for a discussion). The norms Merton emphasised were communism, universalism, disinterestedness and organised scepticism, as well as originality and scientific humility. These norms have informed the research ethical considerations of this thesis research.⁹

Studying processes of uneven geographical development, which geographers often do, and in this case, competitive policies in which notions of diversity and social justice are considered, requires ethical consideration of disinterestedness, as among others, Merton (1968:612-614) has described. Research must prevent a biased data collection, leading interview questions, and an analysis conducted with the reflexive grounds needed when values such as social justice constitute important analytical concepts. We must ask what is true, but also what else is true (Tranøy, 1986:154). Objectivity, then, can be restricted to methodological norms such as absence of subjective hazards, prejudice, bias and impartiality, as well as validity and reliability (p.157).

⁹ This thesis research conforms to the codified norms articulated in Norwegian ethical guidelines, elaborated for the social sciences, humanities, law and theology by the National Committees for Research Ethics in Norway (NESH, 2006). The thesis is approved by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD).

Critical urban theory

The use of cultural political economy (CPE), where ideas, identities, visions, and meaning are elements included for interpretation, brings about methodological challenges such as the assessment of which factors have the most explanatory force (Weber, 2014:517), as well as the epistemological challenge of confusing critical theory with normative thinking. The use of critical theory in this thesis is aimed to shed light on power structures and on unequalising mechanisms involved in urban redevelopment. I thus sympathise with a Lefebvrian stance, providing a critique of the capitalist city in terms of its barriers to a real democracy (Bridge, 2014:1651). Neil Brenner elaborates on how critical urban theory can contribute (2012:11):

Rather than affirming the current condition of cities as the expression of transhistorical laws of social organisation, bureaucratic rationality, or economic efficiency, critical urban theory emphasises the politically and ideologically mediated, socially contested and therefore malleable character of urban space- that is, its continual (re-)construction as a site, medium and outcome of historically specific relations of social power. (...) It insists that another, more democratic, socially just and sustainable form of urbanisation is possible, even if such possibilities are currently being suppressed through dominant institutional arrangements, practices, and ideologies. In short, critical urban theory involves the critique of ideology (including socio-scientific ideologies) *and* the critique of power, inequality, injustice, and exploitation, at once within and among cities (emphasis in original).

Critical urban theory thus aims to contribute to constructive urban change, in which research can offer critique of common sense, the naturalisation of social phenomena and unjust practices. This is relevant in the questions of accessibility and distribution of resources, assets and rights in and between urban societies. In this thesis, critical theory has informed the selection of phenomena to be studied, in particular the circulation of political models such as neoliberalism, and the status of social cohesion and social diversity in redevelopment policies. One aim has been to enquire into how such policies are played out in the context of the Norwegian and French welfare states. By bringing in two cases, balanced analyses of the empirical fields of enquiry have been facilitated, since the cases have diverged and converged with theory in different ways. This methodological observation has counteracted “theoretical blindness”, as well as forced a more plural theoretical apparatus than what was initially invested.

Investigating urban objects in a changing world

The city is a complex social organisation, and we even have problems in defining consistently or at least unequivocally what a city is. A part of this challenge has to do with the complex interplay between the powers of agents, the structural conditions within which agency is enacted

and institutions formed, and the contextual conditions under which forces are empowered. In Chapter 2 I discussed how these challenges are theorised within CPE, a perspective allowing theoretical and methodological pluralism. The need to analyse the relations between structures and agents is acknowledged in relational approaches (Yeung, 2005:44). The agency of the entity (e.g. the development agency, cultural institution or planner) should be seen in relation to social environments and institutional structures in which it is embedded. I do not utilise a network approach. Instead, I am interested in the institutional political framework and the structural constraints and opportunities influencing the strategies selected in urban redevelopment.

The relational approach to space deserves some attention as an epistemological question. The relation between space and society has been separated in geography and beyond as part of positivist traditions. David Harvey's (2006:117-148) stresses that space is internal to process and that processes define their own spatial frames, intrinsically based on human agency and practice. Following from this, the concept of space is elaborated as being neither absolute nor purely relational, but must be approached in connection to time. Hence, rather than focusing on space in isolation, Harvey (2009b:13-14) focuses on the relationality of space and time:

Space is neither absolute, relative or relational in itself, but it can become one or all simultaneously depending on the circumstances. The problem of the proper conceptualisation of space is resolved through human practice with respect to it. In other words, there are no philosophical answers to philosophical questions that arise over the nature of space - the answers lie in human practice. The question "what is space?" is therefore replaced by "how is it that different human practices create and make use of different conceptualisations of space?"

Harvey offers a perspective by which we can study space as both constructed and produced, depending on the domain of analysis. In line with the social constructivist turn, geographers have acknowledged the epistemological requirement to conceptualise the relational dimensions of space (Massey, 2004). Urban restructuring is a social and relational process. Understanding the spatial object, here in the form of inner city redevelopment, requires investigation of how space attains different meanings. A relational scope on urban process facilitates the understanding of the conditions of redevelopment policies. How the waterfront is produced and created by various groups of agents at various spatial scales, and the institutional arrangements and structural conditions under which they operate are questions better addressed by relational approaches.

Social change in the global era further calls for perspectives such as cultural political economy and multi-level analysis (Källtorp, 1997:377):

(...) the transformation of urban space involves economic and social as well as cultural and symbolic dimensions and these different aspects of urban change are often closely interrelated.

Whatever the specific content of the processes of urban change, several interconnected levels of analysis are necessary when describing and interpreting particular local instances. What happens at the ground level and the cultural meaning of it can only be understood by connecting local events and phenomena with institutional structures at the regional and national levels as well as with more global processes.

The complexity of urban restructuring thus requires continuous reflection throughout the research process about what and how a study of changes in the city should include, for instance, spatial concepts. In this study the concepts of place, landscape, scale and territory are central, as they should be when engaging in questions about urban redevelopment policies (Jessop, *et al.*, 2008). Furthermore, the role of time to the change of cities should be included. The city is in continual change. Following conceptions of urbanism that Karl Otto Ellefsen (2005:54) acknowledges to Aldo Rossi,

the perspective is that the material environment is a historical product in continuous change, built and rebuilt to satisfy new societal needs. Rossi read the city diachronically, as a series of archaeological layers, each a result of particular needs and intentions, each expressing cultural values and attitudes, reflecting the material structure of the time they were produced.

This approach to the city means “reading it” and its landscapes as materialising various layers and socio-spatial practices significant to different epochs, with their economic organisation and cultural forms and values. It means being attentive to the role of time inasmuch as space. Challenges to the study of social processes are that the object of study can be extensive, they continuously enhance and develop, and in some cases, they are subject to radical change. These challenges have been aimed met by theoretical, historical and geographical considerations.

A challenge of radical change concerns in this thesis the financial crises and their roles in territorial restructuring and redevelopment processes. Data collection had been largely carried out in 2008, before the crises were fully evident. Enquiring into the responses of the crises would have implied a reorientation of the thesis. There were few further signs that the crises impacted to any significant degree the overall orientation of the public authorities, as was the case in Ståle Holgersen’s (2014) study of the effects of the crises on the planning and policies in the Swedish city of Malmö. As Holgersen also addresses, there is a nevertheless a call for future enquiries of changed urban policies in European welfare states, as the crises are likely to affect the role of European cities in the global economy (Csomós & Derudder, 2014).

The concepts of landscape and place

The changing cities can be approached with the use of spatial concepts that refer to enduring and

meaningful socio-material structures found in cities: landscape and place. According to Mats Widgren (2004:459), there are three ways in which landscape is currently conceptualised in cultural geography and which should be combined. By so doing, I aim to provide an epistemological basis and analytical tool to the understanding of how social relations form landscapes and are formed in landscapes themselves by discourse and signifying and political practices. The three approaches to landscape emphasised by Widgren (2004) are as scenery (ways of seeing), as institution (ideas and social practices developing on a given land, among which some are institutionalised) and as resource (land as transformed by labour and as capital asset). Urban waterfronts should be understood by all three aspects, since firstly, the land developed is used as a resource for urban development and growth. Secondly, they are developed by visions and aims that represent particular ideas and worldviews. Finally, they are path-dependent and based in historically specific, context-bound processes, negotiated not only by politicians and planners, but also by private business and citizens, and representing several spatial scales.

Landscape is also a cultural process (Ingold, 1993). It is changeable and temporal, and relevant to everyday life. This view, Tim Ingold (p.152) holds, enables us “to move beyond the sterile opposition between the naturalistic view of the landscape as a neutral, external backdrop to human activities, and the culturalistic view that every landscape is a particular cognitive or symbolic ordering of space”. Kenneth Olwig (2009) encourages a broadening of the concept that includes a scope on how social processes shape polity and place into an understanding of landscape as the locus of cultural and political manifestations, creating the places which together form landscapes. The landscape is thus an “amalgam of places”, as Olwig (p.5) phrases it. Place, in the words of Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), attains meaning and we endow it with value once we get to know space better. The role of these conceptualisations of landscape and place to the study of the redevelopment processes of Oslo and Marseille concerns both the substantive meaning of landscape as a theoretical concept, and the lay uses in policies that I will discuss. The interest is to enquire how the visual and the substantive, political and place-making notions of landscape emerge, converge or dominate the process.

The comparison of cities

This thesis engages in what has recently been referred to as comparative urbanism, which in Jan Nijman’s (2007:1) words is “the systematic study of similarity and difference among cities or urban processes. It addresses descriptive and explanatory questions about the extent and manner of similarity and difference”. I will first stress the relational dimension of this approach. The

reason is that not only do urban researchers seek to understand the world by comparative methods. Urban practitioners seek in similar ways to improve planning practices by learning from each other across the world.

Cities have long-term embeddedness within international and national political-economic contexts (Abu-Lughod, 2006). Although a focus on cities' historical paths and their contexts is required, the relational characteristics of cities are central to understanding them. This is important since models, trends and ideas in competitive policies circulate globally, implying not only that cities are connected through competition but also that they learn from each other. Learning between and from cities can imply a reflexive approach to knowledge gathering, combined in academic, political and lean stances (Jazeel & McFarlane, 2007). The promotion of specific cities as models in geography is another reason for a broader and comparative scope on global urbanism. Some cities are represented as paradigmatic and thereby dominating urban cases, specifically those described as global cities (Beauregard, 2003). Cities are in this regard promoted as stereotypes, archetypes and prototypes to characterise the contemporary city and its socio-spatial dynamics (Brenner, 2003b). Studying peripheral cities such as Oslo and Marseille sheds light on the transfer of policy models and the extent to which global trends are manifested in ordinary cities, rather than global cities.

Certain cities have gained the status as prototypes of urban policies based on the success of specific strategies: Bilbao, Barcelona and Glasgow for their respective culture-led urban redevelopment strategies, and Baltimore, Barcelona and London for waterfront strategies. These models are circulated by individuals and institutions who aim to learn from them and thereafter transfer them (S. V. Ward, 2006). The multiple connections existing between cities and urban stakeholders have been strengthened through global processes, in what Kevin Ward (2010:472) calls "the 'comparative turn' in the imaginations of policy-makers, politicians and practitioners". A comparative-relational approach could also benefit that which Jennifer Robinson (2010:4-5) argues should be a consideration of the plurality of urban experiences in "the wider world of cities", across different contexts and too often rigid borders between the global North and South. This scope, as both authors point out, is valuable in a global era when urban experiences are converging and connected. In this thesis, not only the insight gained from the comparison of the processes in the two cities selected is of value, but also investigation of the ways in which urban stakeholders import ideas that circulate globally, for instance, from the waterfront model and the creative city thesis.

Cities are on this basis relational, shifting and changed by human agency, implying that attention must be given to historical trajectories and the socio-spatial relations between cities (K.

G. Ward, 2010). Considering how cities are interconnected and implicated in each other's development paths "moves us away from searching for similarities and differences between two mutually exclusive contexts and instead towards relational comparison that uses different cities to pose questions of one another" (p.480). The cases of Oslo and Marseille are analysed within this framework. One example is how the different historical traditions impact the nature of the cultural strategies and territorial policies used in the redevelopment projects. However, interconnected theoretical and empirical ambitions imply that the cases are discussed both in relation to each other and in terms of their peculiarities. The aim is thereby to illustrate both general principles and particular aspects of the redevelopment processes. A modified comparative case study design is selected to carry out this task.

A comparative case study research design

The strength of the qualitative approaches lies in attempts to reconcile complexity, detail and context (Mangen, 1999), and these approaches are here framed within a case design, selected to investigate the redevelopment processes of Oslo and Marseille. The cases are instrumental in the sense that they are chosen to illuminate more general phenomena in competitive policies. They are also selected because of particular characteristics (in case and context), and by similarities and differences that can illuminate the research topic, discussed in Chapter 1.

A case, John Gerring (2007:19) writes, refers to a spatially delimited phenomenon identified at a point in time or over some period of time. Explanation, description, illustration, investigation and evaluation are central dimensions of the case study, the aim being to gather broad and in-depth information about a contextually considered phenomenon (Hammersley & Gomm, 2000). The units of analysis, Euroméditerranée and Fjordbyen, are developed within a planning framework with sets of codes and practices that provide some stable frames. Their initiations and time sequences are further identified through the case definition of waterfront development, whereby the redevelopment processes have been investigated to the extent and depth possible. However, the nature of the waterfront projects in terms of their expansion in time and space hinders an in-depth analysis of the entire redevelopment processes. Principal agents and events are instead identified, and in chapter 4 and 5, the main paths and events of the waterfront projects are narrated and discussed. However, throughout the thesis, sub-cases have been selected to illuminate specific theoretical, contextual or comparative principles.

A central principle in qualitative case studies is to identify theoretical concepts and processes that exist in the case. Richard Rose (1991) stresses that concepts serve as categories

for collecting and sorting information and that it is by operationalising concepts that theories can be tested by empirical observations. In this way, case studies are suited for drawing general conclusions about abstract, theoretical principles, so that the case exemplifies theoretical principles (J. C. Mitchell, 2000). This study is based on theoretical knowledge held before the cases were studied, an important basis when complex processes of change are investigated (Bergene, 2007). This also relates to the fact that the nature, function and use of empirical data are based on how the researcher constructs and conceptualise them. They are not collected without pre-interpretation and theoretical understanding (Alvesson, 2003). Facts, or data, constituting the empirical domain, are always theory-loaded (Danermark, 1997). This also accounts for cases, which must be constructed as “cases of... something”.

John Gerring (2007 Ch.5) notes that cross-case analysis is always made in the sense that researchers consider or at least think about other cases. Otherwise, we cannot answer the question of what the case is a case of. The selection of a case, Gerring notes, is also made because it is typical, diverse, extreme, deviant, influential, crucial, pathway, most-similar or most-different. Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée were firstly selected because central theoretical principles of redevelopment practices and strategies were identified before the cases were finally selected. In this way, the cases were chosen because they could illustrate uses of the waterfront model and cultural strategies. The aim was thereafter to “go behind” this first observation to detect peculiarities of each case - local specificities that are not apparent or easily identifiable. The cases were also selected because they are developed in two rather dissimilar cities, facilitating distinction between general principles and contextual conditions.

Case studies help inform general theory and explain conditions deviating from traditional theoretical explanations (Bradshaw & Wallace, 1991). This case study on redevelopment policies is carried out by abductive inference, which means that the cases are selected on theoretical grounds, by the identification of patterns. The empirical case can be interpreted and explained by theoretical insights, but the case can also question and challenge theory and provoke its revision. The research thereby develops the understanding of the case and the explanatory and/or interpretative force of the theory in a continuous and dialectic process (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2000). In line with the principles of analytical generalisation, the study aims to develop ideas by an interaction between empirical data and theory. By way of particularities, attempts are made to connect the ideas to observed phenomena and then to concepts. In this process, I have aimed to “go behind” the data and place them in an explanatory theoretical framework. There is then an interaction between existing theory, earlier observation, new observations and new ideas. The intention is not to produce new

theories, but to elaborate existing theory; that is, to contribute to perspectives on new urban redevelopment policies. As discussed in chapter 2, theories that can contribute to the explanation and interpretation of underlying processes and events have been brought in to the analysis, resulting in further theoretical pluralism.

Reasons for using a comparative approach

The case-oriented comparative method is developed as a detailed and comprehensive comparison of entire, complex cases (Ragin, 1992). There are several reasons for and advantages of selecting a comparative, qualitative research design. One important reason is to explain and interpret macro-social variation; in Charles Ragin's (1987:14) words, "comparative methods are used to determine the different combinations of conditions associated with specific outcomes or processes". Social and structural patterns and regularities moving beyond nations' cultural and historical varieties should be distinguished in cross-national studies. By so doing, we may develop more general explanatory theories transcending peculiarities. Comparative case studies are thus advantageous in theorising central conditions for a given phenomenon such as waterfronts. Relevant to this phenomenon is the circulation of models that contribute to structure practices, and in turn reinforce circulating models.

A second advantage in using comparison as a research strategy is that it may contribute to more engagement with contextualisation and the uncertainty that characterises urban studies (McFarlane, 2006). Urban society is a complex social organisation, and comparing cities in different nations can illuminate urban problems and challenges. Contextualisation as a methodological notion is stressed in geography, but it is not always clear how geographers define or approach "context". It has, as Noel Castree (2005) notes, been understood as all that is empirical, or all that is connoted to place and local scale. The context must be comprehended as "multiscaled, as multiple enduring and contingent phenomena come together empirically" also at other scales (p.542). Comparing two countries, the researcher must acknowledge differences in power structures, organisations and practices, whereas policy objectives are multiple and historically contingent and must be approached as such (Whiteside, 2003). Contextualisation is important as a means to deal with complexities, and an in-depth understanding of the social, cultural, economic and political contexts of social phenomena is a precondition for successful cross-national comparative research (Hantrais, 2003; Brannen, 2005). The aim is to locate the findings in respect to broader contexts. Differences in contextual meanings are outcomes of historical paths, cultural variation, institutional differences and demographic patterns. With this background, comparability of data must be ensured by a rigid yet explorative approach to the

empirical material. The cases chosen here are contextualised in relation to local and national political paths and economic, cultural and social conditions.

A third reason for conducting comparative, qualitative research and not merely carrying out analytical generalisation is that an in-depth analysis of similarities and differences provides a first-hand investigation of theoretical concepts applied to different settings. Social and structural patterns and regularities going beyond cultural and historical variety can be more systematically distinguished in cross-urban studies. By so doing, we may develop more general explanatory theories transcending peculiarities (Bradshaw & Wallace, 1991). Moreover, a comparative approach in urban studies is fruitful since rapid globalisation is followed by social, cultural and economic changes: an internationalised world requires internationalised focus (Fløtten, 2006).

The final reason for the comparative approach in this study is connected to the perspective of comparative urbanism, which can assist the understanding the interdependency of globalisation and urbanisation, and how various cities relate, respond and affect global circuits of ideas, cultural practices and capital. A comparative approach may illuminate the characteristics of this process. Piotr Sztompka (1988) argues that global processes imply a shift in scope in comparative research. As there earlier was a certain incommensurability in concept, there is today a shrinking world. Sztompka stresses that an important rationale for traditional comparative method used to be to search for uniformities across differences. The aim was to show that certain regularities also hold in other societies, or that they apply to other categories of people, or that they extend to other social characteristics. This was inspired by positivistic approaches and attempts to adhere to the logic of experiments. Globalisation of the social world brought about a reversal of the comparative approach, Sztompka argues. Comparative inquiries currently involve the search for uniqueness among uniformities as much as uniformity among variety. Thus, the aim in current comparative research is increasingly to identify the peculiarities of a given country, region or city by contrasting it with others. A related concern of this thesis is based on the idea that neoliberal policies and their connected practices must still be studied in various localities, as the actually existing forms of these processes (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). How these policies and processes take place in Oslo and Marseille is thereby a central interest.

Janet Abu-Lughod (2007:401) discusses the challenges of comparative case studies and asks the questions: “Are there any guidelines for comparative case studies? How can cases be selected wisely, and to answer what questions? How many out of all possible comparative problematics can two case studies, even broadly defined, handle? And at how many levels of causation and manifestation?” These are questions that point to potential fallacies in comparative research, and which have guided the reflection upon the research process

founding this thesis. The interest in investigating the redevelopment processes in depth, as well as their multi-dimensional and multi-scalar forms, posed challenges due to limited resources. In hindsight, the study could have been more stringent. However, the insight gained from this study is hopefully adding to the understanding of the complex processes in which cities are transformed. The structure of the thesis shifts between providing narratives on the respective cities and synthesising the elementary comparative dimensions in which the respective cases shed light on general principles and processes in competitive policies. By so doing, the aim is that both particular and general aspects of urban redevelopment policies are illustrated and that constructive opportunities for urban change and a city substantiating difference can be proposed.

Conducting fieldwork in Oslo and Marseille

The contextual and political complexities of the two cases have necessitated a continuous reflection upon the individual and generalising characteristics of the cases, and in turn, how they may be compared. “Organised scepticism”, Richard Merton’s concept for the role of the research community, has been complemented by the testing of arguments with persons engaged in redevelopment processes, as well as citizens and media representatives in the cities. This approach raises concerns about reliability and the validity of the analysis. A holistic and interactive approach has therefore characterised the research process, in which data have been triangulated and where the cases have been interchangeably investigated.

The bias in my knowledge of the two cities has been considered throughout the research process. I had more in-depth knowledge of Oslo as my city of residence and through my former studies of Fjordbyen (Bergsli, 2005). However, the Euroméditerranée case as a comparison was selected due to my study of French planning and redevelopment in Paris (Bergsli, 2004). More insight in the Norwegian case prior to the thesis research was the reason for starting data collection by fieldwork in Marseille. Starting in Marseille also increased the potential of new angles to investigate the case of Oslo. The initial fieldwork was conducted in Marseille between August 2007 and March 2008, after preparatory reading. Additionally, I returned for one to two weeks in July 2008, November 2008, June 2009, November 2009 and January 2011. The fieldwork in Oslo was planned to be concentrated after the first fieldwork period in Marseille, but this plan turned out to be unfeasible for practical reasons. The data collection in Oslo was undertaken mainly in January 2008, from March 2009 to September 2010, including two concentrated interview periods in the spring and autumn of 2009. The disparity in time frames

has, I believe, more positive than adverse consequences. The continuous consideration and change between the cases strengthened the understanding of the respective projects and the comparative aspects. It has enabled me to observe the redevelopment processes in-depth and for a lengthy period of time. Furthermore, the study is not aimed as an all-encompassing “narrative” of the processes, but a well-informed study of significant and illustrative events and phenomena.

Specific events and directions have been selected for more detailed enquiry due to their relevance to the theoretical field. One example is the Bjørvika charrette, which was an atypical event in current redevelopment projects, since local politicians decided to elaborate an alternative development plan for Bjørvika. Another process that I decided to investigate was Marseille’s bid and the programme for European capital of culture in 2013. What was called “Marseille Provence Capital of Culture 2013” importantly affected Euroméditerranée’s cultural strategies and their materialisation. The bid, which happened to take place during my main fieldwork period, turned out to be a possibility to investigate how Marseille is envisioned as a creative city, and how the waterfront landscape was strategically integrated into the wider aims of the programme. These examples cannot in a precise way find their counterpart in the other city, but they are still of theoretical and comparative interest for the ways in which they illustrate forms of embedded cases, whereby models and analytical concepts can be investigated. These events are also interesting for comparative case studies because they illuminate questions of what is absent in the other case, rather than what could have been the case in a single-case study.

The data material grounding the case study

This case study utilises triangulation of qualitative data to examine urban policies. Though quantitative methods are not applied in this study, important advantages of mixed-method approaches have been achieved by the use of multiple qualitative methods. The advantages of mixed-method approaches include confirmation of results, elaboration of supporting examples, complementarity in generating insights, and finally, contradiction, which may redevelop theories (Brannen, 2005). The use of various methods to investigate a research topic is further a valuable device used to analyse data from different angles, to confirm or validate data, and to assure the reliability of the respective data (Ryen & Svensson, 2004:194-205). The data selected and forming the basis of analysis consists of documents, interviews and observation, types of data which most often form the basis of the qualitative case study (Yin, 1994). Triangulation may further contribute to insight and deeper understanding of the case. With the triangulation of

qualitative data, the researcher also comes closer to the research situation and can achieve a more nuanced understanding of the research topic.

This thesis aims at integrating the analyses of culture-led urban redevelopment policies and processes in Oslo and Marseille. However, the chapters containing the analyses address the research questions to various extents, and with different uses of data. Chapters 4 and 5, where I focus on the evolution and context of the redevelopment processes, are importantly based on document data, yet compensated by interview data when relevant. Chapter 6 addresses the role of cultural institutions to the wider territorial restructuring, and the ways in which scaled policies and identity constructions characterise relocation strategies. Here, the research interview has been used to gain knowledge about the strategic basis and the decisions involved. In Chapter 7, Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée are discussed as part of the inner cities. The production of place in the waterfront projects are addressed in Chapter 8. The topics of these two chapters necessitate the observation of the urban landscape and places as well as their uses. Triangulation of data assures that different views, powers and strategies are captured. Chapter 9 investigates the cultural strategies used. A range of interviews with key agents were conducted to capture the content and reflection about the strategies, as well as an analysis of the planning documents and promotional material stating the aims and actions connected to them. Discussing public participation and the space for intervention in Chapter 10, I have engaged in extensive observation as a means to document and analyse the various voices present or absent in public debates and participatory arrangements. I have also interviewed people engaged in public participation activities, since I address the role negotiation of redevelopment policies.

Document and archive data

Secondary data have been important data sources in this thesis research; they have served the purpose of allowing historical and process data to be used in order to address the thesis objective and to obtain representativeness (See Halvorsen, 2009:Ch.6). A wide array of secondary data has been accessible to this research, and the challenge has been to assure a sufficient degree of comparative data and to select specific documents for more substantial analysis without biasing the study. The document analysis is based on two forms of readings: the first is an in-depth analysis of core documents, such as development and municipal plans, as well as studies and strategic documents of urban development and cultural institutions. The second reading includes supportive documents consulted in order to give contextual information and an overview of all the redevelopment processes' facets. The status, or function, of the document data is on this basis to access political claims and arguments, values, ideas, meanings, knowledge bases, and facts in

the content. Documents can also act to structure facts about society, collective identities and circumstances by the ways the content is presented and communicated (Prior, 2012:358). Both functions of documents are relevant in the study of urban policies. Table 2 below describes the genres of document data used.

Table 2. Secondary data used in the study.

Type of documents	Specification
Formal national plans and policy documents	Governmental white papers, propositions and strategic plans.
Formal local and regional documents	Municipal master plans and development plans, regional plans, and policy documents on economic and social development. <i>More available in Oslo than in Marseille.</i>
Publicly inaccessible documents	Private archives; chronology by newspaper articles, working papers and correspondences/letters. <i>More important in Marseille than in Oslo.</i>
Development plans	Agency archives with complete plans, strategy reports, illustrations, marketing material, and web page presentations. <i>Largely web-based in Oslo but not in Marseille.</i>
Media	National and local newspapers and magazines and TV presentations (electronic and personal archives, daily newspapers). <i>Less accessible in Marseille than in Oslo.</i>
Promotional material	Marketing material from planning and development agencies, tourist agencies, and promotional bodies (e.g. Oslo Teknopol, Marseille Provence Promotion).

Consultation of archives and internal documents has been dependent on practical issues such as electronic publication and opening hours, inasmuch as public access. The lack of electronic publications in the case of Marseille slowed the data collection compared to Oslo. Newspaper articles and research material have been essential data for assessing the timeline, the history and the relevant knowledge production concerning the projects and the cities, as well as the context within which the redevelopment projects are enhanced. Two private archives in Marseille were further central and deserve attention. Throughout the thesis, I refer to documents consulted in the archives merely in footnotes, the way I also refer to interviews.

At the initial stages of the fieldwork in Marseille, I contacted researchers from relevant disciplines who had specific empirical knowledge about the metropolitan region, and with whom I discussed urban and regional redevelopment, governance and the cultural history of Marseille (see the Appendix).¹⁰ The conversations were specifically contributions to the contextual understanding, but they were also illuminating the historical process of Euroméditerranée. One researcher gave me access to an archive offered him by a municipal senior officer. This officer was centrally placed in the planning department and in the municipal inter-rim agency of

¹⁰ The plurality of informants and topics treated in the interviews renders the exemplification of an interview guide uninteresting.

Euroméditerranée in the early 1990s. The archive was mainly consulted from November 2007 to February 2008, revisited in November 2008 and 2009. It contains internal and public planning and strategic documents and letters, as well as research and newspaper articles from 1983 to 2002. The documents provide important data about the visions and choices made prior to the initiation of the development process, and this data would not have been obtained otherwise. Continuous discussions with researcher improved my understanding and interpretation of the redevelopment process and of the data represented in the archive. The reliability of documents was also discussed since there were no possibility to validate the completeness of correspondences and planning documents. The material has therefore been used with care, validated in other document archives and in interviews.

The second private archive I consulted was provided by the member of the local association *Centre Ville Pour Tous* (A City Centre for All), who has also worked in the new office building les Docks de Joliette since 1992, from where he has continuously followed and documented the process. His archive consists of material about the association's engagement in the planning process such as minutes of public meetings, information material distributed by EPAEM prior to my fieldwork; and local and national newspaper articles about Euroméditerranée and urban redevelopment in Marseille from 1992 to 2008. The material has assisted a chronological understanding of events and decisions, information that today is not easily accessible in Marseille. He has further been a regular discussant.

Compared to Fjordbyen, documents are not made widely accessible by EPAEM, except those accessible at the local planning agency AGAM. I was, however, invited to consult EPAEM's archive on the Detailed Programme, which is an innovative and participative process undertaken in 1994/5, discussed in Chapter 5. The programme is one of the embedded cases in which the first private archive discussed above contains much information, and to which interview data are added. Material has further been consulted at Marseille's public library, Marseille's public archives, the library and archive of the regional council, the Chamber of Commerce, as well as from electronic sources from all territorial authorities engaged in the administrative council of Euroméditerranée. Other official web-sites have also been consulted, such as those of cultural institutions, private enterprises and local associations. Investigating such a large supply of information from various sources contributes to a rich understanding of redevelopment processes, given that representational aspects of publicly diffused material are considered. There may be biases in what is presented and not, implying that important information is not easily accessed. The way in which I have tried to increase the reliability of the

data material is to cover themes and deepen information through interviews, and to focus on embedded cases in which more information is gathered.

In Oslo, documents are made widely available as electronic sources, whereby the main one has been the Agency for Planning and Building Services (PBE), the development companies of the various zones developed as part of Fjordbyen, ministries, municipal archives and minutes of council sessions, Statsbygg and Oslo Teknopol. Unpublished and internal documents from PBE, for instance, have not been available, and discussions and interviews have been used to complement document data. A private archive in Oslo was provided by an activist consultant who was central in the opposition to further development of Oslo's port in the 1990s. This archive is however of secondary relevance to the study, even though it provides more insight on the struggles and debates taking place prior to the Fjordbyen decision. As in Marseille, newspaper articles since the 1980s have provided insight in the chronology of the redevelopment process, through which some phenomena of specific interest and importance have been chosen for in-depth inquiry. There tends to be different cultures of public debates which account for the value of media to the study. In Norway, politicians, developers and other groups use newspapers as an important source of voice and public debate. I have thereby consulted articles written by central agents engaged in Oslo's redevelopment, and thus in some cases complemented interview data with chronicles written by the agents themselves. In Marseille, newspapers have served to achieve an overview of the stages of the redevelopment process. Few agents involved in the process have, however, advocated their opinions or representational arguments via this channel.

The qualitative research interview

The qualitative research interview is a primary source of data that implies a conversation with people having intimate knowledge of one or more dimensions of the research object and its social systems (Halvorsen, 2009:Ch.7). Phenomena are illustrated from various perspectives, contributing to integrative understandings (p.137). The interviews made in this study have contributed to understanding and knowledge about the redevelopment processes by offering non-public information, nuanced meanings, and ideas about the policies.

The functions of the qualitative research interviews are in this thesis research twofold. *Firstly*, they provide first-hand data on the interviewees' opinions, ideas, interpretations and values, or on the representation of the institution and its role in the redevelopment process. The interview situation implies that meanings communicated are co-constructed by the researcher, but also that the interview is provided in a time-space context (Rapley, 2012:16-17). The interviews have also been important by providing information not publicly communicated, by

going behind the public discourses offered in documents, the media, and in public meetings. More nuances about the political practices have thus been allowed. They have also provided a more targeted setting in which the phenomena of interest to this thesis have been discussed with various institutional representatives. *Secondly*, they contribute to a more global understanding of the complex development processes in Marseille and Oslo. They have in this sense provided more formal information, even though the information is represented by the interview person. The interview persons can be categorised as politician, planner/consultant, director or employee of development agency/company, leader or member of local association, director of cultural institution, artist, cultural worker and architect.

Qualitative, semi-structured interviews lasting 30-120 minutes were held with 28 representatives in Oslo and 30 in Marseille, listed in the Appendix. Interviews were recorded in all cases except one in each city, whereby extensive field-notes were taken during and after the interview. Interviews are transcribed in their entirety, except in the two cases in which recordings were disrupted or the interviews showed to be less interesting. In the first case, the unrecorded parts have been immediately noted. In the second case, interviews were partially transcribed after consideration of the value of the discussions. The majority of the interviews were conducted in the interview person's office, whereas a smaller number of interview persons preferred to meet in a café. Four persons preferred to be interviewed at home. None of the interviews have been undertaken with external persons listening, and a comfortable atmosphere was obtained in most interview situations. The interview context depends on trust between the persons involved, to be built by the researcher who should provide sufficiently information about the study, emphasise honesty, avoid attempts at impressing with her/his own knowledge, and be natural, calm, attentive and interested (Ryen & Svensson, 2004:117).

The qualitative research interview is a kind of communication between social actors, and there is always a form of asymmetry in the interview situation. The position of the respondent is always defined vis-à-vis the researcher (Mohammad, 2001). As stressed by Mats Alvesson (2003:19), "the interplay between two people, with their gender, ages, professional background, personal appearances, and ethnicities, puts imprints on the accounts produced". I have been aware and conscious about my position as interviewer vis-à-vis the interview persons, but knowledge of the research field in general combined with an open approach to the empirical field probably made the conversation less asymmetrical and more characterised as a conversation in which both parties can learn. The comparative approach was an advantage since the interview persons were eager to learn about the other case, as much as they were giving a discourse about the redevelopment policies, cultural programmes, et cetera, in which they were engaged.

Carrying out interviews

The semi-structured interviews have taken the form of formal conversations, as they often do in qualitative research interviews (Kvale, 1996). The questions' chronology in the interview guide was not strictly followed, since the main point was to make the interview person present a topic, express his or her view, provide information and describe visions and strategies in depth and in his or her own language, sometimes giving his or her own priority to the topics discussed. Questions were also, as they should, improvised during the interview when an unpredicted topic or a new fact or idea entered the conversation. I aimed at being as neutral as possible, in terms of appearance and conversation, following methodological advice to avoid an impact on the interview situation (Halvorsen, 2009:Ch.7). This requires a balance of support and evaluation of the situation (Thagaard, 2013).

The interviews undertaken in this thesis were in many respects initiated in open and explorative ways, and the themes discussed followed up through more precise questions once the topic had been discussed in more general ways. When required, the interviewees were confronted with critical questions towards the end of the interview, a procedure which in some cases resulted in closure of the interview. These interviews would probably have been of less value if I had started out with confrontational questions. Elite interviews are difficult in the sense that the interviewees often know how to present their case in the most favourable manner. The reliability of the interview data has in some cases been considered by making use of other sources. When they are not verifiable but should be so by its purpose of providing information and not meaning, the discourses have not been included in the analysis.

Having the interest of the interview person in mind is important, and the interview persons should be presented in the best way possible. The interviews I have undertaken are not intended to be scrutinized as a study of speech acts, but of the meaning, facts and ideas of the discourses given. When quoting interview persons, I have therefore been careful to translate the meaning of the Norwegian and French communication correctly, and I have abandoned passages where the meaning is arbitrary, that is, where different interpretations can be made and where there are no other data sources to confirm an interpretation. I have further left out words used only in oral language, as their "fill-in purpose" does not work in the written language. They may put the interview person in an undesired light, and since a minority of the persons interviewed for this research wishes to check quotes, it is my responsibility to take care of the best interests of the persons interviewed. I have facilitated the quotes with brackets when the connection between the meaning and context does not appear, and I have only left out words that have no function to the meaning communicated.

Attaining the proper composition of interviews is a methodological challenge when complex, social processes are studied in their multiple dimensions, as well as in cases in two cities. The representations from planners and developers, politicians, the cultural field and local associations are well balanced between the cities, but the nature of the redevelopment processes implies that the representatives themselves and the institutions they represent are not necessarily corresponding. This bias is challenging due to the opposite forms of access achieved in Oslo and Marseille. Access to politicians was more easily achieved in Norway, whereas they were largely inaccessible in France. In Norway, however, it was difficult and partly impossible to interview core representatives of cultural institutions, whereas these were completely accessible in France. Though the snowball method was used in both cities, it was not always possible to obtain interviews. Inasmuch as a careful selection of interview persons, the composition of interviews thus reflects the access to informants and the timeframe of the project. The data material is on an overall level still assured reliability by means of triangulation and continuous reflexion upon the value and depth of the data selected.

The ways in which I have aimed to compensate for the lack of interviews with, for instance, politicians involved in Euroméditerranée include using secondary interviews (referred to in the media, in other research or discourses given in public and internal documents) and opinions and ideas expressed on web-pages, personal blogs and in documents. I have researched the discourses given by core representatives who did not offer interviews by the use of other sources. These particularly concern the president of Euroméditerranée, the presidents of Provence Alpes Côte d'Azur (PACA) and Bouches du Rhône, as well as the Mayor of Marseille and the director of EPAEM (the latter two were not solicited). In Oslo, this method was used to attain information from the directors of the municipal cultural institutions as well as of the National Gallery, the district council of Frogner on the west side of Oslo, the governing mayor and the Vice Mayor for Urban Redevelopment. Triangulating the data and a careful consideration of the force and depth of data have been utilised throughout the analysis.

The researcher should abandon the idea that data are “out there” to be collected without pre-judgements. Reflexivity and scepticism must be balanced with a sense of direction and accomplishment (Alvesson, 2003). The interviewee is also engaged in interpretation during the interview, and this person can potentially respond according to certain personal “logics”, such as self-consciousness in the interview setting. This awareness may result in a bias by which she or he may use the situation to express self-identity, use explanatory cultural frames, or utter what she or he thinks is expected or morally “true”. Though this latter point is revealed in some interviews, I was surprised in others by the lack of rhetoric about issues I had assumed to be

more sensitive and political, such as municipal critique of Euroméditerranée and social diversity in Oslo. It appears that conflicts are more public in Oslo than in Marseille, a point which is carefully considered in terms of what and how events and phenomena can be compared between the two cities. These are findings that are not necessarily directly relevant to the research questions, but they are nonetheless interesting cultural aspects that inform notions of participation and transparency in the governance of the respective projects.

Observation of the redevelopment processes and city life

Observation has been an important methodological approach to understanding and investigating the production and use of spaces in the waterfronts, and the various voices prevalent in the redevelopment processes. I have made use of both open and hidden forms of observations, which both are common ingredients in fieldwork (Halvorsen, 2009:Ch.7). I have studied social interactions, public speeches and uses of the city without being recognised as an observer, though I make no reference to individual people, as my aim was to identify social patterning. I have not been confronted by ethical considerations such as lying about my identity. The observation was partially participative, through interaction with people engaged at public meetings and excursions or being a pedestrian among others. The researcher may do the same things as those being observed, but is not required to do so (Delamont, 2012:206). In this study, most observation is non-participative. I did not myself play a role as a member of the group acting in a given episode.

Public meetings, listed in the Appendix, have been particularly useful in providing detailed data about what is at stake in the respective cities, what kinds of opinions are formed, confronted and accepted in the debate, and the topics and agents involved in the public sphere. The meetings and excursions I have attended have been organised by developers, local associations, newspapers and political parties. They allowed me to investigate the concerns of inhabitants and professionals, the discourses of politicians and developers, and they concretise conflict lines and ideas existing about the role of the redevelopment projects in the cities. The choice of embedded cases implies that sufficient and in-depth data are provided to analyse episodes or parts of the redevelopment policies interesting to the research domains. The data collection meets a point of saturation, and the attendance at public meetings in both cities showed that the information attained in the first phase was illustrative of the public debates in the respective cities. The discourses became predictable. Because Oslo is my city of residence, I have observed at more meetings and events there than in Marseille.

Two particular episodes were specifically interesting. In Marseille, I had the opportunity to gain in-depth information about redevelopment policies by observing public meetings organised prior to the municipal elections in March 2008. I observed several debates about the future of Marseille, specifically in question of urban redevelopment and the bid for the “Capital of Culture” event. I attended a different, yet also special episode in Oslo, which made me interrupt the fieldwork in Marseille in January 2008. I observed the one week’s “Bjørvika charrette” organised by representatives of local associations and by the district council of Gamle Oslo. The aim of this event was to make an alternative plan of Bjørvika (See Chapter 10). I was invited to participate in all activities at the charrette. Its long timeframe and the nature of its organisation made it difficult to refrain from helping with small tasks during the week, implying that I probably was perceived as an insider by parts of the public. I did, however, discuss matters of interest with the public which illuminated citizen concerns about the development process. The open settings meant that people were not likely to refrain from giving information or opinion because of my presence.

I have also made sure to spend time in the redevelopment zones and regularly visit the areas in order to observe the spaces in relation to the wider urban landscape, and to observe the evolvement of the projects. I have made regular use of the cultural institutions in both cities throughout the research process, thus allowing me to experience the places and functions.

Analysing the data from Marseille and Oslo

The process of data analysis is continuous in qualitative research and is thus interactive, non-linear, time-consuming and creative (Ryen & Svensson, 2004). In qualitative research, the easiest part is to accumulate data and the hardest to get rid of them (Silverman in *ibid.*:145).

Interpretation takes place throughout the entire research process, and we must be aware of the elements of triple hermeneutics (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2000). This means that the interview person also interprets the field of enquiry, which the researcher interprets as an interpretation of the interpretation. Conducting a critical study in which the interview persons acknowledge it also calls for reflection about the value and reliability of interview data.

The narratives, facts, ideas and opinions shared by interviewees have been classified by their significance to the empirical domains of enquiry and to perspectives informing the study. Analysis has been made during the entire research, deepened through memos, research notes, during interview transcription, and through categorisation. The differences of Oslo and Marseille strengthen analytical distance to the phenomena observed, whereas the similarities can risk being

taken at face value. The hermeneutic approach implies an on-going check and re-check of the anticipations, blind spots and consistency of the empirical material. The use of a comparative methodology can also reduce the risk of a blindfolded analysis in which confirmation of values and theoretical perspectives invalidate findings. Discussions with researchers and other informed persons also strengthen the validity of the arguments made.

In this thesis, three languages are used, and the interpretation of meanings, spoken as well as written, must be carefully secured in the transition from one language to another. I have worked consistently to secure the reliability of the quotes and translations. In this report, all quotes are translated by myself when the main text is referred in the list of reference with a Norwegian or French title. The quotes of the interview persons are also translated by myself.

Final remarks on the methodology

This chapter outlines the methodological choices made to the study of Oslo and Marseille. A comparative, qualitative research design has several benefits, which makes it an interesting approach to the study of urban redevelopment policies in a time of global urbanism. The empirical interest inherent in understanding Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée (in line with the research questions) is likely to have increased attention to the historical and socio-economic contexts. This is clear from the next two chapters in which the redevelopment of Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée are narrated separately. This, I believe, forms an interesting basis for the later discussion of the comparative principles found in the cases.

4. PORT CITY OR FJORD CITY

The reorganisation of the economy has effects on the socio-spatial and material composition of cities, effects which are assisted, enforced or resisted by urban policies and negotiated in the urban context (Swyngedouw, *et al.*, 2002). Reterritorialization of capital is both affecting the performance of urban economies and assisted by local policies. To meet systemic changes in the economy and in cultural practices, urban policies are crafted to engage restructuring, a territorial strategy aimed to affect the cultural political economy of the city. Redevelopment of seaside areas, brownfields and other non-functional or derelict urban areas and sites is part of the restructuring, as spaces of hope for a positive development (Marshall, 2001a:3). They have become strategies in inter-urban competition, but they are also based on the existence of large spatial reserves, with potential for a range of possible goals and strategies.

In this chapter I discuss the connections between waterfront development and wider urban restructuring, by a focus on initial aims in relation to concerns with societal change. Discussing urban restructuring encourages that the waterfront projects are placed in their historical and territorial contexts, with a focus on the processes within which their visions and aims have evolved. By so doing, I emphasise the inclusion of historical and institutional aspects to the understanding of the dynamics of urban change, as is stressed in the perspective of cultural political economy (Jessop, 2004). I emphasise the role of industry and the port to the inner city's socio-spatial configuration, and the factors contributing to a shift in priorities and modes of planning and governance. To this latter topic, I treat the evolution of the plans for Fjordbyen and its aims and visions, the agents involved in negotiating and developing them, and the governance model selected. In this way, I mainly address the evolving aims for Fjordbyen and how these are connected to the visions for Oslo and its role to urban restructuring (research question i). Herein, I discuss the changed planning models used in Fjordbyen and the agents governing the development process (research question iii).

The scope described above encourages separate treatments of the cases in Chapters 4 and 5. The aim is to obtain in-depth understanding of the projects and their rationales that prepare the ground for more thematic and comparative analyses in the remaining analysis. I will on this basis discuss Fjordbyen within the restructuring of Oslo, whereas next chapter treats Euroméditerranée within the restructuring of Marseille. The contextual scope has grounded predominantly empirical discussions summing up the chapters. Chapter 6 is concluded by a cumulated discussion of theoretical and comparative interest yielded from Chapters 4-6.

The rise of the industrial port city

Oslo as an industrial city constitutes a foundation for the socio-spatial structures and patterns of the current city, wherein Fjordbyen will offer a post-industrial landscape. Though being a central marker of Oslo's urban fabric and economy, Oslo's industrial industry was phased-out within less than one and a half centuries. In 1838, there were few manufacturing industries in Norway (Larssen, 1938). In Oslo, industrialisation took off in the 1840s, with rapid expansion and land requirements both for industrial activities and for housing migrant workers. From the 1850s, Oslo's position as a centre for trade and commerce was strengthened by new communication facilities. Its role as the country's economic capital was consolidated (p.19). Industrialisation had led to an unprecedented growth that was hardly regulated until the 20th century. In 1801, Oslo's population consisted of a mere 9 000 inhabitants. By mid-century, the population had reached 30 000, increasing to 300 000 by 1900. The growth in the second half of the 19th century resulted in the intensification of Oslo by rapid construction in an unregulated real estate development (Tvedt & Reisegg, 2007). During much of the 20th century, the goal was to stagger Oslo's growth. Within the city, population growth was controlled through suburbanisation (Myhre, 2006:336).

In the early 20th century, Oslo was like other Norwegian cities highly segregated, with the general pattern of socially homogenous districts, and a low level of identification with the city as a whole (Stugu, 2006:405-406). The industrial activities took place mainly along the river Akerselva, symbolically providing Oslo's socio-economically divide (Kjeldstadli, 1990). There are persistent differences between Oslo's East and West (Andersen, 2014), in recent decades also ethnically, with larger proportions of immigrants in Eastern districts (Turner & Wessel, 2013). Still, following the river to the fjord, a diffusion of industrial activities broke the class divide at the waterfront: a place of labour. The port of Oslo appropriated only the eastern side of the Akershus Castle until 1846, when its activities required expansion of the Western side, in Pipervika (Grønvold *et al.*, 2000:98). Two of the main engineering workshops and future shipbuilding yards were established in the 1850s. They became central to the emergence of the city's shipping sector and to Oslo's economic growth (Larssen, 1938:19). At the time, they were both adjacent to working class neighbourhoods (Grønland/ Vaterland and Vika, respectively). Nyland Verksted, situated in the eastern seaside of Bjørvika, was Norway's largest ship yard in 1900. Aker Mek bought the area Holmen by Pipervika at the Western seaside in 1854, when it ventured into ship construction/ repairation (p.39). The seaside and the port represented a place of prosperity in the industrial city.

Deindustrialisation and degradation of the inner city

In Norway, 1966 stands out as the peak year of manufacturing employment, and Oslo was among the counties with the most industrial workers. Statistics Norway (2000) provides the numbers: Almost 65 000 people were employed in Oslo's industrial sector this year. In ten years, more than 10 000 jobs were lost, and by 1980, an additional 6200 jobs had been lost since 1976. The sharp decline in Oslo compared to other Norwegian counties is explained by the general fall in sectors largely represented in Oslo: ship construction, pulp, paper and cardboard, as well as textile and clothing. Furthermore, half of the jobs in Oslo's food industry disappeared from 1966 to 1997 (*Ibid.*). In 2013, approximately 15 000 industrial jobs remained in Oslo (City of Oslo, 2014: Ch.4). The industrial decline did not, however, result in increases in unemployment (NAV, 2007:28-33).¹¹ One reason is that throughout the 20th century, Oslo had enforced its position and increased its robustness through economic diversity and public activities acting as a buffer in times of economic crises (Stugu, 2006:404). Economic strength, centrality in communicational networks and its capital city functions mutually reinforced Oslo's position (*Ibid.*).

By the early 1980s, industrial sites were generally considered a contradiction to a mature, urban economy (Gaffikin & Sterrett, 2006). The seaside had been used rationally in the industrial era, conforming to the principles of Fordism. This was also the case in Oslo. Oslo's port had expanded from 5 km in 1884 to 11 km in 1924 (Jacobsen & Johnsen, 1999). Its incremental expansion was reversed in the 1970s, when activities were largely reduced by the closure of the shipyards of Nyland (1979) and Aker Mek (1982). At the latter site, the last ship had been constructed in 1978, when the engineering workshop employed some 2000 workers. The manufacturing industries were challenged by unsuited buildings, lack of good infrastructure/transport systems and increased labour costs. The reduction of industrial activities offered the opportunity to envisage the port as a spatial reserve, in which a new urban economy could develop. There is a complex yet structural interconnection between a city's port restructuring and deindustrialisation in Oslo. This is a general pattern (P.A. Hall, 1991:5-6).

Degradation in Oslo's inner city

Another shift that took place around 1980 is the new focus on the inner city districts. Urban development was in 1979 for the first time treated separately by the Norwegian government, when regional cooperation and urban challenges were addressed. Norway's largest cities

¹¹ The official unemployment rate was between 0,2 and 0,3 percent in the 1960s. It increased slowly from 0,1 to 0,6 percent in the 1970s. In 1982, unemployment was at 1,1 percent, still a low level and among the nation's lowest.

struggled with fiscal deficits, social problems, housing shortage and a degraded housing stock and neighbourhoods (Rasmussen, 2003:213). The solution to the social problems in the cities proposed by the national government was to strengthen decentralisation policies, to reduce the growth in jobs in the largest cities, and people should be enabled to achieve quality of life in smaller environments (Stugu, 2006:462). Yet, conditions in the inner city of Oslo were particularly alarming. Deprived neighbourhoods in the inner city were publicly portrayed, with focus on the misery related to poverty, dangerous and unsanitary housing conditions, and degraded environments (Lindal & Butenschön, 1982). Problems of segregation, poverty and marginalisation were documented (Hagen, *et al.*, 1994).

Throughout the 20th century, plans for sanitation in inner city areas had been made but postponed. Housing regulations prevented rehabilitation, resulting in degrading neighbourhoods (Kjeldstadli & Myhre, 1995:151). The City of Oslo decided to redevelop inner city neighbourhoods in the middle of the 1970s. The main targets were the most degraded districts, which were found in the eastern parts of the inner city, though private developers were also granted loans by the Norwegian State Housing Bank to carry out renovation in western inner districts.¹² Neighbourhoods in these districts were not only afflicted by low housing standards, but environmental problems caused lower living conditions and quality of life. Pollution and noise due to heavy traffic and low quality outdoor areas were common challenges (Barstad *et al.*, 2006:113). The renewal, run through the 1980s, with enduring focus on the eastern districts (T.Hansen & Nordvik, 1997).

Table 3. Absolute and relative population size and change in Oslo's eastern inner city districts.* 1949-2014.

	1949	1959	1969	1979	1989	1999	2009	2014
Population size	100 371	80 215	65 609	47 321	40 820	52 498	63 436	71 453
Population change	-	-20 156	-14 606	-18 288	-6 501	11 678	10 938	8 017
Percentage change	-	-20,1	-18,2	-27,9	-13,7	+28,6	+20,8	+12,6

Source: Statistic yearbook for Oslo 2014 (Figure 1.5).

*The districts included are Grünerløkka, Sofienberg and Gamle Oslo.

The eastern inner city districts had experienced population decline since the mid-century. Table 3 above shows the change from 1949 to 1991 with the early 1990s being a turning point.

¹² Personal comment, Terje Wessel, 24 March, 2015.

Yet in the total period, the population had almost halved. In addition to population decline, the districts were a transit area for students, immigrants, single, and young people residing for shorter periods, whereas the more stable inhabitants were people with less resources (Wessel 1994, Hagen et al. 1994 in *Ibid.*, p.9). These areas had degraded in the decades of suburban expansion (Brattbakk & Wessel, 2013). Yet, a socio-spatial east-west divide was retained, as high-income suburbs evolved in west and low to middle-income suburbs were developed in east (p.393). Outer Eastern districts were the main targets of suburban planning, based on political decisions to conserve the Western parts (Ljunggren & Andersen, 2014:6). Due to suburban expansion, the inner city's share of population in Oslo has steadily declined, as table 4 illustrates.

Table 4. Changes in the inner city's shares of Oslo's population, 1949-2014.

	1949	1959	1969	1979	1989	1999	2009	2014
Oslo in total	428 994	467 815	488 899	456 128	456 001	502 867	575 475	634 463
Inner city total	301 708	245 556	203 204	153 497	132 652	150 350	180 384	203 792
Inner city % of total	70,3	52,5	41,6	33,7	29,1	29,9	31,3	32,1
Inner city east % of total*	23,4	17,1	13,4	10,4	9,0	10,4	11,0	11,3

Source: Statistic yearbook for Oslo 2014 (Figure 1.5).

*The inner city east includes Grünerløkka, Sofienberg and Gamle Oslo.

Yet in the 1980s and 1990s, inner city eastern districts gentrified, spurred by the renewal programmes (Sæter & Ekne Ruud, 2005). Through these programmes, the socio-material landscape of Gamle Oslo bordering the seaside was advanced, with less need to include them in the perimeter of Fjordbyen, as has not been discussed as an option in the material studied.

A collaborative organisation of a concept competition

The redevelopment of the central waterfront of Oslo did not rise as a political initiative but a civic and professional one in the end of the 1970s. It originated from the interests of Oslo Heritage Society, whose members engaged in discussions about the future use of the seaside. In addition to deindustrialisation, another reason for the initiative was Oslo's declining economy and poor fiscal resources, and the flight of its inhabitants and businesses to the wider city-region (Oslo Heritage Society, 1982, 1983). In 1968, Oslo held about 490 000 inhabitants. Since then, the population had decreased by 3000 a year. Furthermore, there was still a lack of housing due

to the political priority of business functions in the inner city. This situation encouraged the Oslo Heritage Society to propose alternative futures for the central seaside. In addition to housing construction, the use of land reserves for recreational offers was favoured, based on the observation that the city centre still was used by the population. The seaside was envisioned as a transformative area contributing to positive urban change.

As a concretisation of the aspirations for Oslo's seaside, the Association of Norwegian Landscape Architects and the Oslo Heritage Society took the initiative to organise the Nordic concept competition "The City and the Fjord - Oslo year 2000" in 1982.¹³ The initiative was politically favoured in the broad sense, since the City of Oslo, including the municipal port authorities, financed the competition, as did shipping and other financial and industrial companies. As Marius Grønning (2011:142) stresses, the initiative also represented a break with former institutional arrangements that utilized managerial and top-down methods. New discourses were now produced by various professional and pressure groups in cooperation with politicians in public-private partnerships. A broad coalition consisting of public, private and professional representatives gathered to lay a basis for future development. The concept competition was also aimed to offer a participative process by engaging inhabitants and decision-makers to assure broad perspectives and debates. As a civic initiative, there was a potential for the integration of broader participative principles in the planning process.

The competition intended to produce ideas and visions of how Oslo could be "an even better place to be" (Oslo Heritage Society, 1982:3) by recreational offers to the population:

Oslo has currently the opportunity to rehabilitate itself as a city with an attractive seaside - a seaside with a rationally organised port, yet with additional and different activities. A seaside where it is possible to live, work, relax, do business, buy shrimps, have fun, meet people. Come to the city and leave it. Oslo has the possibility to become a happier city. This is what the concept competition is about.

The rationale was to combine port activities with neighbourhoods, through a functional mix anticipating the post-industrial city. Oslo was to become fun, as other cities had aimed for (S. V. Ward, 2006). A multifunctional and recreational waterfront was desired, displacing the grimness of the port with more publicly accessible, "cosier" areas, attractive to "common people" (Oslo Heritage Society, 1982:6). These aims reflected the concern that the city centre could decline and degrade like other European port cities experiencing recession. To prevent this, city life and animation, urban compactness and multifunctional landscapes were suggested (Oslo Heritage Society, 1982:3). These urban desires, advocated by the middle-classes in Western cities

¹³ Byen og fjorden - Oslo år 2000.

throughout the 1970s, generally implied the promotion of recreational and cultural characteristics of the city (Ley, 1996). Waterfront redevelopments do in this respect reinstall certain social and aesthetic concerns in urban planning (Greenberg, 1996). The Oslo Heritage Society, established in 1811, principally addressed the historical and physical continuity of the city. With the Fjordbyen initiative, it took on a coordinating role to voice these concerns.

The concept competition resulted in almost 200 proposals, from where ideas for the new seaside were drawn upon (Oslo Heritage Society, 1983). The proposals were evaluated by a jury consisting of the director of the Port Authorities, the leader of Oslo Planning Office, a lawyer from the landowner Aker Group as well as architects and planners representing the municipality and professional associations. The jury awarded six projects and purchased thirteen others, which included ideas and propositions that could be used in the planning process. Based on these projects, the jury formulated recommendations and encouraged development of functional and cultural offers lacking in the city. Examples of these are a harbour promenade, activity centres for children, an aquarium, and a hotel and congress centre. In this sense, the jury took the opportunity to call for city centre expansion as a way in which new offers could be created in a recreational landscape. Yet, the immediate plans and actions launched at this point was not taking account of Oslo's socio-spatial divide, which could have enforced this distinction even further, which I will thereby briefly discuss.

The socio-spatial urban division at stake

Early initiatives for Fjordbyen did in two ways ignore the socio-spatial division of Oslo as a challenge that the redevelopment of the seaside could meet.

First, the Fjordbyen programme targeted the cohesion of the city centre in terms of recreational and commercial functions, but included few concerns with the socio-spatial composition of the inner city. The competition committee supported the Port Authorities' interest in assessing the possibilities to construct a container port next to the railroad system, favouring Sørenga in the eastern area of Bjørvika (Oslo Heritage Society, 1982). Bjørvika was also the suggested site to relocate the international ferry terminal from Vippetangen. With this idea, a major transport hub was envisaged in conjunction with the central train station, the metro and the bus terminal. If released, this move would have enforced a modernist and functional waterfront, a large-scale infrastructure project that would have been difficult to reverse once it had been constructed. It would have implied that there would still have been no local access to the seaside from the eastern district of Gamle Oslo. If realised, division of the seaside between an industrial

east and a recreational west would have persisted. It would have followed the socio-economic division enforced by industrialisation (Kjeldstadli & Myhre, 1995).

Second, the Western seaside was firstly redeveloped. Here, the shipyard and related industrial activities had been a place of manufacturing labour in the West of the inner city that disrupted the rather consistent socio-spatial division of the city. The immediate materialisation of the Fjord and the city competition was Aker Brygge on the Western seaside, which initiation implied the finalisation of a regeneration process mainly led by the public authorities. Pipervika, including Aker Brygge, was a working class neighbourhood and a suburb until 1858, when it was included in the city. It was a central place in the axis between the Royal Castle, the Parliament and the University built between the 1840s and 1860s (Ramsøy, 1967:12). The suburbs were not subject to the law enforcing brick construction. Wooden houses were cheaper to build and land could be appropriated without costs (though without rights), hence poorer families lived in the suburbs. In the 19th century, Pipervika was known for prostitution, poverty and misery. It was one of the city's places of arrival for poor migrants (Muri, 2000). Unhealthy housing conditions were documented in the mid-century. It was still a highly animated area that attracted people from all classes, though officially, it was a banned place. The bourgeoisie perceived the area as a stain on the city's reputation (p 29).

Extensive renovation was initiated in the 1870s, with the demolition of wooden houses and the construction of the most exclusive apartment residency in Norway at the time, Vika Terrasse, later turned into offices. In 1915, the mayor garnered support to destroy the houses in Pipervika and raise a new city hall. From the 1930s to the 1960s, sanitation of Vika was included in the municipality's modernisation scheme which finalised the area as a representational space for the city and the national capital (Grønvold, *et al.*, 2000:104).¹⁴ As in the 1980s, the aim was open the city toward the seaside, and not just to build a new city hall (Hoel, 2006:13). The redevelopment project targeting the western parts in the 1960s finalised the sanitation of Vika. The lengthy planning process implied material degradation and social changes in which mainly old, poor and single people remained, and whereby it had become easier to expulse inhabitants, who were prepared to leave because of degraded conditions and offer of improved housing in the city's outskirts (Ramsøy, 1967:48-49).

With Aker Brygge, a gentrification process in Vika was completed with the shift from a place of workers to a place of professions. Aker Brygge added a new area to Oslo that signalled

¹⁴ As a parallel to today's aims of modernisation, Ulf Grønvold *et al.* (2000:24) describes the first drafts of a high rise plan for Oslo's City Hall as based on aims to make Oslo in pace with modernity. The modest architectural heritage called for the emphasis of progress, yet combined with cultural heritage in urban form.

the adoption of postmodern styles. It was built between 1984 and 1991 by the company of the former shipyard Nyland West, which established a limited development company for the purpose. Aker Brygge materialised the model of a combined use of new and industrial buildings in a dense landscape, bordered by a harbour promenade and a marina. It illustrates the design of a packaged landscape, with exclusive functions (Knox, 1993). It contained luxury housing and financial institutions, as well as commercial and recreational offers that turned it into an attractive area for visitors.

Postmodern design with a combination of industrial heritage and modern architecture, together with a detailed concept of functional self-sufficiency implied that the waterfront area represented a new form of urbanism in Oslo. To the urban mosaic, Aker Brygge added a seaside recreational area that the city centre had not properly possessed since the 19th century. It was also a pilot of how private investments could be used in Oslo's redevelopment policies (Børrud, 2005:64, 118-119). It was an early example in Oslo of an area developed with dispensation from the demand of a development plan before construction was commenced (Bowitz & Høegh, 2005:40). The city council judged Aker Brygge a success, and encouraged a prolonged waterfront development based on this model. The work hitherto carried out was agreed to be showing the potential for a combined yet divided port and urban development, a contribution to "a more active, yet at the same time attractive city".¹⁵

In this way, Aker Brygge constitutes the blueprint for the development of Oslo's seaside: a waterfront designed by transnational planning principles and public-private partnership. As in other countries, area-based projects replaced systematic and comprehensive urban planning ideals, including the formation of public-private partnership as a means to overcome bureaucratic constraints to efficiency (Healey, 2006:300).

Fjordbyen as a municipal strategy for city centre expansion

The initiatives of the early 1980s formed the groundwork for the municipal planning process in Fjordbyen, based on consensus about a combination of business, commerce and recreation to make the city attractive and "happy". In 1987, the municipal plan for Oslo's Central Seaside adopted by the City Council declared that the spaces of Oslo's seaside should be redisposed from port to urban development (City of Oslo, 1987). The plan was based on the city council's decision of 1985 to coordinate the development plan of the port and the seaside, though it also

¹⁵ Case no 312 & 313: Oslo Havneplan 1982-90. Continuation in the work with the development of Oslo's seaside (City of Oslo, 1987:44).

built on recommendations from the Fjord and the City competition. The jury of the competition had emphasised a continuity between new and old areas, implying that cultural institutions or businesses should not be encouraged to relocate to the seaside, as this could lead to “impoverishment of existing urban areas” (Oslo Heritage Society, 1983:20). The aim of functional and visual cohesion between the seaside and the city centre was specifically retained, explicated in the advice that the seaside areas should add new offers in order to avoid intra-urban competition (City of Oslo, 1987:8).¹⁶

Multi-functionality was the quintessence of aspirations, by which more people could be attracted to the centre and the new areas targeted in the municipal plan: Filipstad, Tjuvholmen, Aker Brygge, Vestbanen, Vippetangen and Bjørvika. The plan was also concrete about representational functions at the national scale, in the fields of finance, maritime law, Nordic cooperation, health and sports. Mentioned was also construction of a technological experience centre, a media centre, as well as a Norway’s House, that would promote Norwegian goods and services (City of Oslo, 1987:12). These offers were deficient or lacking in Oslo, and were aimed at serving both national and municipal purposes. Oslo’s scale and structure was to be sustained, yet its identity strengthened through the waterfront, which was to be developed into “animated urban areas with a diversity of functions and activities” (p.42). Ideals of functional zoning were characteristic to modernist planning in the mid-20th century (Bowitz & Høegh, 2005:37), a tool abandoned in area-based planning. The city council called for a city extension in spatial, material and symbolic terms, yet with the industrial port still included. The areas were mainly conceived to bring new and diverse offers to Oslo, specified recreation and housing, with attention to competitiveness merely in the form of the port’s functioning and a representational landscape (City of Oslo, 1987).

Aspirations for a prominent metropolitan core

Today, both Oslo and Marseille are objects to wider restructuring and metropolitan development, the process in which a city attains regional functions and is characterised by multiple relations between the city and the functional or administrative region within which it is situated (Morel, 2005). Metropolitan strategies pertain to the territorialisation of economic activities because it assures human resources in the long-term perspective as well as facilitating supportive functions. The strategies consequently imply the unification of multiple and diverse functions in a territory, efficient to the organisation of production (p.187). In Oslo, these aspirations are evident at the

¹⁶ The plan was adopted by the City Council on 10.05.88 (case 447) with minor additions.

scale of the city and in the aims of Fjordbyen to promote Oslo as a regional centre. In terms of regional collaboration however, assuring regional cohesion has been challenged by intra-regional competition (Rasmussen, 2003).

The 1990s was marked by hesitance concerning restructuring of the seaside areas, with opposition from the governing local and national Labour Party, and the Port authorities who planned an expansion at Filipstad. Following intensive media debates about the legitimacy of the port's land-use and announced expansion (Cf. Bruun, 1993), the City Council supported this critique by voting in favour of changed land uses at Filipstad in 1993. The Council advocated a shift in land-use representing the knowledge society rather than the Fordist economy.¹⁷ In this decade, Oslo's economic base rapidly changed, and industrial and port activities declined. In 1996, the city government ordered an assessment of alternatives for all areas at Oslo's seaside, addressing the question: should Oslo develop the port within the municipal borders or liberate most of the central seaside to other purposes? The response of the Agency for Planning and Building Services was the report "Fjord city or Port city? Report on Oslo's port and seaside", made in cooperation with six consultancy groups (City of Oslo, 1997). The report concluded that "the city's and region's interests are best maintained if the City of Oslo decides to materialise the fjord city, and take the necessary initiatives to the central state and the implicated county and municipal authorities to optimise the organisation of the port in the region" (p.74). Fjordbyen was by now the concept to consolidate a post-industrial strategy for Oslo. Fjordbyen was aspired to contribute to the enhancement of Oslo as the motor of the region.

Arguments for the fjord city were related to the rise of the city-region, a scale that has emerged as a strategic platform for the knowledge-based economy (H. K. Hansen & Winther, 2010:57-58). This strategic orientation is also based on the growth of certain city-regions, which have been conceived as nodes in the global economy (Scott, *et al.*, 1997). The Fjordbyen option supported the aim of giving the city-region competitive force. The city centre offers the possibility to visualise the knowledge-based economy by symbolic functions and spaces adding attractiveness to the internationally competitive region. As such, the *comparative* dimension of current urban policies seems to include the adoption of the models of global cities, which accumulate businesses and jobs within the symbolic and white-collar professions as part of the new spatial division of labour (Friedmann, 2006; Peter A. Hall, 2006). The idea about territorial competition on a global scale gives local policies an incentive to target urban growth.

¹⁷ Oslo City Council, 24th March 1993, Case 133.

New national urban policies

This new scope represents a shift in the role of cities in national policies. Persistent decentralisation policies in Norway have regulated urban growth until recently, and Fjordbyen might just illustrate how this regulatory path is changing through the adoption of growth perspectives. Explanations are found both in changes in the political economy of cities and in the ecological evolution of cities as catering to new living preferences and lifestyles. To understand this shift, I will provide a discussion of these contextual conditions.

Until the 1980s, cohesion between regions were central priorities, whereas the problems of the biggest cities were largely ignored at the national level (Rasmussen, 2003). The national government's solution to the social problems in the cities was to strengthen decentralisation policies (Stugu, 2006:462). The Oslo region was in particular seen as a problematic pressure area to be counteracted since the government's aim was to create growth in all of Norway's regions.¹⁸ The economic role of Norwegian cities was given national attention from the early 1990s, yet still combined with goals of decentralisation across political divides (Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, 1992; Ministry of Labour and Government Administration, 2002:2). Whereas European governments have tended to prioritise regions possessing the capability to perform competitively in the metropolitan hierarchy, sometimes with the result of uneven development (Salet, *et al.*, 2003:12), Norwegian policies have aimed at decentralisation to the extent that regions throughout the entire country are to be favoured.

The competitive scope has triggered a focus on re-territorialisation and the upscaling of urban policies to the level of the city-region (Brenner, 1998). This was also the case with the Norwegian government's emphasis on entrepreneurial policies, whereby cities were conceived to best know their potential and should manage their own challenges to foster innovation (Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, 2003). These policies are characteristic of urban entrepreneurialism, wherein cities tend to depend on their local tax base and business performance, even though financial transfers from central government and intra-state bodies such as the EU are of continued importance to urban economies (Wilks-Heeg, *et al.*, 2003).

Urban restructuring policies have become characterised by consensus between municipal and national authorities and between political parties, showing the force of the discourses concerning the knowledge-based economy and required reterritorialization (Jessop, 2004). International competition and globalisation are forceful arguments for neoliberal policies and a withdrawal of the central state in local affairs (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001).

¹⁸ This goal was even supported by the City of Oslo, which restricted the payload efficiency for the number of floors for industry, business, and offices (City of Oslo, 2009a:25).

The intensification of Norwegian cities is largely an effect of cultural and economic factors more than new planning models, since the demands for urban location and dwelling have increased substantially (P. Næss, 2009:245).

Between 1991 and 2000, Norwegian city-regions grew at a rate of 9 percent, compared to a reduction of 0,1 percent in the rest of the country (City of Oslo, 2002). The capital region (defined as the Oslo and Akershus counties), experienced a growth of 11,5 per cent. In absolute numbers, the region accumulated 40 per cent of the national population growth in the period (Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, 2007b:94). Consequently, Oslo is conceived as a potential motor and growth region, but its attractiveness is connected to the consolidation of the region. It thereby illustrates general principles of European restructuring (Brenner, 2003a). Economic globalisation enhances interdependencies at the regional scale, across administrative boundaries, putting metropolitan governance central on political agendas among European cities (Brenner, 1999:445). Yet the historical pattern of intra-regional competition and strong municipal autonomy (Rasmussen, 2003) might be an obstacle to the competitiveness of the Oslo region.¹⁹ These historical and territorial processes and the changes in political scope on cities form a backdrop for the discussion of Fjordbyen.

Modelling the post-industrial waterfront

The comparative scope is not only a useful method to study waterfront development, but it is also central to the actions of urban stakeholders (Cook & Ward, 2012). In Oslo, the arguments about a fjord city were based on decline in manufacturing production, the inhabitants' perceptions of an existing barrier between the fjord and the city centre, and the visual grimness of the industrial port activities (City of Oslo, 1997:79-84). These features were contrasted to success stories such as those of Baltimore and Barcelona, cities to which planners and politicians had travelled to learn from "best practice" or success stories (S. V. Ward, 2006). These cities were referred in emphasis on how Oslo's own waterfront Aker Brygge could be a further inspiration. However, the adoption of transnational models in urban development is not new in Oslo. Plans for inner city sanitation in the 1950s and 1960s were evidently inspired by trends in US and UK (Bowitz & Høegh, 2005:37).

In the regional scope, the use of the model would allow the consolidation of a local, regional and national metropolitan centre, where "important key words are quality of life,

¹⁹ Cooperation was further hampered by the changed orientation of municipalities and counties, which became attentive to competitive positions, aiming to attract business and inhabitants instead of restricting them or engaging in regional cooperation (Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, 1997, 6.4).

freedom of choice and a new division of labour between areas in the region. A core characteristic of [the economy of the 21st century] is that the city centre plays a role as a cultural centre of gravity” (City of Oslo, 1997:72). The argument conforms to the strategic reconfiguration of the city centre and the seaside areas therein, envisioned within wider urban restructuring. Fjordbyen’s role is to offer a landscape to the metropolitan strategy. Other parts of the region were envisioned to attain functions such as the land-consuming industrial port in a regional division of labour. The core, a “cultural centre”, was targeted by economic, cultural and recreational aspirations, promoted as a solution to Oslo’s development because economic and cultural requirements are fused in the knowledge society:

A growing population and an expansive business sector require increasingly more opportunities for recreation and amusement, combined with positive experiences in urban spaces where aesthetical values are emphasised. Seaside areas close to the city, developed with a plurality of offers, are particularly popular recreational areas to both the city’s population and visitors. A renewed interest in appealing architectural environments and a stronger conscience about Oslo’s visual characteristics should give new qualities to the areas along the fjord. This appreciation of the urban environment and lifestyle is a trend manifesting itself all over the world, and Oslo has great possibilities to use the potential provided by the contact with the fjord. Released port areas can add an identity, a competitive advantage and an image to Oslo that will contribute to strengthen the city’s attractiveness. By sustaining the most positive experiences connected to a port city, namely the cruise and ferry traffic, the city will still be able to conserve its image as a shipping city (p.29).

Opting for the post-industrial fjord city included the aim to retain one function of the port, namely maritime passenger transport, which offers economic opportunities connected to the tourist industry. In promoting a symbolic landscape as part of the entrepreneurial strategies, shipping goods attains a negative connotation to an industrial city, whereas the shipping of people signifies attractiveness to visitors.

The port city is portrayed as a predated form of societal organisation, an anti-urban expression of modernist planning and the Fordist economy. In comparison, a competitive rationale about image offers the rhetorical argument that Oslo suffers from the burden of the industrial horizon: “the question of the significance of the port areas to Oslo’s development touches to a great extent upon the question of Oslo’s image: Once a port city, always a port city? Or should Oslo now emphasise that it is a future-directed city of knowledge, culture and environment?” (City of Oslo, 1997:15). This argument underlies the overall call for urban restructuring, to which the seaside offered a space symbolically required to match the city’s horizon with its economic and cultural shifts.

The logic of the attractive city based on knowledge, culture and environment guided municipal plans in the following years. The consolidated vision was a city centre dedicated to the

knowledge society (City of Oslo, 1998). The municipality promotes a neoliberal orientation, using competitive rationales in legitimising entrepreneurial strategies:

In this mobile urban area, new locational advantages are created. Contemporary growth industries in the service sector are collocated for network advantages and easy access to a competent workforce in the attractive part of the housing market. This strengthens competence groups and image, where the latter has become an increasingly important factor as part of an information and service-based city-region. The Oslo-region is to a growing degree a competitor in a European market of cities. Oslo scores on quality of life, but not on facilitation. Facilitation comprehends in this context well-developed service and cultural sectors, which are currently central competition factors (City of Oslo, 1998:6).

The city centre is promoted as a highly strategic and symbolic area where the knowledge-based economy can be facilitated through offers to high-performing professionals. The municipality seems to argue that it functions well for the wellbeing of citizens, but that distinctive strategies targeting talent must be added by facilitating their lifestyle preferences. The discourse holds an ambivalence between universal and targeted policies in this sense, much like the argument that the breeding of talent will replace the scope on social justice in competitive cities (Florida, 2007:xv-xvi). Moreover, the competitive advantage of the city centre is addressed in its cultural forms, a means to nurture the urban economy (P. Hall, 2000).

Waterfronts have not always been developed with a clear relationship with the water, and links can also be purely visual. But the new opportunity to reconnect the city with the water have mainly been used to develop open access and public offers, yet in combination with property-development (Malone, 1996a:3). Attention to strategies of social distinction was in Oslo combined with visions of public space as a universal principle that further excluded the industrial port from future development. The municipal plan reinforced the arguments for a fjord city, alienating a port in the city as a barrier, which “suppresses urban functions and attractions that would have implied universal use value and returns of such attractive land” (City of Oslo, 1998:80). This discourse indirectly gives the message that the port appropriates the seaside without returns to the city. Public access to the seaside is emphasised as a benefit for urban society, where the port’s activities are no longer conceived to add value.

The municipality continued to contrast “urban” to industry, stressing the sustainability approach to merge both environmental and economic concerns by favouring recreation - the new, universal “use-value” of the post-industrial city. It is in this perspective that Oslo’s seaside is promoted as “the most important natural resource that can provide qualities, attractions and image which are important competitive factors in an increasingly more service-oriented economy” (City of Oslo, 1998:81). The seaside was now viewed as a space of opportunity

ending the process in which visions of Fjordbyen had incrementally been consolidated as an urban strategy, captured in the slogan promoting Oslo: “The blue, the green, the city in between”. This consolidated vision which at the municipal level had formed the essence of an urban strategy is also a technical method used to govern Fjordbyen, where the City of Oslo has built on new planning tools to guide the development process.

Governing Fjordbyen

Fjordbyen arose as a strategy of urban redevelopment policies in the decades when urban governance and planning were reorganised. In this section, I will discuss the emerging modes and the concerns raised, whereas strategies and their socio-spatial implications are treated more in depth throughout the thesis. The modes of governance and planning are here described to place them in the initial stages of the process.

The City of Oslo experienced fiscal problems during the 1980s, as public expenses grew steadily. As a response, a parliamentary system with a city government was established in 1986 as a means to improve economic steering and efficiency (Børrud, 2005:63). Anne Lise Fimreite *et al.* (2005:24-25) term the period starting in the 1980s for the liberalisation of the welfare society, characterised by a plurality of societal, sometimes conflictual goals, and by integration of sectorial regards and private actors in planning processes. Another change is the role of public authorities, from an active role such as in investments and developments, to a regulatory role, facilitating and controlling private action (Bowitz & Høegh, 2005:36). It was the entrepreneurial turn in urban redevelopment policies, where the division of tasks was not only reflected in public-private collaboration, but also in the establishment of publicly owned companies, to increase efficiency and profitability. The planning authorities’ role is to provide scenarios to influence shared visions about the future waterfront and city.

At the turn of the century, Fjordbyen was politically adopted as the desire strategy for Oslo’s seaside. In January 2000, the City Council adopted the Fjordby alternative to form the basis for the strategy to develop Oslo’s port and seaside. The largest possible shares of the seaside areas were to be redeveloped for housing, business, and recreational purposes, facilitated by the restructuring of the port through regional cooperation.²⁰ The Port Authorities followed up with a strategic development plan, in which the sale of land, such as Tjuvholmen, was to finance the industrial port’s development and relocation at Sjursøya in the far southeast of Oslo. The Agency for Planning and Building Services (PBE) contributed with a plan for how the seaside

²⁰ City Council Assemblage 19th January 2000, case 5.

could be divided into sub-areas (City of Oslo, 2000b). Using new planning tools, PBE established the Fjordbyen office to steer the process of making a plan covering the entire seaside that could run parallel to the development of Tjuvholmen and Bjørvika, which were developed by companies established for the purpose.

For Fjordbyen as an overarching and harmonious plan, a mix of scenario building, consultancy contributions and vision building were used as a planning tool. A range of ideas, perspectives and visions informed the process. As a means to engage interests in a shared vision among the various actors having stakes in the sub-areas, the municipality emphasised the mutual benefits of investments that are based on a division of tasks and responsibilities in public-private partnerships (City of Oslo, 2005:5):

Modern urban development is an interplay between political visions and decisions on the one side and private players' willingness to invest and desire for profit on the other. The political visions of an open and accessible waterfront have become a driving force pushing in the same direction as the investors who see that the closer to the water they build, the greater the profit.

Shared public-private interests are envisaged as beneficial, with a combination of private investment and public facilitation, illustrating entrepreneurial policies, whereby public authorities provide conditions for investors (Harvey, 1989b). In this current vision, the business climate provided is not by material forms or functions, but by the design desired by corporate business to provide the proper image and place for their activities, addressing the semiotic dimensions of the knowledge-based economy. The knowledge society is the rationale provided, through an emphasis on seven driving forces that include both the knowledge-based economy, competition between European regions and culture as a growth factor (City of Oslo, 2005:5). The municipality thus builds on what can be termed the new economic imaginary for state intervention (M. Jones, 2008:378).

A set of visions were politically defined, whereby the City Council advocated that Fjordbyen should contribute to Oslo's regional and national role and be sustainable by new offers of public transport, allowing social diversity and the presence of nature. Three scenarios were chosen to inform the selected and cross-disciplinary consultant groups who in the Fjordbyen charrette were to build on Oslo's recreational, innovative and metropolitan potential, to be accommodated by the production of space and the designed landscape.

Scenario-building as a tool in urban planning

The municipality's task to coordinate consultants and interests around some overarching

principles illustrates new forms of governance in the field of urban planning, whereby three aspects are interesting in the case of Oslo.

First, the formulation of visions and scenarios in Fjordbyen represent new instruments in national and transnational strategic spatial planning processes. These tools became popular in planning in the 1980s (Shiple, 2000). Their aim is to draw models of the future in which technical and political goals are brought together, sometimes also consisting of public and private agents and their respective goals (Fabbro & Mesolella, 2010). Yet the use of vision in planning tends to be characterised by a weak analytical basis and more reliance on assumptions (Shiple, 2000). In the words of Frank Gaffikin and Ken Sterrett (2006:162), “vision planning is premised on the idea that the best way to predict a more uncertain future is to have the inventiveness and reflexivity to create it”. The Fjordbyen charrette reflected such attempts to deal with uncertainties about future needs and wants, and to apprehend tendencies in a long-term perspective.

Second, use of spatial visions is based on the aim to coordinate several and often different interests in projects that are vulnerable due to complexity in the future spatial process and development. It is also used as a method to enhance participation in planning processes (Dühr *et al.*, 2010:223). The formulation of visions for Fjordbyen was aimed to assemble the development companies around an overarching set of principles and aims. By so doing, some general continuities and consistencies could be assured. The Fjordbyen charrette, a series of workshops organised by the municipality during a week in 2004 was aimed to make the planning participative and more creative, with the inclusion of different visions and approaches. Three consultancy groups, mainly composed of architects and engineers, were invited to outline separate scenarios for the future waterfront on which the municipality could draw the Fjordbyen plan (City of Oslo, 2005). These were *Oslo Park*, Europe’s green capital city; *Oslo Network*, the city as a meeting place; and *Oslo Large*, a metropolis by the fjord. The scenarios were thus based upon the visions outlined by the City Council. The Fjordbyen charrette mainly engaged professionals, and the results were presented at a public conference in the City Hall. Local associations working on urban development, including some of the organisers of the Fjord and the City competition, criticised the scenario-building for ignoring broad citizen participation, a prerequisite for the original concept of charrette as developed in the New Urbanism movement.

Third, the concerns with attractiveness characteristic to entrepreneurial policies and competitive strategies informed the scope and the role of the consultancy groups. The scenarios were presented and debated at the public conference in April 2005, where, in the words of the

Vice Mayor for Urban Development, elements were extracted to promote Fjordbyen as Oslo's new trading mark, to symbolise innovation, R&D, recreation and city promotion.²¹ The elaboration of visions and scenarios adhered to the marketing of Fjordbyen follows international trends of promoting the post-industrial city. Visions are elaborated for cities and municipalities, regularly in the form of slogans used in city marketing (Cf. Holcomb, 1994b). The vision of Oslo and Fjordbyen was in the 2000s merged, when Oslo's municipal plan promoted "City of the Fjord", "City of Culture" and "City of Knowledge" (City of Oslo, 2004a:23). Urban redevelopment is used as a strategy for the realisation of the vision "Oslo the capital - city of environment, knowledge, culture and the fjord", in which Fjordbyen is a central element (p.31). Vision and promotion were thus merged in the strategic planning.

With the introduction of public-private partnerships in urban redevelopment policies, one alleged advantage is that politicians can concentrate on strategic planning and developers can handle details. In Gro Sandkjær Hanssen's (2012:40) thesis research on planning and participation in Norwegian municipalities, a central finding was that many politicians lacked the capability to give strategic master plans clear aims and visions, following the ideal of strategic leadership. In the case of Fjordbyen, the city government seems to exercise strategic leadership, and the parliamentary system assures political consensus around central political decisions, the level at which the Fjordbyen plan is adopted. The question of interest here is the extent to which goals of socio-spatial cohesion gain force in the development process.

Fjordbyen and the aim of social inclusion

Fjordbyen development plan was finally adopted by the City Council in 2008. It gives political guidelines from Oslo's City Council to overall principles in Fjordbyen and for unplanned subareas (City of Oslo, 2008b).²² The plan begins by stating that "Fjordbyen is Oslo's large sustainable development project at the urban seaside, and should provide access, variety and cultural and recreational experiences for all" (p.6). By stressing that Fjordbyen should be universally accessible and varied, social and cultural diversity can be seen as a goal:

Fjordbyen will vitalise, create pride and belonging, as well as assuring public access to "the values of bliss" by the water. Fjordbyen will also be open to future lifestyles and the unexpected. In order to succeed, a broad understanding of Fjordbyen as an urban development project with

²¹ Observation and notes from the conference, 1 April, 2005.

²² In addition to Bjørsvika and Tjuvholmen, three subareas targeted in the Fjordbyen plan should add different qualities to Oslo. Development of the outlet of the river Alna was abandoned when the City Council in 2009 decided to accommodate a permanent industrial port at Sjursøya. Vippetangen as a cultural and historical experience destination should strengthen the role of the foreland Akersneset. Filipstad should provide central and recreational areas with possibilities for activities for large development programmes, including housing offers.

housing offers and other activities suitable to all kinds of population groups has to be attained. Fjordbyen must be approached globally in order to secure increased quality of life for as many as possible among the city's and region's inhabitants. Long-term societal gain is the priority (City of Oslo, 2008b:7, emphasis in original).

This vision points to how the redeveloped seaside should imply inclusiveness not only in terms of recreation and public spaces along the fjord, but also in terms of the residential composition of the new neighbourhoods. The city council decided thereby that a minimum of ten percent of rental housing in the sub-areas of Fjordbyen was to be "reasonably priced" rental apartments (City of Oslo, 2008b:9). The municipality does in this way signal commitment to an inclusive strategy for the waterfront development. At this point in time, social dimensions of waterfront planning had become more in focus (Bayliss, 2004). The Fjordbyen plan attested awareness about social inclusion as a necessary goal in this mega-project developed in Oslo's centre.

Spatial cohesion is also emphasised in the aims for Fjordbyen. The seaside's various areas are aimed to be cohesive, by functional and visual connections with the rest of the city centre (City of Oslo, 2008b:3-4). This latter concern is reflected in the goal to provide functions and attractions in Fjordbyen that are not found in the city. Each subarea should further have a special profile, adding distinctiveness and variety to Oslo. The plan reflects many of the visions expressed in the 1980s, including that the region is the scale on which Fjordbyen should be promoted in fields such as innovation, recreation, marketing/image building and tourism" (City of Oslo, 2008b:3-4). The role of Fjordbyen as an exposition platform to an international market and as "a knowledge region" is inscribed in competitive aims (p.4). Compared to the municipal plans of the 1980s, specific functions are not listed in the range of aims described, indicating that the main role of the municipality is to define and conserve overarching principles - to formulate visions - as well as assessing quantitative aspects of the sub-areas in the form of the respective proportions of functions and the volumes of the built environment.

The planning tools available to the municipality were restricted by the role given to companies which had their own interests and aims for the seaside areas. This condition is illustrated by the answer of the director of the Fjordbyen office to questions on responsibility for realising the visions for social diversity in Bjørvika, posed by artist Ingrid Lønningdal (2010) to agents involved in the development: "Since this point is directed and addressed at the will of politicians and the strategic choices made by the owners in Bjørvika, it is not natural that PBE with its role as planning authorities answer these questions". The director's position illustrates how decision-making powers have shifted from planning authorities to companies. Herein, public-private partnership implies that the planning authorities mainly have a coordinating role

to consolidate shared visions. The development of Bjørvika and Tjuvholmen illustrate the agency of publicly and privately owned companies in Fjordbyen.

Governance by publicly owned companies in Bjørvika

The 1980s constituted a shift in urban governance in Oslo, the decade when entrepreneurial approaches and neoliberal policies mainly evolved (T. Hall & Hubbard, 1998). The City of Oslo's fiscal decline contrasted the growth in the private economy. As a response to the aim of economic management and efficiency, the city's political system was reformed in 1986 with the new structure of a city government and a parliamentary system (Børrud, 2005). Oslo's planning administration was also restructured in 1992, as a response to the new call for public-private partnership in the realm of urban re/development. The reorganisation signalled the shift from managerial steering with modernist aims to project and area-based planning and private developers in the lead. According to Elin Børrud (*Ibid.*), the development of Bjørvika is a testament to the political call for market-led development. The planning process follows governance principles that imply more focus on economic profit and less on social and cultural diversity (Bergsli, 2005; Nergaard, 2006; Apall-Olsen, 2012).

As early as 1985, the redevelopment of Bjørvika was prioritised in the initial phases of the waterfront development. Bjørvika was a complicated area, since not only had port structures been obstacles to redevelopment, but so had transport systems. Next to Oslo's central train station, Bjørvika was "a monument" of modernist planning, favouring land-use for road systems and port infrastructure, that had come to be seen as a pandemonium of concrete and pollutions close to one of the "gates" of Oslo. Bjørvika had evolved as a response to Fordism, yet with fragmentation and lack of spatial connections (Aspen, 1997:359). The massive material constructions and fragmented ownership were challenges to be overcome, requiring public-public and public-private cooperation, as well as improved connections to Bjørvika's surroundings. This was a means to assure access to the seaside and to conform to aims about spatial cohesion. Urban waterfronts are often complicated areas due to rail- and motorway infrastructure, military land, poor soil conditions, and complex land ownership. The earliest works in geography on waterfronts dealt mainly with changes in land use, port/trade relations and infrastructure (Hoyle *et al.*, 1988; Hoyle, 1990) and with more ecological and technical aspects of these developments (K. N. White *et al.*, 1993). Yet, complexity in governance models characterises and challenges the projects to the same degree as the technical issues do.



Illustration 9. The plan for Bjørvika, Sørenga, Kongsbakken and Grønlia. Source: HAV Eiendom AS and ViaNova AS.

Though the City of Oslo is the main public authority in charge Fjordbyen, central state and national government are importantly involved. Redevelopment of Oslo's eastern seaside fully depended on central state engagement, since a solution for the state highway crossing Bjørvika was a prerequisite. The solution was an underwater tunnel, which was launched as part of national transport plans in the 1980s (Ministry of Labour and Government Administration, 2002).²³ Another prerequisite was to establish an agreement between the landowners, the largest being Oslo Port Authorities and Norwegian Railways. The former established the development company HAV, and the latter OSU (Oslo S Development) owned with equal shares of state-owned property companies Entra and the Norwegian railways real estate company ROM, together with a smaller share of the private development company Linstow (see figure 2 below). Negotiations between the owners were initiated in 2001 and resulted in the establishment of the company Bjørvika Development limited. The central state and the municipality are not involved in the company, and were to sell the estates with pre-emption to this company, yet at market price. The owners were to finance physical infrastructure in the area, whereas Oslo Municipality was to finance social infrastructure.

²³ The total costs of the restructuring (2 800 mill. NOK) were to be financed through the government budget (1 150 mill.), user financing (1 200 mill.), sales of land (300 mill.) and contribution from Oslo municipality (150 mill.) (Ministry of Labour and Government Administration, 2002:14).

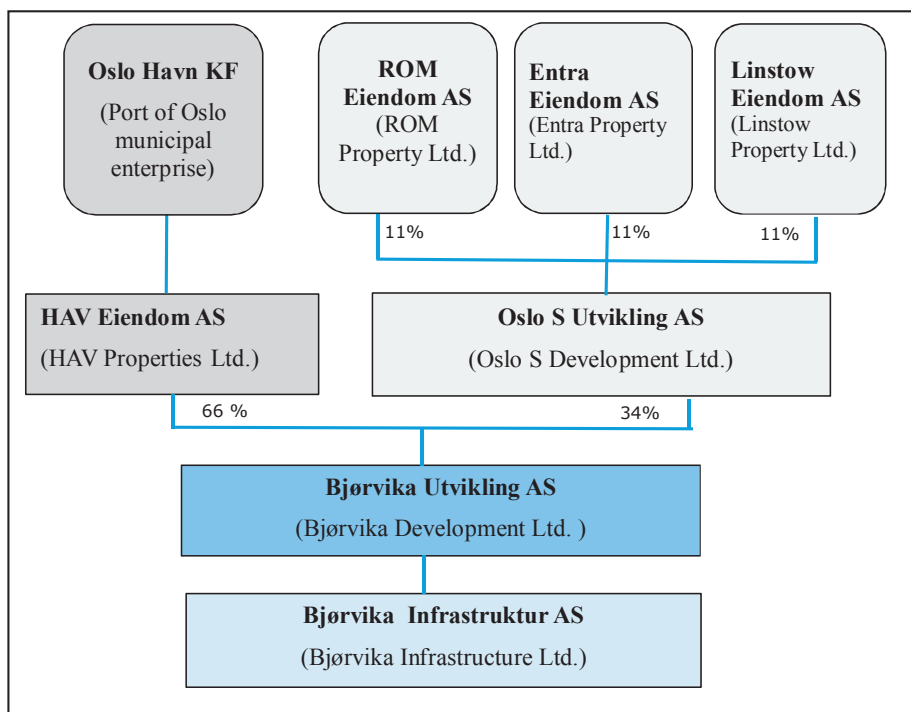


Figure 2. The ownership of Bjørvika. Source: Based on illustration by Bjørvika Utvikling AS.

Bjørvika Development is owned by the respective land-owners. The company should assure a more efficient development process that is liberated from political constraints. The members of the board of Bjørvika Development represent the owner companies. There is thus no political representation, in contrast to the board of the Port of Oslo. The challenge of this form of new public management is the extent to which the limited company allows transparency, for instance in agreeing to align the Norwegian Freedom of Information Act, “which facilitates an open and transparent public administration, and thereby strengthen freedom of information and expression, democratic participation, legal safeguards for the individual, confidence in the public authorities and control by the public. The Act shall also facilitate the re-use of public information”.²⁴ A limited company is generally not object to the act.

²⁴ <http://www.ub.uio.no/ujur/ulovdata/lov-20060519-016-eng.pdf>, retrieved 8 April, 2015.



Illustration 10. Bjørvika rising.

The leader of the board of the Port Authorities argues that the economic considerations that this form of governance must assure are a fundamental basis for development:

The economic angle was important to us initially, which was also the reason why we organised the corporation as the port's daughter company, as a municipal corporation at the time, to prevent that the redevelopment process went so wrong that the entire port went bankrupt, that you went down with it (...). The experience background in Oslo was that those who developed Aker Brygge lost two billion [NOK]. And Oslo Municipality, who tried to develop the area around Vaterland and Galleri Oslo [north-east of Oslo Central station] etc., lost hundreds of millions, and ended up in court with the bank, a terrible disaster, really. So the point of departure was organisation and structure and overall economic planning and management, to avoid a disaster. That was at stake initially, not those kinds of, oh, what kind of city do we want, this will be great, etc. etc.²⁵

The leader of the board states financial concerns as the rational background for economic sustainability and hence the use of a limited company in Bjørvika, based on the experience that area-based development projects - both private and public - had been risky in Oslo. The strategic entrepreneurial perspective selected also implied the construction of office buildings catered to the performing businesses. The economic rationale is used to justify the lack of priority of social aims, which nonetheless are included in the Fjordbyen plan adopted by the City Council, but only years after Bjørvika was initiated (in 2008). Operating the land by the appointment of a company reduces economic risks, yet at the same time risks ignoring wider political and societal concerns in urban redevelopment. The creation of limited companies to steer urban development increases the risk of reducing democratic control and public accountability (Brenner &

²⁵ Interview 13 October, 2009.

Theodore, 2002:365). It raises questions about public interest when municipal responsibilities are taken by extensive use of commercial instruments.

The call for efficiency in public affairs

The development plan of Bjørvika was made by cooperation between various municipal agencies and the companies owning the land. In 2000, certain facilities chosen to guide the development were a new Opera House, an underwater tunnel, projected roads, a medieval park and a site for the Museum of cultural history. Four consultant teams were assigned to propose plans for Bjørvika that could inform the planning process (City of Oslo, 2000a). The public authorities and companies evaluating the proposals made some general conclusions that would together inform the plans. An important dimension assessed at this stage was that Bjørvika should include the extension of Oslo's capital functions and an enforcement of Oslo as a regional centre.

Bjørvika was to strengthen the image of Oslo as a modern city in growth by clear directions on the quality of aesthetics, buildings and public spaces (p.10). One of the conclusions is that the aspired attractiveness could not be accomplished by the municipality, which was conceived as incapable of providing the standard of maintenance required:

[a]s ideals of how this should be organised, Aker Brygge and Nydalen can be studied. In both areas this is established in terms of how shared spaces are partially publicly owned, but also from the realisation that municipal standards of maintenance will mean a fall of the estates' values. The realisation of the significance of maintenance to the value creation in Bjørvika too, should be a basis for planning of the outdoor areas as early as in the initial stage. A well-organised, shared maintenance of spacious parks, squares and streets could make Bjørvika the attraction everybody wishes the district to be (p.13).

The public authorities thus claim that Bjørvika's potential attractiveness is better preserved by a company than by municipal services. Advocating the need for public-private partnership follows the neoliberal prescription of the likeliness or the inevitability of state failure (Jessop, 2002b:107). In Bjørvika, the idea about the lack of quality characterising municipal services illustrates how private services are favoured to create distinction, as the spaces are in Bjørvika are held to require higher standards than in the rest of the city.

The governance structure selected and the fact that the Port Authorities appointed their own limited company is according to the board leader making the development processes less lengthy and more efficient. The company is seen to be more goal-oriented, yet brutal, and consequently more efficient than the municipality, in which internal discussions and struggles

between municipal bodies may restrict and delay action.²⁶ The company structure also provides the Port Authorities with an assurance that reduces the financial risks of public investments. The leader holds that the advantage of a publicly owned company is that it will more likely take social responsibility and make public offers, compared to the liabilities of a private developer. The publicly owned company is therefore conceived as fusing the advantages of both public and private governance. A central state officer engaged in the planning of Bjørvika defines the project as a unique cooperation, but whereas a company structure may reduce financial risks, dependency on market precepts may increase risks concerning social responsibility and quality:

[w]hat steering opportunities does one have? (...). Bjørvika is not a classical public-private collaboration (...), even though there are some elements. I truly understand the discussions, that here you privatise and sell kind of the filet mignon of Oslo. I do understand that concern, and I share it. Because it is like a bold venture...It is an experiment, to see how it goes. So the public authorities have not completely let it go, as I, a bit naively, assume and hope.²⁷

The public responsibility and government opportunities in Bjørvika are conceived as risky in the mode of governance selected. Public ownership does not make a difference to the functioning of a limited company, unless the shareholders decide to include aims and measures targeting public interest. The city government decided to locate cultural institutions in Bjørvika that the company agreed to, and the Port of Oslo included a price reduction in the sales contract for Tjuvholmen in exchange of the development of a cultural offer. Yet, the similarities in governance between Bjørvika and Tjuvholmen are more evident than the differences.

Governance by a private company at Tjuvholmen

The land of Tjuvholmen in the western parts of Fjordbyen was sold by the Port of Oslo to finance the relocation and development of the industrial port. The Port Authorities included certain prerequisites in the concept competition, organised to select an investor and developer. The selection rested on combined attention to the price offer and the architectural solution. An open exhibition in 2002 gave the population an opportunity to identify with eight visions of Tjuvholmen, and to express their point of view by voting on their favourite project. Despite its participative approach, the process in Tjuvholmen was still controversial and questioned in terms of who had the right to decide upon urban redevelopment.²⁸ Four aspects do in particular illustrate the controversies.

²⁶ Interview 13 October, 2009.

²⁷ Interview 5 May, 2009.

²⁸ Interview 13 October, 2009.

First, the Port Authorities required that the developer buying the land assure a franchise of 500 million NOK, essentially allowing only the largest real estate companies to participate in the competition (Nordahl *et al.*, 2011:120-128). *Second*, because of internal disagreement in the jury, it favoured the proposal Fjordparken, but also recommended the project Utsyn. The city government followed the jury's advice to favour Fjordparken, whereas the port authorities and the majority of the public voting during the exhibition favoured Utsyn. The City Council voted in December 2002 in favour of Utsyn, thus setting aside the jury's first choice. Some critics argued that this decision was based on the lobbying of the Utsyn team, whereas others thought the City Council was listening to "the people's vote", even though the internet voting was not representative (it was possible to vote several times). Some 8 500 people had visited the exhibition, among which 5 500 voted. 16 000 people cast an internet vote. *Third*, the lack of transparent documentation and agreements in the process was criticised, as was the readiness of the City Council to accept the lack of political steering and control through the sale of Tjuvholmen. The national newspaper Aftenposten wrote in an editorial on 20 November 2002 that "[i]n Oslo, the sale of public property to the investor with the highest bid is a substitute to an urban planner", a quote used by a member of the City Council to indicate the lack of political decision-making, rendering the politicians "extras" on the stage of Oslo's redevelopment.²⁹ *Finally*, criticism was made that the two projects selected by the jury were the proposals that suggested the most intensive land-use. Even though it conformed to the principle of compact urbanism, it added to the owner's financial surpluses.

Critique within Oslo's administration is rarely made public, and in the case of Tjuvholmen, the autonomous Assembly of urban architecture appointed by the municipality voiced critique at the web pages of the planning authorities, which would not have been made otherwise. The Assembly was highly critical of the process, and did not want to recommend either of the two projects selected by the jury.³⁰ It stated that Tjuvholmen is one of Oslo's most prominent and exposed areas, and an initial phase of Fjordbyen. Therefore, it would be both politically and urbanistically significant as a test-field for the preservation of the city's - that is, the inhabitants' - needs when public property is handed over to private interests. The assembly warned against leaving the city's urban and social quality to powers overruling the politicians, by neglecting the universal premises of the common good. Judged by the municipality's own outspoken premises in the development of Tjuvholmen, both proposals were seen to "exceed the

²⁹ The Committee of Urban Development, 4 December, 2002, Case 362.

³⁰ <http://www.plan-og-bygningsetaten.oslo.kommune.no/article27189-7991.html?articleID=27189&categoryID=7991>, retrieved 18 November, 2012.

frames of a responsible development of such a locally delimited and centrally located, urban sensitive and symbolical land lot”.³¹ The assembly therefore urged the City Council to be accountable of the process. The assembly of architectural and engineering professionals voiced the lack of political steering that the Agency of Planning and Building Services could not express. However, the agency published the Assembly’s regrets and warnings. Thus, having limited the options for the development of Tjuvholmen first in the Port Authorities’ call, and secondly in the jury’s recommendations, the political steering possibilities were largely restricted, as was a substantial debate about the concrete development of Fjordbyen.



Illustration 11. Tjuvholmen. Source: Niels Torp Arkitekt/ Knut Ramstad.

Though Bjørvika and Tjuvholmen are different in terms of company ownership, the operation and use of business precepts in their organisation reduce their dissimilarities in outcome. A central reason is likely to be the wide acceptance that urban redevelopment is market-based in the Norwegian context. The political parties in the city government, the Conservative party, the Progress Party and the Social Liberal Party, favour by ideological grounds market liberalisation. With the rise in general neoliberal trends, conducting market-led urban redevelopment is further rationalised. The majority of the City Council agrees to these policies and the call for attractiveness, perhaps because transnational competitive narratives call for a knowledge city to ensure economic development and the support of the middle classes. Such narratives also contribute to the promotion of Oslo as part of entrepreneurial strategies.

³¹ <http://www.plan-og-bygningsetaten.oslo.kommune.no/article27189-7991.html?articleID=27189&categoryID=7991>, retrieved 18 November, 2012.

Promoting the knowledge city

Plans for Oslo and Fjordbyen are conformed to target the knowledge society, as formulated in visions and concretised in aims for the Fjordbyen project. The entrepreneurial approach selected in Oslo follow transnational modes of political reorientation. These are connected to competitive abilities to position cities internationally (Holcomb, 1994a). The scope selected in Oslo includes attention to a competitive workforce and the stimulation of local innovation and business performance. The knowledge-based economy is promoted, as is the creative class.

Nearly 40 percent of the working population in Oslo and Akershus has higher education, which is among the highest numbers in EU-regions (Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, 2007b:94). In the Oslo region, knowledge-intensive business services (KIBS) and other technologically advanced industries have become central to the economy. A majority of the largest companies in Norway are located in the Oslo-region, with a large concentration of headquarters, KIBS and venture capital characterised by extensive collaboration (Isaksen & Vatne, 2005:297). In the broader entity of producer services, there have also been significant increases in wage inequality between skilled and unskilled employees internally to the branches in the 1990s (Wessel, 2005:1565). As Terje Wessel points out, this trend in Oslo supports global city theory. This theory suggests that growth in high-paid service jobs are followed with growth in low-paid service jobs (Sassen, 2000).

The aim to develop Oslo as a knowledge city is defined in municipal plans. The means is to increase its overall innovative capacities and competences, specifically targeted in the sectors of life sciences, maritime, ICT, energy & environment and cultural industries. These sectors are identified as Oslo's most innovative fields (Onsager *et al.*, 2010), and are defined as clusters by Oslo Teknopol, the joint promotional agency of Oslo and the county Akershus. The agency has had a central role in the marketing of Oslo through the promotion of the city-region as a knowledge-based business destination. In addition to the promotion and development of the targeted clusters, the agency has worked to promote Oslo's lifestyle qualities by use of the discourse of the creative city, in highlighting "Oslo's attractiveness for talent and knowledge-intensive industry".³²

Oslo Teknopol has been in charge of promoting Fjordbyen internationally,³³ and the Fjordbyen plan includes the agency's promotional goals. The waterfront is aimed to provide both

³² <http://www.oslo.teknopol.no/MainMenu/About-us/> retrieved 1 February, 2012.

³³ Oslo Teknopol was closed down due to lack of results in 2010, but the new promotional agency of Oslo has adopted the same discourse on the creative city. The agency, Oslo Business Region, combines, according to its webpage, international profiling, place positioning and information with startup support services, talent and

spaces for innovation and a representative landscape symbolising a competitive city. Fjordbyen's role in increasing Oslo's competitiveness through innovation and business is consequently considered to be important (City of Oslo, 2008b:9):

The Oslo-region is the core area for research and development in Norway, and will in the future increasingly compete with European city-regions for capital, labour and business localisation. The role of Fjordbyen can in this connection be to strengthen Oslo's attractiveness at a general level or to facilitate specific zones as breeding grounds specifically targeting innovation. Oslo Teknopol has defined five clusters in the region (...). To these, Fjordbyen can be an exposition platform towards an international market, and visualise Oslo as a region of knowledge.

The role of Fjordbyen to Oslo as a knowledge region is proposed to be a potential clustering that could include incubators or other active measures to stimulate innovation, but there is more attention to the symbolic landscape as an image-generating design strategy.

The aims of Fjordbyen formulated throughout the 1980s and 1990s were to attract new offers not existing in Oslo. As the sub-areas develop, there are few signs that Fjordbyen will locate new business or innovative small and medium-sized firms. Mainly national companies or companies already present in Oslo have located in the office buildings accomplished. These are financial institutions and KIBS such as the Norwegian DNB bank headquarters and the PriceWatersCoopers. In the economic sectors, no new offers have been created except in terms of new business infrastructure (offices), which means that the new waterfront areas rather contribute to relocations instead of new establishments. Fjordbyen does, however, add to the visualisation of the shift to a knowledge society, by design of a landscape which signals entrepreneurial strategies to attract leading businesses.

Adopting the creative class thesis in the Norwegian context

With a renewed focus on innovation in the scope of the knowledge-based economy, both national government and Oslo's city government adopted the creative class thesis in the 2000s. The centre-left coalition government developed a competitive-creative agenda in the white paper, "Promoting tolerance, security and creativity in the Oslo region". However, the government added a welfare perspective, by envisioning "a tolerant, secure and creative Oslo-region by the principles of the Nordic model of welfare solutions in the interest of citizens and

investment recruiting, and regional business development: One of the four focus areas of the agency is international promotion, where the ambition is for Oslo "to be one of the most innovative cities in Europe - a city of talents. This means a creative capital with talent, technology and tolerance as key components. Oslo Business Region work to highlight these qualities, through digital channels in particular, to attract more talents, companies and investors to increase the city-region's value creation". Whereas Oslo Teknopol was owned by both the City of Oslo and the Akershus County, working for regional promotion and growth, Oslo Business Region is owned by the City of Oslo alone. <http://www.oslobusinessregion.no/about/#about-oslo-business-region>, retrieved 25 March, 2015.

business in the region and in the country at large” (Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, 2007a:5). Oslo was promoted as an engine of growth, as a more attractive and internationally competitive capital region to the benefit of Norway (p.5). The goal of competitiveness and growth were combined with the goal of attractiveness by creating quality of place because companies establish “where skilled and competent people want to live” (Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, 2007b:92). The focus is on the role of human capital, referred to as the entire contribution of the workforce, yet with emphasis on its quality, i.e. the educational level of the workforce and social institutions (p.93). Its aim to include the entire population is contradicted by the distinction of people with specific qualifications.

The City of Oslo has stressed the city’s culture and creativity since the 1990s. In line with the white paper cited above, the city council combines social aims with the creative city thesis, as is emphasised in the city vision stated in the municipal plan: “Oslo will be a tolerant, socially inclusive capital that embraces diversity and a wide range of lifestyles. It will be a city in which it is easy to succeed and difficult to fail. Oslo will be one of the most innovative cities in Europe, fostering creativity and value creation” (City of Oslo, 2008a:28). As with national government, the city council stresses how the drive for creativity will be aligned to social inclusion and diversity. The first goal defined in the municipal plan is, however, that Oslo will be an internationally attractive city and a driving force in the city-region (p.29).

Most explicitly informed by this thesis is the governing mayor’s biennial speech on “the city’s condition” given to the city council: attention to Oslo’s challenges in terms of talent, technology and tolerance would help to “lift the gaze” (Lae, 2005:1). The speech focused on new preferences for urbanity, favouring the recreational and cultural dimensions of Oslo as a means of increasing competitiveness. However, business and not individuals were seen as Oslo’s “creators of wealth”. In this way, the discourse deviates from the creative class thesis (See Florida, 2005), by emphasis on shared rather than individual resources. The performance of a competitive workforce is however argued as a prerequisite for the municipality’s resource distribution (Lae, 2005:2). These discourses on the creative class are connected to the redevelopment policies carried out in Fjordbyen, as they are engaged to justify the selected policies of attractiveness. Fjordbyen can be conceived of as a consolidated strategy to symbolise the restructuring of Oslo.

The fjord city as a consolidated vision

I have discussed the evolving plans for Fjordbyen as an urban redevelopment strategy in Oslo's wider restructuring. The aims to develop Fjordbyen emerged at the moment when both industry and the inner city were declining. The new visions of the seaside were thereby launched before the middle classes started to move back to the inner city, as a means to attract them. The civic initiative to transform the seaside was in this way aimed at recreation as a core strategy. With gentrification and new attention to the role of cities in the rising knowledge-based economy, the Fjordbyen project was enforced as a multifunctional and consolidating strategy in urban restructuring. It was further consolidated by the meta-narrative of the knowledge society and on theories of the creative class. The opportunities of agents to transform their interests to political visions, project and strategies depend on material resources and possibilities, but also on their capability to formulate and achieve support for ideas and conceptions (Dannestam, 2009:55). Political consensus about Oslo's restructuring is based on these opportunities and capabilities.

The plans for Fjordbyen illustrate how Oslo was distanced from its industrial past. They align what David Harvey (1989b:9) termed the entrepreneurial city, whereby the city has to appear as "an innovating, exciting, creative, and safe place to live or to visit, to play and consume in". Oslo's restructuring is a natural response to requirements following from deindustrialisation, as in many European cities (Savitch & Kantor, 2002: Ch.1). Fjordbyen purports Oslo's restructuring in a shared narrative, recreating what Tove Dannestam (2009:284-285) refers to as "the transformed city" discourse which is transported by various range of stakeholders in the city. What is interesting in the case of Oslo is the force of the discourses on the knowledge society in assembling consensus about a comprehensive urban strategy. These findings support Jessop's (2004:167) argument that "in periods of major social restructuring, diverse economic, political, social and cultural narratives may intersect as they seek to give meaning to current problems by construing them in terms of past failures and future possibilities". These failures are in Oslo connected to the past industrial economy whereby the seaside gives a territory spatializing and symbolising the shift to a knowledge society. This shift further implies that companies are delegated or established to materialise the strategy, whereas the role of public authorities is to elaborate a consolidated vision to be shared among the agents carrying out the development.

Fjordbyen further represents a rather local strategy by the vision expressed through the scenarios *Oslo Park*, Europe's green capital city; *Oslo Network*, the city as a meeting place; and *Oslo Large*, a metropolis by the fjord. Though the environmental aspirations for Fjordbyen are

high, this scenario no more than the other two has a scope on what happens inside the perimeter. The green capital city and the environmental strategy could have included innovative environmental activities and functions which made the strategy represent international goals. As in the aim for Fjordbyen, it is to be an exposition platform by providing a symbolic landscape, but there are no knowledge institutions, incubators or knowledge parks developed.

National urban policies are aligned the city government's policies in promoting the Oslo region as contributing to national growth as reterritorialized competitive space. Regional force still rests on municipal and county collaboration in the capital region, where a cohesive regional polycentric strategy is still lacking. From aims at staggering urban growth during the 20th century, both city and national governments support the growth as a competitive force in the global economy, conforming to the acceptance and support of free market competition also between territories, as advocated in neoliberal policies where market logics are naturalised (Peck & Tickell, 2002a:47). A neoliberal rationale is also found in the governance model selected for Fjordbyen, whereby publicly owned companies are established and private companies delegated the task of carrying out the actual development. Urban redevelopment policies in Oslo have come to be distanced from the principles of the Keynesian welfare state, whereby macro-economic management and social and spatial redistribution are central aims (Peck, 2003:222). In the next chapter, I discuss the case of Euroméditerranée in the restructuring of Marseille with the same scope as I did in this chapter. The discussion shows that modernist planning principles connected to the Keynesian welfare state are retained in Euroméditerranée, but that the strategic rationales of the waterfront project share characteristics with Fjordbyen.

5. A EURO-MEDITERRANEAN METROPOLIS

Marseille epitomises the port city. It has been a city of transit and trade, nurtured by its port and the mobility of goods and people that follows. Historically, it was a stronghold in the Mediterranean Sea region. Yet from the 1970s, Marseille suffered from the economic crises. Recession spurred an extensive state-led strategy to restructure Marseille's economy. Marseille's role as a metropolitan core had been hindered by intra-regional competition and decline in population and economic activities. Business and stakeholders in Marseille failed in diversifying the economy, as port cities such as Hamburg had done after the crises of the 1970s (Savitch & Kantor, 2002:7). Marseille's restructuring had to generate growth, whereby the derelict port areas offered a territory. This territory was to become Euroméditerranée.

Contextualising Marseille's waterfront project Euroméditerranée means addressing the conditions by which its renaissance became a necessity. As in Oslo, the restructuring of Marseille includes Euroméditerranée, a large-scale redevelopment project offering hope after deindustrialisation. But in contrast to Oslo, several territorial authorities are engaged in the decision-making coalition established to politically inform the public development agency. Central state has the leading role in the project. Central government prepared the project through two appointed missions which I will discuss as important stages in the planning process. The second one represents an innovative tool with a scope on social cohesion and participation that is rare in waterfront development. Their actions illustrate the role of politics in negotiating global trends of redevelopment and competitive policies.

I will discuss Marseille's development in terms of the scales on which Euroméditerranée is targeted in urban restructuring and the geographical imaginaries grounding the project's visions and aims. As in Oslo, the regional scale is conceived of as a means to consolidate a metropolis countable in global, territorial competition. But whereas the regional scale in the case of Fjordbyen is an abstract spatial entity, the waterfront project's expanded reach as a metropolitan centre of recreation, the involvement of territorial authorities in Euroméditerranée concretises regional and other scales in targeted action.

The rise and fall of an industrial city

Marseille has been conceived as a city oriented to the Mediterranean rather than to its hinterlands (Langevin, 2007a). Throughout the centuries, it had a status of autonomy and self-rule,

sometimes rebellious and independent, at other times restricted by external rule (Dell’Umbria, 2006). Today, attempts are made to enforce Marseille as a regional stronghold, resembling some of the aspirations for the city in the 19th century, when the port and adjacent areas were modernised and other metropolitan functions developed.

The industrial port of Marseille was constructed between 1844 and 1854 on the northern shores of the city centre when the Vieux Port was saturated (Fournier & Mazzella, 2004a). The redevelopment of the port implied the extension of the city centre by a connection between the old and new ports in and beyond the new street rue de la République (p.31). Commercial changes, population growth and insalubrity were challenges addressed. From 1846 to 1866, the population had increased from 183 000 to 300 000 inhabitants (p.30). Another reason for the investments was the desire to secure “the future of the grand emporium, the aspired capital of the Mediterranean that one envisaged” (Roncayolo, 1996:57). Marseille was conceived as a strategic city in the second French empire, a potential radiant metropolis that could benefit and position France in the Mediterranean pan-region and beyond. As today, modernisation in the early industrial period was to be channelled, aestheticized and symbolised in and by the city centre. The project implied material and social renovation in the new axis between the ports. In 1861-62, 16 000 inhabitants were removed from the city centre and placed in new residences in the district of Belle de Mai (Fournier & Mazzella, 2004a:33). However, the buildings constructed to house the bourgeoisie did not attract this class, who mainly preferred the southern districts of Marseille (Bouillon, 2007).

Modernisation also required proper infrastructure and communication networks that could enhance the city’s position and role nationally and internationally. The train station Saint Charles was built in 1848. The enterprise of the docks *La Compagnie des Docks et Entrepôts* was established at la Joliette in 1864, operating for two decades until the central state gave Marseille’s Chamber of Industry and Commerce (CCIMP) the authorisation to construct and maintain the hangars and instalment of the new basins. The aim was that the port should again become “local”, since the Parisians were said to have “confiscated” their port in 1864 (Bonillo & Borruy, 1991:182). By 1881, the port was largely modernised and competitive when it was conveyed to local agents. It developed as a “mediator” of activity, work and urban development, increasing its importance to Marseille’s economy. Until the 1960s, Marseille benefited from its location as the southward reach of France and by maritime connections to the colonial empire. Industrial activities were mainly related to the port. In 1930, Marseille contained a population of 600 000, among which many workers were employed within the sectors of oil, soap and alimentary production, chemicals and metallurgy (Langevin, 2007a:9). The port and the

industries were controlled by a small group of bourgeois families (Zalio, 1995). Like the investment banks, their activities were locally oriented, though they were more invested in oriental trade than in local production (Garnier & Zimmermann, 2007:162).

A region without a metropolis

Even in the 1930s, local intellectuals tried to promote “metropolitan Marseille” through political-institutional changes. They called for new economic policies and radical modernisation, aimed to enhance a “capital of the Mediterranean” with a recreational city centre (Castel, 1932; Castel & Ballard, 1934). The vision did not spill into local policies, and whereas industrial and territorial specialisation enhanced a regional division of production in the post-war period, Marseille did not develop as a regional centre (Roncayolo, 2002:98). New centres of innovation and industry developed in neighbouring municipalities, in what was termed “a region without a metropolis” (Morel in Langevin, 2007a:10). The range of mainly state-led projects developed in the region in the post-war period accounted for Marseille’s lack of centrality.³⁴ They have developed as self-sufficient communities (Morel, 2007), connected by a car-based system in and around production poles, that have led to population changes in the metropolitan region (Motte, 2003). Despite attempts at strategic planning at the metropolitan level, collaboration has not been found successful (Douay, 2010).

Lack of metropolitan control and command functions, commercial and recreational offers of significance and infrastructure was a disadvantage when Marseille’s port-based economy declined from the 1960s, evolving into economic crises in the next decade. Throughout the 1960s, the Port of Marseille, an autonomous body of the central state, de-located several activities to other sites in the region due to required spatial expansion.³⁵ The severe crises of Marseille’s economy are further attributed to decolonialisation and global economic restructuring affecting local industrial-port activities; local business sector’s lack of capacities and will to modernise in line with technological innovations; a protective climate in which external investors were resented; as well as intra-regional competition in which Marseille lost out (Roncayolo, 2002:98-99; Garnier & Zimmermann, 2007:164).

Marseille is a symbolically divided city like Oslo, separated by the main street la Canebière, even though it is not an absolute duality (Bouillon 2007). Socio-economic

³⁴ The industrial and port cluster established in Fos; aeronautic industries of Marignane and Istres; a state energy research centre in Cadarache; economic development zones in Aix en Provence-Les Milles; and the commercial zone Plan de Campagne constructed in 1960 by the highway between Marseille and Aix (Langevin, 2007a:10).

³⁵ The development of the industrial port at Fos-sur-Mer, 50 km to the north-west of Marseille, started as early as First World War, extended by development of petrol refineries and petrochemical activities (Ricard, 1989:82).

segregation evolved in the 19th century, but was importantly sparked by reconstruction policies in the 1950s (Roncayolo 1996). After World War II, new housing projects for the middle classes were constructed in the eastern and southern districts of Marseille, which enforced segregation, but which according to Marcel Roncayolo (1996:84) hindered the diffusion of housing enclaves in the city. In Marseille as in other French cities, large public projects of social housing were developed in concentrated ways. In Marseille, 2/3 of the low-rent housing (*habitation à loyer modéré*, HLM) were built in the Northern districts due to lower degree of land speculation (p.106). The rationale of these projects in Marseille were the urgent needs for proper housing for particularly low-income populations, built close to what was aimed as new industrial zones that could provide work. In contrast, the south of Marseille accumulated rising service and administrative functions, cultural amenities and developed as the locus of education and research (p.107). Despite the evidences of a continued pattern of segregation, an identification with Marseille has endured across socio-spatial divides (*Ibid.*).

Marseille's lack of attractiveness to investors and companies in the 1970s made the city decline in contrast to the rest of the region, where other local authorities engaged in entrepreneurial policies to provide better fiscal conditions and infrastructure that were not matched by similar policies in Marseille. Cities such as Aix en Provence, Arles and Nice accommodated much of the development in growing industries (e.g. tourism), and towns such as Aubagne expanded activities in manufacturing industries (Savitch & Kantor, 2002:57). Between 1962 and 1990, Marseille lost 54 000 industrial jobs from a total of 104 000, implying 51 percent of the total workforce (Donzel 1998 in Mattina 2007:78). From 1962 to 1975, Marseille's population increased from 773 000 to 914 000 due to migration and repatriation from the French colonies. In 1990, the number had, however, decreased to the level of 1962 (Sayad, *et al.*, 2007:58-59).³⁶ Table 5 illustrates the fall in population in the city districts, except in the prosperous 8th and 11th district. All districts gained population growth in the last decade, compared to decrease in most districts until 1999.

³⁶ In the 1920s, Marseille held almost 70 percent of the population in the department Bouches du Rhône, whereas the city only held 43 percent of the department's population in 1999 (Courtois, 2007).

Table 5. Population patterns in the city districts (arrondissements) of Marseille. 1975-1990.

Arrondissement	Population				
	1975	1982	1990	1999	2007
1	46 247	44 673	35 524	37 388	40 919
2	32 974	31 326	26 801	24 582	25 779
3	45 431	42 198	42 414	41 707	45 414
4	57 434	50 451	44 980	43 780	47 193
5	52 804	48 371	40 186	41 386	44 583
6	47 661	44 715	39 263	41 160	43 360
7	47 006	40 655	36 704	35 973	35 981
8	74 754	76 776	79 081	75 346	78 837
9	73 802	73 404	70 832	72 760	76 868
10	55 260	54 093	50 079	49 163	51 299
11	44 540	50 757	51 185	53 520	56 792
12	59 618	57 928	55 897	56 404	58 734
13	82 915	83 517	78 823	80 174	89 316
14	70 948	67 552	56 995	56 755	61 920
15	96 587	89 229	74 543	70 885	77 770
16	20 619	18 791	17 243	16 508	17 630
Marseille total	908 600	874 436	800 550	797 491	852 395

Source: Census 2006, INSEE.

The establishment of the European Economic Community enforcing European integration also meant that Marseille's Mediterranean orientation could be a disadvantage as continental Europe consolidated as an economic centre. In order to succeed in economic development, Marseille was to direct attention to the region and to continental Europe.

A necessary renaissance

By 1980, Marseille was at a turning point. The unemployment rate had reached 28 percent, and there was a major lack of an educated workforce. The city centre degraded further after the industrial crises, a fatal visual trait of a city which had aspired to prosperity for a century (Ascaride & Condrom, 2001). The areas around the port were in particular marked by poverty and high unemployment rates, especially among the immigrant population (Silvère, 2008).³⁷ The municipality engaged in rehabilitation of the city centre between 1975 and 1990, though extensive degradation persisted as private investors were hesitant (Bouillon, 2007:143).

³⁷ In Marseille, the definition of the city centre used by AGAM includes the inner city (ca. the 1st to 8th districts), see Ill. 6, p.15. In Oslo, the centre refers to one district, whereas the inner city refers to the districts shown in Ill 5, p. 14.



Illustration 12. A building representative of the earlier decaying urban fabric of Marseille.

The city also suffered from a deplorable image. Marseille had just escaped “the French connection”, in which it was compared to Colombia in terms of drug traffic (McCoy, 1999). It was a city apart, with no tourism, a paradox in one of the most touristic parts of the world. To the local planning agency AGAM, the aim was to find a new “identity” for Marseille. Its location in Southern Europe gave promise for a communicational hub.³⁸ Attention was paid to companies’ needs for informational and communicational technologies to engage in the global economy, which has as generally observed been facilitated by “informational cities” (Castells, 1989). From the reflections emerged the need for a territory, as AGAM’s director describes the strategy:³⁹

[I]n order to make [things happen], [to] see things change, we needed a territory. A project was required. So from that moment, it is my department that intervenes, saying, Euroméditerranée, it has to be close to the Mediterranean. Close to Europe, that means, close to the airport, the train station, the highways. And close to the limits of the port...and it should benefit the city centre, which was getting poorer. Other important factors were that there were just a few, larger land owners in rue de la République and in Joliette, which made it easier to rebuy land in the current area of Euroméditerranée. Close to the exit of the city with all the highways.

The entangled problems of economic decline, social problems and a deteriorating city centre

³⁸ Interview 17 October, 2008.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

were addressed by the municipality. The municipality made various estimates on real estate opportunities, ending up favouring the land of the port and its environment.

These problems were also approached by the influential Chamber of Commerce and Industries (CCIMP) (See also Motte & Dubois, 2008). The CCIMP (1987b) urged that Marseille should be internationally and economically positioned as a city-region in prospect of increased territorial competition. In order to do so, the Chamber emphasised that Marseille's city-centre had to be *re-conquered*, as it was described as strangled by anarchic traffic and abandoned by the Marseillais. There was thus an incentive to engage a social shift in the use of the city centre, where immigrants had come to live and work, as they had in Oslo's eastern inner city districts (Sæter & Ekne Ruud, 2005: Ch.5). These uses in Marseille were contrasted to a modern and attractive city centre. A shift in population was desired, because "the evolution of the population living in or frequenting the centre has contributed to a negative image..." (CCIMP, 1987a:73). "Re-conquering" has been an expression used politically in Marseille, testifying to the will to gentrify the inner city. Such aims are naturalised in terms such as "regeneration" (N. Smith, 2002), whereas in Marseille the aims are rather transparent.

The attractiveness of the city centre as a representational landscape was desired and linked to Marseille's "*raison d'être*": the Mediterranean Sea and the seaside. The CCIMP (1991:16) emphasised a harmonious design of a business district as "a cultural space due to the landscape's beauty and existing architecture". This quest was launched after the historical headquarters of la Compagnie des Docks et Entrepôts de Marseille were redeveloped into office spaces at the central port area Joliette by the investment company SARI in 1988. The private investments visualised and materialised the service sector's entry on Marseille's shores, when the 19th century building was modernised and filled with new industries and activities (Bertoncello & Rodrigues-Malta, 2001). Transformation of the port was in this way set off by a private investment initiative.

In 1989, the former Socialist, then independent politician Robert Paul Vigouroux was elected Mayor of Marseille. After years of local government clientelism, Vigouroux changed the scope (Mattina, 2007:86). His overarching vision was to consolidate Marseille as a regional capital that "could find its rank as a grand Euro-Mediterranean metropolis" (Vigouroux, 1993:2). The competitive disposition is explicit, yet the rationale for this goal was also to combat unemployment and enhance the quality of life of all inhabitants.⁴⁰ The strategy was to continue the plans for urban and economic development using the spatial reserves of the port. The

⁴⁰ In 1993, the unemployment rate was 16,4 percent in the Bouches du Rhône, 14,8 percent in the region PACA, 19,9 percent in the City of Marseille, and 30 percent in the Northern districts of Marseille (DATAR, 1994).

planning agency complemented these aims by adding that Marseille should be a European capital that would contribute to balance the French urban system (AGAM, 1990). The discourse established a national rationale as a means to engage the central state in strategically thinking about Marseille's potential as a competitive growth engine in the South of France.

Euroméditerranée as an up-scaled political strategy

According to the local and regional planning agencies, the main challenges to economic development and social cohesion in Marseille were the lack of jobs, lack of cooperation between territorial authorities, and the "balkanisation" of the metropolitan space (AGAM, 1992:1; DATAR, 1992). In November 1991, the City Council declared the development of a large business district, "Marseille Métropole Euroméditerranée" that was aspired to boost Marseille's development in the right direction. A municipal mission was created and was to cooperate closely with AGAM. The initial plan was to assure local management of the project, but the municipality had no financial means with which the ambitions could be met. Mayor Vigouroux had to sacrifice local autonomy if the aim to engage large-scaled redevelopment policies was to materialise. Though criticised by local politicians and planners, the municipality had to address central government in order to initiate wider restructuring of Marseille. The Ministry of Communications and Transport was therefore solicited to assist Marseille's renaissance.

European and national policies affected the decision to invest in a redevelopment project in Marseille. Competition between companies and territories in Europe was accelerated by EU policies such as the initiation of the Single European Market in 1992 (and the Single European Currency ten years later) (Wilks-Heeg, *et al.*, 2003:23). At the national level, the inter-ministerial committee of territorial development (C.I.A.T.) announced that the government would target the region of Marseille and Lyon in order to strengthen the competitiveness of the largest French cities in a European, competitive context (C.I.A.T., 1992). The centralised position of Paris and its role as a world city turned the focus to other large cities in the national urban system, with incentives to consolidate other metropolitan regions (Motte, 2003:329-330). According to the regional agency of the national government's planning institute DATAR, the Marseille region had the potential to be the 2nd French "megapole" after Paris. Marseille should take the lead and be "the catalyst" of the development of a Mediterranean European Arch, a pivot in Euro-Mediterranean relations, a vision that was locally supported (DATAR/ AGAM, 1991:7). Euroméditerranée was envisioned as a project reterritorializing Marseille in order to

face international competition. The project should make the Marseillais re-appropriate the seaside, and the city centre should be expanded (Dubois & Olive, 2004:40).

Municipal aspirations for Marseille's development thereby coincided with increased attention to the competitive role of French cities. As in the 19th century, required assistance in terms of redevelopment was combined with the idea that Marseille's location on the southern border of France in the Mediterranean region could favour the nation (Fournier & Mazzella, 2004a). In the 1990s, central government classified the redevelopment project in Marseille's inner city as an operation "of national importance". Becoming an international metropolis implied a reorientation in which local potentials and the dynamics of proximity should be changed with competitive politics, to reinforce attractiveness, concentrate economic and political powers, and enhance territorial dynamism (Bertoncello & Rodrigues-Malta, 2003:431-432). The two state missions established to plan the project were, however, attentive to local and social concerns in addition to their entrepreneurial aspirations.

Governing Euroméditerranée

Though Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée were initiated by similar municipal visions, their governance regimes differ largely. Whereas the waterfront in Oslo was first developed at Aker Brygge, by a private company which served as the favoured model for other sub-areas in Fjordbyen, the central state engaged a politically steered governance model in Euroméditerranée. One episode is highlighted in this section, as it is understood as a unique case of alternative and inventive modes of planning that promote social cohesion and outcome-led participation. This episode is the Detailed programme.

The French government set out with internal discussions about the governance model to be selected for Euroméditerranée. The Minister of Environment and Planning wanted the central state to be the sole decision-maker, but the Minister of Finance insisted that the City of Marseille should invest interest by contributing financially.⁴¹ Territorial authorities whose jurisdictions included Marseille also joined the governance coalition as a means to further embed the project territorially and to assure financial robustness. The leadership was held by the central state, which appointed an inter-ministerial mission to plan the project. The visions of Euroméditerranée were formalised on the basis of earlier aspirations defined on the city level, but they were also importantly influenced by the aims of government officials.

⁴¹ Conversation with researcher Maurice Olive 19 October, 2007.

State mission I: Assuring a political project for Marseille's development

The first mission was headed by senior government official André Masson, who was appointed in 1993 to plan "actions destined to help the city install its metropolitan functions and to evolve towards modernity".⁴² During the mission, the governance model and the perimeter of Euroméditerranée were established. The definition of the perimeter included elements that were economically strategic to the aim to make Marseille a metropolis: in addition to the seaside, the perimeter included the rehabilitation of housing stocks, the central station Saint Charles and the adjacent university campus, as well as the emerging culture and media cluster in Belle de Mai. Elements enhanced in order to cater the knowledge-based economy were consequently selected in a comprehensive spatial strategy.

The metropolitan region had until the 2000s been characterised by persistent lack of political cooperation and long-term spatial planning (Motte 2003).⁴³ Since metropolitan development and regional cohesion were conceived as a prerequisite for Marseille's competitiveness, Euroméditerranée was not only targeted as a city centre or inner city project. The inter-ministerial committee stressed that its success depended on the engagement of the territorial authorities in which Marseille was institutionally included, as argued by a public officer long engaged in the planning process: "Euroméditerranée was created on the assertion that in the local political context, nothing was possible, nothing could converge around one unique project that would develop Marseille... Hence, Euroméditerranée was also created for that reason".⁴⁴ The project would thereby serve to counteract intra-regional competition, that had been an obstacle to Marseille's development (Donzel, 2001).

The agreement between the territorial authorities was signed in spring 1993, whereby an Administrative Council was appointed. As illustrated in Figure 3 below, the Council consisted of representatives of the central state (which contributed to a financial share of 50 percent), the Municipal Council of Marseille (25 percent), the Regional Council of PACA (10 percent), the General Council of Bouches-du-Rhône (10 percent), and the urban agglomeration Marseille Provence Métropole (5 percent). Euroméditerranée is thus a state project negotiated between authorities at several scales. Because an administrative council was appointed, assembling representatives from the authorities, Euroméditerranée is a political project in the formal sense.⁴⁵

⁴² Presentation of the mission by the prefect in Provence Alpes Côte d'Azur 29 January, 1993.

⁴³ However, the 1999 Chevènement Act forming the basis for an equal business tax within an urban community as well as other state incentives increased cooperation between municipalities (Motte, 2003:328, 331-333).

⁴⁴ Interview 14 February, 2008.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

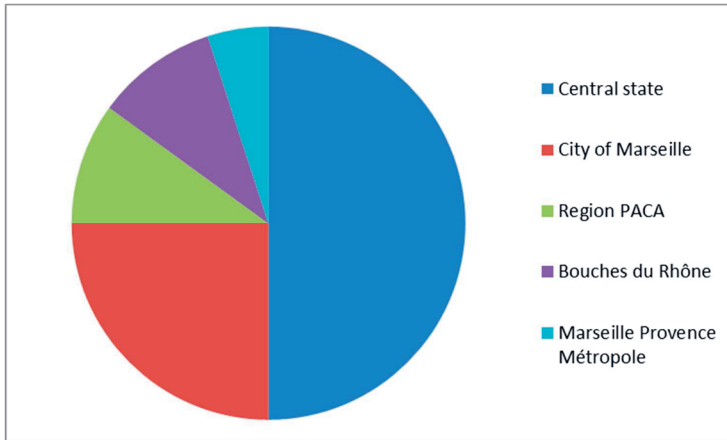


Figure 3. The Administrative Council of Euroméditerranée. Source: Euroméditerranée.

A call for distinctiveness

A core aim of Euroméditerranée was to stimulate Marseille's economy by investing in a central business district that could attract investments and companies, as well as related, recreational functions. Educational functions, culture, tourism, commerce and leisure were included. The goal was to create a vigorous place that the Marseillais would use, inasmuch as a metropolitan centre attracting investors (Mission Interministérielle Marseille, 1993), resembling the goals of the City and the Fjord competition in Oslo a decade earlier. The Masson mission held that Marseille's competitiveness should build on its distinctive advantages, rather than on imitative practices based on entrepreneurial strategies (p.6):

It is by turning towards the international that Marseille may hope - conformed to its tradition and vocation, to embark on a new development - towards the future and modernity, but also by paying respect to its origins: the capacity to welcome and integrate diverse populations. This is perhaps the future modernity. Marseille has to invent a future image that she wants to give of herself, without worrying too much about what other international port-cities do.

Reconciliation of existing and new economic and cultural activities and new and old material environments were envisioned, yet without the use of planning models circulated among industrial cities in need of makeover.⁴⁶ There were also attempts to retain elements of the existing economy of the city centre, which activities were marked by immigrant entrepreneurs. Business with countries around the Mediterranean basin was central and connected to the port and its transit functions (Peraldi, 2001; Vacher, 2005). The enterprises catered to people in

⁴⁶ Interview 9 October, 2008.

transit between Europe and southern Mediterranean as well as local immigrant populations. Another aim was to use maritime competences to build on the city's comparative advantages (Mission Interministérielle Marseille, 1993).

This first central state mission assessed Euroméditerranée's governance structure and the overarching aims for the project. The next mission was commissioned to draft the programme on which the public development agency could start its work. Its methods became innovative, yet also utopian due to political shifts in municipal and central government.

State mission II: Enforcing social concerns in urban planning

In late 1993, government official Jean Pierre Weiss was assigned the task of preparing and concretising the planning programme for Euroméditerranée. Weiss made clear to the City of Marseille that a public agency would be established to develop the zone between the train station and the port as a centre of decision, exchange and services.⁴⁷ What was called the project's double dimension was economic development and urban redevelopment. The first referred to the aim of attracting principally tertiary and international market activities by the use of public investments in infrastructure, redevelopment and activities. Urban redevelopment implied the creation of a new high-quality city district - by valorising existing quality and assuring the continuity in the urban landscape, like in Oslo. Weiss initiated the "Detailed Programme" to conciliate these concerns. However, in contrast to Oslo, the programme illustrates principles and planning methods where social cohesion is balanced with economic aims, and where urban restructuring includes the local scale of the neighbourhood.

The mission held that the neglect of existing socio-spatial characteristics and inhabitants' needs in the redevelopment of a large, central district would contradict the social diversity of Marseille (Mission de préfiguration Euroméditerranée, 1994a). The launch of the Detailed Programme was intended to assure local embeddedness of the project and to make use of a wide range of local competencies and experiences as a method to plan a project that would be of universal value. Not only professionals, but also inhabitants, associations and artists were invited to reflect upon the content of the project plans. The programme was based on the work of eight assembling some hundred people who elaborated visions and strategies at regular workshops throughout one year. The person invited to steer the group "Everyday Life" had worked on topics of social cohesion in the region since the 1970s (and had received the Legion of Honour in 2008), and stresses that social concerns were core reflections:

⁴⁷ Letter on 27 May, 1994 from Weiss to the mayor Vigouroux in Marseille.

[P]hilosophically, at the heart of the project, its initiators made it their task to ask: how can we make this regeneration project a human project, a response to a double challenge: to reduce inequality and to permit several populations to coexist, and at the same time to create an image of progress and strong advancement, towards Northern and Southern Europe and towards the countries South of the Mediterranean.⁴⁸

The programme addressed the social problems of Marseille's inner city, which was characterised by social needs, poverty and high levels of unemployment. But rather than prescribing policy-led gentrification, the aim was to include the original population in the progress desired through the project. The potentially conflicting goals of social cohesion and competitiveness were addressed with an aim to overcome the obstacles. Social mixing was desired by making a large new city district that reflected the social and cultural diversity characteristic to Marseille. The objective was not to realise a highly specialised and privileged business district "reserved for specific privileged social classes": such an objective, the programme holds, would have few chances anyway to succeed in Marseille, due to its population characteristics (Mission de préfiguration Euroméditerranée, 1994b:10).

The Detailed Programme pursued evolving plans drafted at earlier stages, using the notion of exchange as a federating concept. It was seen as a visionary concept that could help steer the development by fusing social and economic dimensions of urban restructuring: exchange of goods and knowledge was to be accompanied by exchange of cultures and practices between European and Mediterranean civilisations. As a national strategy, the project was conceived as a potential to rebalance the European eastern orientation, which conformed to the EU plans for a Euro-Mediterranean partnership based on political and economic cooperation. This plan became the Barcelona Process initiated in 1995. To France, "the constitution of strong economic regions is at stake in the structuring of the national space in relation to the European territory" (Mission de préfiguration Euroméditerranée, 1995b:5). The potential role of Euroméditerranée is both imagined as re-centring Marseille in a Euro-Mediterranean north-south axis, and in a European, Mediterranean axis between Italy and Spain, upscaling the city for its contribution to the reterritorialization of France.

The restructuring of cities involve large-scale architectural programmes, as a physical expression of the renewed city (Shoval & Strom, 2009). A range of Mediterranean cities have adopted schemes of redevelopment in which urban landscapes are produced with the "dimension of event architecture", referring to how cities are designed with spectacular forms (Bertoncello & Rodrigues-Malta, 2003:424). To the metropolitan level of Marseille, the "emblematic" seaside is

⁴⁸ Interview 19 February, 2008.

presented as a spatial resource in which a regional centre should be, much as in Oslo, consolidated through the waterfront, “to structure the heart of a 21st century metropolis in all its dimensions: activities, habitat, leisure, culture...” (Mission de préfiguration Euroméditerranée, 1995a:3). Just like Masson’s mission, however, the Detailed Programme advocated that Euroméditerranée should defer from the waterfront developments of Barcelona and Genoa, conceived as competitors to Marseille. Instead of adopting the waterfront model as a blueprint for development, the mission suggested to oppose the strategy of the spectacular, and rather favour “[the making of] a calm city by the sea, a local desert yet very urban. More frivolous, minimalistic...”⁴⁹ Weiss aimed to work by the logic of the neighbourhood: to “make urbanity”, and not by an Anglo-Saxon model, but by a Mediterranean one.⁵⁰ The mission was aware of the competitive-strategic role of urban waterfronts and its inclination to mimetic practices. A more locally embedded development was envisioned in Marseille, based on the city’s traditions, history and distinctiveness. Such strategies are recommended to enhance the comparative advantages of cities which engage territorial competition (Turok, 2009).

An innovative and inclusive method in urban planning

The Detailed Programme consisted of six groups of reflexion working with the substantial dimensions of the project (in groups labelled offers; substance; urban functioning; quality; demand; and the time-span (short-term; medium-term; and long-term). The groups reflected upon eleven themes in the fields of transport, housing and social issues, public space and architecture, environment, and network and relations, aimed at covering overall requirements and merging the goals of preservation and modernisation.⁵¹ The programme stated that the rational procedures of urban development had to be balanced, because “this rationality may generate technocratic tendencies, intended or not” (Mission de préfiguration Euroméditerranée, 1995b:22). A response to this concern was the creation of two groups formed to reflect on “imaginary and dreams” and “everyday life”, as general topics overarching the other themes.

The first group was composed of artists and others characterised by “a creative spirit”. The group was solicited to launch ideas and themes that the “normal” procedure was less likely to produce. The group of everyday life was composed of inhabitants and other users of targeted neighbourhoods, who were assigned the task of regularly reminding the other groups about

⁴⁹ Conversation with an architect long involved in urban development in the region, 27 February, 2008.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ More specifically, the themes were: Transport and movement, urban planning and development and public spaces, social objectives, architecture, housing programs, public constructions, private constructions, relations with the port, environmental responsibilities, networks and urban objects.

common sense and the pragmatism of everyday life in Euroméditerranée (p.23). By these measures, the programme operationalised local concerns. The priority of technocratic concerns and economic requirements has dominated social and local concerns in new urban redevelopment policies, though this bias might change (Bayliss, 2004; Doucet, 2010). The detailed programme was organised by principles that could assure social cohesion and local embeddedness in combination with attention to the distinctiveness of Marseille and its assets.

The Detailed Programme envisaged a “large economic pole founded on the intelligence of local-Mediterranean-global exchange. A city reflected upon with the human being at the core... the social dimension at heart” (Mission de préfiguration Euroméditerranée, 1995b:35). The economic aims are entrepreneurial and promoted in terms of marketing and business attraction. It is the social and cultural aims that point to a different approach to waterfront development. The social and cultural dimensions of the project are inscribed in wider reflections about Marseille’s role as mediating contact and understanding between civilisations, thus envisioning a humanitarian objective transgressing the scope of the local. However, the cultural is ascribed to the level of the neighbourhood, which represents social and cultural diversity and cosmopolitan connections:

When one talks about civilisation, one comes to the cultural dimension of Euroméditerranée. This neighbourhood is the place of a dynamic appropriation in the city, where we in recent years have seen a cultural effervescence without precedence. The cultural dimension makes a subtle marketing (one no longer attract intelligent companies to idiot places) and the willingness to create a place of exchange, of life and of bloom (p.40).

The programme advocates for how the cosmopolitan character of these districts could favour the distinctiveness of place as a contribution to the image of Euroméditerranée and Marseille. The appropriation of these districts by a variety of ethnic groups is expressed as a positive feature and an advantage. Respect and diversity were central concepts enhanced in this context, promoting preservation of the neighbourhoods and the call upon Marseille’s history.

The quest for *diversity* implies the avoidance of zoning, acceptance of mixed populations and practices, search for integrative uses of public spaces, and a refined conception of public-private space. The programme aims that the neighbourhood is respected by a network of public spaces bringing an everyday, ordinary, landscape to Euroméditerranée:

In contrast to monumentality, one can be content with a certain sublime banality, to search for functional uses and to privilege quality in the details. It does not imply the making of spaces reserved for leisure or amusement, but to directly constitute the structure of civilisation in which specific functions of work and habitation are inserted (p.50).

The entrepreneurial vision of the new urban landscape is one in which prestigious design measures are aimed at raising its symbolic value of exclusiveness, and hence at increasing its economic value (Hubbard, 1996:1444). Contrary to such a vision, the Detailed Programme raised fundamental questions of the place of citizens and everyday life in new districts.

Euroméditerranée was envisioned differently than the monumental landscapes developed along urban shores. The option was instead “sublime ordinariness”, to avoid the risk that it ended up as “yet another banal redevelopment project” (Mission de préfiguration Euroméditerranée, 1995b:63). The focus on everyday life, which is banal, yet possibly sublime, was enhanced in the vision of a calm city by the sea, not a spectacular and festive one modelled by weak, competitive strategies (Bergsli, 2011).

As illustrated, Weiss’ programme shows ambitions resting on local competence and characteristics. The participants of the programme came from societal and professional areas that urban redevelopment affects and depends upon, who highly appreciated the workshops. The abrupt dismissal of Weiss prior to the appointment of the development agency EPAEM in 1995 stupefied many of the participants. The reason for the dismissal was the political re-constellations taking place that year. The Conservative Party (UMP) won both the municipal and the presidential elections. Weiss was affiliated with the former Socialist Government, and his programme fell too much in line with socialist policies. The planning consultant in charge of the urban functioning working group concludes that after the establishment of EPAEM, “certain issues such as social ones were completely bypassed, but would have been much more present if [Weiss] had stayed in charge of the project”.⁵² This coincidence of programme finalisation and shift in government were contingent conditions for the reduced scope on social cohesion and local participation in Euroméditerranée in following years.

The Detailed Programme was completely abandoned and silenced after the establishment of EPAEM.⁵³ The rejection of the programme led the leader of the everyday life working group and other persons engaged in the working groups to publish the report summing up their work (Forum Civique, 1997). The preface stresses that though the mission “transformed the offices of Euroméditerranée into a permanent place for debate, reflection and imagination”, the end result was described in less flattering terms:

In the end of 1995, the leadership of Euroméditerranée was “thanked” and left their place to a new team. But this is another history. What is important is that the leadership of the public development agency, who inherited this work, has judged it unnecessary (dangerous?) to publish,

⁵² Interview 25 June, 2008.

⁵³ Conversation 20 March, 2008.

and even to communicate it to those who made it. That is why, today, at the moment where it is perhaps possible to again blow life in Euroméditerranée, that Forum Civique takes the initiative to publish the synthesis of the works (...). We have of course no legal rights to this publication. But we think that the legitimacy of intellectual property belongs to all those who participated in the work and to all those who tried to represent it - experts, executors, artists, heads of companies, inhabitants - in short, all the Marseillais (p.7).

When this report was published in 1997, its authors saw new opportunities in a political shift that could restore central dimensions of the Detailed Programme. After EPAEM was established, a range of plans and studies were produced, without sufficient actions, with large spending and weak leadership. When Lionel Jospin from the Socialist party was signed in as prime minister in 1997 in the coalition government presided by Jacques Chirac, participants in Weiss' programme saw the opportunity to impact the project's direction. Some of them, including Weiss, called for a public audit of Euroméditerranée.⁵⁴ The audit (Inspection générale des finances, 1997) resulted in the discharge of EPAEM's director in 1998, the year that the development plan for Euroméditerranée was published. EPAEM's next leader reinforced participation and local attendance in the project, yet his leadership term was short.

Multi-level governance

Making the state more efficient has been on the agenda along with the rise of the competition state in France (Loughlin, 2007:10-11). In the process, the state is restructured by delegation of powers and state functions to subnational government levels. Decentralisation reforms initiated in the 1980s included first, delegation of powers which had been concentrated at the level of the central state, and second, a transfer of powers from administrative to political institutions (Motte, 2003). These policies preceded an influential metropolitan planning scheme used to coordinate the central state's investments in French regions in the 1960s and 1970s. Decentralisation combines top-down and bottom-up dynamics, whereby the latter is typically enhanced by local governments and elites (Le Galès, 2006:213). Gaps between municipal and national administrative levels have continuously been sought reconciled by territorial reforms, whereby meso-government has been developed as a means of assuring decentralisation as well as integration of public, territorial policies (Donzel, 2001:173).

Decentralisation should cater to competitiveness and development of assets by the empowerment of local actors (Loughlin, 2007:11). The functional metropolitan region encompassing Marseille refers to the Marseille and Aix-en-Provence urban agglomerations, and industrial and technological poles such as Aubagne, Ciotat, Marginane and Fos. Various political

⁵⁴ Interview 19 February, 2008.

perimeters have been drawn to conclude a politico-administrative regional scale. One historical territory is the district department Bouches-du-Rhône, consisting of 119 communes and almost two million inhabitants. The “urban community” Marseille Provence Métropole was created in 2000, including 18 municipalities and about one million inhabitants. The latter does not include the urban agglomeration of Aix-en-Provence. The region is another territorial authority, where Provence Alpes Côte d’Azur (PACA) includes Marseille.

Euroméditerranée is not only conceived as a project in which territorial authorities cooperate, but also as an opportunity for them to work together, succeeding in mobilising the authorities (Pinson, 2002:190-191). The representative of the Marseille Provence Métropole seated in the Administrative Council stresses that this project’s public and political visibility and the importance of the political game change the nature of cooperation in the region:

[Euroméditerranée] forces the local agents to cooperate, more than they would do without [it]. Because one puts them together at the same stage, with projectors, [they are] watched. There are fewer coulisses. The representatives are obliged to have a public comportment a bit different from what they have in the coulisses. So I think it has brought a supplementary cooperation that in reality is translated in the financial protocols.⁵⁵

In this way, Euroméditerranée is a project and a shared territory. By the lead of the central state and the integration of all territorial authorities in a delineated territory, policies are carried out on “neutral grounds”, even though it is situated within the City of Marseille. The collaboration between territorial authorities in the project is further held to assure that “investors and business trust that things work in this region and that the public [authorities] take responsibility. [They trust that] in Marseille, there is a desire; one can go ahead there, because the public action will continue”.⁵⁶ The public engagement is conceived as entrepreneurial policies ensuring trust and security for investors and business, a necessity provided the image of Marseille as a city struggling to modernise and to be efficient.

Euroméditerranée is an important part of the territorial policies of the French state. But the national investments in Euroméditerranée, as a rather exceptional national project, also allow the municipality to be more ambitious, according to the planner consultant involved in Marseille’s redevelopment.⁵⁷ Marseille’s development as a vital metropolitan stronghold is important to both the regional and district department authorities, necessitating their involvement in Euroméditerranée.⁵⁸ In terms of party policies, Euroméditerranée is seen as a well-functioning,

⁵⁵ Interview 13 March, 2008.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Interview 20 February, 2008.

⁵⁸ Interview 20 November, 2009.

multi-scale cooperation between bodies of different political parties. The representative of the district department emphasises the size of the operation and the challenges involved for a single developer or political decision-maker.⁵⁹ As expressed by the representative of the regional council of PACA, the negotiation between the territorial authorities is rather good for democracy.⁶⁰ Euroméditerranée thus benefits from a territorial partnership carrying out targeted cooperation. As a vertically scaled cooperation, Euroméditerranée has been successful. Yet, the aim of consolidating Marseille as a regional capital is challenged by lack of cooperation at the horizontal scale. Inter-communality by municipal cooperation is hampered by competitive aspirations and lack of cooperation around the development of a metropolitan region (in terms of transport, cultural offers, social cohesion, the environment etc.) (Langevin, 2001).

Reimagining the territory

Hitherto I have described and discussed the rationales of Euroméditerranée, and the initial stages through which the modes of governance were selected. I have aimed to show how cooperation between both local representatives (in the Detailed Programme) and between territorial authorities (in the Administrative Council) have been promising modes of governance for social and territorial cohesion. In this section I will shade light on geographical imaginaries consolidating the shared vision of Euroméditerranée.

The City of Marseille emphasises the international connections of the city by pointing out that Marseille is the first French port, the first Mediterranean port, and the third European port: more than 200 cities have maritime connections with Marseille, 65 foreign cities are reached by direct flights, and more than 60 consulates are represented in the city. These connections are conceived to make Marseille a crucial conjunction “of the French network of international relations”, showing that it is essentially an international city (City of Marseille, 2000a:23). As in Oslo, the seaside area represents a territory and lends itself to a strategy for urban restructuring. The vision of a Euro-Mediterranean junction is overarching:

Marseille has chosen a general strategy of Euro-Mediterranean positioning. Marseille should constitute one of the great metropolises of Southern Europe. Its strategic location, the importance of its port and its communicational infrastructure, its functions and international culture should allow the city to play a specific role in the junction between Europe and the Mediterranean. Thereof, towards Africa and Asia, Marseille should impose itself as the natural junction of North-South exchanges (*Ibid.*).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Interview 18 November, 2009.

As in Fjordbyen, the “international” scope is selected. Yet in Marseille, territorial competition in the Mediterranean region is specifically targeted. Marseille is conceived to have the potential to attract mobile capital in the pan-region because of its geographical and historical position.

Euroméditerranée’s development plan adopted in 1998 represents both a continuance of former visions and strategies as well as a momentum for a new direction. The plan emphasises that the project should, as the prime goal, benefit Marseille’s economy, social conditions and urban, functional and aesthetic landscape (EPAEM, 1998:3). Euroméditerranée’s role is to provide a metropolitan strategy assuring social and economic development. Euroméditerranée should spatialise and symbolise modernisation by responding to the economy’s “social and political demands as well as to permit the *mise en oeuvre* of a strategy of offers for economic development” (*Ibid.*). The ways in which this aim was to be met were to facilitate communications and transport in order to increase mobility and exchange, to upgrade the urban landscape in order to make it representative of the knowledge society, and to favour urban space to accommodate social diversity.

Enlarging the city centre, the waterfront development should imply a re-appropriation by the Marseillais (EPAEM, 1998:3). The land was largely occupied by space-consuming and vacant buildings, and hence offered the possibility of reusing these spaces, legitimated by the argument that the city’s northern parts de-balanced and de-valorised the city centre. Within the perimeter of Euroméditerranée, there were in census of 1990 a total of 28 500 habitants. In 1996, there were 30 000 jobs, an unemployment rate of 30 percent (compared to 21 percent at the city level), 14 131 dwellings, among which 1900 were vacant, 1800 were social housing, 2000 dwellings were below standard (EPAEM, 1996). On the one hand, the plan calls for the maintenance of the spirit of place, which advocated the project’s inscription in its historical-geographical context, including the allowance of inhabitants to stay put in the neighbourhood. On the other hand, the call for a re-appropriation of the Marseillais raises question of the ambiguous status of the original population, among which many were poor, unemployed, immigrants and squatters (Bouillon, 2007). The challenging ambivalence between transformation and preservation is evident at this stage of the project.

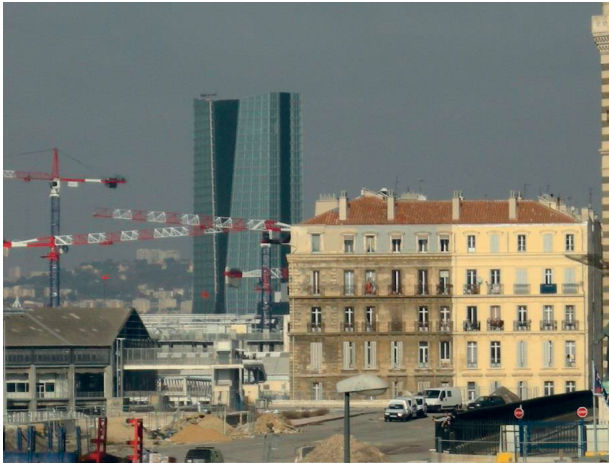


Illustration 13. The old and new Marseille.

The seaside location of Euroméditerranée represented a horizon and a stage, an area in need of modernisation and a landscape that could symbolise the metropolitan vision. The goal of balancing the urban territory implied the expansion of offers in infrastructure apt to a competitive city: the promotion of international commerce and maritime activities and the development of a superior tertiary sector, with priority on capacities for cultural, scientific and technological development (EPAEM, 1998:6). Marseille was attractive in the industrial era because its infrastructure and activities conformed to the spatial needs of the industrial economy. At stake today is the restructuring of Marseille into a knowledge society, with emphasis on both economic and cultural functions due to global competition and new forms of urbanity, the Commissioner of urbanism holds:

The visions for Euroméditerranée, it is not complicated. First, it is urban renewal, economic renewal, and the attractiveness of Marseille that follows, by a rather spectacular realisation etc. Thereafter, a return to the vision of international Marseille. And then, on the economic plane, one creates jobs that one terms metropolitan. (...) So, the real vision we have is to re-qualify the city and restore its dynamic powers, at the same time economic, cultural powers... The revitalisation of attractiveness [exemplified by hotels of standing, the silo, Terrasses du port, a new maritime port, a large congress centre]. What has happened in Barcelona and elsewhere, - we have the same challenges, [the cities are] always in competition...⁶¹

The commissioner draws upon the international position of Marseille that should be restored by the development of Euroméditerranée, which he frames within the challenge of inter-urban competition. The points made testifies to the general framing of the knowledge society as the

⁶¹ Interview 8 November, 2009.

target of urban restructuring, where spatial consolidation includes cultural and economic strategies in a set model. However, the commissioner stresses the combination of conservation and modernisation as a means to assure both distinctiveness and attractiveness, which is a way to conceive the layers of the city as an advantage:

[W]e will do that within a certain perspective: One is at the Mediterranean (...). We have certain criteria here, the sun (...), and we have to valorise as much as possible, geographically and historically. (...). To me, we are at the most beautiful coast in the world, and there we have Euroméditerranée at one side, the old port at the other, with this rue de la République that is remade. It is a vision of a re-conquer of what once was Marseille. Don't forget that in 1939, the nautical world passed by this city. We had more than 50 passenger ships at the registry in Marseille. China, South America, the African coast... everyone passed by Marseille.⁶²

A central perspective in Marseille is that the city's international role is as much cultural as economic, and that cultural strategies including both historical and modern cultural forms and activities must be included. Rue de la République is a liaison of attractiveness between the redevelopment policies carried out in the city centre by the City of Marseille and the transnational space developed at Joliette (Fournier & Mazzella, 2004a).

The concerns with the "radiation of Marseille" is connected to geographical imaginaries, which are representations of place and space that contributes to the structuring of our understanding of the world, and which can thereby influence our actions (Sellar *et al.*, 2009:253). The various perceptions, ideologies and plans by which spaces are approached are related to geographical imaginations, which refers to the ways in which we think spatially - ways which may differ from actual spatial constellations. This perception forms an imaginary on which the new territory of Marseille and Euroméditerranée is based. This local and regional perception is communicated by the representative of PACA, who advocates that the southern European regions are neglected by the EU because Europe is "leaning to the east..., Europe has become more and more Anglo-Saxon, and we, the people of the south, we find ourselves less in this Europe (...). We have to make Brussels understand that the south is not only [about] the sun, we also need to develop, and we are as European as the others".⁶³

The imaginaries of Europe are today challenged and connected to enlargement and the roles of the EU, which has evolved from a technical/economic body to an identity-project in which European political elites have differing geographical visions of the future of Europe and its citizens (Mamadouh, 2009). The enlargement of the Union brings about questions about the concrete and imaginary boundaries of Europe. Though Mediterranean Europe is perceived as

⁶² Interview 8 November, 2009.

⁶³ Interview 18 November, 2009.

neglected by the European centre, the latest evolution of the EU does in some respects imply that Eastern Europe has become ‘the other’, “the dark side within” (Sellar, 2009:329-330). To Marseille, urban restructuring is aligned a European imaginary and economy, yet its southward scope is aimed sustained, resting on the view symbolically and physically, Marseille’s historical outlook is Mediterranean, as the representative of the regional council stresses:

[The] Mediterranean is our horizon. The Mediterranean is there, we are turned towards the Mediterranean since thousands of years. The Greek founded Marseille, so Marseille has always been present in Mediterranean relations. Well, things have not always been easy, but there has always been exchange... So it is a region which is open to the Mediterranean, economically, politically and culturally.⁶⁴

Political, economic and cultural relations between the Mediterranean South and Europe should be activated through a restoration of Marseille’s position. The earlier conditional trait of this exchange, the port, is however an ambiguous object in the restructuring of Marseille.

The economy of the port

The industrial port’s activities have provided economic gains and employment benefits to the city in recent time, but the recreational uses of the port are held to benefit the economy and the image of Marseille in a more desired way. The port’s role to Marseille is consequently controversial, and is likely to be triggered by the autonomous status of the Port Authorities, which are directly administered by central government. The port is therefore, in some ways like in Oslo, disconnected from what is referred to as “urban”. It tends to be based on the idea about “the return of the urban”, from some authentic past, with the industrial city as an anomaly. The port is in both cities presented as having unjustifiably appropriated urban land, despite the ports’ integration in the urban histories and economies, and the use of constructed infills.

City-port relations constitute an important part of the planning and discourses of Marseille’s waterfront development. The director of studies at the planning agency AGAM captures the essence of these discourses, also by pointing to the ways in which the relations between the city and the port have been solved at the Terrasses du port, a commercial centre constructed on the top of the ferry terminal:

[We] have conserved the maritime ground, and we make an urban upper-ground. To me, that is intelligent, the two, which means that the city no longer is frustrated, with the impression that one has kidnapped a territory that unfortunately did not belong to it. But most ports are made on water. So when a city says that the port has kidnapped one of its territories, it is wrong.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Interview 18 November, 2009.

⁶⁵ Interview 17 October, 2008.

The representative of the Port Authorities stresses that they are often asked why there are two ports, and why they have to maintain the port inside Marseille. She emphasises that the port in Marseille still has value to employment. She stresses that there are still 20 000 jobs at the port, and that in Marseille, “the activities have had a more important role than all the other sectors in the city. Compared to the tertiary sector, this is not understood by operators, like in all larger cities, with rare land by the sea, judged very, very interesting for real estate operations”. In Marseille, the pressure on land is important as the port offers spatial reserves, and which makes functional uses and public legitimacy arbitrary:

[H]ere, in Marseille very, very often, the economic aspect, and all the positive things that the port brings, was not really identified. Rather, it was considered that the port used spaces that could have a more interesting vocation if they were developed as completely urban zones. There was often an image of decline perceived about the basin of Marseille, whereas it has never had more traffic. [Thus it] doesn't correspond to a reality. And it still brings professional taxes to the agglomeration. So there were certain a priori about the port functioning that were first felt like an industrial intruder in the city. [It] was rather felt like a nuisance, and a hinder to any urban development of quality, rather than an economic advantage, an interesting asset that could perhaps be ameliorated (...). Earlier, (...) there were complex discussions with [EPAEM], who during some time, had difficulties in understanding this logic. But the Port Authorities were still in a position to say that the land belongs to us.⁶⁶

The port has for decades influenced Marseille's image directly and indirectly, connected to industrial large-scale activities, the French connection, and to strikes, and its autonomous status has probably enhanced the idea that the urban port is detached from the city and its activities. The district department's representative expresses a general view about required changes in image, connected to the role of the port in restructured cities: “[E]uroméditerranée has been of utility in terms of image. Marseille has a rather negative image in the mind of the Marseillais, [and] ...for the French. And without doubt, even though it was weaker, abroad. Marseille was a bit, a poor city, a cosmopolitan city, a dangerous city, with insecurity etc.”⁶⁷ References are regularly made to the competitors and models of Barcelona, Genoa and Valencia, whereas ties to Naples gives an image that Marseille's stakeholders wish to replace.

As pointed out above, most of the port's activities take place on land in-fills. One such in-fill is part of the zone Cité de la Méditerranée, in which “the gift of the port”, to recall the gesture and discourse of the Port Authorities in Oslo, implies the handing over of the area J4, an “urban interface” in the words of the municipal planning agency. The representative of the port sees it as a compromise to ease city-port relations that can yield public credibility:

⁶⁶ Interview 13 March, 2008.

⁶⁷ Interview 20 November, 2009.

J4 ... it might be a compromise, yet a compromise that corresponds to Marseille, and to Marseille's identity. And which allows this port to function and to be enriched, but it is also a piece of the city, because there is no reason for these spaces to be conceived by people as confiscated. It is normal, one has to try and find solutions.⁶⁸

As in Oslo, the port authorities in Marseille develop projects on the land they own, the most prestigious one being the commercial project Terrasses du Port. However, whereas such commercial projects are compatible to the functions and forms developed by EPAEM, the defence of the port's industrial activities and its materiality is not as compatible to the new symbolic landscape. This landscape is aimed to coherently symbolise and accommodate the knowledge-based economy. To gain rank, the landscape is transformed with a shift in urban identity from the modern to the spectacular in some cities (Zukin, 2006:139). In Marseille, a modest modernity is opted for, yet not without a few towers to express corporate presence.

Euroméditerranée changing the horizon of Marseille

The precarious needs of Marseille to embark on a positive development were channelled in Euroméditerranée, which has represented a turning point for the city's prospects. A multi-level governance model has assured political commitment and funding of this state-led project, which has served as a platform of collaboration between territorial authorities. This mode of governance selected is highly different from Oslo, where the municipality is the main driver, yet with the establishment of companies and the sale of land to a private company to carry out the development. The City of Marseille could have chosen to carry out the redevelopment process itself, and delegated responsibility to private and public companies. Instead, the municipality solicited national government, which assured the political steering of the project through a public agency. Such an option or idea is not revealed in the case of Oslo, where the national government has been engaged in area-based planning with the aim of targeting social and material challenges (Gabrielsen, 2014). The difference is consequently that modernist planning ideals and a government-led decision-making process have been retained in Euroméditerranée, whereas neoliberal policies are selected in Oslo.

The results of the Detailed Programme testify to how politics matter in negotiating socio-spatial aims in French urban redevelopment projects. Party politics do influence the adoption of competitive policies, which in Marseille resulted in less focus on social dimensions. In Oslo, the centre-right-wing coalition governing since the 1990s ideologically favours market-led

⁶⁸ Interview 13 March, 2008.

processes, hence the modes of governance selected in Fjordbyen are politically favoured tools. The institutional arrangements in the respective countries do however constitute enduring structures that surpass political ideologies.

Marseille is reterritorialized at the regional scale through the restructuring of territorial policies, through decentralisation policies and measures promoting inter-municipal and regional collaborations. In these territorial policies, Euroméditerranée plays a role both by being aimed at the upscaling of Marseille as a metropolitan centre enforced as a French competitive city in the Mediterranean region. It also plays a role by the establishment of a governance model in which several territorial authorities are engaged. The central government's decision to include regional authorities resulted in a shared project in which cooperation is concretely enhanced. In Oslo, the region is mainly included as the scale of reach of Fjordbyen, in terms of the waterfront contributing to the attractiveness of the city centre as a metropolitan core of the city-region.

The basis of Euroméditerranée is a competitive rationale, since Marseille's economy had to become performative in global markets in order to recover. Furthermore, an attractive landscape serving the new economy with cultural experiences and symbolic expressions was envisaged as a central dimension to make the economy grow. Trickle-down effects are the promised outcome of competitive policies (Jessop, 2002b). A competitive yet not a neoliberal rationale tends to be the case in Euroméditerranée. In comparison, Fjordbyen was not planned within a scheme of urgency to boost the economy, and has throughout the planning process been based on opportunities, and concerns with Oslo's recreational offer and image as a knowledge society. Competitive rationales have however informed the process since the 1990s, and have importantly been combined with the use of the creative city - creative class thesis.

The aim to converse Marseille from a classical port city into a knowledge city has in similar ways as in Oslo implied the use of the waterfront model to symbolise and materialise the shift. In contrast to Fjordbyen, the aims of Euroméditerranée are concretely based on the development of functions and activities that underline the consolidated vision of a project assisting Marseille's restructuring into a Euro-Mediterranean junction. In this sense, the term "junction city" can be interesting as the case of Marseille's restructuring shows the potential of developing functions and activities that build geographical connections between the European continent and the Mediterranean region. Developing a junction city or other relational aspects of a city's location may become a comparative advantage to construct resources useful to other geographies, yet not necessarily serving competitive means. The role of Marseille as a cultural centre in the Mediterranean region has extra-economic rationales for agents subscribing to the vision.

By EPAEM and other stakeholders, Marseille and Euroméditerranée as a centre of exchange is enhanced both in the economic and cultural sense. In economic terms however, Euroméditerranée is strategically replacing existing activities of pan-regional exchange with post-industrial activities. The inner-city's "economy of the bazar" and small import-export enterprises are excluded from the territorial strategies. Cultural rationales are retained and enforced, though with a parallel strategy to build on these relations with new economic content. The role of culture in the political economy of Marseille is thus forceful. This point will be further elaborated in the next chapter, where I discuss the new Museum of Civilization in Europe and the Mediterranean as part of territorial cultural policies contributing to the upscaling of Marseille as "a capital city" of the South.

6. THE CAPITAL CITY OF CULTURE

In the restructuring of Oslo and Marseille, the waterfront projects have been strategies used to upscale the cities. In this chapter, the role of culture to these strategies is enquired by a focus on the mutual roles that national cultural institutions and urban redevelopment play in contributing to enforce “the capital city”. The scope is encouraged by an aim to study the changes made in the cultural sector as part of reterritorialization, and how scale is produced in the cultural domain. This approach allows me to build on cultural political economy (CPE) as a means of understanding multi-scaled competitive policies in a historical and institutional setting. The production of scale is also a cultural venture, as Neil Smith (2003:230) stresses. Individual and group identities build on the belonging to and affection of place at different scales.

In this chapter, I mainly address urban redevelopment and restructuring (research question i) in connection to the socio-spatial embeddedness of cultural strategies, here focused on cultural institutions (research question ii). The institutions selected are the Norwegian Opera and Ballet, opened in Bjørvika in 2008, and the Museum of Civilization in Europe and the Mediterranean (MuCEM), opened in the fort Saint Jean in 2002. As in Chapters 4 and 5, the institutions are narrated separately in order to contextualise the development process, whereas a comparative discussion building on Chapters 4 to 6 is provided in the final section.

Concerns with the capital city, its attractiveness and its international reach can be illustrated by ideas about the French national capital: “To make Paris a more and more desirable stopover, more and more attractive; a panorama that one comes to contemplate for pleasures; a large centre of light open to the entire world; a bourse, a commercial centre where one comes to find the course of affairs where the goods come from everywhere...”. One could imagine this phrase as part of the current marketing of Paris. Instead, these words belong to Fourierist engineer Perreymond in the *Révue Général de l'Architecture et des Travaux Publics* in 1843, about the goal and ideal of the French capital city (Roncayolo, 2002:64). In the early days of industrialisation, Paris was imagined as a capital city marked by mobility and international attractiveness, where production was made visible in a symbolic landscape rather than manufacturing sites. Paris has retained the image of a radiant world city, a city offering aesthetic and cultural experiences. It further developed into a global city (Sassen, 2000), and can be seen as a historical model of how culture can contribute to create a position in the city market (Savitch & Kantor, 2002). Cultural institutions were central to the enhancement of Paris as “the cultural capital of the world”, as they are today.

The opera house - a lever of a “capital of culture”

In culture-led urban redevelopment, cultural institutions often serve the purposes of generating images and attracting visitors to the city, as a distinct strategy to win against territorial competition (M. Miles, 2005). In the case of the location of the Norwegian Opera and Ballet, the political process leading up to the decision to build the Opera House in Bjørvika illustrates the strategic scope on cultural institutions in place-making and urban restructuring. It is also a case that illustrates changes in the relations between cultural policies and territorialisation.



Illustration 14. The Opera House in Bjørvika.

The location of the Opera House in Bjørvika had mutual strategic benefits to the institution and the redeveloped area, further connected to the restructuring of the capital city. As Oslo’s symbolic and material horizon, Fjordbyen is aspired to enforce Oslo’s recreational, aesthetic and economic qualities. In these aspirations, Bjørvika stands out as a specifically central area, as defined by the City Council in 2003:

The vision is for Bjørvika as the port of Norway’s capital to appear as an expression of contemporary Norwegian urban culture and identity within architecture, technology and sustainable city development. The new district is to be the pride of all inhabitants of Oslo and will contribute to writing the city’s historical development from its origin to the 21st century (Bjørvika Development and Bjørvika Infrastructure, 2009:3).

Culture is a central means by which Bjørvika was intended to become representational of the capital city. The Cultural Programme enclosed within Bjørvika’s development plan (Bjørvika Information centre, 2003) is aligned aims formulated in the municipal plan for the inner city

(City of Oslo, 1998:6), arguing that the capital city function of Oslo is a reason for using cultural strategies: “Oslo is Norway’s door to the world, a vital centre core (...). The [city] centre should be the region’s main centre and strengthen its position as market place, meeting place, event and cultural area”. Bjørvika represents an extension of the city centre connected to new aspired capital functions of Oslo, wherein the Opera House is a flagship project.

During the time of nation-building in the 19th century, the development of capital functions in Oslo included cultural institutions as symbols of the nation, but also aligned the European trend of making art museums largely accessible (Willoch, 1950:181). The development of the National Gallery, the Museum of History, the National Theatre and the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design was central to the consolidating phase of the construction of the nation, expressing the era when Norway was established as an independent state after 1814 (Directorate for Cultural Heritage, 2012). In 1900, the only two buildings which were given a national responsibility were the National Theatre and the National Gallery, both built by private funds at public land (Sauge, 2005:62). In question of how they would contribute to make Oslo as a capital city, they were debated as much as they are today.

In Keynesian cultural policies, democratisation of culture was a goal closely connected to decentralisation (Mangset, 1998), implying the diffusion of culture between city districts and throughout Norway. Today, culture plays a new role in territorial policies, such as in consolidating Oslo as a “capital of culture”. The construction of a new Opera House is an articulation of these political changes.

Political negotiation of the Opera House’s location

The permanent location of the Norwegian Opera and Ballet was discussed during most of the 20th century,⁶⁹ and has in the latest round of political negotiation been a question of location inasmuch as financing. Relocation of the Opera House from the inapt People’s Theatre at Youngstorget was discussed for years until it was more seriously considered in the 1990s.

In 1991, the Labour Party government appointed an inter-ministerial working group to evaluate the material and financial aspects of the construction of a new Opera House. The group set out with an initial selection of 20 locations in Oslo, then reduced the options to Vestbanen, Bjørvika and Tøyen (Hagautvalget, 1991). The three locations represent different kinds of urban

⁶⁹ The first plans for a Norwegian opera were to include an opera and ballet in the National Theatre (which had opened in 1899). An Opera House was proposed near the waterfront in 1917, when a ship-owner offered to finance an Opera House at Kontraskjæret close to Akershus Castle (Arntzen & Hansen, 2008). The Opera House was eventually opened as ‘a temporary solution’ in the People’s theatre at Youngstorget in 1958/59. In 2008, a developer opened a renewed People’s Theatre the following year that mainly runs musicals and concerts.

space: Vestbanen is a preserved building in Vika, an established part of Oslo's western city centre; Bjørvika had for a decade been discussed as a new strategic space to expand the city centre; Tøyen is an eastern inner city neighbourhood home to the Munch Museum, the Botanic Garden, and three university museums. The future location was evaluated to inform the political decision-making process.

At this point in time, attention to the flagship potential of cultural institutions was present, but their potential role in urban redevelopment was more questioned. The report suggested that the Opera House should be a "locomotive" in urban development, yet it argued that the economic situation and the municipality's lack of interest discouraged a strategy in which it could be "a lever". It was stressed that the Opera House must be located in the representative landscape of the capital city centre and was not to become part of the municipal struggles of socio-spatial divides (i.e. between the East and West of Oslo):

A complicating factor when location of the Opera House is considered is that this is a national and not a municipal building. The opera is a capital city institution, and it relates to other important national buildings (...), as part of the nation's face outwards and assembling identity inwards. It therefore makes sense to primarily consider the area currently locating the capital functions - the urban core - when potential location is studied. To Norway as a nation and Oslo as the nation's capital, it is important that the Opera House harmonises with the other institutions and cultural buildings for the formation of an intensified, representative and functional interplay. It is important that (...) the building is easily accessible to visitors, thus included in a logical construction of the capital area. The opera building should belong to the city centre, and not be used to stretch the centre further east or west. The capital area, the city core, is neither in the East nor in the West, but a shared area for the entire city (p.22).

Expansion of Oslo's inner city as a means to upscaling the city was not conceived as a scope for national government at the time, whereas the strategic stance toward to Opera House location was to contribute to the consolidation of the city centre as a space representing the nation. This optic resulted in the selection of Vestbanen as the preferred location. City centre expansion (in Bjørvika) or the contribution to city district policies (Tøyen) were not options.

The locational advantages of Vestbanen achieved broad consensus, whereby cultural rationales dominated economic or redevelopment arguments. In 1989, the Norwegian Opera and Ballet had organised "a friendly occupation of Vestbanen".⁷⁰ According to the Opera's former director (1984-1990, 1995-2008), the occupation was an initiative that set off the political process.⁷¹ The Opera's Board and the Minister of Culture favoured Vestbanen, a location that

⁷⁰ In 1991, the minister of culture organised a race from Youngstorget (the location of the Opera House) to Vestbanen, where people from the cultural field together with inhabitants run along a route of musical events. *Aftenposten Aften* 14 June, 1991:25.

⁷¹ Interview 17 June, 2009.

could secure an efficient political process without a long period of inactivity. Connected arguments were that the land was central, state-owned, and an Opera House here would terminate a process of urban redevelopment, instead of starting a new one. The location was also supported by the city consultancy agency In'by and the municipal planning office (Statsbygg & Asplan Viak, 1993). The inter-ministerial group even called Vestbanen "neutral grounds" (Hagautvalget, 1991). Yet, public institutions been in the centre of the redevelopment of the area, as the construction of the City Hall implied sanitation of the area and the replacement of social activities deemed unattractive (Muri, 2000).

The role of place qualities in the location debate

Despite the wide range of supporters for a location at Vestbanen, it did not achieve sufficient political support. In 1993, the city government consisting of the Labour party and the Socialist party, voted in favour of Bjørvika. The political interest in the Opera House peaked, and the Opera's relocation was not decided upon until the new conservative-liberal coalition government was elected in 1997. The Minister of Culture and the Church from the Centre Party re-launched the process with a proposition to Parliament (Ministry of Culture, 1998). The Opera's instant need for new locales was stressed, whereby alternative locations at Vestbanen, in Bjørvika and the rehabilitation of the site at Youngstorget were evaluated. Vestbanen was again the preferred location because the Opera was conceived as a cultural institution without sufficient public support and consequently less potential as a flagship in urban redevelopment:

Opera and ballet do not have strong traditions in Norway. There are thereby few indications that the opera will function as a "magnet" on people in an urban area with otherwise limited activity. Location and design of the building will be important for the Norwegian Opera's potential to reach a broad audience and new audience groups (*Ibid.*, section 1.2).

Despite the view that the opera would not serve a strategic role in urban redevelopment because of its association to the high arts, a new building is conceived as assuring a broader audience. It is argued that in the brownfield of Bjørvika, the opera would neither be sufficient nor necessary to the development of a lively district (*Ibid.*, section 4.1.2). Another argument used against Bjørvika was the obstacle of required investments in infrastructure.

Compared to the discussion of Bjørvika, the locational argument for selecting Vestbanen was reversed: the question of what the Opera could do for Bjørvika was turned to what Vestbanen could do for the Opera:

The Vestbanen area could offer the Opera a lively city centre with animation around the mainly introvert functions the opera will contain. By locating the Opera House to such an environment, the institution could be integrated in a large and established context of culture and entertainment. By placing the new edifice in the heart of the capital, the institution's national character is also promoted (*Ibid.*, Section 1.2.3).

Arguments about the symbolic and representational benefits were made as they were by the former government, yet a new argument concerned animated city life. The Opera was thus to gain from existing place qualities instead of bringing a desired place quality to a new district.

In Parliament, a broad majority was in support of a new Opera House, but there was no agreement about location. The Minister understood that in order to gain political consensus, Bjørvika had to be promoted.⁷² Vestbanen was not a location that would engage the members of the Labour Party in Parliament, whereas Bjørvika was a more realistic political option as it could be promoted as a project benefiting eastern parts of Oslo. In opposition to the arguments made by the former Labour Party Government in 1991, using the Opera as part of incentives for spatial cohesion in Oslo had gained force. The plans were set off, because as the former director of the Opera remarked, “[the Minister of Culture] thought that the arts of opera and ballet needed an alliance, with aims of urban redevelopment, so it became a reality”.⁷³ The Ministry still favoured Vestbanen, but had opened up for the choice of Bjørvika, stating that its political and material conditions had changed and that the location could be selected if the Opera House could be constructed independently of the area's development plan (Ministry of Culture, 1999).

Parliament voted in favour of Bjørvika, and the project was to be carried out with an autonomous plan (Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs, 2002:5). The discourses had been divided between the Labour Party's support of Bjørvika for redevelopment purposes and the Conservative Party for cultural purposes, although some parties opposed the new Opera House (Hofseth, 2008:102). According to a study of the various discourses informing the political debate about the Opera House, underlying reflections concerned questions of the relations between classes, between city and periphery, and between state and the market, whereby the Bjørvika alternative represented a space acceptable to different ideological positions (Røyseng, 2000:123-123).

The former director of the Opera describes the final localisation decision as a political bargain mainly based on arguments about urban redevelopment.⁷⁴ The opera management was originally sceptical to Bjørvika, worrying that it would be “a satellite, hard to get in contact with.

⁷² Interview 17 June, 2009.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

At Vestbanen (...) [we would] be part of the pulsating life". Vestbanen was an easier option in a short time-span, but because these arts had less public support, which was fundamental to members of Parliament, assuring an improved location depended on the connection to aims at urban redevelopment:

It had to be safe. But one didn't succeed in gaining any majority [support for location at Vestbanen]. The reason was that the art forms opera and ballet had too little support among people, as well as politically. And [politicians] put the ear to the ground and thought: is this something that is popular to swallow, where we gain support? (...) It means that the arts of opera and ballet are too weak to be carried on their own terms.⁷⁵

Gaining legitimacy to build a new Opera House required the strategic role as being an instrument in Oslo's redevelopment scheme. However, the task remained to make it a national project, not just an urban one. The aim of the project was now not only to improve the conditions for and access to opera and ballet, but also to use the opportunity to raise a flagship building nurturing Oslo and Norway's images, through "a monumental building demonstrating Norway as a cultural nation and the significance of the Norwegian Opera in the nation's cultural and community life" (Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs, 2002:48). The project was thereby enhanced at the scale of the city and at the scale of the nation.

Embedding the project at the national scale

Cultural institutions have served different roles in modern time, and a discussion of these changes will in what follows serve as a basis for the understanding of their current roles.

As a national cultural institution representing an ambivalent legitimacy in Norway, in between political rationales of democratising culture and acknowledging popular culture, financing an expensive Opera House as a flagship building in Oslo required broad support. This ambivalence has historical roots. Raymond Williams (1963:5) quotes Mill saying that culture refers to the sense that there are more things in life than the economy, and that culture is in opposition to manipulation, thus committing to an extended popular education. After the Second World War, European governments developed cultural policies meeting such concerns, implying democratisation of culture by a focus on its emancipatory aspects. Another perspective, early advocated by the influential Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, aimed to valorise popular culture (Lamont & Fournier, 1992).

In Norway, cultural policies were primarily made into state matters as part of nation-

⁷⁵ Interview 17 June, 2009.

building (1814-1905) (Bakke, 2005: Ch.2). In this period, museums of cultural history were constructed in several cities as central to the development of a national cultural identity (Ministry of Culture, 2000:178). Cultural policies in the following century came to be separated between two aims (Bakke, 2005). The first one was to counteract the market's failure in fields where the market does not assure their subsistence. The second aim was that the state should finance culture because culture is conceived as filling a need; culture serves the community. Culture as a collective value became connected to wider aims of decentralisation, and specifically as a spatial form of democratisation of culture. These policies have been enforced by socio-democratic governments after 1945, by the ideal of social equality in all political spheres (Mangset, 1998). In the 1970s, national cultural policies stimulated cultural activities offered by local and regional institutions. Despite these decentralisation policies, cultural production have been concentrated in larger cities, particularly in Oslo (Arnestad & Mangset, 1995; Haraldsen *et al.*, 2008).

Today, the national support of opera and ballet tends to be mainly connected to the aim to support arts that are not financially independent. An expensive new Opera House in Oslo had to gain national legitimacy, since Opera and ballet in the Norwegian context are not part of the dominant value system. This can be illuminated by how Raymond Williams (1963:39) who emphasise the need to depict and conserve a dominant culture:

In any society, in any particular period, there is a central system of practices, meanings and values, which we may properly call dominant and effective. This implies no presumption about its value (...). [It] is a central, effective and dominant system of meanings and values, which are not merely abstract, but which are organized and lived. [A hegemony] is a set of meanings and values which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming. It thus constitutes a sense of reality for most people in the society, a sense of absolute because experienced reality beyond which it is very difficult for most people in a society to move, in most areas of their lives. (...) [W]e can only understand an effective and dominant culture if we understand the real social process on which it depends: (...) The modes of incorporation are of great social significance.

On this national and theoretical basis, the Opera's management saw the need to embed the opera plans and yield enthusiasm throughout Norway, as a way to gain broad legitimacy.

As a means to overcome dominant cultural values and the lack of identification with the arts of opera and the political goal of decentralisation, the Opera House was envisioned as a project serving interests and adding values at two scales: the urban and the national. The opera ensemble embarked on a strategy aligned democratisation policies initiated nationally in the 1940s, when state cultural institutions were developed to diffuse quality offers in music, theatre and arts from the capital city throughout the country. The ensemble toured a range of Norway's 430 municipalities between the final show in the old opera on New Year's Eve 2007 and the

premiere in Bjørvika on April 12th, 2008. The strategy was to promote the arts nationally, as a way to communicate that the Opera House was not predominantly aimed to boost a new urban district in Oslo, but to strengthen the national role of opera and ballet:

[W]e toured with the Hurtigruten fleet, pure propaganda for the Opera (...). I said to everyone that it had to be a national project, not a Bjørvika project (...). The city alliance within Oslo was important, but to make it a national project also was. We stressed that in many ways. By a tour cooperating with the National Concerts called “the Opera arrives”, we travelled across the country and gave tastes of the future. We cooperated with a hundred different local operators, we called it “A Hundred Magic Moments” (...). I think me and my secretaries held some 8-900 lectures and speeches throughout the country, to make it a national project. And it was.

The decision to finance a new Opera House was politically gained by placing it in Oslo’s redevelopment scheme, though it was as the director stresses to be counterbalanced with a reinforcement of the cultural purpose of the new house, to develop a national project. National legitimacy was also suggested to be gained by concealing the Opera’s activities because it could be perceived as a project for high culture: “Communication advisers said that I should never call it opera and ballet. It is too narrow. ‘You have to call it musical theatre, or dance theatre’. I said no. People, I think, appreciate my honesty. And if I am not engaged, how can I engage others? (...) It was conceived as an honest message”. As it turned out, the message was publicly accepted, perhaps not because of broad acceptance of the public expenditure on these arts, but because the edifice designed to house the opera and ballet met aesthetical values shared broadly among Norwegians.

The use of the Opera House as a motor in the redevelopment of an industrial urban area, with investment costs of some 8 billion NOK, had to be legitimised in the national context more than by the promotion of the autonomy and diffusion of the arts of Opera and Ballet. The symbolic and aesthetic potential of architecture served as an additional factor. To my question of whether the opera management saw the potential in Bjørvika, the director responded that he and the lead architect did not imagine the success it turned out to be:

We agreed to make an associative enrichment, with an alliance with modern architecture, to make it accessible. We didn’t want a South European monumentality, with stairs and pillars signalling that ‘this is not for you; it is something for the upper classes’. So we managed to create ‘broad monumentality’, what I would call a Scandinavian, socio-democratic monumentality. It is not something exclusive.

The success of the Opera House rested upon its achievement as an edifice and work of national interest through its architecture and public space, symbolising national nature, an iceberg sliding into the fjord. It is possible to mount, and the roof offers a large public space with a view over

the sea. The Opera House, the director stresses, became a success because it is an urban space, “an Italian piazza”, where people gather and where they can walk on the roof. The perception of people has changed from scepticism to pride, and the reason, the director conveys, is again connoted to national values: “Snøhetta hoped to hit a chord, in the Norwegian soul, and they did. There were some attractive dimensions there ... Norwegian nature”. As illustrated in the vision for Oslo as a fjord city - a city between forests and the fjord - national values of nature are engaged as part of the revitalisation of Oslo as a post-industrial city. The strategy selected to make the Norwegian Opera House in Bjørvika a success was to tune down urban factors and stress nature, since nature bears fundamental meaning in Norwegian culture and identity construction. Moreover, the focus on broad public accessibility is important as a way of assuring Norwegian commons also in the city. It is illustrated by the opening of the Opera House, which launched it as a multi-purpose house with connotations to a community centre more than “a temple” for fine arts.

An inclusive opening of the Opera House

Reinforcing cultural democratisation was also desired by politicians in national government, who aimed to show that the Opera was “for the people”.⁷⁶ Excitement was thus raised prior to the opening about whether the programme would represent popular culture or high culture.

The opening concert in 2008 was both applauded and criticised for its popular and broad repertory. In his speech at the opening, the Norwegian king drew attention to the social distinctions that an Opera House could make at the urban waterfront, where it would be a “new and monumental landmark”: “[h]ere, we can see, listen and experience ourselves and the world we live in. The challenge is to make these experiences available to all (...)”.⁷⁷ The King acknowledges the chance that the Opera House could be exclusive and emphasise equality as a credo to the future building. The inclusiveness called for was in fact represented in a bottom-up way through geographical and social symbols in the performance of Verdi’s Nabucco at the opening. A “Slave choir” consisting of 450 singers from Norwegian municipalities and the House’s construction workers performed it in national costumes and protection boots and helmets.⁷⁸ The Opera House was opened with emphasis on its belonging to the entire nation and all social classes. In his opening speech, the Minister of Cultural Affairs stressed that the house signals the current era and the assembling of a “cultural nation”:

⁷⁶Conversation with an employee in the Opera’s communications department, 11 March, 2009.

⁷⁷ <http://www.nrk.no/nett-tv/arkivert/50553/> film archive of the Norwegian Broadcasting, retrieved 6 Dec 2010.

⁷⁸ The performance can be seen at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-3Qx_oMH62U, retrieved 24 June 2014.

Generations before us have told us their history. Nidarosdomen [Cathedral] tells us about our religious history, the ports in Bergen tell us something about Norway as a coastal nation, and Holmenkollen [ski jump] assembles us as a sports nation. That is the history of former generations. This house will tell our history. This house will assemble us as a cultural nation.⁷⁹

The Opera House has been used widely for representational purposes. It has created recognition, pride and a tourist destination. Thus, aspirations have been largely met. It might be an effect of universal access to the edifice itself, but it is also connected to a broad activity programme, which makes it a multi-functional cultural institution. As Andrew Smith and Ingvild von Krogh Strand (2011:106) stress in their study of the Opera House in Bjørvika, the communication of “a new (cultural) natural identity” was involved, supporting the theory that new architectural projects are used “to re-narrate nations” (McNeill & Tewdwr-Jones, 2003:738).

The effect of the Opera House in Bjørvika

The Opera House is a success both in terms of increased number of audience,⁸⁰ its use for representational purposes, and also in terms of spurring culture-led urban redevelopment. Even though the Opera House was part of redevelopment policies and indirect competitive policies in Bjørvika, its national role is significant to its success. As an urban strategy however, the project is modelled on trends known from the Opera House in Sidney to the Guggenheim in Bilbao (Plaza *et al.*, 2009). Within new urban policies, the case of the Opera House can be conceived as a scalar configuration, as the politicians and public officials working for achieving it mobilised both the urban and national scale to assure its success. Scale is inherent to competitive strategies and is used to justify shared economic and territorial aims. The Opera House came to serve as a flagship, a brand, and a monument of national culture enforcing the capital city with international reach.

The Opera House became a national symbol and pride, in contrast to the fear of the industrial image of Bjørvika, as stressed by the director in 2009:

[I] was advised not to mention Bjørvika, because it had bad connotations. But I said, yes, but we will change that. And it is about to change. It was completely unthinkable a year ago, or one and a

⁷⁹ <http://www.nrk.no/nett-tv/arkivert/50558/> film archive of the Norwegian Broadcasting, retrieved 6 Dec 2010.

⁸⁰ To the Norwegian Opera and Ballet, the relocation resulted in the doubling of the number of spectators after 2008, due to both improved conditions and capacity. The numbers remained at the yearly level of approximately 275 000 between 2009 and 2011 (City of Oslo, 2012b:238). The Opera House has increased its number of shows, and has had constant coverage of 89 percent at the main scene. According to the management, 2012 made a peak in number of performances, with 462 shows and concerts in the Opera House and around the country. Among these, 84 were operas at the main scene, and 79 performances were ballet. This still means that almost 300 of the performances are not within the core activity of the Opera House, or have not taken place in the house. An estimate of more than eight million people have further crossed the bridge to the Opera House, a number that testifies to the image and interest generated.

half year ago. Now they are deciding that a new Munch Museum, Deichmanske [library] will move to Bjørvika. Suddenly it is “yes, sure”. It has changed within a year, because of Snøhetta’s genius.⁸¹

The edifice enforced the Opera’s status as well as the status of Bjørvika. The Opera House has in this sense become the desired “motor” of development. It turned into an international success story, which tends to have intrigued stakeholders and promoters, who see this effect as a bonus (A. Smith & von Krogh Strand, 2011:107).

A significant effect of the Opera House as a flagship cultural institution in urban redevelopment is its impact on image, as has been the case with similar institutions in other cities (Gomez, 1998). This effect tends to be secondary to the processes within which the Opera House was established as a producer of cultural identities at the national scale. As Smith and von Krogh Strand (2011:107) argue, it may be a prerequisite for a long-term sustainable effect of flagship buildings that abandon the spectacular in favour of public access and uses. In addition, this effect on national identity creation, I will argue, is also likely to have been enhanced by the diversity of cultural expressions, the mix of the arts of opera and ballet with representations of popular culture (e.g. rock, hip hop, and a national broadcasting summer show). The cultural explanation of its success seems to be strong, as national values of equality, public access and identities are central. The Opera House is a broad public arena appropriated by inhabitants and visitors. The success was also due to a solid political process and cooperation between the Opera’s management and national governments.

The success was such that it became desirable to relocate other cultural institutions to Fjordbyen, in a political aim to reinforce a strategy of culture-led redevelopment, by the decision to relocate several cultural institutions to Fjordbyen. However, the lack of an embedded political process, as was the case for the Opera House, has been an obstacle to the support and transparency of the rationale for the culture-led urban redevelopment process in Oslo.

The production of cultural clusters to produce a capital of culture

A political agreement between the City of Oslo and national government initiated plans for rearrangements for the majority of the most important cultural institutions in Oslo. Institutions had been previously merged, and several museums required improved conditions. The solution was to build new houses at the waterfront, as a direct effect of the Opera’s success.

⁸¹ Interview 17 June, 2009.

“Munch goes to the Opera”, Oslo’s Department of Cultural Affairs and Education declared on May 28, 2008. The Oslo City government and the Ministry of Culture and the Church had suddenly decided to change Oslo’s map of cultural institutions. The Deichmanske Library and the Munch Museum were to be relocated to Bjørvika, and the latter institution fused with the municipal Stenersen collections. The municipality stressed that the new Munch Museum would obtain optimal conditions, and that in a new flagship building close to the Opera House, “it will be among the most exiting cultural projects in Europe”.⁸² More than economic discourse, culture prevailed in legitimising public expenditure, but so were image-generating concerns: “Oslo becomes a city of culture of European format”, the municipality stressed, illustrated above by the commissioner of culture and the governing major showing prints of Edvard Munch’s famous paintings in front of the Opera House 29 May 2008.⁸³ To Oslo’s governing mayor, the decision was central to Oslo’s brand as “the fjord city”, adding more status: “This is a fantastic day for Oslo and Norway, and it will contribute to put Oslo on the map as one of Europe’s premium cities of culture (...). The art and cultural institutions are the motor in the urban redevelopment along Oslo’s seaside”.⁸⁴ The Commissioner of Cultural Affairs and Education held that the city government had sparked Bjørvika as an exciting and unique cultural junction, “with the location of some of the municipality’s finest cultural institutions in interplay with the Opera”.⁸⁵

The concentration of cultural institutions replicates the provision of a “creative cluster”, a concept and policy tool based initially on Michael Porter’s (1998) term “cluster”. In his definition, cluster refers to “geographical concentrations of interconnected companies and institutions in a particular field” that can yield competitive advantages, because “[p]aradoxically, the enduring competitive advantages in a global economy lie increasingly in local things” (p.77). In Oslo, the policies tend to be more of a tourist- and image-generating strategy than a cultural strategy. Though most institutions require modern and larger locales, their waterfront location is not a necessity.

A cluster is developed in Fjordbyen in general and in Bjørvika in particular, that in terms of its image-generative rationale and potential might be conceived as a cluster of signature architecture, which has increased as a phenomenon in the western world (Pérez Indaverea & Vila Vázquez, 2014). Though this phenomenon is often connected to spectacular architecture, the cluster in Bjørvika does not illustrate spectacular design, but rather flagship projects which stand

⁸² <http://www.kulturetaten.oslo.kommune.no/article114373-6863.html> retrieved, 25 November, 2010.

⁸³ <http://www.byradet.oslo.kommune.no/pressemeldinger/article114395-7786.html>, retrieved 26 October, 2014.

⁸⁴ <http://www.byradet.oslo.kommune.no/pressemeldinger/article114395-7786.html>, retrieved 23 March, 2011.

⁸⁵ <http://www.byradet.oslo.kommune.no/article120312-21137.html>, retrieved 23 March, 2011.

out by their scale and volumes as a Norwegian exemplar of this form of spatial patterning of brand architecture. Potential advantages of a museum cluster have been indicated as shared infrastructure for the public, increased monumentality and visibility nurturing promotion and subsequently visitor numbers, added experiences for visitors due to proximity, and both day and night use of the cluster area with various cultural institutions (van Aalst & Boogaarts, 2002:196). To the Vice Mayor for Cultural Affairs and Education, delocation of cultural institutions would contribute to accomplish the redevelopment process. Fjordbyen could be freed from unordered places and instead characterised by a density of cultural institutions as identifiers in the landscape:

[T]here is a line ... we can say there is a cultural line, if there is such thing, from the new museum of Astrup Fearnley ... to the National Museum which will, hopefully, be constructed (...). It will be...a fantastic building, an important institution in our city. And it will fill the not-so-nice hole behind the old Vestbanen station...with a building that in some way...will relate to the City Hall and Akershus Castle, and it will kind of be ... the city will be whole, if one succeeds with the architecture there, I think. And there is also a line, from there to Akershus Castle, which is fantastic ... Akershus castle is in short an important place (...). It is an important cultural place. So, well, the line goes further to ... Bjørvika. One could have stretched it further out to Bygdøy too, where there are cultural institutions.⁸⁶

The Vice Mayor points to what in other cities has been termed “routing”, a strategy aimed to make dispersed facilities “appear” as a cluster (van Aalst & Boogaarts, 2002:197). The strategy conforms to the municipal vision of the 2000s of Oslo as a city of culture (City of Oslo, 2004a, 2008c), appealing as urban redevelopment is targeted the aim of attractiveness. The discourse used was, however, that the autonomy of culture was the main concern and that synergies between the institutions would benefit a cultural strategy for its own sake.

Re-politicizing Fjordbyen

By the political decision to relocate the institutions, politics entered the development process more explicitly, after years when public and private companies carried out the main tasks of the waterfront development. Fjordbyen became more explicitly culture-led, and in the cultural domain, the governance process is more public-led. The location of cultural institutions was an entry of politics into the question of the provision of *functions*. Private and public companies not politically accountable provided the remaining functions (housing, office buildings). Thus besides transport and social infrastructure, public authorities engaged in the development

⁸⁶ Interview 26 October, 2009.

process, implying that the use of cultural institutions reduces the political facilitative role in embarking on active decision-making.

Despite the political steering of cultural strategies in terms of the in Fjordbyen, the decision to relocate cultural institutions to the waterfront was not a long-termed planned political strategy. Even though cultural strategies have been important in Fjordbyen throughout the planning process, the idea and aim of the relocation of cultural institutions were unclear. The director of the HAV Development Company wishes that “the municipality had somehow an earlier vision, about why they want to come down here, what made them want to come down exactly here. Was it because of the nice seaside view, or did they have any other visions? Why exactly these sites? It would have been interesting to know”.⁸⁷ She questions the decision-making process and the role of visions and goals to the predictability of the planning process.

The decision to provide a “cultural line” resulted from political negotiation between territorial authorities to use spatial opportunities, supported by the Opera effect and the force of models of culture-led urban redevelopment to create competitiveness through discourses on the city of culture. As expressed by the director of a museum in Oslo, the strategy is not embedded in urban strategy in which socio-spatial relations are recognised:

Cultural institutions, they also have a social connectivity, and they are part of a rather complicated urban structure. And I’m a bit surprised, I’ve got the feeling that there has been no urbanistic reflection behind [the political decisions], that this happens, that some politicians are stronger than the others and decide behind their backs that this is what you will attain. So what we now see is a rather well-known element in the works, often talked about, spectacular architecture. Then they locate all these buildings to one environment, one site, which is interesting but which does not have a social anchorage.⁸⁸

In Oslo as elsewhere, the policy aims concerning the arts themselves tend to be secondary to the “motives enhancing the attraction of the city”, by a competitive game that is inter-urban, but also inter-institutional, as museums fight for exhibition material, visitors and media attention (van Aalst & Boogaarts, 2002:208). The director points to cities retaining a more dispersed pattern, where the scale of the city adheres to reflections on urban cohesion:

There are few institutions here. Paris, where for example Picasso, Pompidou, Villette it is spread out (...). And all these have a force, there is a balance between the museums, so there is a clear constellation in urban space. Thus the institutions obtain a clear role, and then they are used in the city. Access to the Picasso museum for instance. It is clear that one uses the neighbourhood as one uses shops etc. and we see a large difference here. The National Gallery is quite large, us, the Art association is like a shoe box. Tegnerforundet [Centre of drawing and illustration art], it is

⁸⁷ Interview 24 June, 2009.

⁸⁸ Interview 27 October, 2009.

nothing. They are hardly institutions, there is no volume. In German cities, art museums, kunsthallen, different agents are located at different places in the city.⁸⁹

Decisions to steer Fjordbyen through active cultural policies does reflect political decision-making capabilities in the redevelopment process as functions are decided upon. The policies are central to the promotion of attractiveness of the waterfront, which contribute to restructure the city as a “capital of culture”, catering the image of the city and the concentration of attractive functions in a symbolic landscape. These policies offer opportunities to institutions which may prosper and change their scale by their inclusion in the waterfront landscape.

Two illustrations of the rationales and discourses of relocating and reorienting cultural institutions that have been politically negotiated and decided upon are the Museum of Cultural History and the Munch Museum. Whereas the first one was finally not relocated to Bjørvika, the other one was, as a result of political bargain.

Rather than an overall political vision of the cohesion of the city centre and the composition and place of cultural institutions, the city government prioritises the use of the institutions in a consumption strategy of image and tourism, as indicated in the discourse of Oslo City government (2009:1):

The new cultural buildings should by their architectural and functional qualities contribute to vitalise the institutions so they reach a broader audience and new user groups. The City Government aims to ensure that Munch’s art is communicated to a large audience locally, nationally and internationally, so that as many as possible get to know the unique cultural heritage represented by Munch’s art. (...). This will imply a considerable cultural leap for Oslo. The City government therefore thinks that the buildings also must have a value in the capital’s cityscape which goes beyond the satisfaction of functional needs (...). With location in Bjørvika and with the [desired] architectural qualities, the institutions should contribute to realise the ambition to make Oslo a fjord city with positive regional and national effects.

As Bob Jessop (1998) notes, urban leaders aim to narrate the city entrepreneurially, and the symbolic potential of cultural institutions is acknowledged in the strategies targeting the attractive city. The framing of the city’s symbolic capacities are inscribed in the concrete production of symbolic spaces and in the images and visions of Oslo. This is part of the enhancement of the city in competitive terms (Zukin 1995). The relocation of the cultural institutions to the new areas designed along Oslo’s seaside is included in the wider restructuring of Oslo, since it contributes to up-scale the city to the level of an international metropolis, not the least by the new, image-generating waterfront landscape. These ambitions have been criticised both politically and publicly. In the biannual speech “The city’s condition” in 2010, the

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

governing mayor met this critique by stressing “the city of culture” and the centrality of culture to the success of the waterfront project. Together, he argued, art and cultural institutions form an important motor and a central cultural axis in the redevelopment of Oslo’s seaside (Røslund, 2010:19). The restructuring includes in this way the cultural sector as a core factor to assure attractiveness and a successful development.

The Museum of Cultural History

Like the National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, the Museum of Cultural History is a fusion. In 1999 several of the University of Oslo’s collections were merged, and its co-location to Bjørvika was importantly promoted by the director of the museum until 2011. The main argument for a location in Bjørvika was culture-led urban redevelopment. The initial project was to build a new assembled museum at Bygdøy. This, he stresses, was not a desired project:

Now we don’t think it is the right idea of urban redevelopment, and where we would have a national museum, with Norwegian history in the lead. Whereas in Bjørvika, we wish to create a more international, urban museum, which has both Norway and the world as its field. So there are large contrasts in the visions to locate the museum at Bygdøy compared to [in Bjørvika].⁹⁰

Locality and the discourse of urban development contribute to a strong argument as the waterfront redevelopment implies the reconfiguration of the inner city through land opportunities and several relocations. The Bjørvika locality is in this frame also promoted for the museum’s role to the neighbouring multicultural district of Gamle Oslo: “the district has [Oslo’s] densest concentration of non-European immigrants, from many countries are well represented in the collections. Here are interesting tasks for the new museum’s communication” (University of Oslo, 2000:22-23).

The new museum was included in the illustrations for Bjørvika from 2000, but the insistence on including the fragile Viking ships delayed the project and revealed an ardent use of arguments in order to win out in the struggle. The Museum of Cultural History launched its own report during the period of evaluation of security concerning the aim to move the ships. The report (University of Oslo, 2006:36) firstly argues that the location in Bjørvika is a democratic gesture as it is meant to be an animated cultural centre to the city district [of Gamle Oslo] in particular and to the city in general. This ambivalent scope on universality favouring the city district is further reflected in the argument about a central location which continues along the

⁹⁰ Interview 16 October, 2009.

multicultural line as in 2000, that is indirectly including questions of gentrification and Oslo's socio-spatial divides:

The Medieval Park is centrally located in those areas where there currently live a large share of new minorities. Even though this might change, an area of the city centre will be conceived as more accessible to new visitor groups than a relatively remote district, one of the city's most affluent districts. It is therefore more likely that the new minorities will visit the Viking ships in Bjørvika than at Bygdøy (University of Oslo, 2006:36).

In addition to environmental, research-related and economic consequences which all favour Bjørvika as the desired location, an argument is that locating the museum in Bjørvika will fuel Oslo's tourist economy and bring the city the Viking ships which tourists expect to see since Oslo is promoted as "the Viking Capital of Norway" (pp.36-37). A strategic aim in culture-led urban redevelopment relevant here is also the changes of museums into recreational experiences, where their shop and cafes/restaurant functions have become central (Hamnett & Shoal, 2003:225-226). The kiosk of the Viking ship museum illustrated below fits neither the scale nor the consumption attraction aspired or perhaps also expected in museums today.

Several security evaluation reports were carried out during the 2000s illustrates the ambivalent and potentially political role of knowledge claims to support decisions. The board of the museum voted in favour of a relocation, and the rector of the University of Oslo wrote a chronicle in the newspaper that the reason for relocating the ships to Bjørvika was to give the best conditions to preserve, provide security and make them more available to the public.⁹¹ Oslo University and the Museum of Cultural History was thus ready to overrule conservational and scientific uncertainty in order to promote the museum as a flagship with the vision to make it the most exciting and modern museum in Norway, offering the public knowledge, activities and learning "24hours" (University of Oslo, 2006:15). In spring 2012, an international research group appointed to anew evaluate the risks concluded that the ships were best secured in place, and should not be moved to Bjørvika (International expert committee, 2012), an assessment supported by the national government. The plans to locate the museum in Bjørvika were abandoned all together.

⁹¹ Ellingsrud, Geir, "Vikingskipene skal flyttes til Bjørvika». In Aftenposten, 22 December, 2006.



Illustration 15.The kiosk of the Viking ship Museum.

The Munch Museum

The commissioner of cultural affairs and education advocated in autumn 2008 that the Munch Museum would be relocated to Bjørvika in order to assure “democratic cultural communication”,⁹² an argument pointing to the increase in visitors expected in Bjørvika. Together with other politicians, the commissioner insisted that Bjørvika will be a cultural stronghold when Deichmanske library, the Medieval park, the rock festival Øya and, as the commissioner hoped at the time, also the Museum of Cultural History. The critique about the delocation of the Munch Museum from the neighbourhood Tøyen east in the district Gamle Oslo, was answered by the emphasis that the “cultural cluster” would still be in eastern Oslo. As with the Museum of cultural history, the desired rise in the museum’s scale and change in its design were central, as the small-scaled, anonymous building at Tøyen was incompatible with the international status of Munch, illustrated below.

⁹² Personal observation at the celebration of Deichmanske library’s 75th anniversary, 22 August, 2008.



Illustration 16. The Munch Museum at Tøyen and the planned building in Bjørvika. Source: Illustration to the right by Herreros arquitectos.

The decision to relocate the Munch Museum lost political support, and the project was stopped in the City Council in 2011. The architectural project selected after competition and jury decision was criticised, and the financial costs judged too high. The Progress Party retained their support and thus blocked the project. After political bargains, the Socialist Party changed its opinion and secured a majority vote in 2013 for the construction of the Munch Museum in Bjørvika. The decision was based on a political agreement to fund a programme “lifting” Tøyen by targeting neighbourhood offers and social services (City of Oslo, 2013).

The project was back on track, including the Munch and Stenersen museum as a means to further increase the scales of attractiveness in Bjørvika, with larger volumes and heights. Up-scaling these institutions in Bjørvika and elsewhere in Fjordbyen consolidates a higher scale for the district and the city. The role of cultural institutions is changed with the rise of globalisation, discourses on competitive cities, and attention to ideas about the creative city, which advocate a mutual dependency between economy and culture. The city of culture is a model supporting the imaginary of the knowledge society, but in the case of the relocation of cultural institutions in Oslo, there is a lack of grounded decisions, which reduces the relocation policies to a matter of promoting the city. Besides being a reality in terms of its role as a national capital, the capital city is discursively a means to up-scale the city to an internationally competitive level.

Concerns with urban attractiveness do on this basis imply a concentration and densification of Oslo’s city centre and on the waterfront. It testifies to the departure from Keynesian aims at cultural decentralisation where city districts were benefited. The Munch Museum in particular illustrates a shift from aims of democratising culture to the search for image-generation through arts and architecture. The Munch collections were donated to the City of Oslo, and a building was raised at Tøyen in Eastern Oslo in 1963, at a time when the cultural sector was targeted in decentralisation policies. Today, the building’s small scale and

unspectacular appearance does not seem to suit the aspirations, when art and architecture are combined in culture-led urban redevelopment. Instead of increasing the accessibility and visibility of the museum of Tøyen, a location not much more peripheral than the selected site in Bjørvika, the planned Munch Museum is to serve symbolic functions, as illustrated by The Vice Mayor for Cultural Affairs: “This becomes an icon for Norway. It becomes our leading art museum and an attraction for the whole world (...). We make a museum for the world interested in art, and then it has to be properly made”.⁹³ The location at Tøyen might serve this purpose, but location in a city district does not offer the scale and attractiveness of Bjørvika as a consolidated and representational space of the capital city.

In Euroméditerranée, related concerns with the city of culture are present. But whereas the Opera House in Oslo helped realise a wider strategy targeting this vision by up-scaling, the MuCEM in Marseille was assisted by the European Union’s European Capital of Culture programme to assure a new building. Its narrative still illustrates the role of attractiveness in up-scaling policies and the close connections to wider urban restructuring.

⁹³ <http://www.nrk.no/kultur/se-det-nye-munch-museet-innenfra-1.11612078>, retrieved 17 August, 2014.

MuCEM and the European capital of culture

Similar to the development of the Opera House in Oslo, the history and process of the development of the Museum for Europe and the Mediterranean, MuCEM, illustrates how the consolidation of a capital city through culture-led urban redevelopment today affect cultural institutions. In the case of MuCEM, however, the entire arrangement of the museum was changed to fit the concerted strategy to upscale Marseille. The museum illustrates shifts in French cultural policies. The EU-led Capital of Culture programme served as a contingent condition for the realisation of the museum in a new building in Marseille, whereby its historical rationale was changed to adjust to the cultural requirements of urban restructuring.

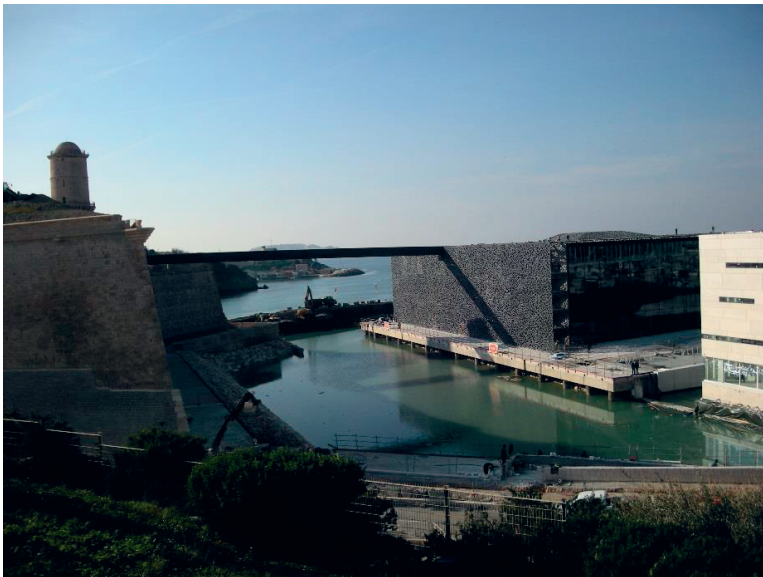


Illustration 17. The MuCEM's old and new buildings.

MuCEM is a project grounded on the changed territorial dimensions of French cultural policies. Cultural policies were enhanced in France when Charles de Gaulle appointed the world's first minister of cultural affairs, writer André Malraux in 1959 (-1969), whose establishment of the municipal cultural centres (*Maisons pour tous*) was aimed at democratising culture. The French centralised political structure is however characteristic of the cultural field (Moulin, 1997). French museums can be conceived as “institutions of the state”, where the French Museums Board, part of the Ministry of Culture, is the central governing body possessing a crucial role in the establishment and functioning of museums (Price, 2007:23).

Centralised cultural policies were enhanced in the 1970s, whereas in the 1980s, decentralised cultural policies were growing in importance. As happened earlier in Norway, decentralisation policies were launched in the cultural domain.⁹⁴ A simultaneous shift in cultural policies in the two countries took however place in the 1980s, when culture was increasingly put on the cities' agenda. French cities were encouraged to engage in inter-urban competition (Le Galès, 1993).

Location between cultural and scientific reasoning

MuCEM is a national museum originating from the fusion of *Musée de l'Homme* and the *Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires* (ATP), and is connected to the aim of president Jacques Chirac's to create a separate museum for the non-Occidental civilisations, a museum for "primitive arts". The non-European collections of the Musée de l'Homme were separated from the new museum, whereas the European collections were passed to ATP, located in Bois de Bologne in Paris. The fusion was strongly opposed by scientific staff at the Musée de l'Homme, who argued that aesthetic concerns foreshadowed scientific ones, and that a division between Europe and the rest of the world was "embarrassing".⁹⁵ Despite its controversies, *Musée de Quai Branley* opened near the Eiffel Tower in 2006.

The ATP and Musée de l'Homme were inaugurated in 1937 as divisions of the Museum of Ethnography at Trocadero in Paris. In the end of the century, they suffered from longstanding problems such as poor numbers of visitors, unsuited locales and shortage of funding and recognition (Rogan, 2003b). Parisian real estate prices and French decentralisation policies were also a rationale for their fusion and relocation to a different city. The Minister of Culture selected the museum as the important decentralising action in the cultural sector. For the first time, a national museum of this kind was located outside Paris. At the turn of the century, Strasbourg, Lille, Lyon and Marseille were potential locations for the museum, as these were conceived as cities of a European calibre. The relocation and fusion had many internal and external critics who opposed what they perceived as a market-oriented heritage policy, in which the promotional potential of this museum was central (p.39).

The museum's development has been characterised by political hesitance and uncertainties, with a plausible reason being the supremacy of the *beaux arts* in France, and their significance to the priorities of the dominating Museums Board of France.⁹⁶ An ethnographic museum is less prestigious. This has also been reflected in the conflicts between aesthetic and

⁹⁴ For instance the establishment of the Regional Contemporary Art Fund, FRAC, in 1982.

⁹⁵ Interview 8 November, 2009.

⁹⁶ Conversation 22 April, 2013.

anthropological interests to define and orient the future museums, with the Quai Branley being one case. As with the future MuCEM, this is also reflected in the delegation and struggle for decision-making powers in the museums' governing bodies (Price, 2007), between curators and academics, promoting aesthetic and research interests respectively. A related reason is that the nature of an anthropological museum might diverge from the idea of the flagship project serving both image and tourist aspirations to raise attractiveness. However, the iconography of the buildings of cultural institutions tend to be as influential to their success as flagships in urban redevelopment projects (Grodach, 2008). It is also connected to the tourist strategy forging a competitive drive to attract visitors and generate revenue, implying that "museums continue to build larger, signature buildings, welcome corporate sponsorship, establish branch facilities and provide more opportunities for consumption through blockbuster events, cafe's, stores and merchandising" (p.196).

The scientific content of the museum has further been changed in the course of development in line with location and diverging visions. The museum was initially conceptualised with a mere European scope based on the geographical source of its objects. The idea was in the first stages to construct a European Museum of Popular Arts to be located in Lille or Lyon, cities more central to the European core area. In the next stage, French anthropologist Isaac Chiva promoted Marseille as the location of a new museum. The question raised was then "which Europe" to approach. It could be cultural Europe, but the museum's scientists considered this perspective unsustainable without including the entire Mediterranean. The reflexion was consequently about cultural origins, the museum's conservator reveals: "We wanted to talk about the contemporary problems of Europe. Alas, we couldn't avoid the fact that cultural Europe is currently constructed based on postcolonial consequences (...). We had to think about the entire Mediterranean".⁹⁷

Approaching a Mediterranean location

Another factor enhancing the Mediterranean scope was that other European countries made simultaneous plans for museums targeting Europe (Rogan, 2003a). Scientists from the different countries assembled to elaborate a concerted plan, where the respective countries were to develop museums with different angles, between which collections could circulate. Spain and Italy decided not to pursue their plans, whereas Belgium, Germany and France retained their projects. In Brussels, a museum of EU history was desired, whereas a museum that featured the

⁹⁷ Interview 8 November, 2009.

East-West axis after the reunion of Germany, MittelEuropa, was planned in Berlin. Finally, MuCEM was to target anthropological culture valorising a North-South European axis, including the role of the Mediterranean region. In this sense, Europe was politically, geographically and culturally covered in a larger, transnational museum strategy.

Marseille was favoured as MuCEM's location as it was also conceived as a historical junction between Northern Europe and the Mediterranean, a strength Genoa, Barcelona, and any of the other French Mediterranean cities lacked, in line with the arguments used by promoters and planners in Marseille. Another factor was that in Marseille, Euroméditerranée and the empty fort of Saint Jean and the waterfront area J4 offered an opportunity to benefit from public ownership and an existing project. There were converging interests with EPAEM, who desired cultural activities in the fort as well as a programme relevant to their Euro-Mediterranean vision. Yet another advantage was that military buildings were vacant in Marseille, and the Casern de Muy in Belle de Mai was suitable for MuCEM's conservation department. The Ministry of Culture thus had an easier task in locating a new museum in Marseille, as *l'état était chez lui*, the state was on its own land.⁹⁸

The Inter-ministerial Committee for Territorial Development (CIAT) was in favour of the location decision, as it aimed to see projects "rebalancing the French territory". In May 2000, the committee decided that MuCEM should be located in Marseille, as part of the consolidation of national competitive policies: "The international radiation of France in the Mediterranean could be enforced by the creation of a museum of Europe and the Mediterranean in Marseille (...)" (Fabre, 2009:8). The national government aimed to strengthen its geopolitical strategies by consolidating their strategies, including a cultural flagship project in the "operation of national interest". This meant that the central state allocated resources to Euroméditerranée, so that "the metropolitan area of Marseille assures its decisive role in France between Europe and the Mediterranean worlds" (*Ibid.*). Marseille was conceived as a potential command and control centre in the Euro-Mediterranean region that could be strengthened by cultural means. Compared to transnational models of competitive policies, the use of an ethnographic museum as competitive advantage is innovative, given the range of stereotypes and repetitions witnessed in competitive strategies and new mega-projects (Holgersen, 2014).

A strategic place

By 2002, MuCEM had prepared a programme defining its scientific content, location, public

⁹⁸ Interview 8 November, 2009.

functions and role to Euroméditerranée. Not only was there an opportunity to reinvent the museum's scientific and cultural profile, but as a new creation, the museum was also celebrated as Marseille's future symbolic edifice fusing the role of the building to the activation of a landscape that should visualise the city's makeover (MuCEM, 2002:77):

The creation of an architectural complex of high quality (...), added to the urban landscape signalling the dynamism of the third millennium city, the new building to be created at the land plot J4 should be the result of an international architecture competition of the type of "large works", whereby the latest one was the museum at Quai Branly. We insist on the necessity of architecture of proportions, form and materials in harmony with the site, but readable and modern: at stake is to mark, as the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao, the landscape of the city by a strong symbol at its entrance to the new century. Integration and modernity are not necessarily contradictory, as we have witnessed with [other museums].

The museum's management was in favour of MuCEM as a cultural flagship, aiming to obtain the quality of a symbolic landmark, in line with other museums designed for the purpose of adding certain place qualities to raise attractiveness (Gospodini, 2004). The location at the waterfront offered this potential to the museum. Local agents in Marseille had also, however, understood the potential of the seaside landscape J4, where the new building of MuCEM was planned. Though municipal aspirations at up-scaling the city to an internationally radiant metropolis conformed to the plans of the MuCEM on the one hand and EPAEM on the other, the municipality's lack of decision-making powers over the territory of Euroméditerranée was still accepted with difficulty. Local antagonism resulted in a counter-project in 2002, when the municipality announced its bid for the event America's Cup. Despite the warm welcome speech held by Marseille's mayor during the first meeting of the scientific board of MuCEM, the museum was not the municipality's priority once another event appeared as an opportunity to make Marseille attractive. Two central elements of culture-led urban redevelopment, a short-term municipally steered blockbuster event and a long-term flagship project ordered by national government, were in this way in conflict.

Strategies for a capital city

In 2003, the City of Marseille announced its candidature to host the America's Cup regatta in 2010. The event was desired to raise the attractiveness of Marseille internationally (Peraldi & Samson, 2005:245), and the J4 was the prominent area on which the event was to take place. Representatives of the municipality therefore told MuCEM's management to reschedule the architecture competition for the new building of MuCEM, shortly after the competition programme was launched. To MuCEM, it meant months of delay, and the entire project was

postponed. The staff had to silence the museum project, with minor political support from central and local government - its owner and its city of location.⁹⁹

Not only did the candidature for America's Cup counteract Euroméditerranée, it also represented a lack of competitive competence, according to a senior municipal official in charge of international relations:

The people of America's Cup came to see Marseille. They remarked the lack of hotels, and they said you have to do this, this and that...They uttered what they wanted and needed, it's normal. But the municipality said that, not to worry, in five years it will be accomplished. As if one can make a hotel within two years! (...) I have a friend who is the senior official who got America's Cup to Valencia. He said, "it's very simple, when the Swiss came to Valencia, they said that they wanted 200-300m2 of docks". - "Here are the keys, Sir". "We want this we want that...". - "Here are the keys, Sir". It is really simple. Valencia has tried to reach the level of Barcelona for 15 years. So the day there is a bid, it can even be the Olympic Games, they are ready.¹⁰⁰

As Switzerland, a country without coastland, was the host of the cup, Swiss committee members toured candidate cities, among which Marseille and Valencia were candidates. Marseille, the municipal officer states, could not win as the committee noticed the lack of infrastructure and tidiness while walking its streets. In Marseille's case, the municipality had not expected the requirements, and the city was neither functionally nor aesthetically suited for the prestigious event. Marseille did not yet meet the requirements of the competitive city, which tends to include a set of elements inherent to current ideas about urban attractiveness.

Placing the museum

As in the case of the Opera in Oslo, MuCEM's staff embarked on an outreaching strategy to obtain legitimacy and public support. Given the local hesitance to accept this national museum project, embedding MuCEM as a project for the city and the region was required. The local audience was the main target: "When we were in the phase of pre-configuration, we considered it important to find our place in the imaginary of the public, and in the local, cultural and financial networks, in order to make an appetite. The strategy was to succeed with our local implantation".¹⁰¹ The initial exhibitions held in the Fort Saint Jean focused on Mediterranean exchange and local memories, testifying to the museum's search for its place in Marseille and as a place for the citizens.

The first exhibition was "Talk to me about Alger" (2003-2004), aimed to shed light on

⁹⁹ Interview 8 November, 2009.

¹⁰⁰ Interview 27 March, 2008.

¹⁰¹ Interview 8 November, 2009.

the similarities between Marseille and Alger by showing the shared practices and cultures of their citizens, among which many live or have lived in the opposite city (or, more broadly, country). The exhibition favoured “concrete testimonies of people’s life [that] make apparent the large similarities between them. From North to South, they all testify the same taste for the light, smells, taste, music and words”.¹⁰² The exhibition thus started by a citizen perspective on shared aesthetic experiences in the cities, to bring to light relations between Europe and North Africa, between Marseille and Alger, which could speak to Marseille’s population of Algerian origin.

In 2006, an exhibition about the site of the museum was held, thus enforcing the micro-scale of MuCEM. The exhibition concerned the historical uses of the flat stones outside the fort, and was thus another practice of place-making. The site’s historical heritage was valorised, showing that MuCEM was aware of its implantation in a meaningful place. The aim was to acknowledge that it was established on “a very emblematic site for the inhabitants of Marseille... the flat stones called in memory... a place which has remained a place to walk and a recreational area for Marseille’s inhabitants” (MuCEM, 2006:7). By organising this exhibition, MuCEM as a new actor occupying a place of affection in Marseille exhibited its view upon its locale as a place, and to the possibility to build on the history and affection so as to give the place new meaning without erasing existing ones.



Illustration 18. The fort Saint Jean housing MuCEM.

¹⁰² <http://www.musee-europemediterranee.org/fr/Expositions-Publications/Les-publications-papier/Parlez-moi-d-Alger> retrieved 8 October, 2009.

Reaching an audience was not only pursued in the urban context, but was also given a regional frame. MuCEM organised workshops in the region as part of the museum's restrained activities, also resulting from the delayed process of designing the new museum building.¹⁰³ The regionally-based architect Rudy Ricciotti had in February 2004 won the bid to design the museum, but political uncertainties about the museum's future meant that the project was not embarked upon.

Geo-strategic aims rescuing MuCEM

The museum's turning point was president Sarkozy's re-launch of the Barcelona process and the selection of Marseille as Capital of Culture in 2008. Central government came to rescue Marseille's policies of attractiveness as it consolidated its geo-political strategies to target Marseille in three ways. Together with the largely central state-funded Euroméditerranée, Marseille was selected to be France's choice of the European Capital of Culture in 2008, the same year as the French EU presidency, whereby the French president decided to reinvigorate the Barcelona process. The result is the consolidation of the strategic policies of the state-led EPAEM, EU policies in the form of the capital of culture initiative, and national aspirations during French EU presidency to enhance Marseille as a geo-political Mediterranean centre, all with strategic policy tools upscaling the city. Whereas the first decision reinforces the national government's decision to promote Marseille as the French Mediterranean capital, the second decision contributed to enhance the cultural strategies of Euroméditerranée as well as promoting Marseille's potential role as a capital city of the Euro-Mediterranean region.

The French president initiated policies to recover the Barcelona process in the name of the Union for the Mediterranean, as part of the EU's European neighbourhood policy.¹⁰⁴ The Union of the Mediterranean had its constitutive meeting in Marseille. An agreement was signed at the Barcelona Conference in 1995 between the (then) 15 EU member states and 12 Mediterranean nations.¹⁰⁵ The declaration promised the establishment of "a Euro-Mediterranean partnership in order to turn the Mediterranean into a common area of peace, stability and prosperity through the reinforcement of political dialogue and security, economic and financial partnership as well as social, cultural and human partnership".¹⁰⁶ The latter aim

¹⁰³ I was invited to observe the final workshop in a series focusing on identity and objects organised in cooperation with the social centre in Hyère in November, 2007.

¹⁰⁴ http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/euromed/index_en.htm, retrieved 4 August, 2009.

¹⁰⁵ The countries involved are Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Malta, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia and Turkey.

¹⁰⁶ http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/external_relations/relations_with_third_countries/mediterranean_partner_countries/r15001_en.htm, retrieved 4 August, 2009.

was conceived as a discursive and supportive addition, and a response to the current discussions of Huntington's "The Clash of Civilizations" (Schäfer, 2007:334).

Cooperation between the EU and the rest of the Mediterranean countries was considered an opportunity to increase the significance of Mediterranean cities and regions. Euroméditerranée thus promoted Marseille as the motor in this partnership by its similar vision of creating "awareness and dialogue between cultures and civilisations and by development of knowledge and economic relations".¹⁰⁷ Euroméditerranée and French geo-politics were to mutually benefit Marseille's position as well as French force in the pan-Mediterranean region. The re-launch of the Barcelona process was aimed to "render relations both more concrete and more visible with the initiation of new regional and sub-regional projects with real relevance for those living in the region".¹⁰⁸ The financial crises and the Arab spring are events likely to have put a halt to the process, yet for Marseille, the endorsement of the partnership in the city, at a time when Euroméditerranée advanced, was likely to have a symbolic effect in concretising the efforts made locally and nationally to make Marseille the centre of Euro-Mediterranean relations.

A reorientation from Europe to the Mediterranean

Camille Mazé (2013:198) concludes that the Union of the Mediterranean was a direct reason for the museum's reorientation as a national and political project that needed "an emblem", which turned MuCEM into a Museum of the Mediterranean based on territorial policies. The mega-structure of the European Capital of Culture required "a large edifice". The committee preparing the bid therefore included MuCEM as a central part of the candidature.

The Minister of Culture had initially delayed the MuCEM project, and ordered its evaluation in 2008. The evaluation was led by the director of the Museum of Quai Branly, who concluded about the project and its orientations in favourable terms. When Frédéric Mitterrand was appointed minister of culture in 2009, his first task was to visit Marseille and announce the realisation of the museum, yet on one condition. Mitterrand indicated that the government desired an emphasis on the Mediterranean dimension. The museum's president was replaced in 2010. Prior to his resignation, Thierry Fabre at the research centre *Maison Méditerranée des sciences de l'homme* in Aix en Provence had been given the task of reorienting the museum in terms of its position, orientation and programming (Fabre, 2009). The researcher had been in the scientific committee of MuCEM, and was an advocate of its Mediterranean dimension. According to a conservator of MuCEM, "the local actors had continuously pulled the

¹⁰⁷ http://www.euromediterranee.fr/html/index.php?module=Infos_PN_Menu&idm=8 retrieved 23 Aug, 2009.

¹⁰⁸ http://www.eeas.europa.eu/euromed/index_en.htm retrieved 13 May, 2012.

Mediterranean to the centre of the museum”.¹⁰⁹ From the departure of a European museum collection and an aim to include the Mediterranean, the scope had largely shifted by the interest of local professional and national politicians.

With the Mediterranean orientation, the museum’s role as a competitive advantage to Marseille as a destination and as city of culture was enhanced. A change of the museum’s profile and content implied that the museum’s collections were secondary to its new strategic role as a platform for Euro-Mediterranean relations. The museum held 350 000 objects, among which 30 000 were connected to the Mediterranean basin. A MuCEM conservator held that the museum’s objects did not present the Mediterranean scope desired,¹¹⁰ in contrast to the view of the museum’s local director. The director stressed how tourists would expect to find a museum focusing on the Mediterranean in Marseille, and that Marseille should develop its tourism and do so based on its Mediterranean anchorage: “one doesn’t have much reason to talk about the North in Marseille”.¹¹¹ In cultural matters, the European part of the Euro-Mediterranean vision appears less interesting. Contrary to the continental European scope reflected in Euroméditerranée’s economic policies, the interest offered by Mediterranean history and exchange fosters a southward orientation in the cultural part of the project.

In Fabre’s report, the functioning, mandate and exhibitions of MuCEM are criticised as vague, and the rhetorical question posed was whether it “is desirable to invest 160 million euro to show the collections of ATP to the public in the new museum at the entrance of the port of Marseille?” (Fabre, 2009:10). The report stressed that the museum will open in 2013, during the year of the capital of culture, which programme addressed the Mediterranean world. MuCEM should consequently adhere to this scope, despite its short-term focus. The reorientation of MuCEM includes an insistence upon the museum’s potential as the “lighthouse” of Marseille during the year of the capital of culture and beyond, and an enforced strategic orientation for Marseille and France. To strengthen the museum’s role, the Union of the Mediterranean is emphasised as a fragile structure in need of a significant place:

The museum, if it plays its role at the heart of the Union of the Mediterranean, should become a sort of magnet (...) that attracts the grand cultural and artistic waves that circulate the Mediterranean and European world; a lighthouse that shines from afar, serving as a source and place where the civilisations of the XXI century assemble (Fabre, 2009:20).

This aspired flagship rephrases the visions of Euroméditerranée and the programme for Marseille

¹⁰⁹ Interview 8 November, 2009.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Interview 20 November, 2009.

Provence 2013, the year of culture, as bringing civilisations together by cultural and artistic activities and expressions. Fabre became the leader of the museum's cultural programme, orienting the museum with restrictive use of the objects, in particular the European ones.¹¹² As soon as the museum's role to Marseille Provence 2013 was established, the construction of the building was started in order to accomplish the lighthouse function of the cultural event. In what follows, I will discuss how Marseille Provence 2013 consolidates strategies of culture-led urban redevelopment further.

Marseille - European Capital of Culture

In the early 2000s, Marseille was not ready to host America's Cup, but by 2008, another opportunity emerged, one in which Marseille's unordered character was an advantage. It is an event that has come to target the regeneration of cities in need: the European Capital of Culture (Griffiths, 2006). The bid programme aligned with the visions for Euroméditerranée; it was another indirect, large-scale initiative to raise the city to the ranks of Genoa, Barcelona and Valencia, which had been transformed from port cities to waterfront cities.

The European Capital of Culture was initially assigned cities already known to be cultural centres, whereas the selection of Glasgow in 1990 turned the EU-led event into a lever of regeneration for cities in need of revitalisation and redevelopment (Griffiths, 2006).

The selection of Marseille Provence as European Capital of Culture for the year 2013 was the event with the international reach that EPAEM desired, which the municipality of Marseille had decided to bid for in 2005. A committee organising the candidature had been set up by cultural intermediaries from la Villette in Paris together with municipal officers, for whom the greatest challenges were to embed the project politically at a regional scale, as well as in the cultural institutional sector.¹¹³ The organising committee acknowledged the requirement of larger territorial scales if the bid was to be successful. The City of Marseille thus invited other municipalities to the bid in order to engage the metropolitan region in the candidature.¹¹⁴ A larger scale is now needed in the capital of culture event, where city-regional relations thus are favoured.¹¹⁵ The European Capital of Culture has thereby also been reterritorialised to contribute to the enforcement of city-regions.

For Marseille, this decision offered another opportunity to consolidate cooperation in the

¹¹² Interview 8 November, 2009.

¹¹³ Interview 17 February, 2008.

¹¹⁴ Interview 7 February, 2008.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

region around a shared cause. Much like the cooperation between the territorial authorities in Euroméditerranée, Marseille Provence 2013 more easily assembled municipal and regional authorities, thus offering the mobilisation of regional actors.¹¹⁶ Marseille, the metropolis in need of development, was assisted in the bid by cities and towns in the region that had the image of cultural effervescence, such as Aix en Provence, Avignon and Arles. Marseille has not had the image of a pleasant and tourist-friendly, recreational city, compared to the others. A shared bid could contribute to reimagining Marseille as a city of culture.

The programme for Marseille Provence 2013 aligned its objectives with Euroméditerranée's vision of Marseille as a Euro-Mediterranean capital. The committee organising the programme paid attention to Marseille's historical role in the Mediterranean region, to the inherited advantage of Marseille to fill a position in the urban hierarchy:

More than the symbols, we also know that ...either in Turkey, or in the south, Maghreb, Algeria, etc., there is a kind of special expectation to Marseille which is also rational because Marseille has disappeared for years, decades. It is necessary that Marseille plays a role. Marseille is not Barcelona, Barcelona is a capital, a capital of the north, which happens to be in the south...And that could be Munich or wherever. To the contrary, a capital of the south in the south is lacking. And this southern capital might be Marseille.¹¹⁷

Barcelona is represented here as an anomaly by how it has conformed to transnational models of urban redevelopment, which to the committee member places the city in the imaginary of the European continent. Marseille's multicultural diversity and cultural basis in the Mediterranean imagination is a reason why Marseille Provence 2013 should also contribute to reinforce Marseille as a European, Mediterranean, capital.

The attractiveness of Marseille was scaled up to the pan-regional level by the consolidation of political strategies bringing together the tools of the European Union and the French government. To upscale Marseille to a radiating and counting metropolis, Euroméditerranée offered a representational landscape, the Union of the Mediterranean offered a geopolitical project, and Marseille Provence 2013 offered an event and a promotional strategy to Marseille, now envisioned as a grandiose city. The aim of the programme for Marseille Provence 2013 was consequently to "transform Marseille into a European hub of cultural exchange and cooperation with Mediterranean institutions and countries across all artistic and cultural disciplines" (Marseille Provence 2013, 2008:23).

¹¹⁶ Interview 12 November, 2007.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*



Illustration 19. The capital of culture supported by the Chamber of Commerce.

Goals of culture-led redevelopment in urban restructuring

In the programme for Marseille Provence 2013, two interesting goals were outlined: one focused on the capital role of Marseille aligned to the Barcelona process, the other aligned the aims of Euroméditerranée to redevelop the city centre and improve Marseille’s image.

The first goal was “to make Marseille a permanent, long-term hub for inter-cultural Euro-Mediterranean dialogue, which will enrich the cultural aspect of the Barcelona process and the European Neighbourhood policy”. The second goal was “to develop artistic and cultural activity as a force for the renewal of the city by conjugating four dimensions: the quality of public space, the cultural irrigation of the area, citizen participation and the appeal of the metropolis” (Marseille Provence 2013, 2008:23). The event, just as in Glasgow, Liverpool¹¹⁸ and other cities with a slow transformation from an industrial to a knowledge-based economy, is engineered to assist Marseille’s development by cultural strategies, image generation and tourism, as in other cities (Garcia, 2005; O’Callaghan, 2012). But the ills from which it should depart, and which are likely to have influenced the decision to make Marseille a European Capital of Culture, are of a social kind, in terms of precarious housing, poverty and unemployment. Marseille’s potential is in deep contrast to its problems, which implicitly orient the call for consolidated actions and the selection of Marseille as Capital of Culture. Yet the programme silences socio-economic problems, and does not target neighbourhoods, except in the call for the engagement of the population and the inclusion of popular culture.

¹¹⁸ Terence Davis’ movie *Of time and the city* (2008) interestingly discusses the transformation of Liverpool from an industrial city to a capital of culture.

Public space is promoted as an important concept to inform the cultural activities and exchange of Marseille Provence 2013. Its importance is not reflected in the notion of exchange and the social foundations of culture as it is for Euroméditerranée, but is discussed in how they can be redeveloped with the use of art. The city centre and public space are promoted as ready for the imagination and intervention of artists, and the on-going transformation of Marseille's inner city is described as an opportunity, because "[t]he city in renewal is an exceptional terrain for artists; it is a permanent source of inspiration. It is a play-ground and a meeting-ground" (Marseille Provence 2013, 2008:31). The upgrading of public space to cater social needs is subordinated the creative potential offered by the spatial needs.

The creative opening of a city in transition is combined with the creative opportunities of artists to make this transition in experimental use and artistic production of public space. The relationship between artists and urban "renaissance" is mutually reinforced, without any clear objectives other than to contribute to the redevelopment of the city centre, which already was in a process of commodification. The programme's success by winning the bid is very likely to be its strategic alignment to the other political programmes.

Euroméditerranée and Marseille Provence 2013

According to a municipal officer of culture, a problem is that the municipality has "chosen not to choose, but to help everyone. There is therefore a lack of a large event, a lighthouse, at the national and international level".¹¹⁹ As in Oslo, the city's attractiveness is connected to the existence of large cultural offers, symbolic devices allowing the enhancement of image. In late 2007, EPAEM's marketing representative stressed that:

[t]he challenge of Marseille is not its cultural boil, which exists permanently. The challenge is to succeed in providing one or five major cultural events that may serve its international boost, which may attract everyone (...) and which may provide a particular image to Marseille (...). At stake is to make place for events of grand amplitude, with strong resonances, that can last. An image of a dynamic city, modern, turned towards the Mediterranean.¹²⁰

The vitality of Marseille's cultural domain is acknowledged by EPAEM's representative, but the dynamic of cultural offers could not contribute to put Marseille on the map. A new image was required that had to be assisted by a mega-event. In the perimeter of Euroméditerranée, the world music festival Fiesta des Suds had been held for more than a decade, in recent years in the building Dock des Suds. It is conceived as an important cultural event, but not with the

¹¹⁹ Interview 12 November 2007.

¹²⁰ Interview 1 December, 2007.

amplitude required: “I don’t know whether the fiesta will be the event that will be the international project, when I mention the festival in Cannes and the America’s Cup, the Olympic Games, it is not incidental”.¹²¹ EPAEM searches for tools to scale up the activities in Euroméditerranée as a means to strategically strengthen Marseille in the “right” global way: to focus on transnational positioning by desiring an event representing a Western bias of high arts and not by promoting an existing world festival.

The European Capital of Culture event, decided in 2008, contributed to a coherent vision of Marseille as a city of culture. The redevelopment of the city centre and the expansion in Euroméditerranée were sped up, as was the construction of the buildings for the cultural institutions at J4. To Marseille, the year as capital of culture was the “blockbusting” event desired by the municipality and by EPAEM. Euroméditerranée has contributed to the construction of large-scale cultural institutions housed in symbolic architectural oeuvres as in Oslo. However, in Marseille’s original city centre, cultural institutions are preserved in their original locations. The waterfront is developed with mainly new cultural institutions such as the MuCEM, the Villa Méditerranée, the concert hall le Silo de Marseille, the Archives and Library of the department district, and le Musée Regards de Provence. The Regional Collection of Contemporary Art and la Minoterie are two institutions relocated within the district. Judging from these cases, there have been more consistent policies in Marseille than in Oslo when it comes to the approach of culture-led urban redevelopment.

After the announcement of the selection of Marseille as Capital of Culture in 2013, EPAEM was encouraged to enhance its cultural strategy, which had been secondary to the aims of attracting investments and initiating office construction programmes. In EPAEM’s promotional folder launched shortly after the selection of Marseille as the European Capital of culture, Marseille Provence 2013 was emphasised as being integrated with EPAEM’s cultural strategy. Marseille Provence 2013 not only accelerated the establishment of cultural institutions and redevelopment of public spaces in the city centre, but it also contributed to politically assure the construction of the new building of MuCEM, which became the blockbuster of the opening of the Marseille Provence 2013.

The narrative of MuCEM illustrates the change and continuity of cultural policies and the role of cultural institutions therein, the ways it has evolved in line with other urban policies to upscale Marseille. The various roles and meanings of cultural institutions imply that they are used to promote a capital of culture in the metaphorical sense, but that this reorientation is

¹²¹ Interview 13 December, 2007.

negotiated and sometimes contested (Rogan, 2003b). The case of MuCEM also shows a rather different competitive strategy compared to other European cases of culture-led urban redevelopment, wherein the vision of Marseille as a cultural capital involves emphasis on civilisation and the anthropological history of the Mediterranean. It fits with Marseille's history, as the city has been largely oriented to the Mediterranean (Langevin, 2007a). As a tourist strategy, the flagship building can still serve the purpose of attracting visitors to the waterfront as it stands out as an edifice marking the horizon of Marseille.

The role of cultural institutions to the capital city of culture

Cultural institutions such as museums achieved their prominent roles in European cities as early as from the mid-17th century, it is consequently not a new thing that their role cities as monumental edifices has been important (Hamnett & Shoval, 2003:221). The discussion in this chapter has aimed to show how, in the current, competitive policies aimed to leverage the cities into internationally radiating metropolises and capital cities, cultural institutions constitute important devices as part of territorial restructuring, thus following the logics of culture-led urban redevelopment policies as in elsewhere - as part of the selling of cities and places (P. Jones, 2009). Their development illustrates the conforming aims at upscaling by urban and national authorities and in urban redevelopment policies and cultural policies. Inasmuch as the cities are upscaled to become attractive, the cultural institutions are to, by way of institutional fusions and by giving them the size, scale and image required to be put on the map, retain legitimacy and support and increase the number of visitors. The capital city of culture is a framing that depends on flagship architecture and blockbuster events, which provides a rationale for upscaling and reorientation of cultural institutions.

The capital city of culture

The specific notion of the capital city assigned in Oslo and Marseille's restructuring processes is not new, but bears connotations to historical ideals and thoughts about the functions and characteristics these cities should have. In the words of Roncayolo (2002:215-216), a city is on the other end of the spectrum from basic communities, a symbol of other urban forms, as evident in the aims for Paris in the 19th century. Paris was characterised by:

Des-agglomeration of the poor, the workers, direct, industrial or agricultural production on the one hand and consecration of the capital city rather to the exceptional than to the permanent habitation and everyday life activities. The capital is at the same time a place of exchange,

whether it concerns affaires or culture, and vitrine of the society, site of national and international encounter (...).

Though Oslo's role as a capital city is merely consolidated and enhanced since the city owns this formal status, the similarities to the endeavours in Marseille where national and EU policies are merged to position Marseille by cultural strategies are significant. The description of the capital city through the illustration of Paris in the 19th century seems today to account for all cities due to the global, competitive economy informing most territories to "jump".

Cultural events and symbolic edifices are representational dimensions of these upscaling policies. Bjørvika and the J4 were selected as symbolic landscapes, in which there could be mutual benefits between a museum building and a place to promote the capital city. Though the content is important, the attractiveness is sought actuated in the architecture and in the landscape. In this sense the transnational model of culture-led urban redevelopment is materialised in both cities. Yet, a crucial factor for the development of Oslo and Marseille has been their role in metropolitan policies, to enhance a capital city radiant beyond the nation.

The role of contextual conditions and consolidated policies

The cases of Oslo and Marseille illustrate further how institutional and historical contexts play a central role in negotiating the globally circulated trends of urban strategy addressing the knowledge society. This is related to the non-fixity of scales. Their dynamics are related to other spaces such as places, territories and government levels (Mahon & Keil, 2009:3). To the Norwegian Opera and Ballet and MuCEM, their national ownership and significance in national territorial terms show the elasticity of scale. The Opera House was used to consolidate new national identities, through a discourse on how "the flagship" signifies contemporary Norway as a cultural nation, in a combination of cultural and natural symbols and signs. In this sense, the cultural production of scale implies that individual and collective identities are connected to attachment to place at various scales (N. Smith, 2003:230).

French governments' consolidated policies to upscale Marseille were crucial to the museum's survival. The relations of power enacted at or between spatial scales were unstable. It follows that state space in the global era is not, contrary to some arguments, reduced and pacified by economic forces of transnational corporations, private investors and networks of strong economic agents often operating at a global scale. State space is, rather, caught up and empowered in scaled relations, which contribute to shifting spatial configurations (Mahon & Keil, 2009). Scale operates in another important way, illustrated by the strategies selected by the

cultural institutions and how they have activated scale as a means to obtain support and legitimacy. Whereas the process of building a new Opera House was based on the functional and artistic requirements of the institution, MuCEM was a construction originating from wider museum reorganisations and decentralisation policies. Both institutions required a similar connection to territorial policies, they required both a place and a territorial scale.

Urban attractiveness and the making of scale and place

The strategic role of the institutions to the creation of urban attractiveness politically negotiated the outcome, and is importantly based on the making of scale and place. The Opera House achieved a new building once it was proposed as a lever in Oslo's redevelopment, in an area aimed to expand the city centre and enforce the capital of Norway. The Norwegian Opera House illustrates how urban policies are multi-scaled and how they consolidate national and local aspirations about the knowledge society. MuCEM's survival depended on up-scaled policies aimed at consolidating the city centre, particularly the converging interests of national and local government. While these interests were sometimes conflicting, as in the case of the America's cup, they largely realigned in attempts to transform Marseille's city centre, its economy and its urban landscape. MuCEM secured its future by adhering to the Euro-Mediterranean visions of Euroméditerranée and the reinvigoration of the Barcelona process in the Union for the Mediterranean. The museum was further leveraged by the Marseille Provence 2013, which required a flagship project. In both cities, the role of the consolidation of cultural and redevelopment policies is significant, in the form of new types of scale configurations produced to enforce the cities as capital cities of culture. In the case of Marseille, it resulted in the reorientation of the MuCEM's initial purpose. This change follows a general trend in how cultural institutions work in cities; their visual interest has surpassed the exhibition's role in museums (Hamnett & Shoval, 2003:222).

The role of MuCEM's new place in Marseille turned out to be crucial to its change in scope, as the Mediterranean tends to dominate the programming of the museum. Compared to MuCEM, the Opera House has not largely changed to conform to its new location. Yet with the new building and location, its activities were broadened with new public resources and potentials. With the new building, the Opera House appears as a cultural centre, a broad cultural venue using both the interior and the exterior for cultural events. The Opera House is therefore inviting a wider range of social groups. To both MuCEM and the Opera, the relocation to new places implied the change of the activities' substance and orientation. Both cases further illustrate the importance of place.



Illustration 20. The material upscaling of Oslo and Marseille. Source of lower illustration: Euroméditerranée.

The vision of the capital city endorsed in the two cities implies that scales are “jumped” (N. Smith, 2003:228-229). The redevelopment of the city centres targets regional, national and global levels. There is nonetheless another way in which scales are jumped. With long traditions in Norway and more recent ones in France, concerns with decentralisation are by now changed in national policies targeting cities. The scaling down of territorial policies may be seen as aims

of the state at territorial cohesion. Now with the new attention to cities by both national governments, attention to the competition state in global capitalism means that scales are jumped *down* in order to gain territorial force.

“Placing” territorial restructuring

The construction of institutional buildings is closely connected to place and landscape, both as representations and as spatial manifestations of the policies of scale and attractiveness, as meaningful frames of their activities. Yi-Fu Tuan (1977: Ch.12) goes back to the ancient Greek and Roman states to investigate the role of places. He stresses how competition between the city-states promoted patriotic feeling and awareness of individuality, yet competition between the city-states was carried out through athletic contests and wars. Identity thus played a central role to state formation and preservation as an element creating order. Public support was attained by victories abroad or by large-scale and participatory projects within the state. But loyalty and communal sense and meanings were more easily established in the city citizens knew cognitively. The nation, however, is an imagined community (B. Anderson, 1996), and needs to develop and be preserved by symbolic means, as stressed by Tuan (1977). Whereas cultural institutions were central to nation-building, particularly in Norway where they were connected to colonial liberalisation, they are today symbolically important to the image of the city and nation.

In Oslo, the Opera is intended to represent Norway’s contemporary culture as a marker of national identity, in a place - Bjørvika - targeted as an exposition platform of the Norwegian capital. MuCEM is a national museum aligned to the visions of Marseille as the central junction of Euro-Mediterranean exchange, and to the visions of France as a central player in Euro-Mediterranean policies. The event Capital of Culture consolidates these visions and the territory of Euroméditerranée. Tuan (1977:177) suggests that the national state requires maximum visibility to tie people with sentiments and meaning, to which cults are efficient tools: “[t]o make the idea of the shared country seem real, sacred places that can be directly experienced are created”. Cultural institutions and large events play today a role as cults: the cult of cities as autonomous players in the global economy, but also as a means of national authorities to engage in urban policies as part of wider territorial strategies.

Cultural institutions and urban attractiveness

At the level of the cities, the role of cultural institutions has become central in the urban restructuring. An important difference between the cities is, however, that only new offers are provided in Euroméditerranée, whereas so far, the cultural institutions to be housed at Oslo’s

waterfront are relocated from other places in the city, with the exception of the new and required Oslo Kunsthall in Bjørvika. Still, assembling cultural institutions in either way does cater to the representation spaces now produced at the seaside “horizons”, being central strategies to the attraction of visitors to the cities. Findings so far in this thesis indicate that the institutions located in Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée address the local population. But the more the city authorities emphasise the tourist strategy inherent in waterfront development, the more important is the question of the kind of city developing when middle class visitors are at the target. As warned about the loss of sight of the local population in urban development policies, Chris Hamnett and Noam Shoval (2003:232) observed that city governments “seemingly tend to see all cultural development as inherently beneficial”. In the opposite case, when culture is seen as beneficial to local development, the risk of this scope is that the cultural sector is not only used for the purpose of competitiveness and regeneration, but also as instruments to solve social problems or create local pride. The result risks being that the value of the cultural sectors for itself is abandoned (McGuigan, 2005:238).

Inter-urban competition offers a justification for the implementation of neoliberal measures, providing a strong discourse for market-oriented measures and entrepreneurial strategies in urban governance (Peck & Tickell, 2002b:393). Inter-urban competition has other features that can be decoupled from purely economic rationales: the aim to make the city attractive, to assure a positive image, and to create pride and identity. Cultural rationales can in this sense be understood as based on comparative urbanism, as a way of mirroring the city against other cities without necessarily having the goal of urban growth in mind. In this chapter, I have illustrated the role of cultural institutions to these aims, where urban redevelopment offers a strategy to use national institutions in territorial restructuring, whereby capital cities are enhanced through national symbols and new cultural policies to create new identity projects. These projects constitute identity policies into new scalar configurations between the national and the urban scale. In this sense, the regional scale tends to constitute a scale that contributes in relational ways, as a means to provide volume to the cities. Importantly in Marseille, however, the region is also a scale on which the cultural institution engages in a substantial identity project, as is also the historical basis for the development of the institution in a new identity project concerned with the strengthening of Mediterranean relations, represented by Euroméditerranée as a multiple vision.

From these preceding discussions of Oslo and Marseille and the relations between urban restructuring and culture-led urban redevelopment, I will now turn to the ways in which the city centres are reconfigured in relation to the waterfront projects on the one hand, and in relation to

urban restructuring on the other hand. In the former three chapters, I have been interested in the historical and geographical conditions by which the waterfront projects should be understood. The aim has been to illustrate both similarities and differences in comparison with earlier epochs, as well as similarities and differences between the cities. I have also aimed to show the shifts in the political approaches to the cities and to the cultural domain, which I argue contribute to the current upscaling of cities in the consolidated reterritorialization of cities and culture.

7. RECONFIGURATION OF THE CITY CENTRE

In Chapters 4 to 6, I discussed relations between the waterfront projects and wider territorial restructuring. In this chapter, I will step down to the level of the city centre, and discuss how Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée are socio-spatially embedded in schemes targeting the inner cities of Oslo and Marseille (research question ii). I will explore the role of the city centre and the waterfront projects therein in urban restructuring (research question i), in how attractiveness is aspired. I will refer to this process as the reconfiguration of the city centre. I discuss these domains by focus on the role of cohesion, landscape and city life in contemporary urban planning.

Oslo and Marseille are characterised by income inequalities and segregation. In Oslo, the richest decile of the population increased its share of total income from ca. 25 percent in 1994 to 39 percent in 2004, whereas other income groups tended to reduce their shares in this period (Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, 2007b:36). The rise in inequality can be ascribed to characteristics of the new knowledge-based economic sectors (Wessel, 2011). Oslo has since the 1990s become a more segregated city in terms of class differences based on economic capital, whereas segregation based on cultural capital decreased between 1973 and 2003 (Ljunggren & Andersen, 2014:14-15).¹²² Marseille and Aix-en-Provence had the second strongest employment growth among European city-regions between 2000 and 2012, yet it has the highest level of income inequality in France (OECD, 2013:1). Continued decline in the industrial sector, a low education level and persistent levels of unemployment are likely reasons for the inequalities (pp.4-5). In the early 2000s, Marseille had almost four times more recipients of social assistance (*Revenu Minimum d'Insertion*, RMI) than the rest of France. One in five lived beyond the poverty line, compared to one in ten at the national level (Bouillon 2007:141).

These socio-economic inequalities at the city and metropolitan level form the rationale for discussing aims and strategies involved in the reconfiguration of the city centres, seen in light of the role of city centres as broad and shared arenas where citizenship is enacted. It includes how social, cultural, and material diversity are materialised. The concept of landscape assists in explaining new forms of urban planning by which attractiveness is addressed in terms of the city life aspired and the aesthetic strategies selected.

¹²² This pattern was also found in Paris, where socio-spatial segregation was observed in the case of the upper classes and the working classes, whereas segregation was decreasing in the case of most groups of employers and intermediary professions, thus rejecting the polarisation thesis (Préteceille, 2006).

Social and spatial cohesion in inner city plans

Henri Lefebvre held the right to the city to be the right to inhabit and appropriate urban space, also in physical ways (C. Butler, 2012:144). In this chapter, this view is transferred into a question about the city centres and how their attractiveness is conceived when they are reconfigured. I deal with the right to stay put in the inner city, but also the right to belong and use its functions and spaces. As both characterising cities and being an aim, cities of diversity can offer an arena for all citizens across their differences.

Universal aims in urban planning

Modernist urban planning models developed in the 20th century answered the production requirements and housing needs characteristic of the Fordist-Keynesian system. Zoning was the tool to separate functions such as industry, housing, administration and large-scale public infrastructure, which were conceived of as incompatible. As a central planning ideal, plans and projects stressed collective offers targeting the entire urban society (Haslum, 2008:152-154). The post-war development was characterised by material-economic planning and “social functionalism”, whereby decent and healthy dwelling for all was seen as a public task (Stugu, 2006:428, 453). Master plans were developed to target the cohesion of the city. The city was seen as a machine, “to be planned as an engineer plans an industrial process, breaking it down into its essential functions (housing, work, recreation, and traffic), taylorising and standardising them, and reassembling them (in the Master Plan) as a totality” (Sandercock, 1998:23). Aims of universal access and urgent housing needs resulted in standardisation and monotonous if not impersonal constructions mainly carried out in new towns and suburbs (Brantenberg, 1996).

From the beginning of the 20th century to the 1970s, Oslo was a municipality in the front of welfare policies. In the words of Ola Svein Stugu (2006:417): “the City of Oslo had the resources, instruments and political will to carry out welfare policies for the inhabitants, in many ways leading the way in social policies”. From the end of World War II to 1970, the urban population in Norway grew with 1,2 percent yearly, and the period is in Norway as in other Western countries characterised by the strongest economic growth in history (p.423).

Modernist planning ideals such as mono-functional zoning characterised Oslo in the post-war period. The fusion of Oslo and the municipality Aker in 1949 extended Oslo from 16 km² to 441 km², and the population size increased from ca. 247 000 to 424 000 (Lund, 2000:13). While the population rate increased in the entire city-region, jobs were created primarily in the inner city, fostering urban sprawl and a car-based pattern (Nielsen, 2001). This trend was amplified by

Oslo's master plan of 1960, which reserved land in the inner city for industry and trade. The obligatory master plan was a planning tool intended to provide a total solution to municipal problems, which turned out to be an unrealistic tool in catering the complexity of urban society (Fimreite, *et al.*, 2005:21).

From World War II to the 1980s, Keynesian theory and practice characterised Norwegian macro-economic policies (Stamsø, 2009:200). Housing was seen as a universal right to welfare which the market was not capable of meeting, whereby financial instruments were the most important tools (p.207). Universal aims in the housing sector were met by the regulation of rents, prices and interest rates as well as object subsidies (p.204). Financial resources were transferred from other sectors to the housing sector up until the end of the 1970s, when the population's housing needs were largely met (Stugu 2006). Norway had led a low-interest policy that was replaced by the Conservative party government who abolished credit regulations in the mid-1980s (p.200). According to Mary Ann Stamsø (2009:203), the deregulation of the housing and financial markets is the most important measure in weakening the Norwegian socio-democratic welfare state. Today, housing is a targeted welfare benefit.

In Marseille, modernist planning implied extensive use of zoning that disrupted the urban fabric of Marseille (Dell'Umbria, 2006:Ch. XVII). Reconstruction after World War II involved publicly subsidised construction of high rise buildings to meet the housing needs. In the period 1950-1964, extensive construction of social housing was carried out by private entrepreneurs. Like in Oslo, the real estate market was not able to fully respond to the scale of the housing requirements. Hence, between 1960 and 1972, construction of social housing was carried out by the public sector, particularly in the 13th-16th arrondissements (Bouillon, 2007:135-136). In 1995, the City of Marseille accelerated its efforts to rehabilitate the city centre, employing several juridical instruments for rehabilitation that were accompanied by subsidies and guaranties to private developers. Though the rehabilitation was welcomed, the municipality was criticized for a lack of will to reconstruct social housing, and that people were displaced from the city centre in the redevelopment process (p.145). Furthermore, even though modernist planning included aims at social equality and rights, a differentiated system of welfare recipients is observed by Minayo Nasiali (2012). Modernist planning in post-war Marseille involved slum-clearance, such as in the neighbourhood Peyssonnel in Arenc, where inhabitants were categorised in terms of immigrant backgrounds. Some groups were not considered eligible to proper, modern housing. Hence, they were rehoused in what was developed as reduced norm housing, apartments without inside bathroom or hot water, to what were conceived as immigrants still not apt for modern housing. They were not the worthy users of the regular housing system.

The development of Marseille was from the 1950s marked by a dual governance regime, as stressed by Gilles Pinson (2002:175); The socialist Gaston Defferre became mayor of Marseille in 1953, holding the position until his death in 1986. Defferre operated an alliance with centre-right wing parties to counter the Communist party, which had ruled after the war. The alliance included a share of municipal responsibilities, where the centre-right wing parties were in charge of the “management of things”; urbanism, infrastructure and the private sector. The socialists dealt with the “management of people”; social housing and social services. Pinson argues that this alliance and division of political responsibilities contributed to increased segregation in Marseille and the lack of an overall system of planning (p.176).

The governing system developed in Marseille during Defferre was further based on clientelism, whereby clientelist relationships are developed between the elected and their electors involve the delivery of goods, resources and services in exchange for votes and political support (Mattina, 2007:75). Clientelism had an important influence on political behaviours, the structuring of political parties and on the running of local government (p.74).¹²³ The goods distributed in a clientelist democratic context are public sectors jobs, social housing, pensions, subsidies etc. The welfare state in Marseille was on this basis operated through a specific system of “targeted measures”, whereby the expansion of the welfare state implied increases in the redistribution of public resources on the basis of clientelistic criteria to a growing share of individuals and social groups (p.74). In the 1960s, there were great opportunities for the City of Marseille to allocate clientelistic resources, and in the middle of the decade, 50 000 jobs were controlled by the city hall (p.78). From the mid-1970s, fiscal problems and increasing shortage of public resources to be distributed rendered the system of clientelism difficult. In the mid-1980s, it was more or less abandoned as a systemic feature of Marseille’s management (*Ibid.*). From the 1990s, urban governance with a focus on international orientation and engagements in large collaborative projects such as Euroméditerranée has shifted the governing scope (p.85).

Today’ both Oslo and Marseille include universal goals in their municipal plans which are connected to urban development in general and the waterfronts in particular. In the vision for Oslo, it is held that it will be an open and inclusive capital city with possibilities for diversity and self-realisation (...). Oslo will be a city where inhabitants actively participate and contribute to influence the city’s development” (City of Oslo, 2008c:28). An earlier plan for Oslo’s development toward 2020 emphasises the role of Fjordbyen to connect the seaside with the

¹²³ In Marseille Clientelist relationships had developed during the socialist mayor Flaissières ruling in two periods at the turn of the 20th century (Mattina, 2007:76). The system was enhanced further with the mayor Sabiani, who narrowed the clientelist relations to principally include Corsican and Italian immigrants living in and around le Panier. The system had become more or less institutionalised in the city.

existing structures of the city centre and to create new and very attractive areas for housing and enterprise (City of Oslo, 2004b:4).

The City of Marseille defines “the project for Marseille” to create conditions for new prosperity and quality of life for its inhabitants. This aim necessitates that Marseille becomes a metropolis and re-find its attractiveness (City of Marseille, 2000b:109). By 2015, the city should be prosperous, attractive and welcoming, functioning better, rebalanced and reunified. Euroméditerranée should assemble functions at a superior level and re-centre Marseille (p.203). Both cities do on this basis retain universal aims targeting all citizens’ wellbeing, whereas the two waterfront projects stand out with different goals in this regard. Fjordbyen should assure universal access to the fjord and be well connected to the rest of the city centre. Euroméditerranée on the other hand, plays according to the municipal plan a pivotal role to the possibilities to assure general wellbeing, due to the project’s necessary economic role in Marseille’s development. In comparison, Fjordbyen plays a role to the recreational possibilities of inhabitants and this aspect of quality of life in Oslo.

The landscape strategy in Oslo

Public-private partnerships have been established to carry out projects replacing the overarching municipal planning regime in Oslo. Mixed land-use patterns based on housing and commerce were favoured in order to benefit private business and efficient public administration (T. Hansen & Guttu, 1998:16). The planning authorities have become entrepreneurial, facilitating but also controlling private development plans, whereas the mono-functional zoning tools are replaced by multi-functional zoning, in the form of area-based planning.¹²⁴ A central role of the municipality has become the landscaping of the city, whereby responsibilities for the overarching visual connections between the city centre and Fjordbyen constitute a major task for the planning authorities. The symbolic landscape shows the values through which a society is organised, and the ways in which it is produced express ideologies that in turn are supported by the landscape (Crang, 1998:27). Such symbolic connections are targeted in the inner city development in Oslo.

Making the city centres attractive is a shared concern in the two cities. In Oslo, the municipal plan emphasises compact urbanity as a means to accommodate growth and sustainable

¹²⁴ Here, I distinguish area-based planning from area-based initiatives, which in research refers mainly to public programmes aimed to solve problems in a given delineated area. Such programmes were early initiated in Oslo to target social and material conditions of inner city neighbourhoods, ranging from sanitation (e.g. Vika) and redevelopment (e.g. Grünerløkka) (Gabrielsen, 2014).

development, wherein the city centre is conceived as a multifunctional area to be further developed (City of Oslo, 2008a:48):

New developments are to take place in the city centre, near the fjord, near stations and other public transport nodes, and along important public transport axes, where a mixture of commercial and industrial activity, cultural institutions, services and housing will strengthen the multifunctional city and create vibrant urban environments. Steps will be taken to adapt new developments to the existing environment, so that Oslo's urban fabric and its historical, aesthetic and visual characteristics are preserved and further developed.

Given the reduced role of the planning authorities of Oslo in steering urban redevelopment, the agency has taken the role to assure spatial cohesion in the city, specifically based on notions of landscape as an urban strategy.

Several debates about Fjordbyen have concerned landscape aspects such as axes and views, horizon and heights. The cohesion aimed for in the centre of Oslo is physical and aesthetical, material and symbolic/visual. These concerns with landscape are closely aligned the aims at attractiveness. They are illustrated by a discussion of the areas Kvadraturen, Gamle Oslo and Ekeberg. The concern with landscape represents a shift from modernist planning ideals and what cohesion implied in the ideals present.

Revaluating and re-centring “the old city” of Kvadraturen

Physical-visual plans to develop the city centre and to include Fjordbyen as a continuous part of the city centre is Kvadraturen, a historical area between the City Hall, Akershus Castle, Bjørvika, and Oslo's main street Karl Johan. The city government took the initiative to “vitalise” Kvadraturen by public-private collaboration in 2008. Kvadraturen was the location of the new city established during Danish rule, when the wooden city in Bjørvika was devastated by fires, and where a new city was offered a more secure location by the castle. According to Johnny Aspen (1997), it represented a space in Oslo that was modelled and ordered by the trends shared by European kings, illustrating how models of urban planning and policies have circulated historically. Despite its central location and historical value,¹²⁵ it has held a dubious image.

New connectivity between the Fjordbyen sub-areas and the city centre is aspired through Kvadraturen, which in recent years has been an area of contrasts, as a fusion between a central business and financial district, a cultural cluster and a red light district, without any significant animation. Astrup Fearnley Museum of Modern Art was located here until it moved to

¹²⁵ It was an administrative area for the nation after 1814, and a financial district before and after 1900 (Rognerød & Havran, 1998:7).

Tjuvholmen. Kvadraturen's mix of activities made this area ambivalent, and it did not meet expectations for an attractive city centre district in which a museum would thrive from the area's image, as the director of Astrup Fearnley holds:

This is a very particular area. First, there is the bank of Norway, this is the business centre of Oslo. There are no people...people don't walk the streets without going to a specific shop or address. So there is no strolling in the streets. And then we have had the privilege to have all that prostitution here, in the streets. So after 5pm, you get a strange feeling when being here. So in this sense, I cannot say that this is an attractive area, in regard of providing public offers. But because of the Museum of Contemporary art and the Museum of Architecture, there are certain synergies that we benefit from, which are interesting.

In recent decades, Kvadraturen has been multifunctional, yet despite various cultural and economic structures and central location, it did not have the buzz of city life. Today, a modern area is aspired, yet as Astrup Fearnley and the Museum of Contemporary Art move out as part of the reconfiguration at the waterfront, the cultural cluster might dissolve.

In redevelopment programmes, cultural heritage is carefully selected to provide a sophisticated aesthetic (O'Connor & Gu, 2012:9). As part of the new attention to the city centre's attractiveness, Kvadraturen is revalorised as "the 17th century city", with a reinvigorated historical landscape combined with modern signs and functions reminiscent of an attractive city. In 2009, the Agency for Planning and Building Services published an action plan to make Kvadraturen more inviting, animated and diversified, to be used by all (City of Oslo, 2009b:5). According to the action plan, prostitution and traffic had contributed to an unfortunate image (p.20). To make the area more vital, the plan proposes measures to create a distinct new identity and image by combining commerce, animation, apartments and to give it a new and pedestrian-friendly accessibility. Connected to Fjordbyen, "strong urban growth, high conjuncture and urban trends", Kvadraturen obtained a new centrality (pp.7-9). The potential of the district's attractiveness is conceived as both historical and contemporary qualities and trends (pp.8-9).

The distinctiveness of Oslo's districts is considered when the qualities of Kvadraturen are sought revaluated, combined with new forms of attractiveness such as specialised boutiques, restaurants, a diverse cultural centre, and lofts and ateliers - open to visitors - where a vivid and diverse artistic milieu can contribute to a new identity (pp.8-9. p.22). The design of a renewed Kvadraturen is conceived to be feasible and desirable as a revived and distinct city centre district in the image of a creative quarter and vibrant milieu. Such a milieu mixes animation and cultural offers and activities to create a new buzz of city life (S. Miles & Paddison, 2005). As the city expands, the use of design and functions following trends to make an urban district attractive in the image of a creative city models Kvadraturen.

Gamle Oslo's disconnections from the waterfront areas

Kvadraturen borders Bjørvika on the Western side, whereas the district of Gamle Oslo borders its north-eastern side. Politicians in the district council of Gamle Oslo have the understanding that connections between Bjørvika and Kvadraturen are prioritised compared to connections to the district. Here, railway tracks constitute material obstacles, which are aimed to be overcome by two bridges crossing the railway area. The district council has lobbied for the coverage of the railway tracks in central Oslo.¹²⁶ To the former leader of the council, the city council takes a short-term decision in neglecting the opportunity to modernise the railway system and the land occupied by it when they are reorganising much of the infrastructure in this area. The evaluations of costs and feasibility made by the railway authorities in 1990s, however, did not favour such costly and complicated operations, which is consequently not in the municipality's powers to decide. Furthermore, the Barcode high-rise buildings are material and symbolic barriers which were largely debated prior to their construction. The connection between Bjørvika and what has been referred to as "the city behind" has been a topic addressed. There is in this way the impression that Bjørvika yields a front stage and back stage when the representational horizon of Fjordbyen and Oslo is developed. It corresponds to the perception about less focus in urban redevelopment on the needs and wants of the local population (Amin, 1997).



Illustration 21. The Barcode complex reached from Gamle Oslo.

¹²⁶ Interview 6 October, 2009.

In the debate about the location of the Opera House in the end of the 1990s, a broad range of politicians in the district council of Gamle Oslo lobbied for the location in Bjørvika. In 1998, they organised a group called “*Operation East*”, promoting location in Bjørvika (Bye, 2009, ch.4). The Opera House was desired as a lever of the socio-spatial development of Gamle Oslo, and to assure access and continuation from the district to the fjord.¹²⁷ The evolution of Bjørvika did not, however, comply with their vision, according to a council member:

After the Opera decision, what happened is that... the entire cultural elite, Oslo West and powerful sources in Oslo, people with money...changed their mind. Finally they realised that a great district could be developed eastward in Bjørvika, and what is constructed there now [represents] a continuity of Oslo West. They construct a high status district there, on the shores.¹²⁸

Instead of benefiting the local level, the district, the development of Bjørvika is perceived rather as a continuity of the socio-economic composition at Aker Brygge and Tjuvholmen. In light of the east-west divide of Oslo, developing a high-status area in Bjørvika represents policy-led gentrification, a process set off in various cities redeveloping the inner city (Bunce, 2009; Oakley, 2014). To the representatives of the district council, the material and social cleavages between the district and the waterfront reduced the possibilities of the local population to benefit from the re-opened seaside areas. At stake is the role of social cohesion in question of the right of citizens to appropriate space at the waterfront, which prospects are reduced by social and symbolic barriers.



Illustration 22. New buildings from Gamle Oslo to Barcode.

¹²⁷ Interview 13 March, 2009.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

New and voluminous office buildings are developed at the eastern side of the railway tracks, as illustrated above. They are thus built within the district of Gamle Oslo, at Grønland, which together with on-going gentrification processes in the district may mutually reinforce the marketization of Gamle Oslo. However, the *perception* of Grønland as a disordered place with a majority of immigrants may imply white avoidance, as has been identified in American cities (Hwang & Sampson, 2014). Further to the east, at Ekeberg, a private initiative might further increase this change in Gamle Oslo.

Ekeberg and symbolic connections

The new axis evolving from Bjørvika to the hills of Ekeberg is the connection eastward in the district of Nordstrand. Here, a local investor has offered the city “a gift”: a sculpture park opened in 2014. The park surrounds the historical restaurant the investor bought, renovated and reopened in 2005. The price of the gift was that the investor decided the theme: sculptures of women. The original plan was to choose from his private collection, yet after ardent public debates, a curatorial team was appointed to make the selection. To the investor, the role as patron of the art and the city raises the value of the investment object, the Ekeberg restaurant.¹²⁹

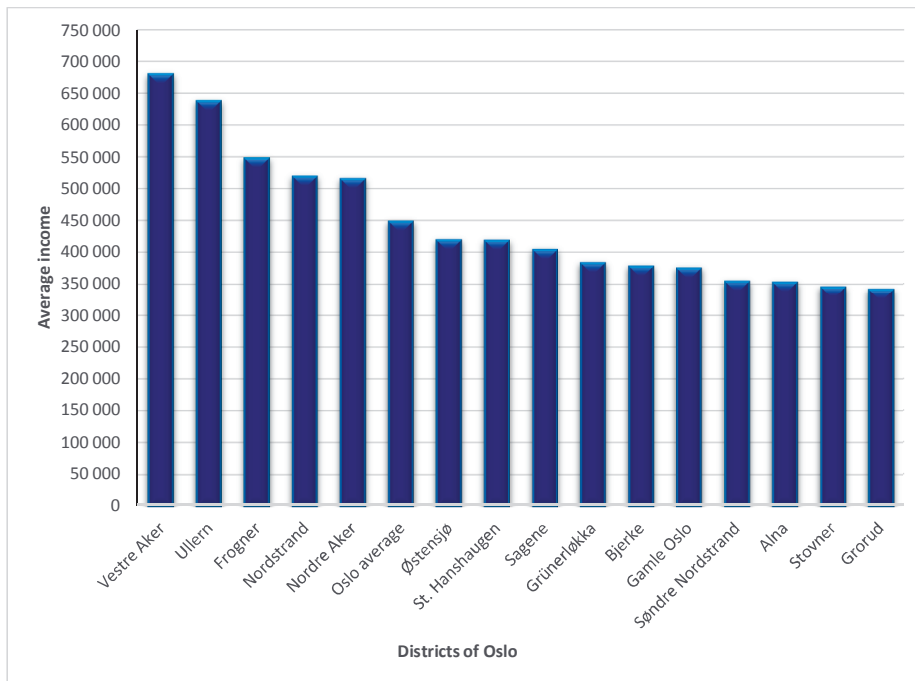
Another plan to increase the centrality and attractiveness of this new landscape is a gondola between Bjørvika and Ekeberg, a long-standing idea. The investor has offered to finance the project. The combination of recreation, nature and art increases attractiveness through a specific production of space targeting consumption of both place and landscape (Zukin, 1991). This combination is supported by politicians, investors, and visitors alike, who in this case agree on a shared vision of urban attractiveness. The extension of the city centre along the eastern seaside also implies a process of policy-led gentrification which targets the entire waterfront. Except from the port’s activities at Sjursøya, the inhabitants living in the hills and at the islands along the coastline are mainly affluent, which will also most likely be the case unless new regulatory mechanisms are used in the coming areas east of Bjørvika in the future.

As Figure 4 below shows, Nordstrand is among Oslo’s districts with the highest average gross income, not far from the average of the inner city western district Frogner. It further illustrates how the eastern inner-city districts Grünerløkka and Gamle Oslo figure together with the outer eastern city districts of Søndre Nordstrand in the south-east and Alna, Stovner and Grorud in the outer northeast in the lower end of the income scale. At the high-status area

¹²⁹ The sculpture park is the case of Liv Bente Belsnes’ PhD-project “Ekeberg sculpture and heritage park. Private investment and art in public urban space in Oslo”; http://www.hioa.no/Forskning-og-utvikling/Hva-forsker-HiOA-paa/Storbyprogrammet/node_45318/Doktorgradsprojekter.

Bekkelaget in Nordstrand, located at the hillside and at the three islands of the district, the average income is 620 000 NOK, whereas the average income in the district is 510 000 NOK.

Figure 4. Average gross income level in Oslo's districts. 2013.



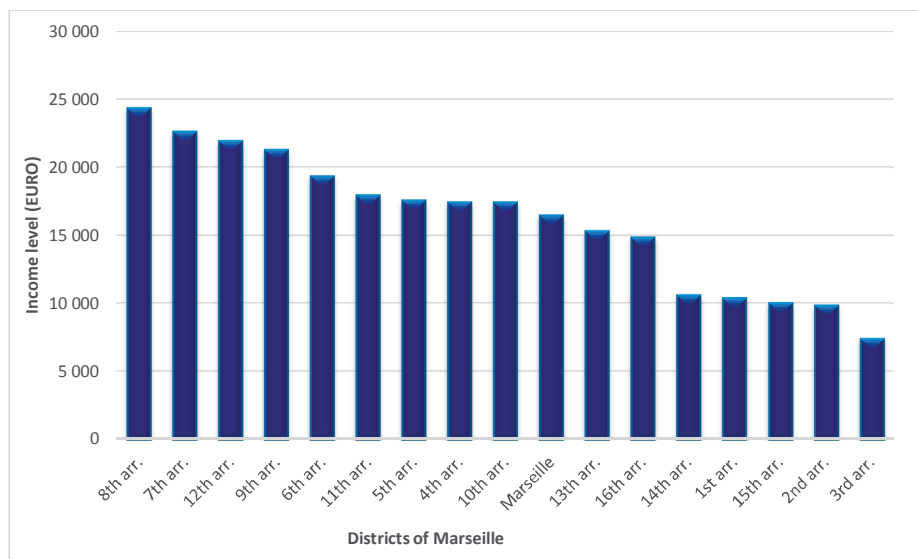
Source: City of Oslo: Statistikkbanken.

This discussion of Ekeberg illustrates the investment opportunities that rise from policy-led regeneration, where partnership between the investor and the City of Oslo shows how goals concerning the symbolic new landscape are included in the shared vision of an attractive city. In this case, the attractiveness involves the combination of cultural heritage represented by the restaurant, art framed in nature represented by the sculpture park, and the gondola representing the symbolic and material connection to Bjørvika, consolidating a spectacular strategy connecting Fjordbyen to Ekeberg, the “west of Oslo’s eastside”. The heights of Ekeberg and its symbolic landscape is drawn close to the waterfront, in contrast to Gamle Oslo, which ends up as hidden by the physical and symbolic façadeism of Barcode. In Marseille, there are also concerns with “vitrine” the French connotation to the façade as expression of the design involved in the redevelopment of the city centre.

Rebalancing Marseille by policy-led gentrification

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Marseille is characterised by socio-economic inequalities between the districts, which is illustrated in the figure below. Figures 4 and 5 are not comparable, but aimed to illustrate income inequalities between districts in the respective cities. Figure 5 shows that the symbolic line of la Canebière is not materially accurate. The median income level per consumption unit is particularly low in the city centre, the 1st district, in the districts covered by the perimeter of Euroméditerranée (2nd and 3rd districts), and in the northern 14th and 15th districts. A particularity of Marseille is that the city centre is poor, as Jean Viard noted in the middle of the 1990s (Bouillon, 2007:140). The merchant bourgeoisie moved away from the port, and the middle classes moved to the periphery of Marseille. The people remaining in the city centre were the poor and the most recent arriving immigrants. The municipality initiated the use of all existing mechanisms of rehabilitation. In this context, the goal of Euroméditerranée is to contribute to increase Marseille’s attractiveness and “rebalance” the urban territory.

Figure 5. Median income in Marseille's districts per consumption unit. 2010.



Source: AGAM: Insee-DGFip.

Despite the aim of Euroméditerranée at job generation and economic development, the project is directly and indirectly connected to social improvement for all inhabitants,

Euroméditerranée's role in rebalancing the city is more importantly to increase the attractiveness of the inner city to leading businesses and to the transnational social classes. The mobility of knowledge workers has increased attention to ways in which they can be attracted to a given locality. The shared business and lifestyle preferences of these professionals are hence connected to the global economy. According to Leslie Sklair (2001), work, recreational and living preferences are shared among internationally oriented and mobile people whose preferences result in the provision of "transnational social spaces" by cities competing for human capital. Thus, rebalancing of Marseille implies policy-led gentrification which includes strategies to renovate the city centre and adjacent areas in various stages and projects the last two decades.

Marseille has never had an urban strategy, according to a senior municipal officer.¹³⁰ His view is that the City of Marseille has always used sector-based plans to the disadvantage of overall urban development. Plans for spatial cohesion were continuously made, yet few were realised. When the officer with colleagues made the municipal plan in 1981, they realised that "there was no centrality, there wasn't any centre city, it wasn't homogenous. We had created what we called 'sector poles'". Marseille has 16 arrondissements (districts) and 111 quartiers (neighbourhood districts). It is marked by a dispersed pattern of habitation, with district centres referred to as villages, which contributed to the decline in commercial and recreational functions in the city centre in the 20th century (Langevin, 2007b:17). The aim of an urban strategy is on this basis to reconfigure the city centre.

Today, gentrification involves the combined factors of immigrant background and class in the process (See Huse, 2014). Gentrification was in Marseille politically induced. These factors are also present in the desire to "rebalance" Marseille. The Commissioner of Urban Affairs since 1996 is quoted in the newspaper *Le Figaro* on 18 November 2003 saying that "We need people who create wealth. We have to get rid of half of the inhabitants of the city. The heart of the city deserves something else" (le Dantec, 2007). The mayor of Marseille since 1996 more specifically described the immigrant appropriation of the inner city as negative and unwanted in the newspaper *La Tribune*, 5 December 2001: "Popular Marseille is not the North African Marseille, it is not the Comorian Marseille. The city centre has been invaded by the foreign population, the Marseillais have left. Me, I renovate, I fight against the slumlords, and I make inhabitants who pay taxes return". These discourses indicate that the decaying and impoverished city centre was not representative of a city in growth, an attractive city, and the appropriation of

¹³⁰ Interview 27 March, 2008.

the centre by immigrants has fostered a combined discourse on cultural identities and economic contribution to society.

Like Fjordbyen's role to the expansion of Oslo's city centre, Euroméditerranée contributes to the reconfiguration of Marseille, with similar challenges of cohesion with inner city districts. The area-based approach tends to increase the importance of landscape as a coordinating principle in urban planning (Ascher, 1995:239-240). The landscape, Don Mitchell (2003a:788) stresses, implies that the physical environment reflects its political dimensions and expresses human practices and construction of meaning and values. The material base as understood within Marxist theory has effects on ideas, perceptions, and forms of conscience. Following Roy Baskhar (1998), ideas can be understood in terms of how they are involved in worldly practices. When a landscape is transformed, its materiality is accordingly changed to fit ideas and to express or represent the values and powers held by agents having decision-making powers. Landscapes, with their physical environments, are destroyed and produced to reflect new kinds of ideologies. They inhere conflicts and tensions in how they are perceived (envisioned), constituted (of social relations) and produced (by interests and policies). The waterfront model contributes in this way to provide the landscape of the urban knowledge society.

In the early 2000s, geographers Brigitte Bertonecello and Rachel Rodriguez-Malta (2001) critically remarked that the perimeter of Euroméditerranée was disconnected from the wider urban territory. The municipal officer interviewed holds that a lack of local engagement and state-led, zonal planning are reasons for disembeddedness and lack of spatial cohesion:

There were only Parisians who came (...), only what we in France call the "ZACers". What are ZACers? It is people who make a perimeter and who say that it is necessary to develop inside it. If you are not inside the perimeter, you have nothing. In Marseille, a perimeter is craziness. [O]ne has to consider the ensemble of the districts, integrate the districts that need it. This is not the case. They have made a perimeter and they rest inside it (...). They have made a development project instead of an economic project.¹³¹

The officer criticises the lack of collaboration across area-based initiatives carried out by different agencies, which confront an urban strategy assuring cohesion and continuity. Representatives from the district council and AGAM also express concerns with the lack of urban cohesion. Another concern is the emergence of a visual and socio-material demarcation line between the areas included and excluded from the perimeter. The municipal officer stresses the contrasts between the rising office towers and the decaying residential high-rise buildings divided by the perimeter:

¹³¹ Interview 27 March, 2008.

[T]here is progress, but what annoys me a bit is that I don't see the report of this progress with the rest of the city. It still rests a thing apart. Saint Mauront is still there. At one side of rue de Paris you are in Saint Mauront, what is it, 16 metres? At one side one starves to death and on the other side one builds [office] towers. It is not normal.

The officer is concerned with socio-spatial cohesion and the disruption created by zoning in Euroméditerranée. The headmaster of the new elementary school at la Joliette, Collège Izzo, also brings forth this critique, pointing to the mismatch in terms of jobs and labour:

[I]n Euroméditerranée, I will say that the difficulty is that one has created a new town, this means that one of the paradoxes in the 2nd arrondissement in Marseille, is that you have 7000 jobs, hence, one of the strongest concentrations of employment at one of the sides of Boulevard de Paris. And at the side of the Boulevard de Dunkerque, ... one has among the strongest levels of unemployment in Marseille. And this paradox will always be there.

The headmaster points to the French planning traditions of new towns, a political tool to balance the French territory and prevent further concentration in large cities, specifically in Paris, but also in the region of Marseille. The analogy to these new towns is given because the use of area-based initiatives creates new borders whereby an inside and an outside result in socio-economic segregation. One central aim of the school is on this basis to teach the pupils, who mainly represent the long-installed immigrant population, skills which may prepare them for work in the service sector at Joliette.¹³²

Rue de la République: revaluating and re-centring “the old city”

History, as David Harvey (2008) argues, repeats itself in the ways in which urbanisation fuels economic growth. In economic as well as in urban terms, the process is naturalised as “creative destruction” (p.33). This process has been analysed in Marseille by Pierre Fournier and Sylvie Mazella *et al.* (2004b), who studied the transformations of the street rue de la République, developed between Vieux Port and Joliette in the years 1862 to 1864.¹³³ This redevelopment process is also comparable to the sanitation of Vika in Oslo in the same era. Rue de la République was constructed as a means by which the city centre could be balanced towards the industrial port, which was developed at Joliette between 1844 and 1854. New residential and economic areas were developed as new axes between the old and new port and to the train station Saint Charles (Fournier & Mazzella, 2004a:28). In the early 1860s, 16 000 inhabitants were replaced from the city centre to the district of Belle de Mai (p.33). Today, resembling

¹³² Interview 14 January, 2008.

¹³³ The project was a continuation of the regeneration politics of prefect Haussmann in Paris during the 2nd empire (Fournier & Mazzella, 2004a).

strategies to strengthen the axes between the port, the train station Saint Charles and the city centre are carried out.

When Euroméditerranée was initiated, the buildings of rue de la République were in a degraded state and required action (Fournier & Mazzella, 2004a). The middle classes had moved out due to the lack of rehabilitation, but the neighbourhood was still vital. Remaining inhabitants rented affordable apartments and made them their homes, by long-term occupancy and by funding renovation. To them, the rented apartment was a home and not an investment object. Some of the vacant apartments were squatted, as was a range of other buildings in Marseille in the 1980s and 1990s (Bouillon, 2007). The neighbourhood also functioned due to the range and variety of commercial offers serving inhabitants (as illustrated below).

The company Société Immobilière de Marseille owned the estates from 1890 to 1989. Action was not taken by the investors buying and selling the estates as speculation objects in the 1990s until the French investment company ATEMI, whose main shareowner was the Lehman Brothers, bought the building stock and set off a process of rehabilitation in 2004. To the City of Marseille, the rehabilitation gave the promise of reinstating the glory of the Haussmannian project, assisting the re-centring of Marseille by a street that could again materialise and symbolise a successful restructuring, this time into a post-industrial city.



Illustration 23. Renovation in rue de la République.

The call for attractiveness in rue de la République is negated by the mediated and contested incidents of repulsion of inhabitants (Borja *et al.*, 2010). The procedures were also discussed in Euroméditerranée's administrative council, where party policies made the street an

object of complicated political negotiation (Dubois & Olive, 2004). The representative of the department council in the administrative council explains that regarding rue de la République,

there were long and hard debates, because [the different] public authorities did not have the same opinion. But we agreed about the necessity to redevelop rue de la République, to level up the apartments. And, also, the necessity to introduce a social mix, because there were mostly poor people and squats. So, the fact that we had to make profit of the rehabilitation of the street and the buildings in order to make some sort that people were mixed, everyone agreed. (...) The idea was to make (...) 1/3 each of social housing, intermediary and exclusive, to mix people. The city is made for living together, and we will not chase the poor out.¹³⁴

Political consensus was thus created about the need to attract higher social classes to the street, either as a pure market opportunity or based on the perception that poor people need “good” neighbours, such as the middle class with their ordered lifestyle. Middle and upper classes are thus entitled to balance the neighbourhood, as they are believed to prevent the escalation of social problems. Similar intentions were present in the redevelopment policies targeting the district of Gamle Oslo in Oslo (Sæter & Ekne Ruud, 2005).



Illustration 24. The selling of rue de la République.

To the former director of EPAEM, planner Jean Michel Guènod, who later became the director of the district department’s social housing agency OPAC Sud, the political discourse on “social mix” in redeveloped areas serves a repressive purpose:

¹³⁴ Interview 20 November, 2009.

Céline asked himself whether, to sort out the problem of unemployment, one shouldn't just kill the unemployed. Similarly today - to solve the problem of housing one demolishes. But one has forgotten to ask the people concerned what they thought about it: one scatters people, one destroys the places where they grew up, where they lived and created social ties. All this to refabricate land rent at the place of the destroyed. (...) [Social mix] is a cover. But one makes return only the half-poor at the poor's place (Guénod, 2006).

In rue de la République, inhabitants and shopkeepers were tired out in a process of eviction and insistence that they should move without compensation, making local associations, particularly the Centre Ville Pour Tous, engage in supportive actions. This fight over the right to stay put went on during the 2000s, and has been well documented elsewhere.¹³⁵ The policies of urban renewal are often not aimed primarily at addressing the problems of the original population dwelling in urban areas. Rather, the core aims are material upgrading and restoring the aesthetic quality of the environment (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005:52).

The first signs of renaissance were posters announcing the commercialisation of the street, including exclusive shopping offers (the illustration above shows a real estate sale's office and the sign of the entrance to the left that "here comes soon your boutique"). Art is further used to distinguish rue de la République. The large commercial posters hiding the undeveloped facades in the street were replaced by visual art, a strategy of selling the street passing from commercial ways to more sophisticated ones, as the illustration below shows. The close connection between the social evictions in the neighbourhood and the aesthetic strategy of the developer is evident in the commodification of the rue de la République.



Illustration 25. Art selling the street.

¹³⁵ Cf. <http://marseille2008.no-voix.org/spip.php?article44&lang=fr>, retrieved 15 July, 2014.

Not only are individuals affected in the process. Effects of these policies are also that they “change how the city works, and for whom it works, with less expensive and more inclusive outlets forced to relocate out of city centres as rents rise” (K. G. Ward, 2003:209). Rue de la République is however a spatial strategy that had to succeed in transforming into a distinguished street. It was the most central axis between the Vieux port and Marseille’s main street la Canebière and the deindustrialised areas of la Joliette.

Le Panier as the historical city

To Marseille as to Oslo, the existing material fabric and cultural heritage are symbolically and aesthetically valuable, and are included in the orientation and shift to the knowledge society. Similar to Kvadraturen as the historical city of Oslo, Le Panier is a neighbourhood situated along rue de la République, between Euroméditerranée and Vieux Port. It has slowly been turned from a poor to a representational area of a classical “Old City”, where architecture and picturesque streets rather than monuments and cultural institutions assure the attractiveness of a tourist area. According to an artist, it implied instrumental use of artists in a policy-led gentrification process:

I remember in [in the end of the 1990s], the way in which they proceeded, in Marseille as in many places, it is that- there are unwanted people. Unsanitary places. They said there were no sanitary facilities and they wanted them to leave. What they do is to replace them with artists, because they say that artists have needs too. So that justifies the fact that they make Arabs, Maghrebiniens, Comorians leave, because they are not usable, and they put artists in their place. They wanted to valorise the cultural side, saying ‘yes, they also have needs, they don’t have any money’. So that’s how they justify such a programme. That is how it worked in Panier, there were lots of artists who installed. We found it less expensive because there was a programme of expulsion, and finally we found ourselves there. It was before we understood the system... And now, the same is about to happen in St. Mauront, and in Belle de Mai.¹³⁶

The artist views his role as a politically desired pioneer in gentrification. Artists are desired because they have the potential to add to the city’s image as vibrant, a hub for creative people. It is therefore the account of an experience interesting to the discussion of who should be attracted to live in the city centre, and who are not welcome, as also the quotes of the municipal politicians above indicate. An architect and urban planner engaged in the association Centre Ville Pour Tous expresses that in le Panier, “there were evidently attempts to make a “quartier bobo”,¹³⁷ of artists, but so far, it has not worked. And I don’t know if it will because there isn’t any ‘reservoir’ of sufficient people” (Borja, *et al.*, 2010:113). Whether Marseille can transform into a middle class city is a question raised rather generally.

¹³⁶ Interview 13 September, 2007.

¹³⁷ Bourgeois-bohemian.

Aesthetic planning

According to Leonie Sandercock, much was lost in the modernist planning process, such as “the city of memory, of desire, of spirit; the importance of place and the art of place-making...” (in Natrasony & Alexander, 2005:414). Current planning is more attuned to these aspects and to aesthetics. This is not to say that modernist planning was not preoccupied with aesthetics, but functions predominated the rationalised framing of cities. The experience of the modernist city is likely to have resonance in the words of Richard Marshall (2001a:3): “half a century of urban space-making have left us with a diffused urban structure; a city pieced together from heterogeneous elements that when combined create a homogeneous aesthetics”.

Christine Boyer (1988:52) has referred to the new focus as the coming forward again of the physical or representational forms of the city. In what follows, I will explore in what ways we can talk about aesthetic planning in current urban redevelopment policies. Nature, green spaces and water have a renewed place in urban planning, which is reflected in both Oslo and Marseille. In the 21st century, water is in particular a much valued recreational and aesthetic component of cities (Malone, 1996a). In the next section, I will discuss the changes as a shift from modernist to aesthetic planning. Whereas I earlier in this chapter have touched upon some areas of aesthetics by using the concept of landscape, I will here pay attention to role of beauty and design in the aim to create cohesion.

The beautification of Oslo’s city centre

The shift in scope from modernist to contemporary values in Oslo’s development is acknowledged by politicians. The leader of the standing committee of urban development in the City Council stresses that the scope of urban planning has changed from concerns with local development to the national role of Oslo as metropolis. Earlier, the commissioner states, the municipality had to consider the local scale in relation to other places in the city, whereby development in one district would be reflected upon in connection to another district. Now, however, they are much more conscious about the city centre as a functional and symbolic landscape for the nation, as a capital.¹³⁸ The landscape of Oslo’s city centre thus symbolises territorial upscaling as part of the consolidation of the capital city, whereas the modernist landscape represented concerns with the districts and socio-spatial cohesion.

In Oslo, beautification of the city centre has been carried out within the framework of the Capital Action plan, a collaboration between real estate owners in the city centre, central state

¹³⁸ Interview 9 June, 2009.

and the municipality. A Capital Action plan was carried out prior to the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the dissolution of the union with Sweden. It was followed up by city council's adoption of the Animated City plan to make the city centre accessible and attractive.¹³⁹ The aim of these plans is to make the centre attractive by making the old city centre more appealing to users and business by aesthetic redevelopment of both an historical and modern character (Oslo city government, 2005:11, see also Sæter & Ekne Ruud 2005). Compared to Keynesian aims at socio-spatial cohesion and managerial control by functional master plans, today's planning is cohesive in a way decoupled from socio-spatial concerns and focused on the landscape's visual and historical qualities, as advocated by Oslo city government (2005:11):

The purpose of cohesive planning is to provide overarching and long-term references for new initiatives in the urban landscape. The planning is based on analyses of existing characteristics read as the interplay between the city's "layers", landscape features, via street fabric and forms of construction, to street furniture and coverage. The significance of these characteristics depends upon what they represent as collective memories for the city's users.

Rather than being focused on the social relationship with the environment, aesthetics is defined as a visualisation of the city's functions and substance, in which the defined norms of what is "beautiful" target the quality of this visualisation (p.13). Aesthetic planning not only holds a particularistic notion of beauty, but is also conceived of as a tool to create order, because overview and orientation should bring an experience of meaning (*Ibid.*). Aesthetic planning emerges as a tool to enhance the readability of the city, bearing connotations to the image of the city in how Kevin Lynch (1960) advocated a need for an organisation of visual principles. In Norway, such aesthetic principles in town and urban planning have been enhanced by national government, involving aesthetic essentialism about the sense of place (Røe, 2014).

The City Life Study (Gehl Architects, 2014) carried out in Oslo illustrates how consultancies support and materialise the vision of the city's attractiveness through aesthetic cohesion. The principles of the consultancy carrying out this study have characterised plans for the city centre and for the public spaces of Fjordbyen for a decade, and can be summarised in the idea about "the city of bliss", used in Oslo and in Fjordbyen, where nature/climate and design are fused in municipal strategies. Guy Julier (2005:874) refers to the constellation of actors agreeing upon the ways in which cities are landscaped as leading to a specific "taste formation". Herein, urban policies, consultancies, developers, investors and business contribute to the production of urban designscapes, "intended to convey the pervasive and multilevel use of the symbolic capital of design in identifying and differentiating urban agglomerations" (*Ibid.*). The achievement of

¹³⁹ http://www.prosjekt-levende.oslo.kommune.no/om_levende_oslo/, retrieved 2 January 2014.

cohesion through design is a shared goal among the empowered agents driving the redevelopment of Oslo's city centre. Landscape plays an essential, ideological role in social processes because it supports particular values and ideas about how society ought to be organised (J.S. Duncan & Duncan, 1988:123). The combined commercial and representative role of Oslo's City Centre implies that design and beautification contributes to the symbolic coherence structuring of the desired consumption of space.

The beautification of Marseille's city centre

In Marseille, Euroméditerranée is referred to as "the new horizon" of the city, as both representing hope for future prosperity and also acting as a representative landscape. Unlike the ordinary and unordered urban landscape that was a disadvantage when the City of Marseille placed a bid for the America's Cup, public funding and private investments assure the rise of a symbolic landscape. The symbolic aspect of landscapes means that they are ordered into signifying assemblages through which a social system is communicated (James S. Duncan, 2005:17). This social system is the knowledge society.



Illustration 26. The ordinary city life of Marseille.

An illustration of aesthetic ordering is the regulation of commercial signs in Marseille's city centre and in Euroméditerranée. Two brochures are published to guide merchants in how to design shop façades and shop signs. In the editorial of the guide on signs (DDEAI and City of Marseille, Undated:3), the municipality stresses its aim "to promote the beautification of the shops in Marseille with a double ambition: to preserve the life quality of inhabitants and to

valorise the shops in order to increase their attractiveness”. Quality of life is here connected to aesthetics and to quality of place as a means to raise the attractiveness of Marseille’s city centre by harmonised facades and street design. The illustration below shows facades before and after rehabilitation into the desired design (City of Marseille, 2005:12).

Marseille’s city centre is a landscape intended to symbolise a shift in the economic base and in image, hence its redevelopment was aimed to support the transformation. The immigrant cultures which have evolved along with spatial practices in the city centre do not correspond to the symbolic landscape of a knowledge society. To sustain aims of social cohesion, the ways in which the urban landscape and sense of place are conceived need to include acceptance and tools to comprehend the plural ways in which inhabitants belong to place and to the city (Miciukiewicz, *et al.*, 2012).



Illustration 27. Undesired and desired design in Marseille. Source: City of Marseille.

Changes in the substance of urban redevelopment policies are connected to how modernist, universalistic, and functionalist long-term planning concepts have been confronted by more market-led, expressive urban design as a tool in urban development (Cf. Ley, 1987; Harvey, 1989b, 1989a). Design is on this basis used in specific ways to provide a visually and symbolically framed landscape (Knox, 1993; Zukin, 1995; Sæter & Ekne Ruud, 2007; Imre & Street, 2009). In Marseille and Oslo, it consequently frames the knowledge society by structured coherence. Another phenomenon gaining importance in the policies of attractiveness is the redevelopment of train stations into hubs in the city.

Creating hubs in the urban landscape

When a city is up-scaled to gain force as a competitive city, the city centre becomes an important representational space. In the post-war industrial city, central train stations tended to be areas with cheap cafes and hotels, and shaded activities, perhaps often perceived as dangerous areas at night. When these stations were first built in the mid-19th century, there were however edifices signalling modernity and progress. In Oslo, the construction of the first railway station Vestbanen was immediately succeeded by the construction of housing of standing and aesthetic quality to hide the poor neighbourhoods by the station (Grønvold, *et al.*, 2000). Today, this representational aspect of the train station is renewed. It represents the hub of the post-industrial city, a first window to experience the city, still representing its modernity and glory.

Oslo Central station

To Oslo, Fjordbyen's realisation "with high utilisation of the land adjacent [the central station] Oslo S and other attractive areas of the city centre should give Oslo the position as city of knowledge and culture to 'modern industries' and also contribute to strengthen the city's identity and competitiveness" (City of Oslo, 2008c:45). The station area should thus be renovated to symbolise the city of culture and Oslo's transformation to the knowledge society.

The aim is to develop Oslo Central station as one of Europe's most modern train stations, developed by the public company ROM and designed by Space Group as a spectacular place, illustrated below.¹⁴⁰ The estimated price for redevelopment is 2.9 billion NOK. New buildings and structures will be integrated with the oldest station building. The station has been continuously redesigned, combining the transport function with a commercial centre including shops, cafes, restaurants, and a hotel. Redeveloping the station is presented as an extension of Bjørvika, and an attempt to pull the city towards the station.¹⁴¹ It is included in the socio-spatial reconfiguration of the city.

The transport system in Oslo has in the past enforced the east-west division in two ways. there were originally two train stations, the eastern rails Østbanen (Constructed in 1854, extended in 1882) and the western rails, Vestbanen, one kilometre westward from the other station. A tunnel between the two stations was constructed as late as in 1960. The Vestbanen closed in 1989. Until 1993, the east- and west-borne metro-lines were also separated between Oslo Central Station and Nationaltheateret station in the city centre.

¹⁴⁰ http://www.spacegroup.no/projects/oslo_s, retrieved 28 May, 2012.

¹⁴¹ <http://www.romeiendom.no/Vare-eiendommer/Nye-Oslo-S>, retrieved 30 December 2014.



Illustration 28. The planned new central train station in Oslo. Source: Space group/Luxigon.

Space Group Architects present the project as a means to overcome Oslo’s socio-spatial division:

The situation with two polarising stations in Oslo has a long history. Our strategy is a natural and delayed architectural response to this. The strong East-West axis has outplayed its role - and is replaced by a North-South axis, from the forest to the fjord - from the inner city to explosive urban development in the bay, with the new opera. The new station axis neutralises the old stigmatised division between East and West and reflects the real shift of public flows as the city expands eastward. New Oslo Central Station belongs to the whole city.¹⁴²

This discourse indicates that the central station is conceived of as representing the landscape of Oslo’s east, outdated with a design not representative of the city’s symbolic landscape. The use of an argument about how the socio-spatial division of Oslo is to be materially overcome by a spectacular new building testifies to the naturalised idea in Oslo’s urban development policies that the city’s eastern parts lack the attractiveness that the city must conform to. The representation of what “urban” is in this discourse illustrates the equation of urban and urban attractiveness in the forms of spectacular design of an ordered landscape. The eastern districts are in this perspective not included in the city, as if they were still the shantytowns with separate rules that they were prior to 1839. As Neil Smith (2002) argues, the term “regeneration” naturalises the class shift often inherent in redevelopment policies. In the case of the railway station area and its outreaching attractiveness, the potential social shift is naturalised when the city centre is redeveloped.

In the representational landscape desired in Oslo’s station area, specific social elements are undesired. Outside the central station, “Plata” is a small area known as the place where drug-users assemble. They have regularly been expelled from the area, particularly during two police

¹⁴² http://spacegroup.no/projects/oslo_s/more retrieved 28 May, 2012.

campaigns, “the Plata campaign” in 2004 and “the City centre work 2012-15” (Nafstad, 2013). Their aim was to meet the political and civic concerns about the trade and use of drugs in the city centre. The challenges identified were open abuse, sales, crime and recruitment (City of Oslo, 2012a). The campaigns have mainly been carried out by the police who have evicted and fined drug-users appropriating Plata. Ida Nafstad’s (2013) research indicates that despite intentions, the campaigns resulted in expulsion without sufficient preventive or social assistance to people in need of alternatives.

Replacing Plata is one of Bjørvika’s five new public spaces, the Opera Common. It is planned as Oslo’s new “parlour”, where large events will be organised, a festive public space animating the axis between the station, Oslo’s main street Karl Johan and Bjørvika. Half a kilometre to the north, Youngstorget has constituted the political space for various forms of manifestations during the 20th century, hosting political party and labour union headquarters. The last decade, it has become a festive space with cultural and commercial events. With the aesthetic cohesion of Oslo’s city centre, a new public space representing the transformation, the Opera Common will be:

Oslo’s new, magnificent urban space, not alone in size, but also as experience. The international character will be clear, and the quality of this urban space should be at the highest level. The range of visitors should become curious, amazed, astonished. The common should be incredibly great and impressive, but will also send experiences home. The place will offer meetings, experiences and sense impressions that communicate the particularity of this place, this space, of Oslo and Norway (Gehl Architects, 2007:28).

The vision is that the Opera Common serves as a public space connecting the redeveloped spaces that expand the city centre’s symbolic landscape. It will also be among the first experiences of Oslo for visitors, which, to assure the proper form of attractiveness, includes the displacement of drug-users as a group unworthy to appropriate the representational space.

Saint Charles in Marseille

In Marseille, there is a similar focus on the hub that train stations represent. Marseille’s central train station was renovated and expanded in the 2000s. Not only did the station get redesigned as part of the restructuring of Marseille, it also represents the compression of distance to central Europe with the opening of a new TGV rapid train in 2002 between Marseille and Paris. The TGV increased the attractiveness of Marseille to Parisians, who invested in affordable weekend homes in the city where real estate prices still were low.

The new station and infrastructure has its counterpart in Marseille in the 19th century, when economic growth was boosted by new infrastructure. The train station Saint Charles was

built in 1842 and the canal Durance in 1853, the port at la Joliette was constructed in the same years, and the main street extended the city towards the periphery. The second half of the 19th century was the “*grande époque*” of Marseille (Langevin 2007a, p.9). Today the central train station and the port are both included in the perimeter of Euroméditerranée, transformed to accommodate the post-industrial city, with an aesthetical connection between the old and new port. As in Oslo, neighbourhoods in between these hubs are redeveloped to create a continued landscape. Between the train station and the new waterfront, the public space of Porte d’Aix is redeveloped. This space formerly hosted an immigrant market, which is also characterising the commercial activities in the adjacent streets. Just like the reconfiguration of the city to modernise in line with the industrial economy of the 19th century, Marseille’s centre is currently reconfigured to provide the landscape with hubs in the knowledge society. Illustrating this phenomenon, EPAEM terms the Saint Charles as a “reconfigured entrance to Marseille”.¹⁴³

City life and diversity

The structured coherence characterising strategies to make cities attractive in the knowledge society involves both material and social ordering of the urban landscape. Production of the urban landscape can imply affinity between architectural concerns for the city as “a work of art” and the marketing-inspired concern with the image of the city (Hajer, 1993:62). The city conceived of as landscape has given rise to disciplines such as landscape urbanism. Landscape architect James Corner (cited in Frampton, 2007:347) refers to a new mode of intervention that implies a strategic scope changing the role of architecture:

In recent years we have witnessed an important shift: every location has begun to be regarded as a landscape, either natural or artificial. And has ceased to be a neutral backdrop, more or less decidedly sculptural, for architectural objects. With this change in point of view, the landscape becomes the subject of possible transformations; no longer inert, it can be designed, made artificial. The landscape has become the primary interest, the focal point of architecture.

The tensions inherent in the landscape (Wylie, 2007:1) have undergone attempts of suppression in the concept promoted and used by practitioners such as planners. Planners have embraced the concept and entity of landscape, both because of its elasticity and as something that can be brought into harmony. To them, Cosgrove (2006:52) argues, the landscape serves as a conceptual device bringing together “process and form, nature and culture, land and life. Landscape conveys the idea that their combination is - or should be - balanced and harmonious,

¹⁴³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jjgpF4c0Y18#t=15>, retrieved 31 March, 2015.

and that harmony is visible geographically". The reason for the applicability of the concept of landscape to practitioners, Cosgrove stresses, is that it allows the integration and combination of binary elements, particularly process and form, nature and culture, and land and life, and that the harmony desired is a moral argument used to define a good or successfully developed society. Producing landscape into harmonious communities runs the risk of further dichotomising space and social practices by notions of insiders and outsiders. In a simplistic way it may refer to a landscape where diversity is interrupting principles of order, or where specific social groups are unfit for the space orderly planned.

In contrast to current trends in urban design influencing the redevelopment of the centres of Oslo and Marseille, where spatial and aesthetic cohesion contributes to the production of a symbolic landscape, perspectives on diversity favour the city as an unordered space. Richard Sennett (2008) discusses how urban communities should be founded on diversity and how disorder and the allowance of tension and conflict would make better societies, where man does not hide himself behind the illusion of a homogeneous, ordered society. Rather, he should be exposed to the conflicts and annoyances present in diverse societies. Sennett's work was based on observations in the 1960s of young people's boredom in the suburbs, making them visit the city centres. From this point of departure, he criticises man's search for and society's organisation of order, represented in metropolitan planning, in which human life and experience are subordinated.¹⁴⁴ Instead, he quested an unordered city where diversity could characterise communal life, defined with freedom inherent in this new ideal (p.xiii). The ordered, modernist city desired was in Sennett's mind connected to a defensive search for purity in social relations, and to cities, this involves policies in which a coherent image or identity is unified (p.9).

Through aesthetic cohesion, this ordering takes a new form in current redevelopment policies, as I have discussed above. One area where diversity is desired in new urban policies, is however in the field of city life, another strategic domain targeted to create and show attractiveness is city life, to make cities vibrant and busy. The extent to which the city centre is a good place is highly rated based on the level of activities and people mingling the streets. The leader of the board of Oslo's port authorities also stresses that the success and attractiveness of Bjørvika will be rated by the level of animation and not the density of cultural institutions:

The institutions one now risks locating there imply no activities. The Opera creates no activity. A few people goes back and forth once or twice in the afternoon. And a lorry brings in some

¹⁴⁴ This observation was also made in Oslo, where the new suburbs in the 1950s were planned as self-containing local societies, but where the diversity of the city centre could not be compensated for in the suburbs. Hence, people still visited the centre to gain new experiences and variety (Stugu, 2006:430-431).

equipment. There is no vibrating...so, the opera in itself does not create any pulsating life. In fact, Munch will create more pulsating life. The library - even more. Because there, people will walk in and out all day long, and there are no set opening hours or should we say, shows. And that is the challenge outside the opera, to locate something there that would attract many people. Not necessarily all the time, but at least sometimes, a lot of people that can then swarm around the area.¹⁴⁵

The banal places of everyday life, of contemplation and quietness, do not fit with the attractiveness and buzz sought in waterfront places such as Bjørvika. As a place demonstrating Norway's contemporary urban culture, the composition of function and design is aimed to yield experiences designated in specific places. Though the city life should imply a diverse offer of experiences, it is still to be ordered into a coherent frame.

Urban society is heterogeneous and rarely characterised by order and a definable set of moral values, even though these are continuously sought in urban policies as in civil society. Though cities have always been diverse settlements, they have from the 20st century become characteristically plural, fragmented and diverse (Sandercock, 2003). Iris Marion Young (2011:236-237) stresses that the notion of community, defined through the concept of a safe and unitary "gemeinschaft", is contrasted with city life's heterogeneous and unordered character. Andrew Sayer (2000) follows the argument, claiming that "community" is a central utopia invoked by postmodernists, seen as traditional as in families, or territorial as in neighbourhoods, and as identity groups for communitarians. Sayer (p.179) points out that:

[e]vading such partly normative, partly positive questions inadvertently perpetuates the honorific status of community in popular ideology as a warm and secure alternative to the anomie of modern society. Slides between descriptive and normative uses of "community" tend to conceal the divisions of the former behind the harmony and consensus of the latter.

Communities are, of course, formed in the city, but life in the city includes everyday actions in which people interact without knowing each other. The city centre is one such important arena. As Sennett (1994) holds, cities are where order should not be imposed to make a coherent, repressive frame. Instead of applying the concept of community when discussing how the city can be socially inclusive, urban society and citizenship can be favoured. Inhabitants of the city are connected through citizenship, based on the existence of a polity of which one might be a citizen (Olwig, 2005:21). The city thus unites citizens in specific ways: "City dwellers are (...) bound to one another, in what should be and sometimes is a single polity. Their being together

¹⁴⁵ Interview 13 October, 2009.

entails some common problems and common interests, but they do not create a community of shared final ends, of mutual identification and reciprocity” (Young, 2011:238).

In the context of the modernist city, Jane Jacobs (1961:144) pointed to the natural diversity of big cities, and asked the question: “How can cities generate enough mixture among uses- enough diversity - throughout enough of their territories, to sustain their own civilisation?” She states that big cities are natural generators of diversity, the breeding ground for new enterprises and ideas. Jacobs (pp.150-151) defines four conditions that must be present to generate and sustain diversity in and between city districts: a multifunctional district; a low-scale district, a differentiated material environment; and a dense concentration (mainly of people). However, assuring that the city’s population can stay put tends to be left out as Jacobs is more concerned with vitality in this discussion, and what seems to be the desire for a thriving city life. Order and safety, then, is requested in Jacob’s work through significant presence of people and consumption offers, a trait currently less required in the inner cities of Oslo and Marseille.

This view of city life as highly vital, in the sense vibrant, tends to be favoured by planners involved in the development of Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée. Based on discourses in the media and at public meetings, their political significance seems to have a great deal to do with a middle-class perspective of an ordered city without disruptive or intriguing elements. An artist, who worked in an atelier at the demolished building Borgen in Bjørvika, has the perception that alternative and diverse urban experiences are reduced since the 1970s:

I think it is a bit hastened, what happens to Oslo, a place that had so much space for mess, disorder and unwanted behaviour, different people, and some kind of freedom. (...) [In Oslo in the 1970s, after the renovation, there were quite a few open spaces. Spaces torn down, parking lots, and much more of those conditions allowing you to find places that are experienced as something else. And now, I don’t think there hardly are any such places left. Space to hide in with your needle, or an art project. Thus, it is all regulated. Done, in a way. And Bjørvika, Borgen is one of those places where there still is such an opportunity, somehow. And you experience it visually and aesthetically, that there is some kind of space (...), “what is this”, “who is here”... And there are many drug addicts etc. (...). But I do experience these places as very important to the city. And no one cares about them, I think.¹⁴⁶

In modernist planning with expensive use of zoning, spaces in between zones were left over, used as recreational ground or remaining fallow land. These spaces were referred to as “SLOAPS”, Spaces Left Over After Planning (Stugu, 2006:448). The suppression of these unordered, unregulated urban spaces that the artist refers to is not only resulting from new modes of planning by landscaping and the rent and investment opportunities and population growth calling for compact city strategies. It is also the result of real-estate and redevelopment policies

¹⁴⁶ Interview 25 June, 2010.

where a new form of city life is designed to discipline behaviour on the one hand and attract some groups of people on the other. Don Mitchell (2003b:228) stresses that questions of order are important in terms of who the order will serve and who will govern the order. Mitchell argues that we must ask questions about justice, such as who will be allowed to inhabit the city and how order may benefit a just city. Aims to secure the city are evident both historically and geographically, and the reordering of the city serves particular interests (p.230). Though a safe city must be planned, the question of security measures, of structural conditions and social conflict must be substantially discussed.

The role of consultancies is one way in which professional advice that conforms to the policies of attractiveness is included in the decision-making of Oslo's redevelopment. The architect and planning consultant professions do not seem to include concerns with social equity, as there is a lack of discussion of social diversity and how attractiveness may contract issues of the city centre as an arena where citizens meet. Social dimensions of the city are included in the City Life Study (Gehl Architects, 2014) by pointing to a life-course perspective (p.9), but social diversity is merely mentioned in pointing out that people using the city centre resented the encounter of beggars (p.21). The study is based on a call from a collaborative promotion of city life and design by the City of Oslo and business in the city centre, whose aims are to increase activity, accommodating positive and safe experiences, as increased stay and comfort, and stimulate more gains for cultural institutions and business (p.3). Values represented in the production of landscapes are concerned with what is or should be right or natural in places, and have thereby important moral dimensions (D. Mitchell, 2005:50). With focus on the knowledge worker in the new knowledge society, students as a group have gained attention due to their potential role to city life and animation.

Studentification

Students often have a presence and consumption of the city that gives it the image of buzz and liveliness, and which in recent years has been stressed as a competitive factor in urban policies (Florida, 2005). In a critical perspective on competitive policies, policies of attractiveness commodify the role of the student to becoming one bringing street life and the spectacle, to "the creative city" (Pinder, 2005). Both Cities of Oslo and Marseille have become attentive to the competitive strategy of studentification.

Whereas the apartments constructed in Fjordbyen are not accessible to lower socioeconomic groups, student residences are one means to provide more social diversity in the residential composition, but also a way to secure an animated city life. As a compromise to meet

the aim of social diversity in Fjordbyen, Oslo Liberalist Party launched the idea that a student residency should be constructed in Bjørvika. This idea was supported and 420 student rooms will be offered in a building next to the Deichmanske library.¹⁴⁷ The students are aimed to animate the area and are conceived as a group who can assure social diversity through a diversification of age groups in Bjørvika. The desire to host students in a new neighbourhood has connotations to the aim to bring in the creative class. It has been suggested that student communities can be generators of city life, that they can produce a “landscape of creativity” that also assists tourism and image (Russo & Sans, 2009). In Bjørvika, this group is likely to assist the city life of the new neighbourhood, even though students may not afford to consume there.

As part of the reconfiguration of the city centre, Tullinløkka emerged as an area of opportunity to better collocate the Faculty of Law of the University of Oslo, which is dispersed in several buildings in the area. The motion set off by the potential spatial opportunities led to the university’s engagement in a competitive discourse about their attractiveness to this area. At a public debate on the planned relocation of the cultural institutions from Tullinløkka in 2010, the headmaster of the University of Oslo promoted the idea that the area should concentrate the university and be an amusement park for students (using the name of the amusement park *Tusenfryd* outside Oslo): “*a Tusenfryd for students*”.¹⁴⁸ This discourse illustrates how the scarce resource of urban land fosters the adoption of the creative city thesis also by representatives of knowledge institutions, where a discourse on the students’ contribution to the city’s buzz is used to strengthen the university’s position. In spring 2015, a new high-rise building planned constructed at Tullinløkka to house the university risked the eviction of one of Oslo’s last independent bookstores, Tronsmo. Ironically, the brouhaha aimed provided by the students to this area seemed to replace a bookstore providing critical reading.

In Marseille, the larger university campus is located at the outskirts of Marseille. Now, students are desired back into the inner city again, as a means to animate the centre. Student residencies have been installed in a renovated building at the main street la Canebière and adjacent to the renovated University campus at Saint Charles, which is included in the perimeter of Euroméditerranée. EPAEM’s director of architecture stresses the need for vitalisation of the city centre, to be made “with the students, who will reinforce this social and economic dimension, make animation, commercial development (...).¹⁴⁹ Renovating poor city centre spaces into university spaces has become a general act of redevelopment (Guidarini, 2001:337).

¹⁴⁷ <http://www.bjorvikautvikling.no/bolig-og-naering>, retrieved 30 December, 2014.

¹⁴⁸ Observation at the public debate “Den store flyttesjauen”, 23 September, 2010.

¹⁴⁹ Interview 14 February, 2008.

To Darren Smith (2005:74-75), this process of “studentification” runs parallel to gentrification in western cities. They have similar effects on property prices, replacement/ displacement issues, uniform expression of lifestyles in localities, and they do often take place in the inner-city. In Oslo and Marseille, students achieve an instrumental role in the revitalisation processes, where their characteristics as “talents” and young people adding to the buzz of city life make them targeted as part of the attractive city.

Structured coherence in city centres

Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore (2002:356) argue that “structured coherence” is a prerequisite for sustainable capital accumulation, and that states have initiated various forms of policies aimed to regulate the uneven development of capital. Structured coherence implies a specific set of material, social, and spatio-temporal fixes, that Jessop (2004:167) suggests is developed by public and private interests to assure economic growth. Based on the discussion in this chapter, I will argue that the city centre is reordered within this logic, and that the knowledge-based economy depends on the production of symbolic landscapes supporting the knowledge society as a coherent frame. Structured coherence is an aim of investors and politicians, as illustrated by the ways in which the city centres of Oslo and Marseille are reconfigured to accommodate the knowledge-based economy and its consumption pattern.

In Oslo, expansion of the city centre eastward through the public development of Bjørvika and the private development of Ekeberg implies a specific form of gentrification in which culture and nature are coherently ordered to provide for recreational relations for the middle classes. Even though gentrification and real estate development take place in the district of Gamle Oslo, the barriers between this district and Bjørvika are upheld, illustrated by the development company’s slogan “Bjørvika - the new city within a city”.¹⁵⁰ In Marseille, the state of the city centre and the promise of Euroméditerranée called for redevelopment of the city centre, which was carried out in various stages with incidents of policy-led gentrification, such as in le Panier. Rue de la République was a fundamental connection between the city centre and Euroméditerranée, which was rehabilitated by a private company. This company launched a process of eviction of both shopkeepers and inhabitants to make the redevelopment process efficient and to assure the right kind of social and commercial mix. The use of zoning in Marseille implies that there were socio-spatial differences between the redeveloped area within the perimeter of Euroméditerranée and the northern districts excluded from the perimeter. With

¹⁵⁰ <http://www.bjorvikautvikling.no/english>, retrieved 5 April, 2015.

Euroméditerranée II enacted by the French president in 2007, the project was enlarged to the north, though with a perimeter which does not include many original dwellings. The coherence in Marseille implies as in Oslo an extended and gentrified city centre with a continuing landscape along the waterfront northward.

Aesthetic cohesion has replaced concerns with social cohesion in urban planning, an orientation I will explain with the symbolic dimension of the knowledge society, and the consumption of signs and space (Lash & Urry, 1994; Sæter, 2005). Ali Madanipour (2010:4) claims that “[w]ith economic decline, which removed the possibility of large-scale urban development schemes, and the collapse of architecture’s confidence in its ability to deal with social problems, it withdrew into an aesthetic sphere”. This is not true as a general statement about the visions and works of architects, yet market-led development schemes do change the frames of actions of professions involved in urban redevelopment.

The visions of politicians are further central to the place given to cohesion in urban schemes. In Oslo, the main domain of municipal planning is landscaping, which assures axes, horizons and connections in the city. In Marseille, this aim is present, yet its effects reduced by the existence of different plans and actors overlapping in the inner city. The landscape, Don Mitchell (2005:49) stresses, is “both an outcome and the medium of social relations, both the result of and an input to specific relations of production and reproduction. In our world, those relations are capitalist, of course, and the landscape (...) is a commodity”. There tends to be consensus about aesthetic cohesion as a consolidated private-public strategy to beautify the city and its symbolic landscape. In Marseille, beautification has also been part of the municipal concerns with attractiveness, sped up prior to the Capital of Culture in 2013. Ordering of the urban landscape has not been as extensive as in Oslo, where much of the city centre is targeted.

City life is further desired to signal the buzz of a creative city. In the early 1990s, Marten Hajer (1993:49) stressed that the engineering of a new social life in clearly marked areas runs the danger of “turning against city life as it is: chaotic, ambivalent and unpredictable”. He was pointing to the modelled development of Rotterdam, which built on the trends in Baltimore and Barcelona. Both Oslo and Marseille have carried out strategies to design and animate the city centres, where the waterfront projects are central strategies. The diversity of Oslo and Marseille might be reduced with the strategies carried out, and the political acceptance tends to be connected to how competitiveness and comparison between cities foster rationales for distinct forms of attractiveness that excludes certain social groups from the visual consumption of the city. The nature of the city as diverse and where the range of human experience is exposed can be an unpleasant urban experience. But as Sennett’s (1994) discussion indicates, experiencing

social diversity by rubbing shoulders might be important for understanding and identifying an urban society instead of purifying the public sphere, where difference and conflict are suppressed and out of sight.

According to Kenneth Olwig and Don Mitchell (2009:1-2), the landscape is “political” because it refers to a spatial area that is involved with a polity, that has shaped the landscape historically. The landscape is sometimes defined by formal boundaries, sometimes by spatial or symbolic structures made to impose or maintain unity and order. An illustration here is the industrial seaside under Fordism, a central landscape in which work, production and external relations of trade and transit was central to the dynamics of urban society. Its activities are still present in many port cities yet moved into the geographical imaginary of an outdated city.

Today, the landscape of the city is radically transformed and pictured more in line with the view upon landscape as a hedonic experience, a purified aesthetic object to be appreciated through the senses. What might prevail by a perspective on cities as aesthetic objects, is what Christine Boyer (1988:50) argues, that “the city has become a place of escape, a wonderland that evades reality”. It means that we might end up concealing the social realities of the city:

we have returned to focus on the aesthetic or physical form of our cities even though this gaze is from a distance: it neither sees the displacement of uses and people, the rapid gentrification of whole areas of the city spreading out from the center's core: nor does it understand the hidden class structure implicit in the development of these formalistic tastes (p.51).

Though the city as an aesthetic experience must be retained, the design of cities and the goal of beauty and order seem to be particularly naturalizing the class policies implied in the restructuring of Oslo and Marseille.

The ordering of landscape to attain harmony is sought in both waterfront projects, consolidating an overarching consistency in the large areas, and between the developed areas and the city beyond. The waterfront model circulated globally is consistent with area-based planning methods, providing a defined perimeter within which public and private developers can search for efficiently and simplified regulative frames of action. The wider aims for the enhancement of the capital cities mean that the waterfronts are both the most important symbolic landscapes within the cities, and to be developed in harmony with the wider urban landscape. Landscape assembles the various interests having stakes in the redevelopment, being a premise allowing practitioners to harmonise some common aims, which is unified around specific notions of attractiveness.

Returning to the question of social cohesion, there is little evidence that this goal is reflected in the planning of Euroméditerranée and Fjordbyen as part of the wider reconfiguration

of the city centres of Oslo and Marseille. The aim of enhancing capital cities, internationally competitive cities, implies the aim to expand the centre toward the waterfront. Furthermore, the representative city centre, visible in terms of its consolidated set of design measures catering order and beautification, is expanded into unordered spaces of the city centre in order to upscale the city centre as well. This process implies a physical and symbolic reconfiguration of functions and signs in the urban landscape. It is further a process in which social groups are targeted or evicted, from their dwellings and shops as was the case in rue de la République, or from the public spaces outside the central train station, as is the case in Oslo.

From a Norwegian territorial context, the lack of aims at socio-spatial cohesion in urban redevelopment policies can be seen as a paradox in light of persistent welfare state policies in other societal domains. The deregulation of the housing market in Norway since the middle of the 1980s has contributed to a shift from universal to selective housing policies, implying the adoption of neoliberal strategies in targeting marginalised groups (Stamsø, 2010:592-593). This lack of actual policies assuring or pursuing the goal of social cohesion and the targeting of groups such as the creative class/ the transnational social class in both Oslo and Marseille illustrate how urban planning in the French and Norwegian welfare states might be a sector in which the welfare state has partly withdrawn. Whereas values of universalism were central to modernist planning, as a means to include all groups in the planning and development of urban society, particularistic, or targeted strategies tend to be selected in the city centre redevelopment of both Oslo and Marseille. Targeted measures are known to be used in liberal welfare regimes, where groups in specific need of assistance might obtain a welfare benefit, whereas in the universal welfare state regime, the benefit is distributed to all. Transferred to urban redevelopment and planning as discussed here, there is a peculiar parallel to the ways in which city centre development target a restricted segment of the population as the beneficiaries of the strategies. These changes testify the role of the neoliberal shift in this sector, also in the cities of Oslo and Marseille. It can be referred to as a shift from universal to particularistic values.

8. PRODUCTION OF PLACE

As I showed in Chapter 7, Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée are central to the reconfiguration of the centres of Oslo and Marseille, in which aesthetic cohesion is a generalised strategy to assure structural coherence to the knowledge-based economy. This strategy is central to how attractiveness is aspired in competitive policies through structured coherence. It is further aimed at framing the recreational and consumption preferences of these classes through the focus on city life, which means that the concept of the knowledge society is a coherent target of business and “talent”. The spatial ordering is followed by social ordering, which means a selected and targeted strategy concerning who are “the dignified users” of the city. I will build on these findings in this chapter, yet I will go another step down, to the level of the perimeters of Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée. I apply the concept of place to the enquiry of the distinctiveness sought in and through the waterfronts and the cultural strategies used, by so doing, enquiring Sharon Zukin’s (1995:1) observation that culture is used to by city governments to as a basis for their “unique competitive edge”.

In this chapter I am interested in enquiring how places are produced within the waterfront projects. With global trends influencing cities and their development, a search for distinctiveness, through awareness of history, heritage, local anchorage and the value of place, has become important in urban redevelopment policies. I will explore relations between distinctiveness and attractiveness, by addressing measures taken to include cultural heritage, the kinds of public places produced to assure universal or targeted access, and how social diversity is treated in the production of place compared to social distinction. On this basis, I address the question of culture-led urban redevelopment with a focus on the role of place in these policies (research question ii). I thereby add a temporal dimension to the enquiry of this form of redevelopment policies, by including the role of memory, belonging as well as meaning. By so doing I will also address the aims of the waterfront projects and which groups they target in how place is produced in Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée (research question i). By discussing the place and possibilities for social diversity in the respective project, I also treat the question of governance in this chapter (research question iii).

Homogeneity and place

Henry Lefebvre (2000) offers an interesting perspective on relations between distinctiveness and homogeneity in the production of space. I will initiate the discussion of the production of place in Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée with his theorisation about urban development. Production, Lefebvre (pp.83-84) writes, has to do with invention, creative capacities and imagination. In the largest sense, humans as social beings produce their life, history, conscience, and world. We produce nature when we modify it. By introducing the concept of “production of space”, the aim was to integrate human practice and space. This implies that geographical space is a social product, as Neil Smith (2010) stresses, and that production of space includes “the production of meaning, concepts and consciousness of space which are inseparably linked to its physical production” (p.107). We do not live, act, and work “in” space (as a container), but we produce space by living, acting and working (p.116).

In a modernist context, Lefebvre (2000) argues that urban development projects were largely based on repetition. It outlaws uniqueness in cities, in the sense that the artificial suppresses the spontaneous and natural, and products gain over works. Lefebvre grounds the argument on a critique of capitalist modes of production, where serially produced spaces are outcomes of the repeated input of labour and technological devices. He elaborates:

Are these spaces interchangeable because they are homologous? Or are they homologous so that they can be exchanged, bought and sold, with the only differences between them being those assessable in money - i.e. quantifiable - terms (as volumes, distances etc.)? At all events, repetition reigns supreme. Can a space of this kind really still be described as an “oeuvre”? There is an overwhelming case for saying that it is a product *strictu sensu*: it is reproducible and it is the result of repetitive actions. Thus space is undoubtedly produced even when the scale is not that of major highways, airports or public works. A further important aspect of spaces of this kind is their increasingly pronounced visual character. They are made with the visible in mind: the visibility of people and things, of spaces and of whatever is contained by them (2000:75).

This conceptualisation of space as produced and created is relevant to ideas about urban attractiveness, in terms of how urban spaces and places are preserved and produced, and how creation is connected to visual strategies. In enquiring distinctiveness in connection to social dimensions of attractiveness, meaning and meaningful practices are central. The concept of place underlines experience, meaning and memory as part of the creation of city life. I bring these aspects of city life into the investigation of urban redevelopment policies.

Ray Hudson (2001:255) points to places as complex entities of social relations which assemble material objects, workers and firms, as well as being characterised by distinct cultures. Yet they have a range of meanings, identities and practices. Places are in his words:

complex condensations of social relationships, of varying density and variety. Places take a material form in the built environment of workplaces, residential areas, communication and transport routes etc., as these social relationships are stretched over and produce places. Such relationships come together contingently in specific time-space combinations to produce what are, in the last instance, “unique places” (p.261).

In this understanding, places represent a spatial fix for capital, where production can take place and where workers can be provided. Through place, capital can circulate, whereas workers depend on capital to be in their place and to offer waged labour. Hudson stresses that national states aim to keep both capital and labour satisfied, implying that complex relations exist between capital, labour, states and places. In urban restructuring, these relations come to the fore in questions of the attractiveness sought in urban competitive policies. The state impacts and steers places of production, by stimulating business locations and the existence of a desirable workforce. This is politically problematic because there is conflict:

between a socially produced place to which its inhabitants are attached and as part of a socially produced space in which capital can make profit. In contrast to capital’s one-dimensional concern with spaces of production and profit, places have multiply dimensional meanings for a variety of people, organisations, and institutions (p.273).

The social relations that produce places are based on class, but also on gender, belonging, culture, ethnicity and age. The built environment of cities further shows continuities. The material layers of places are formed by both pre- and early capitalist social relations, as well as being continuously restructured in their involvement in the circulation of capital. The locations selected by capital are often temporary resting places, whereas for labour they are more lasting places in which to live. To people, place has a temporal dimension important in creating enduring meaning, a dimension hardly characterising capital in the global era.

People live, learn and work in places, and they construct meaning around them, become attached to them, and make individual and collective, emotional and economic investment in places (Cresswell, 2004). This implies that places are varied and people attach different meanings to places. They can thus have highly different readings of and interest in place (Røe, 2010). Places and neighbourhoods which are currently changed and produced in European cities are politically constituted (Cremaschi & Eckhardt, 2011). Powers and resources are distributed differently between groups, important to how they can promote their vision of place (R. Hudson, 2001:263). Various meanings of place are contested, promoted and ignored when the city is transformed. This means that temporal aspects of place, such as cultural heritage, can imply

ambivalence, as the relations between value and authenticity, change and memory are used as a means to assure distinctiveness while being central to the right to stay put.

The role of history and heritage in the re-narration of cities

Counteracting the homogenisation of urban space, cultural heritage is valorised and included in a “redesign” of the city’s built environment by political programmes and property developers. Urban design includes the reuse of cultural heritage (O’Brien, 1997; Gospodini, 2001; Punter, 2007). Particular buildings, monuments or spaces are selected to represent the city’s historical and cultural continuity by cultural artefacts and symbolic spaces (e.g. religious and cultural buildings, industrial heritage, statues, squares) (Zukin, 1996).

As I argued in Chapter 4, the restructuring of Oslo implies the suppression of the industrial past, as if the modernist city evokes the image of trauma in urban planning. Signe Bøggild and Marie Bruun Yde (2011) discuss this issue in the case of Copenhagen. Until recently, the modernist city, which they refer to as the welfare city, was suppressed in current planning practices. New towns developed in the decades after World War II answered to housing needs for all, but their failure was the universal construction which resulted in homogenous housing areas. However, these towns also represent social policies, economic growth, urban visions of quality of life, community, equality and welfare, hence they concern the narratives and memories of life in a welfare society (pp.118-119). The critique of the modernist city as a de-humanizing machine (e.g. materialised in the visions of the city as held by le Corbusier versus Jane Jacobs) (pp.120-121) is contrasted to the scale of the neighbourhood, representing continuity, memory and community. Opposition to modernist ideals lives on through the selection of what is held to have value, what we should remember and therefore preserve, and what is not of value, to forget, and thereby demolished. Yet there is always the question of whose memories are retained, who are consulted, and whose values ground decisions concerning cultural heritage in the city.

Revalorisation of cultural heritage in urban redevelopment

Cultural heritage is a valuable asset used when the distinctiveness of the cities is aimed to make them stand out as attractive places of living or visiting. This is as also reflected in Fjordbyen, where principles for the totality should express Oslo’s distinctiveness (City of Oslo, 2008b:7):

Oslo can be seen as the result of a thousand year old meeting between water and land. The dynamic force in this meeting is inseparably connected to Oslo’s identity, history and economic

development. The city has made a “choice for the century”. The changes at Oslo’s seaside will tell ourselves and the world who we are and how we wish to stand. To Oslo as a city and capital this gives unique possibilities that cannot be sustained in other places.

The historical layers in Fjordbyen, represented in the material landscape, are narrated to conform to stories and representations fitting a mix of historical and modern elements. Narratives on the Medieval, the Viking, the 17th century, and on the era of nation-building toward the end of the 19th century are central. The industrial era is the most ambivalent. 19th century industrial heritage of aesthetic quality is preserved, whereas newer industrial architecture is predominantly demolished (warehouses, the cultural production site Borgen). There is thus a selected process of what should be represented and not, which is mainly based on the scale, beauty and the purity in form of the edifices. A larger area in Bjørvika and Gamle Oslo, where the town developed into a city between the 11th and 12th centuries (Nedkvitne & Norseng, 2000), is re-represented as the Medieval city. It pursues in this way an urban strategy in which an ordered *historical* landscape is cultivated as a purified temporal-spatial representation. Still, the slogan “the blue the green the city in between” used to characterise Oslo does point to a distinct quality which together with the Akershus Castle makes a unique landscape. The new landscape of Fjordbyen is however produced on the basis of the destruction of places elsewhere in the city centre.

The destruction of place

By the relocation of several cultural institutions in Oslo, there is a perceived loss of meaning in places, illustrated by the political process leading to the decision to move the Museum of Modern Art from the National Gallery at Tullinløkka to Vestbanen and the Munch Museum from Tøyen to Bjørvika. They illustrate how identification with place is related to cultural institutions, as symbols of status, creators of pride, and aesthetic qualities established in the relations between architecture and museums. This is also the reason why their location *in situ* has been defended.

The National Gallery at Tullinløkka

The conflict over the National Gallery not only illustrates the concern with places, but also with cultural history. “Make a ring around the National Gallery” was one event in which a range of people, a majority from the cultural field, demonstrated against the delocation of the National Gallery from Tullinløkka to Vestbanen in 2009. To them, the cultural heritage of the museum building implied an intimate connection between the building and the museum’s content, and consequently the environment:

The two projects- a total solution at the Vestbanen area or a shared solution with the maintenance of the National gallery - are now spatially and economically equal. We can thereby talk about the choice of values, and we ask: is a collection of all the functions at Vestbanen functionally valuable to the extent that one is willing to reconstruct the country's oldest, most important and most visited museum? Is one willing to disturb parts of Oslo's historical urban situation and demolish one of the city plan's girders, in order to achieve some theoretical, operational advantages? (Save National gallery in Oslo, 2009:2).



Illustration 29. Make a ring around the National Gallery.

The building was constructed for the museum's use. At Tullinløkka, a place has been created through the colocation of similar institutions for decades. The National Academy for the Arts (KHiO), the Oslo School of Architecture and Design (AHO), the university's Museum of History, and the Museum of Design, created together with the National Gallery a place and a cultural cluster, as indicated by an artist:

[S]uch an institution as Ringstrøm's Antiquaries located [at Tullinløkka], made a feeling of...a corner in the city (...). It was next door to KHiO. AHO was located there, Ekfjord Colour shop. So, it isn't only cultural institutions that create...atmospheres, culture, social space are created, from such kinds of clusters of institutions, an artist-colour shop is very important, there is a lot of activity there, one meets all the time, and there are professionals who know everything about paint. By Ringstrøm's Antiquaries there was also a serious record shop, which is gone. All these things create life and dynamics in a city. I think perhaps that there is too much focus on the cultural institutions and what they should generate. To most people, I think these other institutions such as a colour shop is as important to the character of the city.¹⁵¹

The creation of place is an ecological process, in which synergies within related activities by

¹⁵¹ Interview 25 June, 2010.

institutions and commercial agents and users have mutual benefits. To inhabitants, the small-scaled activities are important to the experience and use of the city, as the artist indicates. As in the case of Tullinløkka, Cultural institutions can generate a sense of place, not only in its institutional setting but also in the environment to which it belongs. By 2010, the entire area was in motion, as large cultural institutions had either moved to other places in the city (KHiO and AHO), or were planned to be moved to Fjordbyen (the National Gallery). Places connected to the new buildings in Fjordbyen can also be created, as they were at Tullinløkka. But the destruction of places which have been created throughout decades might not be justified in the production of new places at the waterfront, where new institutions could have generated completely different experiences have they been established.

The Munch Museum at Tøyen

The decision to relocate the Munch Museum was taken without the knowledge of local politicians in the district Gamle Oslo. According to a Labour party politician in the District Council, Oslo Labour Party had not been consulted, even though the Minister of Culture, who made the deal with the Governing Mayor from the Conservative Party, represented the Labour Party in the national government.¹⁵² According to the leader of the district council, “it was just the minister of culture and the governing mayor who had mixed it, to make [the puzzle of the cultural institutions] fall into place. (...) You are not invited, you are not involved, you are not consulted about how to make things fall into place”.¹⁵³ The political process was referred to as politically vigorous, as efficient decision-making yet with a lack of democratic legitimacy. The leader regrets the relocation of the Munch Museum, holding that “Oslo’s identity is now changed by [the relocation of cultural institutions]. There are many positive aspects, I agree, but we need to include the history to a greater extent”.¹⁵⁴ To both local politicians cited, representing the Labour Party (the party in City Council opposing the relocation of the Munch Museum the most), the cultural history was the main reason to reject the decision, together with the museum’s role as a status symbol in Tøyen, as argued by one of the representatives:

To move the Munch Museum to Bjørvika is to move Munch from the eastside to the westside (...), it is a high status district. And it should promote Oslo’s famous artist. But it means that at the real eastside, up here, we lose a status symbol, we lose...something very, very important (...). It means a lot to know that we have a symbolic building in our neighbourhood, it is something to be proud of (...).¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² Interview 13 March 2009.

¹⁵³ Interview 6 October, 2009.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Interview 13 March 2009.

The pride created by the museum is connected to the cultural identities formed in the district, to the belonging to the places of Tøyen. The leader of a neighbourhood association in the area argues that the museum had been important to the identification with the place:

a central part of the local identity for people living at Tøyen, traditionally a run-down, old working class district, with many (...) bad characteristics (...), in terms of life expectancy, health, income, social benefit, unemployment, crime I guess too, well, at least it has the Munch Museum. So it has been kind of a feather in the hat. Even though many people never visit the museum, I still think it is an important part of the district's identity!¹⁵⁶

As the leader holds, the museum had contributed to the identification with the neighbourhood as part of local identity, not the least important because it contrasted the image given by the accumulation of socio-economic challenges at Tøyen.

The discourse of the vice-mayor of culture was that the museum belonged to the city centre and should not be an instrument in socio-spatial cohesion:

Tøyen doesn't need Munch, and Munch doesn't need Tøyen (...). I have mainly searched for a good plot of land. It became Bjørvika. But the primal thing was not Bjørvika, it was to find a location where a new museum could become an icon, or a new museum that could become part of Munch's art and for the city. [T]o build for Munch, not for the city.¹⁵⁷

The argument is that relocation to the centre would only be a partial instrumental act of urban redevelopment, since Munch's international reach requires his inclusion in the strategy to make Oslo an international city of culture, hence location in the representational landscape of the city centre. The party's aim was to give the museum a more central location, as was supported by the city council.

The reinvention of a port city

In Marseille, cultural heritage in Euroméditerranée is revalorised as a central strategy of the project. A historical building stock termed "imperial" as well as monumental buildings such as the cathedral Major and the Fort Saint Jean are rehabilitated. As in Oslo however, the industrial and small-scale heritage is more ambivalently conserved compared to the pre-industrial heritage. Whereas the City of Marseille early decided to redevelop the silo of Arenc into a concert hall as illustrated below, the decision to conserve the silo of grains at Vippetangen in Oslo is still bargained. The memory of Marseille as an unordered port city and the prerequisite constituted by

¹⁵⁶ Interview 4 March, 2009.

¹⁵⁷ Interview 7 October, 2009.

the original neighbourhoods included in Euroméditerranée is relevant to the historical structures on which new transnational social places are produced.



Illustration 30. The silo in Arenç.

According to the director of studies at AGAM, the port is “the place of dream and imagination”, representing Marseille as a port city, yet also an image that the commodification of the waterfront might repress:

The environment is (...) beautiful. Voila. It is the place of happiness, the place of disorder (...). It is the place of imagination. And the desire to make a commercial place or (...) a commercial temple...that isn't the solution. [It] is more the loss of identity, economically and culturally, for the city. Because, if the city is there, it is because of the port. It is first of all the port that was created. Today, the idea is based on the desire to recuperate the port, to prolong the city. Marseille Fos is thirty km from here. Marseille is known for its port. Tomorrow we no longer have one. We talk about Marseille Fos without the port of Fos. Marseille disappears completely in all that. And Marseille becomes a waterfront city, that really is a port city.¹⁵⁸

From sites of industrial production, European inner cities are currently transformed into sites of consumption. In this process, both history and culture take on specific meanings and are given new spatial forms (Harvey, 1999). To the director quoted above, Euroméditerranée transforms the seaside in ways that suppress the identification of Marseille as a port and industrial city, with its unordered places produced by the port activities and labour. A local artist conveys similar sentiments by celebrating the experience offered by the port:

The merchant ports... the experience of the voyage, departs from far, returns, those things

¹⁵⁸ Interview 17 October, 2008.

accompanied the ports. It was magic for inhabitants in a city, to go to the port and watch the ships come in, depart, because it was the idea that they come with news, [things] that one doesn't know, they come from far away.¹⁵⁹

The curiosity and experience of the world offered at the port is today changed with new experiences, offering transnational spaces in the global era. The waterfront of Euroméditerranée is produced to symbolise and materialise Marseille's adherence to the knowledge society.

EPAEM's director of architecture stresses the role of waterfronts in the re-imagination of cities:

[W]aterfronts are new modes of expression, of urbanity, that try and profit, to give a port-based expression at the seaside, in order to valorise architecture and a range of other things. But at the programming level, with attempts to recompose the city, [it is] a new idea of the modern city, with culture, the economy, the social. So, it is a bit artificial, but it is still a new mode of expression that will remain or not. But it still marks this idea of reinvention of a city.¹⁶⁰

The director refers to how the waterfront landscape is produced, in the sense being artificial, but by calling it the reinvention of the city, he speaks of the production of Euroméditerranée as a creative process, not the repetitive acts that characterised modernist planning. The places produced in central urban areas are multifunctional, presented as continuities of the city centre or the inner city. These continuities point to the new neighbourhoods produced as being authentic, whereas the industrial port is in redevelopment policies represented as an anomaly in the urban landscape (as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5).

The question of authenticity in urban redevelopment

Authenticity is a problematic concept, though it has gained new relevance in question of the relationship between place and globalisation. The concept was central to the understanding of place in humanistic geography, and deals with questions of essentialism and existence in the deeper and universal meanings place have to people (Crang, 1998; Cresswell, 2004). The notion of authenticity used by Edward Relph built on Martin Heidegger's notion of dwelling, referring to a genuine and truthful approach to existence. It means to experience the essence and spirit of the place one knows and have (Crang, 1998; Cresswell, 2004). The deeper meaning, the essence, of place thus stands as constant, referring to something unique. Place, in this understanding, is a necessary, stable and safe component of existence, part of what makes life meaningful and predictable, much like the notions of home and community.

Today, authenticity and place have been discussed as having new meanings in a global

¹⁵⁹ Interview 13 September, 2007.

¹⁶⁰ Interview 14 February, 2008.

world. Sharon Zukin (2010) has brought back the concept of authenticity in questioning what is retained of the soul of New York. Here, concerns are connected to Relph's notion of placelessness, or no sense of place, in what to him represented the inauthentic attitude to place: "An inauthentic attitude towards places is transmitted through a number of processes, or perhaps more accurately "media" which directly or indirectly encourage "placelessness" that is, a weakening of the identity of places to the point where they not only look alike and feel alike and offer the same bland possibilities for experience (Relph in Cresswell, 2004:44).

Since Fjordbyen is not developed with the inclusion of original neighbourhoods as is the case in Euroméditerranée, the question of authenticity regards historical representation. It has been discussed in the case of the move of cultural institutions from their original locations as well as brought into the debate about the relocation of the Viking ships to Bjørvika. In Marseille, authenticity is a question closer to everyday life and place as situating practices. Euroméditerranée includes original neighbourhoods and places which turn the question of heritage closer to everyday life and its cultural practices, compared to what was the case in Fjordbyen's industrial landscape. Original neighbourhoods and places conditioned the planning of Euroméditerranée, which is an important difference to Oslo.

To the architect whose bureau designed the building of the Archives and library of the district department (ABD) in Arenc in Marseille, the inclusion of the church *l'église Saint-Martin d'Arenc* (1913), which was aimed to be demolished in the plans for the ABD surroundings, was an important part of the concern with the memory of the neighbourhood:

Our role as architect, at least part of it, is also the one of the urban planner, it is how we consider the environment, the neighbourhood, what may we bring in, in order to restore things, accompany, how to put it, conclude space, where it has a real vocation, a true memory, because the neighbourhood disappears and is demolished. All that is history of the neighbourhood, and the inhabitants of this neighbourhood see all the history of the neighbourhood disappear. And this church, for them, is still a testimony of their history, all those who married there, baptised, and they stay absolute close to this testimony. So it is also a way to reawaken it, and to stage its just value.¹⁶¹

The church has value to the original population, who experiences greater socio-material transformations of their neighbourhood. Preserving this kind of place is thus an act of respect for the continuity of everyday life in the city, and the right to stay put. Although some see the need for a city to constantly change so that it remains vibrant, others desire to hold on to select heritage that helps root them to specific locales in a rapidly globalising world (T. C. Chang & Huang, 2005:279). The church was a sign of such roots, but also of persistence and continuity.

¹⁶¹ Interview 6 February, 2008.

Its conservation was valuable to people who aimed to stay in their neighbourhood. The church served a symbolic function of place, and by preserving it, meaning and value of the place known to inhabitants could be sustained. The church was originally planned demolished, even when Vezzoni included it in the plans for the ABD land lot. This decision was reversed, and the current plans is that the regional authorities (the City of Marseille, the regional council and the District Department Council) will buy it from the central state and create a place of multicultural exchange and dialogue on the model of a monastery in Paris.¹⁶²

This illustration of how the preservation of cultural heritage can play a central role in retaining meaning for inhabitants, by also aligning new uses to the vision of Euroméditerranée, is aimed at questioning the concept of authenticity. Change is part of a city's dynamics, and there can hardly be any essence of what the city is. Cities must be seen as social constructions where their socio-spatial form changes with time. The question is rather how cultural objects, edifices and practices enduring over time, creating places and belonging in the city, can be retained and be given value, as a means to assure that people can stay put in the city. It also concerns who, or which groups of agents, have the powers at any given time in deciding about what will remain and what will be replaced. To the question of the right to stay put, authenticity in my view is on this basis not the right answer.

The role of public space

Public space can be discussed in connection to place because it has meaning and value to the urban society as well as practical and political importance to the universal accessibility in the city. It is a core factor to the right to the city. Public space is by definition accessible to all: to participate, witness, encountering people who are different by identifying with different groups, have different opinions or lifestyles (Young, 2011:240). As Inger Marie Lid (2012:244) expresses it, "Public space has the potential to connect different kinds of people in open fellowships, these places can contribute to the creation of solidarity between different people (...). If the planned environments signalise inclusion, it will strengthen the individual's courage to be part of the city's open fellowship". In Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée, public space is of central value in the planning process as a means to create universal access. The following discussion concerns the role of public space and how they express inclusion.

¹⁶² <http://www.euromediterranee.fr/index.php?operation=112>, retrieved 4 April, 2015.

Commons in Fjordbyen

In Fjordbyen, public space serves the role as places breaking down social distinctions. Oslo's planning agency has assured connections both between the sub-areas and the city centre as well as along the waterfront through the development of a harbour promenade. These spaces may assure universal access, at least on nice, warm days, as illustrated below.



Illustration 31. Public space at Tjuvholmen.

Public space is in principle accessible to everyone. This point is illustrated by the City Council,¹⁶³ who in 2001 stressed public space as the one field of responsibility to which the city government had power to govern in Bjørvika:

The establishment of public spaces is a very important part of the development in Bjørvika. It is important to emphasise that public spaces are in the end the only thing over which the City of Oslo has full control. It is thereby very important that the city government takes this work seriously.

The political authorities have renounced mechanisms with which development in Fjordbyen can be regulated, specifically in terms of enhancing social diversity. Public space is one area where the municipality has aimed to assure a high level of universality. Forty percent of the land use in Bjørvika is reserved for public space. In this sub-area, the five public spaces are defined as commons. The term “common” stresses the traditions for the “allmenning” in Scandinavia, which is an important part of the regulation of the uses of nature. These commons are protected

¹⁶³ City council meeting 21 November, 2001, case 317.

in the mountains, yet more politically neglected in terms of the protection of a universally accessible coastline. The commons are designed to create relations between Bjørvika and the surrounding urban landscape. But as illustrated by the public space of Stasjonsallmenningen below, they appear to be spaces for passage more than spaces of rest and assemblage.



Illustration 32. The Common Stasjonsallmenningen.

Urban design is the technical term for the production of urban landscapes with a professional, creativity component, provided by architects, landscape architects, designers, and artists. Design of spaces within the city is regularly focused on architecture and the visual aspects of the design (Julier, 2005). As elsewhere, the design used in waterfront development includes distinctive use of architecture, landscape architecture, public art, street furniture, and elements of décor and facades by which public spaces are framed as expressive material and symbolic places. Urban design can therefore be used as a tool of structural, spatial reorientation (Madanipour, 2006:191). The commons in Bjørvika bring Norwegian connotations to public space, but Bjørvika is carefully designed by the consultancy Gehl Architects. The qualities of the design should cater to well-being and the human scale, but entail visual dimensions that support image-generation. Urban design regularly results in homogenisation of urban spaces (Carmona, 2010), as similar design measures are employed everywhere.

Public spaces in Bjørvika are developed without concerns about the social diversity these spaces could accommodate. The use of private consultants and entrepreneurs in strategic planning and the call for external expertise contribute to these tendencies (Jørgensen, 2003:102).

The design supports the call for city life framed in ordered spaces, whereby concerns with social equity are subordinated.



Illustration 33. Public art in Bjørvika (Barcode/Opera Quarter).

The commons are mainly of small size, and the dense construction of Bjørvika and Kongsbakken to the east made the Directorate for Cultural Heritage in Norway blow life into the public debate about Bjørvika. The topics discussed and the objections made by the directorate were connected to its domains of responsibility, yet exceeding them by a criticism of the market-led approach and the ambiguous role of public spaces therein. When the Vice Governor of Urban Development warned in a public debate that “undesired elements” could appropriate the Medieval Park if the Sørenga with surroundings were not used, an argument for the densification of these new areas, the director of the Directorate for Cultural Heritage pointed to the political dimensions of the development of public space and the discourses used:

We work in an important battle to revise something important, to make it better. The majority of the city council hopes they will impact the city government concerning the solution for Kongsbakken. And so [the city government] makes a horror image that this opening of Kongsbakken is the forecourt to death, with squalls throwing children to the ground, with prostitutes and drug addicts coming running from everywhere. (...). That is your dream image. It is up to you and the Standing Committee on Urban Development to fill this exciting space with

life. With sport fields, park, bath... cafes and restaurants. That is urban development. I am not an urban developer. You are.¹⁶⁴

Like the critique launched above indicates, public spaces are sometimes sought to be replaced by landscape, “to substitute the visual for (the often uncomfortable and troublesome) heterogeneous interactions of urban life” (D. Mitchell, 2003b:190). Don Mitchell (p.186) contrasts the meaning of landscape with the meaning of public space:

[L]andscape implies a particular way of seeing the world, one in which order and control over surroundings takes precedence over the messy realities of everyday life. A landscape is a “scene” in which the propertied classes express “possession” of the land and their control over the social relations within it. A landscape in this sense is a place of comfort and relaxation perhaps of leisurely consumption, unsullied by images of work, poverty, or social strife.

Social deviance and personal struggles are not desired in the landscapes produced at Oslo’s waterfront, as the ways in which public space fit with the image of attractiveness are highly selective. Richard Florida (2004) assembles quality of life and city life as defined above as the city’s “quality of place”, also referred to as a need for “a people’s climate”. This climate implies a safe place for the creative class, thus security, civility and crime prevention have become important political targets (Beckett & Godoy, 2010). These concerns have occasionally led to suppression of homelessness, drug-abuse, begging, prostitution, and graffiti, among others, from the visual appearance in cities’ public spaces (Vitale, 2008). There seem to be similar concerns preoccupying the call for the creation of a middle class city life in the public spaces of Bjørvika.

An illustration of a successful production of public space is the roof of the Opera House. Cultural institutions are important markers of the urban landscape. The art director of Nordic Black Theatre emphasises the roof as a supplement to Oslo’s public spaces:

You must have some sort of ownership to the city. Access, that is what we all need (...). What I like about the Opera is the roof. I’m impressed, because, to see this type of universality, the global meeting made possible on the roof (...). People who never go to the opera can walk on its roof, with children and hijab. That is fantastic. Everyone should have access to that place. And who owns it? We do. It makes me very happy to think about it. [All things that people do there (skiing, biking, spending the night there...)], We have the opportunity to do that here.¹⁶⁵

The quote illustrates the need for opportunities to appropriate places in the city. Ideals of public

¹⁶⁴ Discourse of the director of the Directorate for Cultural Heritage in Norway at a public debate on Bjørvika, City of culture or urban desert? (Kulturby eller urban ørken?) organised by Dagbladet and Norsk form, 6 April, 2011. A video was temporarily published by Dagbladet, from which the quote is obtained.

¹⁶⁵ Interview 9 June, 2009.

space frame our struggles and their aims (D. Mitchell, 2003b:233). This implies that we have possibilities to work on ideals of public spaces that can make them real spaces of justice. Public space is thereby where the right to the city is struggled over, enhanced and represented. Mitchell stresses that the themes of privatisation and alienation and the right to the city are united in the concept of public space (pp.232-34). Public space, in his words, is in some senses utopian, because the ideal of an unmediated space cannot be met, “nor can the ideal of a fully controlled space on which the public basks in the splendour of spectacle but is never at any sort of risk”. Public space gives spatial form but also a lie to utopia. Utopia is the impossible, but the struggle to reach it is not (p.235).

The production of place in Bjørvika is aligned the call for animation in Fjordbyen as in the city centre in general. According to one developer, the attractiveness of Bjørvika is to be found within the cultural field. Whereas the Munch Museum is intended to give Bjørvika status, the main Deichmanske library is conceived to be the institution to “generate life, and...streams of people”.¹⁶⁶ The library is the function that is both seen as the animator and the most socially diverse place to be created in Bjørvika. It is the object of large consensus among politicians and public officials, who tend to agree about the mutual benefits for the place of Bjørvika and the library (Evjen, 2012). It is the most visited cultural institution in Oslo, constituted by the main library and fifteen district branches (City of Oslo, 2010a). The vision of the new main Deichmanske library adopts however the discourse on the knowledge city, whereby the library in Bjørvika can play an important role:

Europe’s most creative, visible and accessible library and cultural Common. Children, adolescences and adults will be tempted by a diverse, attractive and surprising universe of sources, activated by cultural and knowledge communication that inspires rich experiences, lifelong learning, desires for reading and free expression (p.8).

Public libraries are non-consumption-led public offers. Yet, they are reused in the scope on the knowledge city, as a place where this narrative is enforced by the provision of an arena of learning. The substantial lever of the public libraries that the new Deichmanske can become is important to the public sphere. However, the political discourse on the Deichmanske library’s role in Bjørvika turns the library into an alibi for social diversity, as do the student residencies. Both can be questioned in terms of their general capacity to fill the role for social diversification at the waterfront. Furthermore, they are both central to the enhancement of knowledge production. As functions targeting social diversity, the library and the student residency are, in a

¹⁶⁶ Interview 24 June, 2009.

critical perspective, more predictable than the acknowledgement of class as a dimension to be considered. The future sustenance of the library branches in the districts, where people live and which mainly constitute the life and mobility sphere of children and youth, will also indicate the substantial strategy involved in the promotion of the new, modern and monumental Deichmanske library building in Bjørvika.

Ambivalent public-private spaces in Euroméditerranée

In Marseille, the J4 is reconverted from the industrial invention of the land of labour to a public space, an esplanade. EPAEM bought J4 from the port authorities and passed the convention to the municipality, which facilitated the events to take place there prior to the construction of the buildings to host MuCEM and Villa Méditerranée. According to EPAEM's director of architecture, the developer wanted the space to enter the uses of Marseille's inhabitants by accommodating temporal activities for "a public appropriation to take place at this site, which has never existed because the port created it".¹⁶⁷ As in Oslo, the temporal landscape is used to create local appropriation, yet whereas the temporal activities in Fjordbyen took place in the industrial landscape, the J4, like the Place de la Joliette, has been temporarily redeveloped.



Illustration 34. The J4 with the rising Villa Méditerranée.

¹⁶⁷ Interview 14 February, 2008.

According to the senior municipal officer in charge of economic and international relations, this temporal landscape should have been made permanent. He rejects the aim of making the area a landscape of consumption and recreation: “Why do they seek to do everything on J4? Why? We have the J4 as it is. People will stroll on the quays, as we see it in Barcelona. Why construct a museum on it? Why construct a zone with shops? We have shops in the city centre”.¹⁶⁸ The director favours open public space at the seaside and resents the commercialisation of the J4 and the construction of spectacular cultural buildings. This argument further targets the relations between Euroméditerranée and the rest of the city centre. Commercial intra-urban competition was a risk, whereas production of a new large public space at the seaside would be a new offer in the city.

There are gaps between visions, aims and actions in Euroméditerranée that are witnessed in the question of public spaces in general and in green spaces in particular, as criticised by local associations¹⁶⁹ and acknowledged by the project’s representatives. The representative of the local authority Marseille Provence Métropole argues that Marseille has always had difficulties in treating its public spaces, and that in a dense urban landscape, it is even more difficult. He acknowledges that the provision of green spaces has failed:

We haven’t succeeded in keeping the promise of green spaces. It is quite simple. The land has a value, but when land has a value, it is more and more difficult to include public amenities there. Because, a higher land value is required. It is an economic process. It’s normal.¹⁷⁰

Municipal officials point to the fact that the project is both about the reconstruction of the economy and about urban redevelopment. The problem of green spaces is related to the lack of unconstructed land in the perimeter and the costs of expropriation. However, EPAEM promotes the attractiveness of Euroméditerranée to business due to spatial reserves. Because of the urgency to make a business district work initially, “real estate creation was a more important requirement than a park, so (...) all efforts were concentrated on construction”.¹⁷¹ To assure the project’s economic dimension, green and public spaces for inhabitants were less prioritised.

Compared to Oslo, which has to a great extent protected green areas, they have an ambiguous status in Marseille. Semi-private parks closed in the evenings are constructed in Euroméditerranée, which is an unlikely event in Oslo. In the housing project M5 illustrated below, a principle for green areas is developed which is allegedly referred to as “public space

¹⁶⁸ Interview 28 February, 2009.

¹⁶⁹ E.g. by the Conseil de Quartier Tourette, Interview with its leader 18 February, 2008.

¹⁷⁰ Interview 13 March, 2008.

¹⁷¹ Interview 20 February, 2008, Interview 13 December, 2007.

with a visual continuity”. This means that “you can see the trees, but you cannot touch them”.¹⁷² Several new housing projects are developed as “gated communities”, where the complexes are closed by fences and gates. They are not socially homogeneous, which characterises a gated community (Pow, 2009), but they do reduce public accessibility and contribute to segregated living. When the creative classes are aimed attracted to an inner city neighbourhood, concerns with safety and security implies that social mix is hindered by mechanisms allowing seclusion (Cf. Beckett & Godoy, 2010).



Illustration 35. The housing project M5.

On a general level, there is the concern that European cities are privatised, with a decreasing number of public spaces where people of different backgrounds meet on neutral grounds (Kohn, 2004). One public space in Euroméditerranée which has been characterised by social mix in use is the Place de la Joliette. The square was temporarily developed in the early 2000s, awaiting termination of infrastructural projects. The local population and the professionals working in the new business district use the square’s cafes and lunch places, whereas once a week, there is an affordable market that targets the original population (see illustration below). The market’s continued existence after the redesign of the Place de la Joliette

¹⁷² Interview 19 March, 2008.

is a question which will reveal the aim of accommodating various social groups in this central square of Euroméditerranée as a permanent condition.



Illustration 36. The weekly market at Place de la Joliette.

Social diversity in area-based planning

Waterfront projects are developed to attract various forms of capital to the city, but they are also developed to give public access to the seaside. Public space and historical heritage preservation are, as discussed above, two domains in which wider public concerns are politically decided upon. In what follows, I will discuss the status of social diversity and distinctiveness in the plans and developments of the respective projects.

Fjordbyen and the lack of regulation assisting social diversity

Diversity is a separate goal in the plan of Fjordbyen, with the main formula holding that “Fjordbyen will be an arena for all and will contribute to diversity” (City of Oslo, 2008b:8). In the elaboration of this goal, the focus is mainly on multi-functionality:

Difference and variety in each sub-area will form the basis of the diversity. It demands a wide range of land use, a broad spectre of service offers and varied buildings with different demands for standard and profit. Through the coupling of supplementing functions, synergies are released to users and business (*Ibid.*).

The fact that the project does not include original neighbourhoods seems to impact the debate

and the idea about social diversity, which by the representative of the promotional agency of the Oslo region is sustained by the tourism defining these kinds of waterfront areas: “Aker Brygge is used by the entire country, a kind of attraction for the entire country, a tourist attraction. So, (...) there is of course not gentrification [in Fjordbyen], because one constructs new and expensive [buildings] in the first place”.¹⁷³ The quote illustrates an acceptance of the development of exclusive zones of living since they are universally accessed by visitors. There is, however, a class shift when it comes to the appropriation of place, where blue-collar workers worked at the port, whereas white collar workers now have their work places in the new office buildings. In public discourses about Oslo’s transformation, the industrial places of the seaside tend to be judged by its material structures and not by the places of work connected to the port.

Compared to Marseille, there is a high level of consumption power in Oslo that implies that exclusive offers have a large potential market. According to the director of Tjuvholmen Development Company, the exclusiveness of Tjuvholmen might conform to general social characteristics: “It is not for certain that we can say that we achieve a great diversity in terms of housing and offices. It soon turns out to be [an area of] rather rich, good-looking people. But the entire country is full of them anyway”.¹⁷⁴ To the private developer, the exclusiveness is a natural trait of the area. The vague directions for affordable housing decided on by Oslo’s city council imply that the developers are not committed to contributing to social diversity. As the director stresses, the city council’s decisions do not assure social diversity, which is anyway not the task of the development company:

In the development plans it is stated that 1/3 of the apartments we construct should be for rent. So we... own a third of the dwellings which we will rent out for a minimum of ten years. And the idea was that one should achieve a larger demographic diversity. I think it is partly right, because we will have more... some younger people living in the rented apartments compared to the ones that are sold. Meanwhile, we see that, those are younger people, often in good jobs, and perhaps many with subsidised rent as part of their salary. So you get a certain increase in the diversity of the residents, but not very much so, because I believe (...) that the politicians desired a large social diversity. It doesn’t happen. Not with the prices which we construct by... then someone has to come in and subsidise. What happens is a certain diversity of age groups.¹⁷⁵

The developer points to the decision of the city council as a weak imperative to offer apartments which could contribute to social diversity, given the nature of a private company. Social differentiation is mainly made through the division of ownership and rent, explained by the deregulation of the housing market. The Norwegian housing market was deregulated between

¹⁷³ Interview 14 October, 2009.

¹⁷⁴ Interview 12 October, 2009.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

1981 and 1988, implying that judicial mechanisms are not contributing to the regulation of redevelopment projects. Housing has become a means-tested welfare state service that in post-war Keynesian policies was a scope within the universal goals of the state.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, the majority of development plans in Norway are prepared by private companies, merely to be approved in line with the Planning and Building Act. In the perspective on the right to the city, judicial decisions tend to evolve in line with practices of political power (Harvey & Potter, 2009:40-41). Norwegian housing policies are based on established priority of homeownership, hence, most citizens benefit from the marketisation of housing. With Oslo's price level topping world ratings and a deregulated housing market, a socially affordable offer of housing is utopian.

In Norway, a central trait of neoliberal policies is the appointment of companies to assure efficiency and economic savings and profits. Whereas the port authorities sold Tjuvholmen to a private development company to assure funding of the new port in south-eastern Oslo, Bjørvika is mainly developed by publicly owned companies owned by the port authorities and Norwegian railways. On my question of how one of the public development companies in Bjørvika conceives itself as an urban developer, in terms of the social aspects of urban redevelopment, the director answers, "yes...if you mean social differences, or integration of various groups of people and such things?":

... The world is a bit unkind sometimes. It is a fact that it was question of...in terms of our apartments, the construction of a certain share of cheaper apartments for rent was planned. We have offered it to the market, but cheaper, what is cheaper? We have to cover our expenses, and even then it is not so cheap. So far then, there is not much interest. Or in terms of some kind of social profile, we wish to make a city where everyone can move around and come to and... both live and function here...It is just that, one gets nothing for free. The spaces down here are relatively expensive. There is a price for construction of apartments or office buildings. And when you add the price of land and development and all, then you end up with a receipt, and it does not have to be the cheapest one. And it is not because we want large profits. We want normal profits.¹⁷⁷

The development company is established to administer the properties of the Norwegian Railways, and its function is to valorise the assets in the best way. The company is not accountable to the city council or to the national government, hence its role as a public developer does not differ in practice from the acts of a private one: surplus from the company's investments will in principle not be used for other public responsibilities.¹⁷⁸ The discourse

¹⁷⁶ The Norwegian State Housing Bank was established in 1946 to reconstruct the country after the war. It started as a bank for housing provision, but is today assuring housing as a welfare service. <http://www.husbanken.no/om-husbanken/historikk/>, retrieved 16 August, 2014.

¹⁷⁷ Interview 29 October, 2009.

¹⁷⁸ Except in the case of land use in Fjordbyen, whereby cultural institutions have been subsidized as 'gifts' to the city.

revealed in the quote testifies to how questions of social diversity are conceived as naïve. Urban redevelopment tends in Oslo to be naturalised as the property of the market, and gentrification does not stand out as a topic of political significance. By some municipal officers and politicians, it is positively considered as increasing social diversity in former working class districts, contributing to balancing the inequalities between the Western and Eastern districts (Sæter & Ekne Ruud, 2005). Few discussions about urban redevelopment include the need to facilitate social diversity in the Western districts. This, and questions about social diversity in Fjordbyen, are received as naïve by stakeholders. The discourse of the director of Oslo Teknopol in charge of promoting Fjordbyen is illustrative of this view:

I couldn't really acknowledge the extensive social injustice in the case of Oslo, compared to other cities. The large misery didn't appear, the injustice in Oslo, that is. Compared to the rest of the world, it becomes ignorant, the injustice (...) Well, social diversity is rather vital at Grønland, which is the neighbouring area [to Bjørvika]. Ok, maybe it will be the 50+ generation that moves in [to Bjørvika], but then again there is no more than 4-5000 apartments. And then there is Sørenga, a 90 percent residential area. Here, it will most likely be an elite establishing. To me, it is a matter of taste.¹⁷⁹

Social equality has been an enduring ideal in Norwegian welfare policies. With naturalisation of the unregulated housing market however, it is rarely included in the political agenda when new areas are developed, or when the inner city of Oslo gentrifies. The ideas communicated in the quote above are based on the liberalist advocacy for those with resources, who can choose how to spend their money and how to dispose over them (Jessop, 2002b:108). The opportunity to live on the waterfront is explained as a question of taste, as if the place one lives in Oslo is a matter of choice for everyone. The value of freedom does not benefit those lacking finances in the city.

Some debates have, however, been raised about the accountability and universality of Fjordbyen, such as one raised by the director general of the Directorate for Cultural Heritage at a public meeting in 2011. He pointed to the dense barrier of buildings experienced and the social homogeneity evolving in Bjørvika:

I am sure that it is a good thing to construct densely by traffic junctions and work places (...). But two things are demanding. Where you wanted to construct densely in your high-rise buildings, where there lies a fjord - *that* is demanding for a lot of people. And there lies also one of the most important places in Norwegian history that should be more open. And we do not here talk about the range of new museums to come (...). In Kongsbakken, there will be dwellings for those who can pay 90 000 NOK per m², those who obtain the fillet mignon in the new city. A wall of condominiums comes between the fjord and the medieval park. That is demanding. And what we

¹⁷⁹ Interview 14 October, 2009.

ask for is a [reduction of construction] with 1-2 percent, to obtain something better. And then we can be proud to have a new district.¹⁸⁰

The director general did not manage to inspire any substantial debates about the social composition or the social responsibility in the development of Bjørvika. There have been few debates about the social dimensions. The city government and the development companies have not been forced to defend the choices of exclusiveness in what is regularly called the “fillet mignons” of Oslo’s landscape, as referred to above. The laissez-faire policies can be connected to how discourses on freedom and the rights of the individual facilitate neoliberal policies. A critical interpretation of the idea of justice is as David Harvey and Cuz Potter (2009:40) state, that justice is merely what the elite wants it to be. Because of its attractiveness once industrial activities are removed, the urban waterfront is conformed to market logics.

According to Raine Mäntysalo and Inger-Lise Saglie (2010), neoliberal policies have come to alter the welfare state principles which have previously characterised Scandinavian planning practices. Deregulation of real estate markets implied a shift from universal policies to market-based policies. During the 1980s and 1990s, Norwegian municipal authorities sold land after losses affected by the crises in the housing market from the late 1980s. Dependencies on private investors in development projects have, the authors stress, resulted in municipal planning and policies escaping several principles of participation and inclusion. In reward, private investors are asked to pay greater parts of public infrastructure (p.320).

Functions in Fjordbyen can be divided into offers of business infrastructure and social infrastructure, commerce, recreational and culture. As discussed, business infrastructure, recreational and commercial offers are highly selected to suit the upper and upper middle social classes, and do not provide places apt for social diversity. Social infrastructure such as schools may come to provide more varied access, not because of the likely social composition in the classrooms, but depending upon how the schools choose to dispose their locales. Price regulation or adaptation of locales for various sorts of business and commerce would be the only ways in which the above mentioned offers would target various social groups. Compared to Marseille, public outdoor space is not pleasant to use all year through. Indoor spaces used by various social groups are also required. For Bjørvika’s developers, material diversity tends to be seen as a sufficient trait assuring an inclusive and lively district (Apall-Olsen, 2012).

¹⁸⁰ Discourse of the director of the Directorate for Cultural Heritage in Norway at a public debate on Bjørvika, City of culture or urban desert? (Kulturby eller urban ørken?) organised by Dagbladet and Norsk form, 6 April, 2011. A video was temporarily published by Dagbladet, from which the quote is obtained.

Euroméditerranée and regulations accommodating social diversity

In Marseille, increase in real estate prices (among the nation's highest in 2008) was conceived as an indication of success. It is connected to the priority to the exchange value of land, contributing to speculation and increased housing costs (C.Butler 2012:144). However, existence and construction of social housing contributes to the right to stay put and to assure a certain level of social mix in new areas such as in Euroméditerranée.

In the perimeter of Euroméditerranée, one aim has been to relocate inhabitants within the neighbourhood during rehabilitation. Not all inhabitants wish to do so, whereas other households were too large, with no appropriate housing available in the area.¹⁸¹ In France, the planning system promotes an aim to offer 30 percent social housing in new constructions, in addition to the construction of retirement homes and student residences.¹⁸² Though merely a few housing projects were realised at the time of fieldwork, the housing project M5 at Joliette had reached a stage where the composition of inhabitants was estimated (in 2006). EPAEM judged the high level of local and regional homeowners as witnessing local appropriation,¹⁸³ and that it according to one of its directors illustrates that:

it is not just an operation of marketing, one might say, that will mainly attract national, Parisian, Mediterranean or international investors. And the fact that it is 55 percent owners is also important, it is not just the operations of investors, and that there are people who believe in the operation who come and live there.¹⁸⁴

Though Euroméditerranée is aimed at attracting external interests, investors, professionals and inhabitants, the local embeddedness of the project is conceived of as important to its success, as the area has been marked by cycles of decline before.

The reconversion of the seaside is intended to produce places conformed to the policies of attractiveness in turn connected to the waterfront model, according to EPAEM's marketer:

The international maritime fact, in the international part you have the cultural part, that one must not neglect. The more one knows tourists, the more one knows the international level, there is the economic part, a city that has attracted employment, that creates employment, that attracts companies, from all over the world, that there are renown architects who know the business world, that participate in the international orientation of a city. And finally, of course, it is the dimension, where does one want to live or where it is nice to live. It is the image, - it is a work of the terrain, to me, it is very technocratic.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Interview 14 October, 2008.

¹⁸² In 2004 the social rented sector constituted 17% of the French housing stock. France has a large private rented sector (ca.20%). With 69 units of social rented housing per 1000 inhabitants (Levy-Vroelant & Tutin, 2007:70).

¹⁸³ About 2/3 of the homeowners were Marseillais. In the 30 social housing units, 80 percent were Marseillais.

¹⁸⁴ Interview 14 February, 2008.

¹⁸⁵ Interview 1 December, 2007.

The production of place in a mix assuring attractiveness to the drivers of the knowledge society is according to the consultant a professional competence that the agency holds. The quote testifies to the circulation of the waterfront model and how it includes particular tools to cater to trends in the global economy. It further includes analysis of the market segments one wants to attract, rather than studying ways in which a place of diversity can be created, a more demanding task than producing place for a specific market segment.

The rationale for the production of place, also illustrated by EPAEM's director of architecture, who stresses the role of aesthetics and place qualities also for companies:

[O]ne of the keys is to make the assertion that a company doesn't install because of cheap prices, or a good image. It installs first and foremost because there is a nice environment to live in, in proximity, in good conditions. To live in good conditions is to have a social environment, economically, culturally, nicely urban, attractive. Because the company's image will also be related to the image of the urban environment. And all that is immaterial, yet appreciated by the company. And I think that the cultural dimension belongs to all that.¹⁸⁶

The core rationale of Euroméditerranée, to contribute to economic development, resulted in extensive construction of office buildings to host advanced industries. The accommodation of the employees of the companies located at la Joliette was in the next steps secured by the rehabilitation of 19th century residential buildings and construction of gated communities. As a place, la Joliette is further partially produced as a transnational social space, which could be anywhere in the world, as the photo below illustrates.



Illustration 37. A transnational social space.

¹⁸⁶ Interview 14 February, 2008.

The production of place through the notion of quality of place

The concept of quality of place has gained force through the insistence on the competitive advantages places such as the inner city can offer, as advocated by Michael Porter (1995). It does not mainly refer to spectacular spaces attracting visitors and promoting festivity, but to aesthetic and social characteristics supposed to increase the attractiveness of place to knowledge workers. The reason for its strength in competitive policies is its connotation to the creative class and its search for experience, being of an authentic, active and participative kind, brought together in the consumption of place as a visually, culturally and socially attractive experience (Florida, 2004:ch. 10). Dimensions emphasised in quality of place are the combination of the built and natural environment, a diversity of people and the vibrancy of street life. Florida promotes successful places as those which provide a wide range of experiences and environments to different kinds of people. Quality of place is thus used instead of quality of life, and refers to what makes a place attractive instead of a general condition of human wellbeing. It follows that quality of life is inherent in the concept of quality of place, yet as it is connected to competitiveness and attractiveness, it attains a restricted social content (McCann, 2008). Whereas quality of life addresses the life of individuals, quality of place is socially targeted by the aim to attract creative people desired in the knowledge society.

Among the public developers in both Oslo and Marseille, there is a conscience about the ways in which place can be produced. In the case of Bjørvika, the director of a development company reveals how they had produced a place with the elements attracting the social groups targeted. The director seems to be influenced by the theory of the creative city (See Florida, 2004), the way he claims that the company has predicted the composition of buyers:

Firstly, well, we have sold very well... It is very interesting, because we have done a pilot study... and it is what we thought. It has been rather correct... The first is a group with, what should we say, middle-aged, closer to old people, with a relatively good economy... who may have a cottage or two. Maybe they possess a place abroad, even. Who will live a bit urban and easily. Take the lift right up. Park in the basement. Take the train in. Train to the airport. Being able to move around the city. Not even necessary to own a car. And it has been correct. And then we have made estimations about younger people, who are... maybe couples, who have... partly higher education, good income. Relatively good income. And who wish for urban living. Who don't need a car, either. It has been correct. And the homosexuals, who are urban people, found of design, found of culture and those kinds of things. It has also been correct. So we are... we really are right on the track here. And we think it is really amusing, that mixture we have got [here]. We don't exactly go around and tell it, well, I can tell it to you, (...) but it has been perfectly matched, then.¹⁸⁷

The Opera Quarter, a more poetic and promotional name than Barcode, which is its lean name, is

¹⁸⁷ Interview 29 October, 2009.

as the director reveals produced to combine modern, exclusive housing (ca. 3000 inhabitants) and offices (ca. 10 000 employees) to a composition of groups with high socio-economic and professional status. Homosexual inhabitants are rated in a gay index and might therefore have been included by the developer, as this index in Florida's (2005:40-41) research is correlated with high-tech industry concentration. The current preoccupation with "talent" informs city stakeholders in facilitating the knowledge society, and tends to be rather accurately conformed to the findings of Florida (p.151) about the preferences of researchers and highly educated people:

Focus groups conducted with creative workers indicated that these talented people have many career options and that they can choose where they want to live and work. Generally speaking, they want to work in progressive environments, frequent upscale shops and cafes, enjoy museums and fine arts and outdoor activities, send their children to superior schools, and run into people, at all these places, from other research labs and cutting-edge companies in their neighbourhood.

If all people had the choice, there is the chance that they would have many of these preferences as part of what qualities they would value in places. Except in the school sector, where private schools are highly restricted in Norway, the place produced in Bjørvika, but also at Tjuvholmen, seems to be based on the commitment to offer a package of experiences and amenities combined with upscaled commercial and recreational offer targeting a segment of the population, the rich talent. In this way, not only is landscape packaged in a careful design (Knox 1993), but place is also produced to accommodate their cultural and consumption preferences for city life.



Illustration 38. The Barcode housing the Opera Quarter.

To the businesses installing, the address of Bjørvika provides a desired image. The office buildings locate large financial and consultancy companies. At the ground floor, there are by 2014 mainly office receptions and sales offices installed, some restaurants, cafes, a sport centre, a gallery and shops are opened, but more are planned.¹⁸⁸ To produce a place attracting the desired set of social groups and companies, commercial and recreational offers are planned in detail to provide the exclusiveness making it a socially distinct place. The streets and squares in the Opera Quarter are however public.

Elements combined to produce a transnational place imply that similar sets of exclusive design and functions are offered to people with shared lifestyle preferences and professional experiences across national borders. Boutiques tend to be the commercial offers preferred by investors, but also by publicly owned companies, targeting the material needs of richer customers, but more importantly, to their needs for social and cultural capital (Zukin *et al.*, 2009:47). The city government further favours social distinction through production of place in Bjørvika, where the image-generating aspect is appreciated. The city government boosts how the Fjordbyen project has “put Oslo on the map” to distinguished visitors: “In (...) the Swiss Magazine, Oslo is mentioned as a “rising star” for feinschmeckers searching culture, architecture, gourmet meals”.¹⁸⁹ Though the Deichmanske library might become an inclusive arena, the combination of cultural and consumption offers accommodated in the design of Bjørvika serves to signal a makeover that speaks to the transnational social classes, and to the distinction these urban spaces offer them.



Illustration 39. The shopping offer desired in the Opera Quarter. Source: Oslo S Utvikling AS

¹⁸⁸ <http://www.operakvarteret.no/handel-kultur/en-ny-sentrumsbydel/>, retrieved 8 February, 2015.

¹⁸⁹ <http://www.byradet.oslo.kommune.no/pressemeldinger/article146760-7786.html>, retrieved 26 Nov, 2010.



Illustration 40. Shop facades in Euroméditerranée before and after renovation.

A similarity between the redevelopment strategies in Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée concerns the artful composition of commercial elements involved in the production of place, illustrated by Bjørvika and Tjuvholmen in Oslo and rue de la République in Marseille. In the latter place, a shift of owners and their withdrawal of profit led to the long-term vacancy of commercial and residential space. The commercial offers established are to a large extent chains and design boutiques that have replaced local shops. This commercial development is continued around the Place de la Joliette, as illustrated above.



Illustration 41. Shop mirroring Tjuvholmen.

Tjuvholmen is a highly intensified area, with 60 percent of the constructed area constituted by (ca. 950) apartments and the remaining as office and commercial space, in

addition to the Astrup Fearnley Museum. It is also highly packaged, as a landscape carefully designed to attract groups with higher socio-economic status (Harvey, 1989a; Knox, 1993). This carless landscape is carefully designed to produce an attractive mix of housing, business, commerce, culture and recreation, packed with urban design, public art and commercials and signs expressing exclusiveness. Service offers consist in 2014 of bars, cafes, gourmet restaurants, galleries, a fish market, a flower shop, two design shops, a dry-cleaner, and a hairdresser. The office spaces are rented and sold mainly to law firms and financial and shipping companies.

Together with exclusive residential estates, a selection of lifestyles and commercial offers is made to “provide all in one place”.¹⁹⁰ The sense of place evoked in the production of Tjuvholmen is based on a concept of the urban neighbourhood with a mix of functions, yet with a broad range of exclusive consumption offers. It aligns the words of Sharon Zukin *et al.* (2009:62), that “new shops, cafés, and restaurants are visible public space; they embody the social and economic transactions, and reproduce the culture, that creates a new sense of place”. The distinctive design of functions is regulated by the development company, in a way that would not happen in the opposite case: to regulate for affordable offers. Exclusive design has also obtained an ecological profile, as the presentation of one of the shops at Tjuvholmen’s webpage reveals, in how the design is aimed to target upmarket clients:

Green Square is a Norwegian fashion brand aimed to be a green brand, creating financial, environmental and societal values. The flagship store at Tjuvholmen has a harmonic atmosphere, where visitors can relax while enjoying clothes, interior design and décor. Green Square aims to express their message about green fashion and organic clothes through their shop. The brand was established to inspire an international audience of consumers who take responsibility in environmental matters, and who have a desire for fashion. Protection and conservation of the environment are important issues for the designers, and they wish to offer the consumers a possibility for luxury which also gives a good conscience.¹⁹¹

Ecological consumption is mainly afforded by the middle and upper classes, a social distinction following from the high prices of these goods in Norway. An ecological lifestyle is, as the quote reveals, connected to the luxury of enjoying shopping with good feelings, which the Tjuvholmen development company further aims to assure by the mix of upmarket detail shops and recreational spaces. Though the flagship institution at Tjuvholmen is the Astrup Fearnley Museum, this shop promotes its role as the ethical flagship of shopping, creating the possibility of distinction, as theorised by Pierre Bourdieu (1979). The developer also promotes Tjuvholmen as an art gallery district, another way of producing the place with distinction.

¹⁹⁰ <http://tjuvholmen.no/?did=9098617>, retrieved 15 July, 2014.

¹⁹¹ <http://www.tjuvholmen.no/?did=9082837&aid=9082837> retrieved 28 June, 2010.

A broader variety in both price and assortment in shops, cafes, restaurants etc. could be provided by, for instance, rent subsidies, an offer of small locales, or inviting commercial agents operating in different price groups. These measures could differentiate and diversify the commercial offer. However, this option is utopian as the market is the mechanism that should regulate prices, whereas other incentives are not viable. Meanwhile, a specific kind of regulation is still happening because the development companies of both Tjuvholmen and Bjørvika aim to select the commercial agents to be located in the area to configure and design a package of offers targeting richer social segments (See also Nordahl, *et al.*, 2011)

In terms of shops, the director of HAV development company in Bjørvika discusses how they can assure that Bjørvika will not be consist of cheap shops, and that they have not started their plans, but that they are aware that, “you don’t make money in the beginning. But you invite interested niche shops or...art gallery, those kinds of things. In the beginning they can have free or cheap rent, so that the area can be set off”.¹⁹² Neoliberal policies operate in this way, whereby spaces can be regulated and economically upscaled, but forms of regulations that are not growth-oriented are rejected.

An illustration of how public authorities are not conceived to be active partners in the development process is the concrete proposition made by Oslo’s Agency for Planning and Building Services, which proposed to materialise the aims at innovation and new city functions by developing a knowledge park in the sub-area Filipstad. The proposition to develop a function of the knowledge-based economy has not been politically potent, and the development companies conceive their role as facilitators and not as initiators. This view is represented by the board leader of the Port authorities, who discredit the proposition for being utopian:

It is silly to wish it, one can wish everything. It will not come through without being properly realistic, something the Agency for Planning and Building Services is not. Where are the agents, the money, the investments? (...). If not, it is completely uninteresting. If they were really interested they should have assured that [the oil company] Statoil/Hydro located their headquarters in Filipstad (...), now Statoil/Hydro will absolutely not locate at Filipstad, the way the Agency for Planning and Building Services has worked. It is wishful thinking.

The municipal agency has no means or mandate to elaborate such functions, and as indicated by the informant, the marketplace is to handle such initiatives, not the public authorities.

¹⁹² Interview 24 June, 2009.

The production of place in Oslo and Marseille

Oslo and Marseille are highly different cities, and as a totality, they stand out as unique and distinguished with their separate and autonomous “souls”. But the cities do not possess any authentic core which characterise them. Instead, they are layered by historical and cultural forms and practices which make them unique. They are temporal-spatial works and products. At the scale of the waterfront projects, distinct aspects of the respective cities are still observable, given the preservation of cultural heritage and the natural landscape. Yet, aesthetic cohesion based on the target of the knowledge society at the level of the inner city, combined with the market-oriented production of place at the project level, counteract the cultural and natural conditions for the distinctive city. Places in Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée are produced in the image of the knowledge society’s cultural dimensions, with the production of a place of diversified yet designed consumption and cultural offer and a comfortable environment for living and working meeting transnational lifestyle preferences. These targeted policies are explicit in both Oslo and Marseille. However, whereas a social mix is assured by the existence of social housing and inhabitants who hitherto stay put in the redeveloped neighbourhood, the social mix in Fjordbyen is a utopia given the lack of public subsidies. The clause added by the City Council that Fjordbyen will contain a minimum of ten percent reasonably priced rental apartments does not contribute to a diverse composition of inhabitants since the companies charge market prices and a “reasonable” price is rated accordingly.



Illustration 42. The grimness of the port replaced by the grimness of design. Sørenga.

The production of urban space refers to how spaces are made into products through use, division and tools of labour, for instance through technology and knowledge. Lefebvre (2000) stresses

that nature creates works (*oeuvres*), and that these works are not staged. In social practice, works are created, things produced: “In either case, labour is called for, but in the case of works the part played by labour (...) seems secondary, whereas in the manufacture of products it predominates” (p.71). Creation and work connote uniqueness and that which is irreplaceable, primordial and original, whereas the product can be reproduced exactly, the result of repetitive acts (p.70):

Nature creates and does not produce; it provides resources for a creative and productive activity on the part of social humanity; but it supplies only use value, and every use value- that is to say, any product inasmuch as it is not exchangeable -either returns to nature or serves as a natural good.

The distinction between creation and production made here is interesting in how the relations between economic and cultural rationales, intersections and purposes are articulated in the production of inner city spaces. Public space offers in principle the opportunity to release its appropriation from activities based on exchange value. Its use-value is however connected to the framing of these public spaces, which in the case of the commons in Bjørvika raises question of their design, and of their inclusion in the production of place offering exclusiveness to people who can afford the social distinction that the address offers.

In Marseille, the ambivalence of public space, at least when it comes to necessary green spaces, tends to imply visual value instead of physical value. What needs to be considered is thus the relationship between oeuvre and production: “oeuvres are in a way inherent in products, while products do not press all creativity into the service of repetition” (Lefebvre, 1991:77; 2000:77). Diverse capabilities to appropriate space independent of social status is a perspective on how universal access to the city can be connected to the creation of the city as work and to places as diverse and meaningful across social boundaries, as natural public spaces.

In Oslo and Marseille, the policies of attractiveness reduce the chance for the creation of public space as universal. The basis is the mobility of knowledge workers, which has resulted in targeted strategies to attract them. Not only is the offer of interesting jobs a concern, but also the environment in which the knowledge worker plays out his or her personal life. His/her lifestyle becomes important; networking, consumption and recreational preferences. Leisure activities attain significance to attractiveness of places and cities. These strategies imply a mutual enforcement of values connected to the knowledge-based economy, which in the concept of the knowledge society involves new urbanities and ways of conceptualising cities and citizens. In the next chapter, I investigate the socio-spatial underpinnings of the cultural strategies carried out in the respective cities, discussing how they relate to the creative city, as model and reality.

9. CULTURAL STRATEGIES IN THE CREATIVE CITY

As I have discussed throughout the thesis, culture has become a central means through which urban redevelopment becomes something more than property development. Cultural strategies may contribute to assure city life, distinctiveness and image to the projects and to the cities. Hitherto, I have discussed how culture-led urban redevelopment includes strategies in which landscapes and places are produced, and how cultural institutions are reoriented and designed to assure attractiveness in a competitive rationale. The city of culture is an image and discourse by which cities are upscaled as a means to gain an international position. “The creative city” serves similar competitive purposes. However, it is a concept to be explored in terms of how it can conceptualise fundamental traits of cities, decoupled from strategies of economic growth and based on the cultures of cities and on the creative capacities of a range of actors and institutions.

On this basis, I will in this chapter discuss the cultural strategies used in Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée in terms of how culture is conceived, which kinds of cultural offers are developed, and how cultural production is included in the plans for the waterfront projects. I discuss the role of the cultural domain in creating distinctiveness and diversity, and the kind of attractiveness sought through the inclusion of the cultural domain. Thus, the main focus is on culture-led urban redevelopment strategies (research question ii), yet seen in relation to how they are governed and negotiated (research question iii).

Graeme Evans (2005:960) argues that culture-led urban redevelopment tends to depend on “constructed visions which appear not to look beyond the short-term physical impacts and landscapes they create”, in what I have referred to as the structural coherence of the attractiveness sought in competitive policies. Whereas the place of citizens in urban redevelopment is mainly discussed in Chapter 10, I will start dwelling upon a broader conception of creativity allows me to address the city’s cultures and the various meanings and practices by which cities are fundamentally diverse and creative.

Creative cities

As a political ideal, the creative city has mainly been modelled on the grounds that a diversity of cultural, artistic, technological and economic capacities are central to a city's rank in inter-urban competition (Florida, 2007:xv). Richard Florida's (2004:249) main argument throughout his work on the creative city - creative class theory is that cities can be more competitive by the use of creative capacities and the stimulation of talent, tolerance, technology and diversity.

According to Florida (2002), the intellectual, symbolic and productive capacities of the creative class are essential to a city's growth in the knowledge-based economy. This class includes artists, who contribute in an instrumental vein to the animation of the city and its image, and who contribute with creative input in other economic sectors.¹⁹³ Culture-led urban redevelopment policies in a competitive framework adhere to a goal of structural coherence, tending to exclude material and social elements that do not fit into the cohesive frame. An alternative scope on the creative city is therefore necessary in the discussion of social equity and diversity in the city.

Creativity can be defined as "the capacity to think up original solutions to day-to-day problems and challenges. The creative mind sees what others see but thinks and does something different" (Koestler in Hospers, 2003:149). Innovation occurs when thoughts are linked together in new ways, as held by Joseph Schumpeter (2008). Jürgen Friedrichs (1995:442) holds that creativity is a form of deviance, and that it is not cities themselves that are creative. Individuals and some groups in the city (i.e. artists) are, meaning that the city is the context for individuals or groups spurring creative actions. The central feature of the urban context is that it contains a network of artists, cultural infrastructure, administration, sponsors and the general public. This means that Friedrichs distinguishes between two types of creativity: the creativity of individuals or corporate actors (the entire spectrum of the arts and its promoters) and the opportunity structure offered by a city (policy creativity in the terms of programmes, ideas and measures to promote the image and the economic base of the city).

Based on the study of historical cases, Peter Hall (2000:646) concludes that creative cities and their creative milieus are not at all comfortable places and that they are to a great extent characterised by social and intellectual turbulence. A creative city makes outsiders enter, and ambiguous conditions give them opportunity to be included without losing creative drive. Highly creative cities tend to be those where the out-of-date, established order has been challenged or defeated. This is further suggested by the argument that creativity is characteristic to people on

¹⁹³ Artists also contribute to the city's economy by working in low-paid service jobs in which they still use their skills obtained in the cultural field (Zukin, 1995).

the social margin, people avoiding the establishment, those being on the edge. Hall defines the spatiality of creativity, the creative milieu, as characterised by communication, information, knowledge and creativity (the latter being a synergy, the creation of something new out of the former categories). A creative city or milieu requires a dense city, whereas the creative milieu is quintessentially chaotic (Törnqvist, 2009).

On this theoretical basis, I set out with a brief discussion of relevant cultural policies and domains in Oslo and Marseille before I focus on creativity and diversity in light of illustrative cases of cultural planning and strategies engaged in the waterfront projects.

Oslo - from universal to targeted cultural policies?

Oslo's cultural policies have supported a wide range of activities and institutions. Yet in recent years, though new public offers have been developed, they do tend to be more targeted.¹⁹⁴ As defined in the municipal plan of Oslo, "the goal of Oslo's cultural policies will principally be reached by the yearly economic support that the municipality will give to performers in a wide spectre of cultural initiatives, in which initiatives made accessible to the public are prioritized" (City of Oslo, 2008c:16). The first of the five goals with separate strategies targeting the city's development is that Oslo will stand out as an internationally attractive city and a motor in the metropolitan region. Herein, culture serves an important purpose, as I have discussed. The second goal is to assure that Oslo is a safe city with life quality for its inhabitants. It includes statements about the municipality's intentions in the cultural field which emphasise both the "large amenities" such as the Munch Museum and Deichmanske library, but also to stimulate diversity, artistic creativity and quality as well as engaging in closer collaboration with other state-owned institutions and performers (City of Oslo, 2008c:38). The aims formulated are in this way both inclusive and targeted.

In addition to emphasis on the redevelopment of municipal cultural institutions, the music scene is strategically targeted. The strategy is based on initiatives within the music scene evolving in the 1990s, as illustrated by the representative of the music festival Øya held in central Oslo:

[in the late 1990s], a lot of things happened in Oslo's nightlife scene. We were a new generation entering, doing things in different ways than the traditional... we focused on economic order and such things that this sector was infamous for. A lot of idealism, a lot of arenas, specifically for concerts, were created...¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ A separate study of the cultural policies carried out by the City of Oslo is recommended.

¹⁹⁵ Interview 16 June, 2009.

In the 2000s, the organisation of more than 5000 concerts in Oslo a year inspired the promotional agency Oslo Teknopol to engage the music scene in the cultural cluster strategy of Oslo. The director saw the possibility of the cultural cluster materialised in Fjordbyen:

What we are now looking at [in 2009] is how we can merge all these structures here, those actors who want to make money, but many of them have also aesthetic ambitions, that is clear, how we can melt all this together with the more... I wouldn't say scruffy, but the more popular music scene in Oslo. We will establish the association Oslo - City of Music this autumn. [the festival] Bylarm and others may come together and work systematically to develop Oslo as a city of music. There are 5000 concerts a year, twice as many as in Copenhagen and Stockholm. We see that the music scene is poor but very vital, what really gives quality. And then we have the developers in Fjordbyen, who urge for something to animate this area, and then really to defend their own investments, they should have strategic interest in cooperating tightly with Oslo's music scene.

Even though there are few signs that this cluster is enhanced in Fjordbyen, the music scene has improved its political conditions in line with the acknowledgement of its promotional potential. In this sector, cultural production has also been included, by the establishment of a rehearsing hotel actually run by the City of Oslo and not just subsidised by it. Whereas the cultural institutions are strategically used in the promotion of the image of Oslo as a city of culture, the music scene serves the promotion of Oslo as a city of events (parts of the first goal of the municipal plan). As stated by former Vice Mayor for Cultural Affairs, the redevelopment of the old Aker farms located in several city districts was an important strategy that the municipality engaged to provide arenas for cultural exchange throughout the entire city.¹⁹⁶ From the perspective of the creative city discussed above, the high real estate prices and the few incentives to provide space for creative action, as work in the Lefebvrian sense, seem an obstacle to what in Marseille used to be a vibrant underground of various cultural expressions.

Whereas the City of Oslo has promoted the city of culture as a central vision for the city and Fjordbyen should offer the experience of the new and unexpected (City of Oslo, 2008b:7), the waterfront project has not included many new cultural offers in the city. The new offer developed in Fjordbyen is hitherto Oslo Kunsthall in Bjørvika. Yet two new publicly initiated offers were opened at Vestbanen, the Nobel Peace Centre in 2005, and the Development centre in 2009, the latter was closed in 2013 because the costs exceeded the interest and visiting number.¹⁹⁷ The other institutions located at the waterfront are those obtaining modern and larger

¹⁹⁶ Interview 7 October, 2009 and 26 October, 2009.

¹⁹⁷ The Development centre was an information and activity centre for young people concerning global development and poverty-alleviating policies (established and run by Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation). <http://www.utvikling.no/>, retrieved 2 November, 2014.

buildings: Astrup Fearnley, the Munch Museum and the Stenersen collections, the Deichmanske library, and the National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design.

Marseille - from underground to European capital of culture

The challenge of the cultural field in Marseille is illustrated by a local artist, who stresses that architects, planners, and other who struggle to cope with the lack of organisation in their everyday professional life. Artists, whoever, come exactly for this reason, as it gives space: “We have lots of space therein, so we are thrilled. But at the same time, when you want this city to advance...”.¹⁹⁸ The artist thinks that Marseille’s vibrant cultural scene is connected to the mental space offered: “[M]aybe it is the reason why artists come to Marseille, that mentally, there is space. Not everything is organised, you can enter everywhere, there is no idea about cultural policies”. Thus, the cultural policies are seen as offering both constraints and possibilities for creative activities, yet in the perspective of competitive policies, these characteristics are experienced as obstacles to the upscaling of Marseille as a city of culture. It is emphasised that the underground cultural field in Marseille also exists because public authorities support them.¹⁹⁹ But as I discussed in Chapter 6, the authorities are also concerned that this broadly given political support should be replaced by targeted strategies. In Marseille as in other cities searching adaption to the knowledge society, the transformation from spaces of production and everyday life to spaces of consumption and spectacle are at the fore (Bassett, *et al.*, 2005:141).

As the support and organisation of the cultural domain have been consolidated in municipal policies and in EPAEM’s strategies targeting attractiveness, the artist regrets that the cultural policies in Marseille are highly instrumental:

One has the impression that the municipality wants Marseille to be a city of culture, but only for economical [reasons]. It is not the conscience that art is part of the necessities, of life, like the car, water, electricity. It is considered something apart. A plus. It is holiday, it is shameful. It is not fundamental.²⁰⁰

Rather than an instrument and a part of recreation in the political strategies, art is in the artist’s view a domain necessary for urban society and human existence, at risk in the competitive aims at promoting a city of culture.

Compared to the lack of new cultural offers so far in Fjordbyen, Marseille’s waterfront stands out as inventive by its provision of predominantly new offers. The establishment of

¹⁹⁸ Interview 13 September, 2007.

¹⁹⁹ Interview 16 October, 2008.

²⁰⁰ Interview 13 September, 2007.

cultural institutions mainly constitutes the strategy of the territorial authorities rather than EPAEM. As expressed by a representative of the development agency, it is natural that the territorial authorities want to “stamp the territory” with a symbolic building representing their presence in the development of Euroméditerranée. The agency cannot prevent them from locating buildings in the perimeter, a representative of EPAEM holds.²⁰¹ The new institutions located in Euroméditerranée include the national MuCEM, the regional Villa Méditerranée, the Archives and Library of the Department District Bouches du Rhône, and the concert hall established in the silo by the City of Marseille. In addition to these, a rapid move was made by the Foundation Regards de Provence, which had been established by two local patrons of the arts in the end of the 1990s. The foundation’s collections were relocated from the outskirts of Marseille to the port’s old Sanitation centre, opened during Marseille Provence 2013.

The development agency has also itself initiated and supported the cultural domain, because they contribute to the animation of the neighbourhoods.²⁰² EPAEM started the international literature festival *Ecritures Méditerranéennes*, and has assisted the development of ateliers in the neighbourhood Montolieu. The agency has further supported cultural actors with difficulties in terms of continuous existence in the perimeter. These actions rest on how cultural planning is carried out in Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée, dependent on how culture is conceptualised and activated in the respective cities.

Cultural planning in the waterfront projects

Both waterfront projects have developed cultural plans, which have evolved and changed direction, particularly with events in 2008. This year, the Opera House generated decisions about the relocation of cultural institutions in Oslo and Marseille was selected as European Capital of Culture. In Fjordbyen’s plan, culture and identity are fused in one of the main aims:

New projects will contain a mix of housing/ culture/ recreation and business based on the sub-areas respective role and distinctive potential. High quality in construction, landscape and public space will strengthen Oslo’s attractiveness. Identity is closely related to content. Culture, architecture and “urban recreation” are important goals. Fjordbyen will make the city more active and eventful. Within each sub-area, a cultural programme will be developed (City of Oslo, 2008b:10).

Culture and identity are conceived as conceptions through which places can be produced in

²⁰¹ Interview 14 February, 2008.

²⁰² <http://www.euromediterranee.fr/themes/culture/soutien-au-tissu-artistique-local.html>, retrieved 27 May, 2012.

Fjordbyen, as distinct additions to the city's landscape. The distinction is further related to the aim of attractiveness, where culture is seen as a potential generator.²⁰³ The cultural programme developed for Bjørvika will be discussed as it represents an interesting process between cultural planning and cultural strategies.

In Euroméditerranée, the cultural strategy prior to 2008 emphasised five axes: cultural industries, the valorisation of the architectural heritage, location of large cultural institutions, the intervention of artists in the perimeter, and the evolution of the landscape.²⁰⁴ Thus, whereas the Fjordbyen plan importantly connects culture to urban space and identity in an aim of spatial and cultural consumption, Euroméditerranée is planned with emphasis on cultural and artistic production together with aesthetic and artistic expressions. On this basis, culture is in the case of Euroméditerranée treated more in line with the autonomous characteristics of the cultural and art domains, whereas its generating potential is more stressed in Fjordbyen. Both planning forms are identified within current forms of culture-led redevelopment (Cf. S. Miles & Paddison, 2005).

An inventive cultural programme in Bjørvika

An inventive process of cultural planning was engaged in Bjørvika that was based on the City Council's remarks to the development plan:

Bjørvika as the gate to Norway's capital should stand out as an expression of modern Norwegian urban culture and create pleasure and pride for Oslo's entire population; it should include broad cultural offers; locate public and private cultural institutions in the district, and accommodate temporary artistic production in the construction period (Bjørvika Information centre, 2003:7).

The collaborating actors engaged in Bjørvika elaborated on this basis three non-regulative programmes enclosed to the development plan: a Design Handbook, an Environmental Programme, and a Cultural Programme KOP (*Kulturoppfølgingsprogrammet*). The process resulting in the KOP in Bjørvika illustrates the challenging definition of culture in urban redevelopment carried out by a market-led governance regime.

The national government's property manager Statsbygg and ROM Development were in charge of developing KOP, made in cooperation with two consultancies. Bjørvika development had further engaged a consultant who worked with the cultural field in Bjørvika. Several meetings assembling representatives from the cultural sector and business in 2002 and 2003 also formed its basis.²⁰⁵ The KOP was subject to a public hearing and approved by the city council.

²⁰³ Cultural heritage is included in a separate responsibility area.

²⁰⁴ http://www.euromediterranee.fr/html/index.php?module=Infos_PN_Menu&idm=14, retrieved 18 Sept. 2009.

²⁰⁵ Interview 5 May, 2009.

Statsbygg's project team anticipated challenges in developing cultural offers in Bjørvika: "[n]either the municipality nor us desire that Bjørvika is filled with high culture, expensive design shops or exclusive apartments. The challenge is to ensure sufficient diversity in jobs, dwellings and cultural offers. Bjørvika must become a lively district offering cultural diversity that can meet many needs and preferences".²⁰⁶ Whereas the first two challenges to diversity in the new area have hitherto not been met, as discussed in previous chapters, the potential of the cultural strategies to assure more social diversity in terms of age groups, ethnicity and socio-economic status showed more promise, due to the cultural programming and the abilities and capabilities of the municipality to govern this domain.

The inclusiveness of culture and its challenges

The KOP was developed as a tool to meet the city council's demands and to consider and reflect upon the general, public expectations of the redevelopment project (Bjørvika Information centre, 2003:8). Aspirations to secure an overall vision are reflected in the programme's aim, as it should guide the development and be an inspiration for Bjørvika's developers, investors and users in cultural matters. It was also aimed to be an instrument for marketing Bjørvika, and to provide a conceptual basis for the cultural and economic sectors.

Culture is defined as values and norms, as (a productive) sector and as art (p.6). This broad definition is further enlarged by including the distinctive levels of high, popular and sub-culture. These definitions are connected to the call for a vital city life and a varied cultural offer, as dependent on "diversity in households, age composition, socio-economic groups, ethnicities and culture on the one hand and diversity and density in the cultural infrastructure and meeting places on the other hand" (p.17). Despite the intensions to assure cultural diversity through the programme, the broad definition of culture established in the KOP became an obstacle to its potential force. The KOP failed in providing tangible guidelines, as criticised when the programme was realised (Hovdhaugen *et al.*, 2002).

Following one of the trends in culture-led urban redevelopment, the plan proposes the development of a cultural district, which has generally been suggested as a factor in culture-led urban redevelopment (Cf. McCarthy, 1998, 2006). In Bjørvika it is defined as a "culture-intensive zone" that includes both public spaces and the material environment, and that concentrates cultural infrastructure. These envisioned qualities are connected to the aims of the

²⁰⁶ "Cultural strategy for Bjørvika". Åpent Rom no. 4 2001, http://www.statsbygg.no/aapentrom/arkiv/nr4_2001/artikler/bjorvika.htmhttp://www.statsbygg.no/aapentrom/arkiv/nr4_2001/artikler/bjorvika.htm, retrieved 16 January 2009.

city council to assure a lively city life with a variety of cultural offers. They are however pooled into a strategy to create a positive profile for the district, an image, and as a result, a brand (Bjørvika Information centre, 2003:11). The KOP is in this way oriented to the distinctions that culture can make through the qualities attracting people to this place, though with awareness of how particularistic strategies and lack of connections to the wider urban landscape can be a challenge in culture-led urban redevelopment (p.21).

The Cultural Programme achieved little attention in the following years, though it had assembled various representatives of Oslo's cultural domain in an interesting and creative process. One challenge was the broad definition of culture, and its "soft" programming contrasted "hard" economics, with merely (and only potentially) indirect influence on financial benefits. The developers seemed to be preoccupied with budgets and progression in the construction process.²⁰⁷ It proved difficult to embed the programme, as the developers were busy with their own concrete tasks and goals (Nergaard, 2006). The municipality later addressed Bjørvika Development to breathe life into the cultural strategies, this time requesting an art manual enclosed to the construction plans.

From culture to art strategies

The art manual was published several years after the KOP, in 2009, and was received with more enthusiasm among the developers than the cultural programme, probably because of its concreteness, but also because of the potential distinctions made by the arts compared to the social underpinnings characteristic to culture in the KOP.²⁰⁸ The art manual's project leader is based at Bjørvika Development, with a committee established consisting of two curators and one architect-planner, who suggest tools for practitioners and developers and give advice on the contextual conditions of Bjørvika. It is further aimed to increase interest in art and stimulate reflections on the role of art in urban development (Tverrbakk *et al.*, 2009:8). Art is conceived of as one of several instruments in the development process, where its role is to define space, create identity and construct meaning (p.76). The manual is also based on the conception of the arts as necessity, yet combined with emphasis on its generative potential to the production of space.

The project team was supposed to cooperate with Gehl Architects, the consultancy developing the public spaces in Bjørvika. This consultancy works in an international market of urban redevelopment consultancy. According to the curator at the art manual, the Gehl architects

²⁰⁷ Interview 9 March, 2009, Interview 5 May, 2009.

²⁰⁸ Interview 9 March, 2009.

operating in Bjørvika resented the art manual by finding the perspectives launched too reflective and critical, and too theoretical: “It seemed to miss that kind of Holy Roller...all should be fun, it should have a lightness, but none of us has that attitude”.²⁰⁹ There was consequently no cooperation between the teams, even though Gehl Architects highlight art as an important ingredient in public space in Bjørvika: “In the night, the area change character. The office people have gone home, and the area can potentially appear somewhat deserted. (...). The Stasjonsallmenningen [public space] may in the evening attract visitors with its central location and artistic characteristics. Examples of suitable functions will be bars, cocktail bars, cafes, internet cafes, smaller art galleries etc.” (Gehl Architects, 2005:27). One reason for the disregard of Gehl Architects might be the aim of the art manual to assure that arts were included in urban redevelopment on the premises of the artists, and that artists entered the process at a stage where they can prevent that art is used not as a decor.

Bjørvika’s developers support the art strategy, not the least by financial support of Kunsthall Oslo (together with Art Council Norway and Oslo Municipality). The support of the Kunsthall is conceived of as the important contribution to the art strategy by developers, and it brings a new cultural offer to Oslo and Bjørvika.

The KOP might have been introduced too early in the development process, as there were few economic resources and projects.²¹⁰ To the contrary, the art manual arrived when time was ripe for the developers to invest in such strategies.²¹¹ Another reason for the positive reception of the art manual is likely to be the new associations between art and business, compared to culture, which might be at once vague and more socially oriented (Pratt, 2008). The success of the art manual is, according to the project leader, that “[r]ight now, art swings. Culture is more general (...). Art is more specific, of course, and easier to engage in, compared to a cultural strategy”.²¹² This difference can be explained by how art was easier to frame in the vision of Bjørvika’s development. Sharon Zukin (1995:271) points to diverse cultural strategies to achieve economic development, but that their commonality is that they:

[r]educe the multiple dimensions and conflicts of culture to a coherent visual representation. Thus culture as a “way of life” is incorporated into “cultural products”; i.e., ecological, historical, or architectural materials that can be displayed, interpreted, reproduced, and sold in a putatively universal repertoire of visual consumption”.

In Bjørvika, this dimension of the cultural strategy, to assure a targeted cohesion and avoid

²⁰⁹ Interview 17 June, 2009.

²¹⁰ Interview 9 March, 2009.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² *Ibid.*

deviance, tends to dominate the priorities made in the development process. It means that the arts are more readily supported by the developers because of their potential contribution to visual coherence and consumption. The arts can in this way be more easily used as part of the design of the new district, compared to the social distinctions and diversity in question when culture is more broadly engaged.

Between culture, education and entertainment

As stressed in the former chapter, the place of Tjuvholmen is produced with a predefined set of functions and offers characteristic to transnational social space. Art strategies are central in this production, and the development company promotes Tjuvholmen as an art gallery district. The promotional and visual dimensions of art are emphasised. Several art galleries have settled, and design shops and specialised boutiques produce the conceptual basis of this place. Still, the initial plans for Tjuvholmen included broader cultural offers in the sub-area.

The port authorities subsidised land for a cultural offer at Tjuvholmen before the zone was regulated and sold to the private development company. Tjuvholmen Development Company desired an art centre, engaging the Danish art museum Louisiana to offer its expertise and brand to the art centre. This cooperation was never realised, as the art centre did not fit Louisiana's requirements. Instead, the Astrup Fearnley Museum of Contemporary Art was invited to rent the building, which was to be designed by Renzo Piano. The director of Astrup Fearnley reveals that they were invited to stay there for free, but his opinion is that they might as well have demanded subsidies to come to this place, as a museum adds value to an area.²¹³ The director held that to the museum, the benefits of the new building were more space for exhibitions, the possibility to have more services to the audience, and the sculpture park with the private Selvaag collection, conforming to the new functioning and concerns of museums (Hamnett & Shoval, 2003).

Originally, an experience centre was part of the plans adopted by the city council. This centre was not prioritised, and the change of plans was debated in the City Council in 2011 as a potential breach of the contract agreement. The critique launched by members of opposition parties was that the experience centre was a premise for the city council's choice of the competition project Utsyn, and that "the centre should represent a broader offer than what is the case with an art museum. We consequently do not obtain a variety of cultural offers at Tjuvholmen because the agreements are made outside this room in advance, and we are tied on

²¹³ Interview 27 October, 2009.

hands and feet as to how we can vote today”.²¹⁴ Despite this objection, the majority did not vote in favour of a renegotiation of the contract. The decision to abandon the construction of an experience centre can be due to the pragmatic concerns that a private developer must consider. But it can also testify to the mechanisms of neoliberal policies, in which the surplus value is calculated in regard of the risks of admonition. In the case of Tjuvholmen, expanding cultural offers in line with political guidelines to assure a broader public was not required to tend to the contract. The company is not accountable to the city council, and the contract point is not estimated as important enough for the city council to risk the efficiency of the development.

Another related experience-based offer lacking political or financial support is an aquarium, planned and discussed at different sites at the seaside for decades (Jenssen, 2008). It has been an offer missed by the public (as also expressed in the Bjørvika charrette in 2008). In 2011, when the Munch Museum project was reversed by the political opposition parties, the possibility to develop the aquarium was discussed anew. However, the city government was not in favour of financing it, and the large investments required and the uncertain profitability of such an offer reduced its possibilities. The leader of the board of Oslo Port Authorities considers the aims for an aquarium utopian:

Well, it is nice. It will cost you 5000 NOK each time you visit. You have to make it economically viable. Who will finance it? How does it look? Do you know its size, its costs? There are many things I could wish for myself. But it doesn't make sense. One has to show that it makes sense. Otherwise it is just a castle in the air, waving by.

The viability of a project in terms of concrete material and financial plans is naturally called for, but aims and development of new and locally requested offers such as an aquarium in Fjordbyen are considered utopian because they are not financially profitable. Neither the public nor the private development companies consider it to be their responsibility to develop these kinds of functions. An aquarium would conform to a definition in the junction between education and experience, and would likely attract the local population to a completely new offer in Oslo.

Cultural planning in Euroméditerranée

Culture was not initially a separate domain in EPAEM's priorities, and for years, nobody had specific responsibility for the cultural domain. It was nonetheless inherent in the overarching approach to the development of an attractive district. The cultural strategy of EPAEM was

²¹⁴ Oslo City Council 20 September, 2011. Case 296.

mainly initiated when the Ministry of Culture announced the relocation of MUCEM.²¹⁵ Culture was initially broadly defined to characterise the redevelopment of the urban landscape and to place Euroméditerranée within a wider framework. After the selection of Marseille Provence as European capital of culture 2013, culture was more consistently narrowed down to encompass the fields emphasised in the programme of this event. The lack of collaboration between EPAEM and the cultural institutions have been expressed by all representatives of cultural institutions interviewed. Such collaboration is seen as the task of the institutions by the director of *Système Friche Théâtre*: “I start to renew the relations with Euroméditerranée’s director, but it is also our responsibility, to make them work on culture, right. If we let them stay locked inside with the promoters, they will only deal with the promoters. We have to go and see them. We have to make them move”. This view signals the role cultural institutions can take in influencing the place of culture in the redevelopment process.

Despite a certain emphasis on cultural activities targeting the transnational social classes, there are examples that EPAEM favours existing offers, such as the *Fiesta des Suds*, which is not a spectacular, image-generating event. To the neighbourhood existing prior to Euroméditerranée, the world music festival was central to its image and pride, and is continuously accommodated in the redeveloped area, as the planner-consultant interviewed stresses:

When we look at the history of the district, Euroméditerranée, it is clear that it was a district with a rather degraded urban situation, socially as well. A very high unemployment and poverty level, unliveable housing, and declining economic activities (...). So it was a district with rather...severe difficulties. But, there still was a rather dense web of cultural offers and infrastructure, with theatres... The emblematic offer in Euroméditerranée before Euroméditerranée existed, (...) was the Docks des Suds, where the *Fiesta des Suds* is organised etc. And it is true that it is a rather mythical place, in itself, and additionally, with an image that is rather alter-globalisation. In the end, it’s the place of popular culture par excellence that was there, and that testified to the vitality of this neighbourhood, despite the difficulties, despite the poverty etc. It was still this idea that, one could do culture, one could have a level of activities, a rather high level (...). It gives a certain pride to the neighbourhood, to simply provide a cultural offer that makes people talk about this neighbourhood. And I think that Euroméditerranée (...) has tried to preserve that. And to say, culture is an important element, we cannot make but offices and high standard housing etc., we must also maintain the network of cultural offers, and the associations who make them etc., because it allows social life to continuously be expressed in good conditions.²¹⁶

The continuous location of the festival and the construction of a new building where its founders organise various events and activities, testify to a will to combine different cultural institutions. Despite concerns with attractiveness, the developer includes existing offers such as what the planner-consultant calls an alter-globalisation place, which contrasts the model behind the

²¹⁵ Interview 17 January, 2008.

²¹⁶ Interview 20 February, 2008.

production of a transnational social space. Furthermore, there is a will to retain place-making offers which have given pride to the neighbourhood.



Illustration 43. Docks des Suds.

Temporary spaces for art

Temporal artistic activities can contribute to the use of urban space under redevelopment, as a means to make the area known to the public before it is accomplished. Raymond Gastil (2002:39-41) has referred to this phase as when artists “pioneered the waterfront (...) in the waiting years”. The intervention of artists can thus be instrumental in urban redevelopment, but it can also imply the creative use of space.

In Oslo, the city council demanded that available spaces be used for temporal activities during the development process. The Cultural Programme emphasises that this initiative could be significant because “a strong cultural offer can be a first-mover in the off-set of a positive economic development process, [and] it can contribute to a positive image and the establishment of Bjørvika in the awareness of various users” (Bjørvika Information centre, 2003:13). Culture is seen as a broker to make the area attractive prior to accomplishment, since the image of this place was one of industry and extensive road systems, inaccessible to the population for one and a half century. In 2004 and 2005, temporal activities contributed to artistic creation and creative use of space. These activities were successful in providing a wide range of offers (art exhibitions, installations, concerts and performances), to a large number of visitors and with enthusiastic participation of artists and ensembles.

After 2005, temporary activities declined as warehouses and infrastructures were demolished and the redevelopment process was enhanced. Developers were more sceptical to the events, finding them “silly”, according to one of the central organisers: some of the developers are “extremely what I would call linear, and a bit strict. One doesn’t accept much deviation and difference in the processes”.²¹⁷ Statsbygg’s representative states that through the events, “we managed to turn Bjørvika’s image, from being one of those dull, dodgy places, with traffic... [and then] large note in the (newspaper) Dagbladet, ‘Bjørvika, the new hip and cool, where cool things happen’. So, in terms of PR, it was very successful”.²¹⁸ The intervention of artists thus served the purpose of not only making the place known to people, but also offering largely different experiences in Oslo, which this temporal landscape did. Later projects have been temporal interventions, such as the *Commonlands* curatorial project and *Slow space- a curatorial vision for Bjørvika*. These projects have aimed at opening up and questioning current practices and modes of urban redevelopment. There has been a desire to open up practices, reflections and views upon the development, yet with few indications that the activities can become permanent or that the critique has altered the development.

In Marseille, a few, broader, activities (a funfair and art projects) were carried out at the waterfront site J4 until the opening of MuCEM in 2013. The main temporal activities have, however, been carried out through the one percent cultural command commissioned in redevelopment projects in France. The existing, or old, meaning of the neighbourhoods constituting Euroméditerranée has been the target of artistic approaches. Photographic documentation of the evolution of the urban landscape and the transformations taking place in the perimeter is the 4th cultural axes. Photographers have been invited to document landscapes and memories in the neighbourhoods of Euroméditerranée.²¹⁹ As stressed by Mark J. Smith (2000), in order to understand culture, we have to recognise how its meaning is tied to historically and socially specific situations. And, one should perhaps add, to spatial contexts and processes. The valorisation of the cultural heritage concerns memory, historical traces and people’s identification with the neighbourhoods, in the past as in the present. This cultural aspect of time and space is addressed by artists, whose projects are discussed further below.

²¹⁷ Interview 9 March, 2009.

²¹⁸ Interview 5 May, 2009.

²¹⁹ http://www.euromediterranee.fr/html/index.php?module=Infos_PN_UpDownload&func=arbo_galerie&idm=14, retrieved 24 September, 2009.



Illustration 44. Cathédrale de la Major and the funfair in harmony.

Cultural production in culture-led urban redevelopment

Consumption strategies are central to how cultural strategies are addressed in Fjordbyen and in Euroméditerranée. The importance of the cultural sector to image and distinctiveness and to an animated city life is acknowledged and included in the redevelopment policies. Cultural consumption is, of course, based on cultural production. As emphasised by Andy Pratt (2008), the foundation of urban consumption strategies in the field of culture should be based on equal political priorities of cultural production. Theorists working on the notions of the cultural economy have raised the question of whether creative/ cultural industry can remain truly viable when it is separated from its infrastructure, hence, pointing to the relationship between production and consumption, as Pratt argues. One central question is whether a city can locate and nurture creative industries without “being creative” (P. Hall, 2000:642).

In terms of the overall role of the cultural industries to the creative city, Allen Scott (2010:125) argues that the majority of researchers make no claims that “advanced forms of creativity in cities can be induced simply by making them attractive on the consumption side for individuals with high levels of educational attainment and ‘talent’”. The notions of creativity and the creative city thus come to the fore, as the argument contradicts the creative city thesis, which holds that the existence of creative people in a city is the basis for economic growth. However, theories and practices of urban attractiveness, creativity and economic growth have not emerged

with the language on the creative city, whose central proponents are Charles Landry and Richard Florida, but have been ascribed to various eras in which a specific type of city has been in lead of innovations. The creative city as conformed to the knowledge-based economy has its own characteristics and rests on the premises of globalisation, territorial competition, and the rise of “the soft city” (Raban, 1974; Daniel Bell, 1976). The notion of creativity still needs to be scrutinised, since the strategies targeting the knowledge society often include a narrow view upon creativity. Two rather similar buildings in Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée have been used as artistic production sites, but whereas Borgen in Fjordbyen was demolished, la Friche de Belle de Mai was included in the plans for Euroméditerranée. Their different outcomes are based on the role of public policies in supporting cultural production in cities.

The destruction of a cultural production site in Bjørvika

In developing cultural clusters such as Bjørvika, place-making qualities sought by creative exchange and beautification regularly ignore the place and voice of cultural producers. Commodification of space aligns with market logics and interests that “valorise ‘creativity’ as a consumer good” (Mathews, 2014:1033). In Fjordbyen, there are currently no official plans or strategies addressing cultural production or the cultural industries. However, the place of Borgen existed in Bjørvika, which offered spaces of artistic production. Borgen was owned by Norwegian railways, which rented out ateliers and workshops in the building from 1991. Approximately 300 persons used the studios, whereas 50 persons had Borgen as their permanent workplace. In the redevelopment plans for Bjørvika, the demolition of Borgen was envisioned from the initial stages. In 2012, the renters’ contract expired, at the same time as the land was sold to the Norwegian Rail Administration in 2012, who demolished the building when they started the expansion of the south-born railways.

The lack of resistance to the demolition of the building and to the lack of alternative work sites in Fjordbyen or in the inner city might be explained by the fact that Oslo’s artists have always been on the move, a result of real estate speculation and prices.²²⁰ (see also Børrud, 2009; Sæter, *et al.*, 2013; Bergsli, Forthcoming). Furthermore, Norwegian artists have fairly good working conditions, compared to most other countries,²²¹ and there are buildings

²²⁰ Interview 25 June, 2010.

²²¹ Conversation at Borgen with two artists in August, 2010. Conditions were largely improved with the Artist Action in 1974, which prompted national funds, scholarships and guarantee salary to artists, thus inscribing the artists as a specific group within welfare policies. However, in 2005, artists who had been part of the Artist Action in 1974 urged artists to start a new action since their living conditions had deteriorated. There have since 2005 been debates about the reduction in state funding for artists (‘guarantee salary’), and also lack of ateliers in Oslo. See also Sæter *et al.* (2013).

accommodating artistic production elsewhere in Oslo. In the inner city, however, there is a scarce offer of affordable ateliers and workshops. Borgen was one of the few inner-city offers of cheap and sufficiently spacious locales. These sites are central to artistic production, but they are also spaces deviating from the designed city catering to a particular form of attractiveness. As the artist working at Borgen is quoted saying in Chapter 7, the mess, disorder and deviance that once characterised spaces in Oslo is displaced by a regulated landscape.²²² Borgen was one such space remaining that could evoke curiosity and the experience of difference, and their loss in the city is not reflected upon, she rightly argues.



Illustration 45. Borgen, an artist production site.

The architecture of artistic spaces resulting from real estate or construction vacuums might spatialize non-capitalist uses that can increase awareness about ways in which the consumption of the city is encouraged. However, the policies of attractiveness involved in the consolidation of city centres result in selective strategies of what offers should be favoured and preserved, and what should be visible (Zukin, 1995). This characteristic is combined with real estate opportunities due to large-scale public and private investments. In the case of Borgen (notwithstanding the plans for the railway), the combination of functions not held to be sufficiently interesting or marketable and the building's simple industrial architecture together contribute to the lack of attention to its place value and attempts at conserving it. The uniform attractiveness desired implies that distinctiveness and diversity are sought through signature buildings as a distinct feature of new waterfronts. Unexpected, alternative, or locally significant functions and sites are anomalies in such design (Chatterton, 2000).

²²² Interview 25 June, 2010.

A creative and media cluster in Belle de Mai

Creative clusters in cities are largely included in urban redevelopment policies through a culture-led model (Mommaas, 2004). They are aimed to create buzz, and to help “launch the city’s global status, the contribution of the showcase clusters to its global brand is important, becoming sites for fashion shoots, launches, events and conferences, and an aesthetic appealing to “the creative class” (O’Connor & Gu, 2012:7, 11). As Graham Evans (2009:1031-1032) concludes on the basis of a comparative study of creative industry policies, “novelty in policy responses -between creative industry and urban policy and between cultural and economic policy - is still lacking in imagination and is over-reliant upon unproven (or nontransferable) models of intervention and employment growth”. In Euroméditerranée however, the development of a creative cluster can be judged a success.

In the 1990s, culture became an instrument in Marseille’s policies to meet economic and social challenges (Girel, 2003:122-126). The policies of “les friches”, a strategy to reuse industrial heritage for cultural purposes, were initiated in this decade (Roy, 2004). These policies were initiated by the City of Marseille as a central cultural and territorial strategy, as a range of industrial buildings was vacant in the city. They are basically what Lauren Andres and Boris Gresillon (2013) call cultural brownfields, which are included in urban cultural policies throughout Europe. Several friches, and particularly the Friche de Belle de Mai, have generated a wide range of cultural and economic activities that attract both a local and international public.²²³

To Euroméditerranée, one of EPAEM’s targeted cultural axes is the cultural and media industries, which builds upon the municipality’s foresight to buy industrial buildings before their real estate value escalated in Marseille. In Belle de Mai, the three tobacco factories of Seita closed in 1990, and were bought by the City of Marseille, assisted financially by the central state. *Système Friche Théâtre*, known as *la Friche*, was established as the first “pole” in 1992. It developed into a multiple scene and production site, which today consists of ateliers, production studios, theatre ensembles and scenes, a concert hall and a large restaurant. More than 300 professionals within theatre, media and the arts are connected to the site. The existence of *la Friche* and the state-owned neighbour buildings implied that the cluster was included in plans of Mission Masson in 1993, resulting in the eastern enlargement of the perimeter of Euroméditerranée.²²⁴ The second pole includes municipal archives and conservatories.²²⁵ The third pole, the media park, was established in 2004 and hosts multimedia industries, incubators

²²³ Other friches include the Abattoirs, Les Arts de la Rue and Halle Alexandre.

²²⁴ Interview 9 October 2008.

²²⁵ The City archives were installed in 2001, followed by the Interregional centre of conservation and restoration of the cultural heritage and the reserves of Marseille’s museums and the National institute of the audiovisual.

and approximately 80 companies. The cluster of Belle de Mai functions within the poles, but there are few synergies between them, as initially desired. Observed patterns of urban concentration characteristic of the cultural and media industries (Scott, 2000a) have fostered such aspirations for cultural clusters.

La Friche de Belle de Mai illustrates how redevelopment plans can allow for the creation of space with the assistance of public authorities. In her doctoral work, Barbara van Dyck (2010:86-91) explains how former mayor Vigouroux favoured the development of Marseille's theatres and how he together with an artist, who was also a local politician, encouraged artists to explore Marseille's industrial building stock for their appropriation. In 1990, two theatres moved into the abandoned building, making it a bottom-up strategy for cultural producers (Andres & Grésillon, 2013). This location was supposed to be a stopover as part of a nomadic drift through the abandoned heritage of the industrial city, yet the Friche in Belle de Mai soon showed a permanent place for artistic production and consumption. Van Dyck argues that the artists' vision of la Friche de Belle de Mai was of a laboratory and an alternative to conventional production space. The actors of la Friche were further capable of negotiating their position within the wider socio-spatial redevelopment process and to assure a sustainable cultural arena (Andres, 2011). The engagement of the artists was still dependent upon public resources, whereas the director of la Friche and his colleagues succeeded in finding a place for [la Friche] in the cultural political landscape of Marseille" (Ingram, 2011:xiv).



Illustration 46. Friche de Belle de Mai.

EPAEM bought the ensemble of the industrial buildings composing the cluster in Belle de Mai and sold it back to the municipality for a symbolic sum.²²⁶ The difficulties in making a financially sustainable project for the ensemble of the artists of *Système Friche Theatre* were, as EPAEM's representative stresses, met by the aim of EPAEM and the municipality to assist them with a contract to rent for 45 years. They formed a cooperative society of collective interest, through which they have gained the liberty to develop their activities and select partners, facilitated by the financial and practical assistance of EPAEM and the municipality.

These two examples illustrate how public authorities have contributed to sustain artistic production in both cities, but whereas the former railway authorities in Norway could support activities outside their core purposes until the 1990s, the neoliberal shift implies that companies are established to assure the efficacy of public service delivery, and where the rentability of the land cannot be ignored. In Marseille, the municipality and the public development agency have actively supported the friches by assuring an unrestrained economic situation yet also artistic organisational freedom. Borgen and la Friche de Belle de Mai are however different in the sense that la Friche includes consumption offers, which has contributed to its success. I will thereby substantiate this difference in public responsibility for the cultural domain by discussing two rather similar small-scale theatres, whereby the one in Oslo was evicted from Bjørvika, and the one in Joliette was relocated to a new building.

The future of small-scaled cultural offers

Small-scaled cultural offers are important functions of neighbourhoods, cultural quarters, and of the cultural infrastructure offered as part of education and experience across social distinctions. Small-scaled cultural functions existing before waterfront development may contribute to preserve qualities of place that are valued in a local context. Two interesting sub-cases illustrate differences in how public policies can negotiate the structural coherence and production of place by competitive rationales in Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée. In Oslo, the case is the theatre boat MS Innvik, which housed the Nordic Black Theatre. In Marseille, the case is the neighbourhood theatre la Minoterie. Whereas there are interesting differences, they are both theatres with local objectives and audiences, hence being small-scaled urban functions. They are narrated separately and more in-depth because the processes in which their survival is decided represent contextual differences in territorial and cultural policies.

²²⁶ Interview 14 February, 2008.

Nordic Black Theatre

As elsewhere, Norwegian cultural policies have always been connected to territorialisation, though with various degrees of consolidation. I will here discuss the theatre Nordic Black as an embedded case of culture-led urban redevelopment policies in the Norwegian context. On the one hand, it illustrates the transformation of cultural policies and their connection to territory in general. On the other hand, it illustrates new forms of governance represented in Bjørvika where the theatre was located in 2002. Herein, Nordic Black's development testifies to the ways in the competitive policies have dominated the Fjordbyen development.

Illustrating the territorial dimensions of cultural policies

The theatre boat MS Innvik was the first sign of new activities in Bjørvika after the decline of industrial activities. The boat embarked here in 2002, and until the opening of the Opera House in 2008, it was the only permanent public arena in Bjørvika. MS Innvik represented a social and cultural arena that illustrates Norwegian cultural policies and changing cultures in the cities.

Innvik was originally sailing the Western coast of Norway.²²⁷ The passenger and cargo ferry MS Innvik was transferred to the county boats on the Western coast of Norway in 1967 where it was made a theatre boat in 1982. It sailed as the Culture Boat Innvik from 1988, offering a cultural programme subsidised by the Ministry of Culture in the ports along the coast. It was part of the aims of Keynesian cultural policies, where cultural offers were distributed in Norway's regional districts (Bakke, 2005). After economic problems in 1990, the boat operated as a county-owned company until it was sold in 2001.²²⁸ In 2002, MS Innvik was bought by Nordic Black Theatre, a theatre established as a means through which young immigrants could learn the Norwegian language and a craft, supported by Arts Council Norway and the City of Oslo.²²⁹ MS Innvik was anchored in Bjørvika, where the theatre was supported by the revenues gained from a hostel, a café and by renting out assembly rooms, though to a reasonable price. The theatre was located in Bjørvika until alleged security deficits made Oslo's fire department close the establishment in spring 2010. Shortly after, the directors of the Nordic Black theatre decided to sell the boat due to the financial situation and the acknowledgement that the boat would have to be largely renovated within a few years. The buyers planned to use MS Innvik as

²²⁷ This section is based on archive material kindly provided by the County Archive of Sogn and Fjordane.

²²⁸ The Norwegian Culture Boat AS tried to obtain a new boat through the campaign "Save the culture boat- the culture house of the coast". It did not succeed, and the company closed down in 2009.

²²⁹ Interview 9 June, 2009.

a combination of church and cultural scene in a town south of Oslo. The boat never reached its destination, and in 2014, it was broken down.



Illustration 47. MS Innvik located in front of the Harbour Warehouse.

The Cultural Programme of Bjørvika (KOP) had suggested a cultural port in which cultural boats could be located on the southern side of the Opera House. These boats could serve as “a puller” and “a cultural generator” to assure cultural activities in the fjord landscape (Bjørvika Information centre, 2003:25). Indirectly, it served as a plan to secure MS Innvik’s location in Bjørvika, supporting also the aim of cultural diversity expressed in the KOP. Yet, the leader of the board of the Port of Oslo considered MS Innvik as “just a boat that wobbles around”, arguing that there was no space for it when Fjordbyen developed.²³⁰ This climate made the Nordic Black Theatre engage in a collaboration to secure the theatre’s location in Bjørvika.

Snelda, a collaborative strategy

In 2006, Art Council Norway funded the programming of Snelda, a new project launched by the theatre, assisted by the former director of the Museum of Contemporary Art and the architect firm Snøhetta, and supported by the Norwegian Opera and Ballet. Given the uncertain future of the boat, Snelda was an initiative to create a new place for both cultural production and consumption on the southern rim of the Opera House. The team originally assembled around this goal was composed of established institutions: Horisont - Art and Cultural Exchange, organising

²³⁰ Interview 13 October, 2009.

the world-music festival Mela; Cosmopolite, a leading jazz and world music scene; and Nordic Black Theatre. However, Cosmopolite had to cancel its participation, and Snelda lost an important participant, as stressed by the leader of the city council's committee of urban development.²³¹

The Snelda team decided to rethink the composition and rather to target "the new generation, smaller ensembles with a less rigorous profile".²³² A range of ensembles participated.²³³ Snelda should offer theatre plays, dance shows, concerts and club events, a bed and breakfast, family reggae and other family events, exhibitions, a cafe and a library. The plan was further to accommodate seminars and public debates, activities and opportunities that MS Innvik had offered.²³⁴ According to the team, Snelda should provide Bjørvika with alternative cultural offers that would contribute to the diversity and unexpected experiences expressed in the visions for Bjørvika and Fjordbyen:

[I]n the centre of Bjørvika, a new and important cultural junction assembling and showing new art expressions should emerge. We wish to change Oslo's art appearance by providing it with a diverse and volatile destination and a visible presence in Oslo's new centre. The idea of a dominating, relatively stable culture will be challenged by the idea of a range of changing minority cultures. This is why this new junction should become the Opera's closest neighbour.²³⁵

The project was programmed with costs of a mere 152 million NOK, with the use of the then-existing building, Sukkerbiten ("the sugar lump"), conceived of as interesting since it was one of the few original buildings remaining in Bjørvika. The project was small scale in both price and volume, and the project fit into many of the cultural aims and strategies outlined in the Cultural Programme for Bjørvika. It would have been a modern place anchored in the new cultures of Oslo and in plans supported by the city council. One week after the opening of the Opera, the participants of Snelda performed what they called "a cultural crossover", "a mobile performance by artists from Innvik via the Opera roof to Snelda, as a demonstration of the plans for an international cultural centre in Bjørvika".²³⁶ At this point, Snelda had created political and public enthusiasm, and politicians had publicly expressed their support.

²³¹ Interview 9 June, 2009.

²³² Conversation 13 May, 2009.

²³³ Horisont, Oslo Global Music, the dance groups Floor Knights and dancing Youth, the choreographers Didá and the free groups Forente Minoriteter (United Minorities) and Ungdomsfabrikken (the Youth Factory).

²³⁴ Catalogue "Snelda kunst og kultur - øya av i morgen", p.5.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.2.

²³⁶ Ministry of Culture, Press release no. 25/08, 5 March, 2008.

Political goodwill or political choice?

The city council solicited the city government to work for the realisation of Snelda in 2006, as part of the work with Oslo's cultural strategy. The city government was asked to initiate a dialogue with the initiators of Snelda and the Ministry of Culture with the aim of realising it as a cultural project in Bjørvika. A related concern was the lack of focus on minority and youth cultures in the cultural strategy that the city government had introduced to the city council.²³⁷ The cultural strategy stranded, as Snelda also literary did. The theatre director of Nordic Black Theatre thinks that the opposition parties in the city council used Snelda to bother the others, but that nobody dared to take the lead.²³⁸

The Commissioner of Culture and Education argued in 2009 that he hoped Snelda would continue, that he thinks Snelda was needed, but that

I have said, everything has its time. Now there is full attention on our part to... first we had to work on the competition for a new Munch Museum and Deichmanske [library], then we needed a majority in the city council, and then we have obtained the money. 2,7 billion should prevail in the budget, right. And it's like this...some important processes for those institutions. Then we'll see (...). I will be very surprised if it isn't possible to accommodate Snelda and their activities in one way or the other...along the fjord or in a suitable place in the city. So have [we got] money for Snelda? I say no, we don't (...). We have been clear about that all along. Not now. Now we will spend billions to construct a new Munch and Stenersen and a new main library. And we will accomplish the work, which is also in the 100-million class, Skau's Cultural Brewery [the rehearsal hotel], and right now...it is the most important.²³⁹

The relocation of cultural institutions was the first priority of the city government, which is also used to justify the lack of support, which the commissioner thinks should be made by central government. The municipal cultural strategy has further channelled support to the music sector. The leader of the Standing Committee on Urban Development in the city council supported Snelda morally, but questioned the project's feasibility, thinking the problem was that

the organisations connected to Snelda are very dissimilar and have very different motors and ways of operating (...). They become dependent on goodwill, more than a real boost in the work. Clearly, it would enrich Bjørvika, to have a more multicultural scene in the area. At the little island? I don't know. But it is sure that more scenes are needed in Bjørvika.²⁴⁰

Snelda is not envisioned as a feasible project because of its variegated nature, wherein goodwill is used as the term substituting political craft. There was a political choice to favour Innvik or

²³⁷ City Council 15.11.2006 case 406.

²³⁸ Interview 15 September, 2010.

²³⁹ Interview 26 October, 2009.

²⁴⁰ Interview 9 June, 2009.

Snelda, not as charity, but in what would be an act to realise the aim of cultural diversity and city life in Bjørvika. Politicians from the opposition parties in the city council appealed for Snelda and a change of general orientation, in which a greater diversity in the cultural scene is advocated in Bjørvika. What seems to be consensus around neoliberal urban redevelopment policies in Oslo might also imply that support for location of cultural institutions is not seen as a political task, in line with the artists' search for ateliers in Oslo.

The leader of the district council in Gamle Oslo held that "Snelda would have been a new cultural concept, an added value to the city, [it would have] made the city more of a metropolis, than moving the museums [to Bjørvika]. It doesn't become more interesting for that reason".²⁴¹ According to the project leader working on the cultural strategy in Bjørvika Development, the political enthusiasm about the project was of little help since the developers were uninterested in the project.²⁴² The statement made by the leader of the board of the port authorities interviewed confirms this point of view: "The entire Snelda topic is... I am sure it will be overruled by a park, that is, shared spaces, not given to some small group who came there and planted their flag saying this is a good idea. I don't believe in that".²⁴³ The leader of the port authorities testifies to his decision-making powers, since the right composition is sought in Bjørvika, that does not include actors appropriating the place. The lack of political will to decide otherwise, in contrast to the political decision to relocate the Munch Museum in Bjørvika, conform to the idea about a coherent and predictable offer in design and functions.

A disturbance in the strategy of attractiveness

Nordic Black Theatre and the Snelda team provoked the port authorities by proposing a project in a place they did not own, the art director admits. The developers were perceived as stuck in an ordered and set view of Bjørvika, and as conceiving of MS Innvik as doing something illegal, like pirates.²⁴⁴ Snelda did not provide the readability and order required, as the vision was to assemble artists not belonging to any institution: "Our idea was to swarm these together and create a more cacophonous image of Oslo, a collage of young, hungry artists, the new generations, who are in the initial stage. Innvik aimed to bring them all together, with the experience of Nordic Black Theatre and the young artists' expressions, to see what they could generate".²⁴⁵

²⁴¹ Interview 6 October, 2009.

²⁴² Interview 9 March, 2009.

²⁴³ Interview 13 October, 2009.

²⁴⁴ Interview 9 June, 2009.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

Attractiveness is an aim to be monitored and structured by the decision-makers. It is understood as an aspect of pulsating life and readable structures, the latter advocated by the city council's committee for urban redevelopment. Alternative and creative visions for the potential composition of cultural and recreational offers in Bjørvika have few chances of materialisation in these conditions. Snelda offered an existing or realisable alternative that would answer to the vision of both Bjørvika and Oslo as inclusive and diverse. It could have added a place of production and of low-scale offers balancing the activities of cultural institutions. It could further have sustained a place that was established in Bjørvika prior to development, and it could have opened up for the unexpected, as is among the aims of Bjørvika. Innvik and Snelda are not conceivable alternatives to sustain the visions for diversity in Bjørvika, as they are not economically interesting (or "an interesting resource for the agents", in the words of an informant), fit into an institutional structure aligning the ideals of image and order favoured by politicians and developers. Innvik's art director perceives the lack of support as connected to the profit-led aspirations in Bjørvika:

Suddenly (...), they call it the *filet mignon* of Oslo. It wasn't that earlier. I think that we discovered it before it became so. Now, the battle is difficult. Because, now, they don't talk about urban redevelopment, cultural development, in Bjørvika. Now they talk about money. To develop Bjørvika, right. Then we don't have a chance, if they will talk money with us.

The art director illustrates how the redevelopment process is locked in neoliberal policies, where the market-orientation suppresses urban and cultural ideals in planning, and where the opportunities to stay put for a small-scale theatre are limited.

In autumn 2010, a new location had to be found. The theatre manager found it uninteresting to fight for staying in Bjørvika, as the theatre's mission is undesired:

I guess we're a bit spoiled, but we don't want it to be a pure commercial place, [yet] it would probably assure a good economy. We could have had income for selling beer to 400 people, and we could have stayed there. They probably would have thought that was cool, to preserve Innvik's shell. But concerning the content, we would have less interest. And then it is not important for us to be here.

MS Innvik was primarily a place for artistic work, with commercial offers being a way to co-finance it. Nordic Black Theatre did not provide the spectacle desired by the developer once Bjørvika was set off as a new symbolic and ordered landscape. It would then have been made to change into *décor*, as a factor merely assuring city life to the area. The theatre director admitted that "[s]omeone other than us has to be the hero, I don't like the word sponsor, because I believe that our existence here is extremely good business, to [the public development company] HAV.

Now we are negotiating with [the public development company] Entra, how much rent we can afford, what we could earn, tariff, so there is a gap. It will be interesting to see if that gap is seen as a way of sponsoring us or as a cost (...). They decided not to move into these locales, due to few opportunities to work, and the impression was that they were invited in to entertain. There was also another rationale for their final decision to move out of Bjørvika:

You need a high motivation. Why battle...we have to make that decision. Why should we break the neck in order to be in a place where we are not wanted? There are people who can without profit design a building for us, a cultural house in Groruddalen. (...) There, we would have been chaired in, we are wanted there, people to cooperate with, good facilitates for artistic production, and then we sit here, wanting to be here...(...) Do we have to play the role as contrast... but the city needs it also, and is that what one wants to use the energy at?

As the director rightly asks, the cultural initiatives should perhaps not have as their primal task to contribute to the creation of place, but it should be in the interest of urban society, in this case implying the public developers of Bjørvika and the City of Oslo.

Artists are known for being agents in gentrification processes, and they sometimes “fashion” a new urban cultural landscape in which alternative or concurring cultural practices are suppressed (Harris, 2012:237). Artistic practices can naturalise new forms of socio-spatial distinctions by manipulating spaces and narratives unwanted in the investment priorities of post-industrial cities (*Ibid.*). As the displacement of MS Innvik shows, however, there is not only a distinction of cultural practices admitted in the policies of attractiveness. There is also a distinction made in artistic production and spatial patterning. MS Innvik was sold and the theatre delocated to the neighbourhood Grønland in the district Gamle Oslo.

The boat had created a place in Bjørvika during the years it was located there. Despite the combined use of arguments based on rationales of culture-led urban redevelopment that engaged politicians in favouring Snelda, the economic logics behind the commodification of culture in Bjørvika constrained the possibilities to turn the vision of Snelda into reality. Nordic Black Theatre is not dependent upon locality in Bjørvika, but for a vision of Bjørvika as a diverse place, the loss of the theatre implies that Bjørvika also lost an opportunity for diversity to be expressed in the cultural field, and as a young creative scene pointing toward the future. If Bjørvika is a representational space of Oslo, this symbolic effect signalling Oslo as a young and cosmopolitan city would have been beneficial to the city’s image.

La Minoterie illustrating the position of culture in French territories

In Euroméditerranée, the negotiation of place for a local theatre obtained a different outcome than in Bjørnvika. The “theatre of proximity” la Minoterie, installed in Joliette in the 1980s, and the political support and consequent survival as a local theatre illustrate the enduring public responsibility in the cultural field in the French context.

Uncertain locality in the development process

In the 1980s, la Minoterie was the only cultural offer in Joliette. It was surrounded by industrial and storage buildings. Experiencing the decline in these activities, the theatre’s director admitted that their location represented “the end of the world”.²⁴⁶ The theatre struggled to change people’s perception of the distance, which was mentally disproportionate to the ten minutes’ walk from the Old Port. With the establishment of Euroméditerranée and subsequent real estate speculation, the theatre’s building was sold and to be demolished.

The future of the theatre was uncertain, at the time when its role as a local theatre had been enforced. The theatre cooperated with institutions in the neighbourhood in order to attract both original and new inhabitants of la Joliette:

[w]e started to work with the schools in the neighbourhood and the hospital close by, for instance. When the college Izzo opened here, we ended up working with the college. We have connections with the hospital, [and with] the original inhabitants. And what happens today is that there is a new “bridge”, [since] there are many people installing. So, naturally...we will work to mix them with the original ones. It is not easy. In 2008, we will prepare small plays to perform in apartments (...). It has become rather common in France. What we will try and do in June is to organise a mini-festival at the heart of the neighbourhood [depending on financial support]. Outdoor, that is. With music, lectures, and we have quite good connections with the Archives and library of the district department, and the library, the square and the park [can be used for the purpose]. That is an attempt to approach the public.²⁴⁷

La Minoterie had been installed as a neighbourhood theatre, and with the new mix of inhabitants, the aim was to accommodate the theatre accordingly in order to continue serving the local population. The director emphasises how culture is a necessity, stressing the importance of this theatre: “a theatre is a necessity in a city...it’s not only to make us happy. It becomes an important tool - A tool of life inside a city”. The director stresses that the numerous, rich cultural initiatives in Marseille exist because they are necessary. The theatre was however in between spaces, it was unknown whether it could be sustained in the neighbourhood. The theatre director worried that their lack of “surface image”, not belonging to the “vitrine culture”, would reduce

²⁴⁶ Interview 14 December, 2007.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

the possibilities to acquire a new building in the neighbourhood. Given the land prices and the limited offer of buildings, the municipality searched but had difficulties in finding a new location at la Joliette. EPAEM was addressed, which acknowledged the importance of sustaining existing functions in order to retain a place quality that could contribute to the animation of la Joliette.



Illustration 48. The original building of la Minoterie at la Joliette.

As stressed by the EPAEM's director of architecture, Marseille's attractiveness is connected to the quality of existing places:

Us, our work, is to prioritise work that ameliorates the metropolitan attractiveness. The paradox is, as we are in an existing area which has its own proper logical functioning, we cannot ignore it. Because if we do, the good dynamics disappear. We cannot do it except in association with the people that will benefit from it. Hence, this forces us to also reflect on the social and urban question. (...) La Minoterie for instance, is a theatre of proximity (...).²⁴⁸

The development agency could not interfere because the land was not declared to be of public utility, hence the agency had no means by which it could put pressure on the investor. Together with the municipality, however, EPAEM developed a plan in which the theatre could locate in the middle of Cité de la Méditerranée, at the new Place de la Méditerranée.

²⁴⁸ Interview 14 February, 2008.

Aligning the theatre's activities to the visions of Euroméditerranée

Shortly after my interview with the theatre director, the decision was made to relocate la Minoterie to a new building. Prior to this decision, she stressed how it was also the theatre's responsibility to engage in place-making. In the case of la Minoterie, this concerns questions of adhering to the visions of Euroméditerranée as facilitating Mediterranean exchange:

As a theatre, without betraying ourselves, by keeping all the relations, people we work with, I think we have to reflect on something that opens up (...). Because, it is a good thing if this theatre is relocated in Place de la Méditerranée (...). Us, in the middle of all that, we could assist African and North African writers without betraying ourselves, by remaining what we are. By saying, what can we do, in the middle of a place like that, expensively developed. For instance, to defend it artistically in order to inscribe it in the interior of Euroméditerranée, and at the same time keep our relationship with artists, the neighbourhood. All that has to open (...). So, well, if we have to grieve over this house, this project has to open up more in the directions searched for in Euroméditerranée.²⁴⁹

Like Nordic Black Theatre, La Minoterie had to engage in strategic reflection on how the theatre could be integrated in culture-led urban redevelopment as a way to stay put, or in the worst-case scenario, survive. But whereas different public authorities pulled in the same direction to find a new location for la Minoterie at la Joliette, there was mainly moral support and agreement of the positive contribution made from the Nordic Black Theatre, with no support assuring its location "without betraying itself" in Bjørvika.

MS Innvik's eviction illustrates a lack of political acknowledgement of necessity to sustain small-scaled existing offers that has created a place with an offer that can be substituted in Bjørvika only with difficulty. EPAEM thus acts in accordance with the aims of the project and is further flexible in terms of finding solutions, as it has also done in the case of the world music festival Fiesta des Suds. In Oslo, functions that do not conform to a disciplined and readable, hence easily commodified, strategy, have hitherto not been supported. In this way, public policies in Euroméditerranée combine sustenance with modernisation, whereas neoliberal policies dominate the selective strategy of Fjordbyen.

Artistic intervention

For the development of cultural activities and the landscapes they generate, cultural producers have attained new roles. The framing of the city's symbolic and creative capacities are inscribed in the concrete production of symbolic spaces and in the images and visions of the city, as part of

²⁴⁹ Interview 14 December, 2007.

the enhancement of the city in competitive terms (Zukin, 1995). The creative image of cities is nurtured by the activities of artists, cultural and media producers and other creative people who use their intellectual capacities to make immaterial or material products. Artists are invited to contribute to enhance places' local heritage and uniqueness, the motive often being to raise the attractiveness of places and the city (Deutsche, 1996; M. Miles, 1997).

Williams (1963) stresses that we cannot separate art from other kinds of social practices, in such a way as to make them subject to quite special and distinct laws. They may have quite specific features as practices, but they cannot be separated from the general social process. The role of artists in redevelopment projects is dubious when it comes to acceptance of the aims and nature of developers or the companies funding art works (T. Hansen, 2006). Yet artists and other cultural workers are important to city life because they give another perspective on society (Sæter, 2003). They provide a range of visual expressions and artefacts, which contribute to the city's distinctiveness and diversity. The arts have further transformative qualities on places and spaces as Oddrun Sæter stresses: Artists reflect upon the urban environment, they contribute to the physical, symbolic and social creation of new places. These notes take specific expressions in the city, because "artists have always been drawn to the city. The human power of creativity is compacted in the city, through architecture, infrastructure and the public social life" (p.26). In contemporary urban regeneration, artists are invited to contribute to enhance places' local heritage and uniqueness. In both Oslo and Marseille, artists have been invited to create works in and about the waterfront projects. The reception of critical art is however largely differing. Whereas art appears as "harmless" in Oslo, it appears as "dangerous" in Marseille.

Is art harmless in Oslo?

In Bjørvika, critical art projects have been launched throughout the entire redevelopment process, and these have been funded by development companies. A representative of Bjørvika Infrastructure working on cultural strategies emphasises that "[s]ome artists are concerned with the democratic process of urban redevelopment, interested in finding other voices and perspectives, and one really should welcome that".²⁵⁰ Three art projects have been particularly critical of the redevelopment process: "A drop in the ocean" by Marianne Heier and "Whoop, there it is" by Mathias Faldbakken and Gardar Einarson. Heier (2006) later wrote about the project and of art's role in redevelopment projects, where she reflected upon her own role and influence before accepting the invitation from Bjørvika Development. Her art project aimed at

²⁵⁰ Interview 9 March, 2009.

directing attention to the wider city and the meaning of “the fjord city”. Bjørvika Development also funded the curator duo Rakett who worked on a two-year project named “Commonlands”. This curatorial project critically reflected on the notions of the public sphere and public space in Bjørvika, yet it was still promoted by the developer and the municipality.

To artists, there is an ambiguity the artist working at Borgen stated, because “on the one hand, “[art] should add some kind of quality that is not only visual, aesthetic, but it should also have a social dimension. On the other hand, art should have integrity...look itself in the mirror”.²⁵¹ The dual role of art in the city is that not only does it represent a necessity to society. It also has potential influence on societal outcomes and directions, as the artist discusses in the role of art in society: “Art is used as an instrument to strengthen an identity or to find an identity to give to a place, some kind of logo”. But art is also used to eradicate differences, a socio-political dimension, to break down barriers between social groups, it should unite...”.²⁵² The ambivalence pointed to is consequently the use of art through its alleged qualities of being both distinguishing and assembling. In both cases it is used for a purpose, as cultural sociologist Sigrid Røyseng (2006 ch.8) discusses as based on the faith in arts’ transformative potential rather than primarily being a calculated rationale:

There is faith that through the meeting between art and culture, society can be transformed into a new and improved condition. When the questions about what we should do with the problems of integration, depopulation, social inequalities or lifestyle diseases are too difficult to answer, and there is no firm knowledge about what in the end helps, one turns to the arts and culture in the hope of positive change (p.231).

Though the projects carried out as part of Commonlands managed to provoke Bjørvika’s developers, there were few public debates where critique was properly reflected upon or battled. The questions about the right to the spaces of Bjørvika brought up by the artists did thereby not achieve any substantial impact in the public or political sphere. The arts have not had the powers to contribute to changed discourses or practices. Careful conclusions to be further enquired are firstly whether art is harmless in Norwegian society, and secondly, whether the view that urban redevelopment is a matter of property development is naturalised, hence contributing to the repressive tolerance of art (See Marcuse, 1965). If this latter hypothesis is truthful, neoliberal policies are naturalised as the reasonable alternative, whereby art does not contribute to alter this understanding. In France, where culture has a different status in society and in policy, art projects and artists have more powerful roles in the urban redevelopment process.

²⁵¹ Interview 17 June, 2009.

²⁵² *Ibid.*

Powerful art in Marseille?

In Euroméditerranée, art photographers were invited to work for the public command, and their work was published at the project home page.²⁵³ The photographers invariably document the differences and ruptures between the past and the future. Artists such as Emmanuel Pinard and Cyrille Weiner reflected on the constructed landscape and the evolution of the city with its consequent losses,²⁵⁴ and on individual and collective appropriation of space. Weiner thinks that Euroméditerranée does not take into account “the existing” in Marseille. Her interest was to work on existing features such as the economy of the bazaar, the uses of the port and the relations with North Africa, to capture “[a] human and mental landscape”.²⁵⁵ Christoph Galatry similarly exhibited photos on “the phases of destruction, construction and rehabilitation” also commissioned by EPAEM as a documentation of the transformation.

In contrast, two projects have been silenced in Marseille, both targeting gentrification. The first is Edwin Zwakman’s project commissioned by EPAEM and the French Foundation for Culture in 2005. His photos were neither exhibited in Marseille nor presented in the photo gallery of Euroméditerranée.²⁵⁶ The project called “Monuments moved from the Arab world” comments critically on the demolition of residential buildings. In his book “Fake But Accurate” (Zwakman, 2008:161-162), Zwakman calls Euroméditerranée a “large-scale gentrification project”, questioning the representation of history in neighbourhood transformation. Whereas evolving change is documented with nostalgia, the history of repulsion and gentrification cannot be represented in the narrative constructed. Zwakman’s photos were thereby difficult to include in the official presentation of Euroméditerranée. Likewise, Anthony Agata’s Psychogéographies project (le Dantec, 2007), traces discourses by Marseillais politicians favouring gentrification.²⁵⁷ An artist who has had assignments in Euroméditerranée stressed that these two projects have made EPAEM very anxious about future art projects and that they assure themselves that the projects are not critical before they engage artists.²⁵⁸ Thus, whereas critical art is welcomed yet not influential in the case of Fjordbyen, it is concealed in the case of Euroméditerranée.

²⁵³ http://www.euromediterranee.fr/html/index.php?module=Infos_PN_Menu&idm=, retrieved 1 August, 2009.

²⁵⁴ Text by Éric Lapierre (2003), «Emmanuel Pinard à Marseille», [ww.emmanuelpinard.com](http://www.emmanuelpinard.com).

²⁵⁵ Mail correspondence, 14 May, 2009.

²⁵⁶ Mail correspondence, 12 June, 2009.

²⁵⁷ The term Psychogéographies derives from a movement in which artists were committed to study urbanism and socio-spatial relations, and also to make change (Pinder, 2005:388).

²⁵⁸ Conversation 20 November, 2009.

The difference that cultural policies make

When culture-led urban redevelopment is carried out within competitive policies, socio-spatial disparities have occurred (Rodriguez *et al.*, 2001; MacLeod, 2002; Vicario & Monje, 2003). Graeme Evans (2009, 1032) concludes in a comparative study, that “policy transfer (...) has also been accelerated by the lack of alternative strategies and sustainable growth options in these post-industrial cities”. The inclusion of cultural strategies in urban redevelopment do increase the diversity in offers and functions in areas which would otherwise be less vital or even more commercial than what is already the trend in waterfront projects. There is however a paradox when cultural strategies are used: Instead of making waterfront projects more diverse, the cultural strategies are often just another fashion that is strategically carried out in the same ways as in other places. What can the reason for this homogenisation be? One reason is likely to be the signature role of architecture, which tends to be particularly attractive and image-generating when the project houses a cultural institution. Such “flagships” are landmarks that make a place and a city recognised, remembered and eventually visited. Another reason is the production of transnational social place, which means that cultural consumption preferences are similar across national borders to the degree that the same set of cultural offers is designed to assure attractiveness. The competitive rationale further decreased the possibility of surprises or of a social mix, which is feared might repel desired social groups from consuming the place.

In Oslo, the cultural programme developed in Bjørvika was progressive and had promise as a creative tool to allow artists to actually participate in the creation of place in Fjordbyen. Though artists have worked in Bjørvika, the result of the programme is likely to be less diverse through the narrowing down to an art programme, compared to the initial cultural programme. Herein, the library holds hitherto the promise of the programme, yet the Opera has taken the role as a diverse cultural arena attractive at various scales. To EPAEM in Marseille, culture was included as a full strategy of Euroméditerranée only when the city won the bid for capital of culture in 2008. The plan for the waterfront development nonetheless included various aims to use culture in the areas developed, succeeding to a greater extent than in Fjordbyen since urban development and cultural policies are two sectors with enduring universal aims in France.

Urban creativity is a phenomenon depending on a critical mass, a diverse population, an urban environment, as well as on instability, meaning that new and unpredicted events can trigger new thoughts and developments (Hospers, 2003). Whereas Marseille tended to be a city providing this kind of creativity, the restructuring aimed through Euroméditerranée might result in its suppression. By designing the landscape and urban functions into homogeneous and

ordered spaces, urban creativity has less vital frames. In Oslo, such frames have been vacant both because of real estate prices and because of extensive design of public spaces. Though the institutionalisation of la Friche de Belle de Mai may alter it as a creative space, it is owned and organised by the artists yet secured for half a century by public authorities, implying a long-term and autonomous perspective. Fjordbyen does not host ateliers or production sites, and no new offers -as planners and politicians envisioned in the 1990s - are planned on the waterfront. The main era of creativity and difference in Fjordbyen was when Bjørvika was opened for temporal cultural projects in the warehouses waiting for demolition. Such temporal spaces are also created to boost Euroméditerranée, but in Marseille they are combined with permanent functions.

The embedded cases of Nordic Black Theatre and la Minoterie illustrate the difference in the scope on culture and its content in Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée. In Oslo, there was moral but no financial support for Snelda as an inventive plan that would have raised the waterfront project as visionary, targeting the young multicultural and talented scene of Oslo “at the filet mignon” of the city. The governance model selected does not invite for the support of non-profitable offers that the city government or the development company. There are further few other small-scale offers or functions that will contribute to the cultural diversity of Fjordbyen. In Marseille, the existing neighbourhood functions have naturally secured small-scaled functions, compared to Fjordbyen, where there were hardly any functions present before the redevelopment process.

There is not one type or stable and eternal creative city. Cities are rather part of the capitalist system in which creative destruction can occur with great effect on their rise and fall. According to Gert-Jan Hospers, the characteristics of creative cities can also be ascribed to different domains: technological-innovative (cities in which incremental or revolutionary innovations are born and fostered); cultural-intellectual (cities where artists and intellectuals oppose the existing order, where there is freedom to do so and to express a talent); cultural-technological (cities developing clusters of creative industries); and technological-organisational (cities which have developed entirely new systems of, for example, transport, communication or other beneficiary societal and economic inventions). These ideal-types thus serve as a basis on which cities can develop and innovate on behalf of creative skills among the inhabitants and businesses. They are historically-based models, thus transgressing the characteristics of the knowledge society, which is the model and system on which the creative city thesis thrives.

10. SPACES FOR DIFFERENCE IN THE COSMOPOLITAN CITY

Cultural strategies contribute to a diversity in experiences and offers, but they do not necessarily imply a broader offer that meet the preferences, needs and interests of various social groups. The waterfront model does not entail principles of social diversity, and it is sometimes used to invite visitors rather than inhabitants to the seaside. Instead, the model promotes a narrow conception of attractiveness. It is a tool to position cities in a competitive perspective. When treating questions of equity and diversity in the thesis thus far, I have emphasised the structures and strategies that oppose or result in class policies in the redevelopment processes. In this chapter, the aim is to enquire how the waterfront projects are negotiated to assure or retain diversity and social inclusion. The main focus is on negotiation (research question iii), investigated in terms of how difference is conceived and enhanced in culture-led redevelopment (research question ii).

With culture as a current strategic notion in urban policies, the role of multiculturalism enters the domain of planning also in new developments. There are both empirical and theoretical debates about the connections between diversity, contact and tolerance in the urban sphere (See Wessel, 2009). European societies have come to discuss the qualities and challenges of multicultural societies. The role of central places in which people meet across divisions of class and culture are emphasised, yet perhaps not sufficiently grounded. The kind of urban society desired is here a central question. Difference, even though some borders are blurred with the global transfer and fusion of ideas, trends and lifestyles, is articulated and characteristic to the contemporary city. How we perceive and tolerate difference is at stake, since exclusion and marginalisation have historically been connected to difference (Sandercock, 2003:128).

In section one of this chapter, I provide a theoretical outline of cosmopolitanism and discuss its articulation in Oslo and Marseille's redevelopment processes. In section two, I illustrate how constructive and actual values and force of cosmopolitanism can be brought about, by a discussion of the actions of public institutions in Euroméditerranée. In section three, I focus on local concerns brought forth in the respective cities in light of how they contribute to negotiate political visions and aims of the waterfront projects, as well as how participatory methods are encouraged to promote inhabitants' views in the respective cities.

Cosmopolitan urban society

Focusing on urban attractiveness and the use of cultural strategies brings forth attention to the diversity of cultural identities. Urban societies continuously change, and recent transformations include questions about cultural diversity and globalisation, which both should be central areas in culture-led urban redevelopment (S. Miles & Paddison, 2005:833). Though urban studies may be too descriptive due to the complexity of cities, as Ash Amin (1999:291) holds, “mapping” cities and urban societies as a means to understand local contingencies and context can contribute to the theorisation of cosmopolitanism as a normative theory of situated justice in cities. Connected to citizenship, the city as a social structure with various cultural identities requires in this understanding urban arenas that accommodate the diversity of urban society.

The concept of cosmopolitanism is relevant as it is regularly promoted as a sign of the city’s creative potential. The concept is used in various ways: it is defined as a philosophy of world citizenship, in lay use it refers to the city’s cultural diversity, and it is sometimes used interchangeably when discussing transnational social classes (Binnie *et al.*, 2006).

Cosmopolitanism as a normative concept is based on Kant’s conceptualisation of universal (worldwide) moral norms and standards, international law and political action, enhanced and followed by a rejection of citizenship and political action based upon loyalties to the nation state (pp.4-5). In this understanding it refers, in the words of Ulf Hannerz (1996) to a way of handling meaning, and to “an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other. It entails an intellectual and aesthetic openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrast rather than uniformity” (p.103). Societies are unbounded, by wish and by necessity.

Cosmopolitanism is an ideal, an attitude, a set of dispositions and forms of practice with and towards diversity. A cosmopolitan outlook is a global sense and a sense of borderlessness (Beck, 2006). Exactly this borderlessness has implications to our conceptualisation of culture. As Hannerz (1996:8) stresses, in addition to the understanding of culture as learned, acquired in social life and as something rather integrated into some kind of whole,

[t]he third characteristic, of cultures, in the plural, as packages of meanings and meaningful forms, distinctive to collectivities and territories, is the one most obviously affected by increasing interconnectedness in space. As people move with their meanings, and as meanings find ways of travelling even when people stay put, territories cannot really contain cultures. And even as one accepts that culture is socially acquired and organised, the assumption that it is homogeneously distributed within collectivities becomes problematic, when we see how their members’ experiences and biographies differ.

As argued here, there are no theoretical points to be made about spatial, territorial containment of

culture, thus the normative argument for a cosmopolitan outlook is preferred. It transgresses the symbolic and material borders of “communities”, and favours the concept of neighbourhood and place as social constructions independent of membership.

The philosophical idea of cosmopolitanism has been traded with a real one as an outcome of globalisation of the economy, politics, culture, information, communication and networks (Beck, 2006). Harvey’s (2009a, ch.4) critique of Beck’s work targets, however, the idea that national borders are obstacles to a true cosmopolitan outlook, included in a theorisation that Harvey argues supports neoliberal rationales for a borderless world and for liberalist notions of freedom that prevent global solidarities and realisation of human rights. Neoliberal connotations to cosmopolitanism are also connected to the fact that transnationalism and cosmopolitanism are confused in today’s language (Binnie, *et al.*, 2006:4-5). As Binnie *et al.* ask, can we locate the cosmopolites as an elite, western, educated traveller, an expat, or is he or she the transnational migrant, or a refugee? Four categories of people account for the transnational nature of contemporary large trans-Atlantic cities; the transnational business/social class, third world migrants; tourists; and specialists in symbolic, expressive activities (Hannerz, 1996:128-132). Cosmopolitanism in lay use often refers to multicultural cities, but a cosmopolitan *attitude* is connoted to class (Binnie, *et al.*, 2006:8-9):

It is bound up with notions of knowledge, cultural capital and education: being worldly, being able to navigate between and within different cultures, requires confidence, skill and money. It is no surprise, therefore, that a cosmopolitan disposition is most often associated with transnational elites that have risen to power and visibility in the neoliberal era.

Thus, cosmopolitanism is regularly equated with integration in global processes and economic and symbolic exchange. Instead of pointing to difference, cosmopolitanism in this competitive association refers to transnational classes, which points to homogenisation of places and lifestyles, as I have discussed. Though difference can be seen in various ways as concerning tolerance in cities, for instance, in terms of gay communities and subcultures, to the current discussion I find it most relevant to discuss difference as it informs the cities in terms of ethnic diversity and class. It is relevant as part of discourses on cosmopolitanism, on the dissimilarities between multiculturalism and transnationalism.

Oslo has an immigrant population mainly based on waves of labour immigration, asylum seekers and family reunions only since the 1960s. The immigrant population has, however, increased rapidly, from 14,2 percent in 1993 to 26,4 percent in 2009 (City of Oslo, 2009c). In contrast, Marseille’s entire history is based on waves of international immigration (Témime,

2007). Whereas Corsican, Italian, Spanish and Armenian immigrants were the dominant groups at the turn of the 19th century, post-colonial immigration and repatriation, importantly from Maghreb, characterised the immigration in the second half of the 20th century. The cities are accordingly characterised by ethnic diversity, which is manifest in the neighbouring district of Gamle Oslo adjacent to the eastern parts of Fjordbyen, and in the original neighbourhoods targeted by Euroméditerranée.

Selling cosmopolitanism in Fjordbyen

Norway has become a multicultural society, with struggles over national identities and adjustment to new national imaginaries. In the urban context, the creative class-creative city thesis is promoted in the understanding of the cosmopolitan society. Stated in the national government's report to the Storting, "A Tolerant, Secure and Creative Oslo Region" (Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, 2007a:5), Oslo's economic potential is assisted by the trait that the city "boasts a highly diverse cosmopolitan mix - culturally, socially and economically. As such it is an excellent seedbed for creativity and innovation".

The vision of Oslo expressed in the municipal plan is that it "will be an open and inclusive capital city with room for diversity and self-realisation", based on the fact that Oslo is the city in Norway with the most varied cultural offer, being also the most multicultural city (City of Oslo, 2008c:28). The creative class-creative city thesis is addressed in the aims of the plan, whereby the multicultural urban society is presented as a resource, in which "multilingual and multicultural competence can give the city an important competitive advantage" and where immigration implies a lively city life and manpower (*Ibid*). The challenges of multiculturalism are to be met by language education, integration in the labour market and by counteracting tendencies of ethnic segregation in the city (p.28). The municipality does not focus on the cultural arenas on which intercultural society can unfold, unlike the former national government (Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, 2007b:90). The municipality's plan for development and preservation of the inner city of Oslo stresses cultural diversity merely in the need for an open and multicultural profile (City of Oslo, 2009a:10). Inclusion of multiculturalism in a competitive agenda is also in this plan connected to city marketing.

The bling of multiculturalism

In the Fjordbyen exhibition, Oslo is promoted as "a city of culture". The representation firstly presented the cultural institutions built and planned in Bjørvika. Secondly, cosmopolitanism

reflected in Oslo's cultural offer was reduced to food consumption: "Oslo has developed into a truly cosmopolitan city over the last 20 years, with a large number of high quality restaurants, bars and cafés in the multicultural city centre, including a growing number of excellent international and ethnic restaurants".²⁵⁹ Other multicultural or ethnic cultural scenes and production sites in Oslo are not mentioned in this account of the "city of culture". In promotional terms, multiculturalism is reduced to spicy food, illustrating Ulrich Beck's statement that "cosmopolitanism has itself become a commodity; the glitter of cultural difference sells well" (Beck, 2006:41). This is also illustrated in the general promotion of Oslo's cosmopolitanism, as advocated by city marketing agency Oslo Teknopol:

Oslo's soul lies perhaps between a relaxed urban culture, natural and beautiful surroundings, and a technologically advanced economy. Oslo has one of the youngest populations in Europe, and in Oslo's streets, you will meet a good mix of freaks, hip minorities with a lot of bling, PhD-students with their heads in the sky, and men with suitcases on bikes. Oslo is Norway's diversified capital and the core of the Oslo-region - an area with strong growth.²⁶⁰

The representation is fitted to the elements stressed to characterise the creative city - creative class thesis. The multicultural character of Oslo is treated in other municipal plans and policies,²⁶¹ but in urban redevelopment policies such as in Fjordbyen, there is a lack of notions of how urban society has transformed to include a wide range of different cultures, and which call for a cosmopolitan outlook instead of the sale of a cosmopolitan image.

The new Deichmanske Library is presented as an institution that will accommodate cultural diversity in Fjordbyen, by attracting the immigrant population:

The City of Oslo has high ambitions for the new main library and aims at a library of high international standard conformed to future requirements in use, technology and media habits. A further basis is that the library should develop its role as a specifically attractive resource and stimuli for children and young people. The library should emphasise reading stimulation and particularly facilitate the aim that benefits such as art, culture and information of high quality are distributed more equally in society. Children and young people with multicultural background will be assured good conditions for attaining language and cultural competence. Life-long learning should further be facilitated to give the individual the opportunity to adapt to and follow the societal development (City of Oslo, 2010a:5).

The library should constitute an arena in which the urban society as a whole is included. This discourse on the library particularly address immigrants as a targeted group of education and

²⁵⁹ Photo- documentation 27 June, 2009.

²⁶⁰ <http://www.oslo.teknopol.no/Hovedmeny/Hvorfor-Osloreionen2/> retrieved 23 June, 2010.

²⁶¹ It must also be mentioned that the world music festival Mela, which offers free access, is organised each autumn at the public square in front of the City Hall. Yet, this festival precedes the Fjordbyen development, and is not included in the plans or promotion of the waterfront project.

learning, risking appearing as a disciplining institution serving the knowledge society and the value of talents. The library will be a central public arena in Fjordbyen that is free, indoor and open to all. In this way it brings value to Bjørvika as an inclusive area. However, it represents the only arena and function of this character in Fjordbyen, which makes it an insufficient strategy to include difference and cultures to the waterfront. As I discussed in Chapter 9, the delocation of Nordic Black Theatre and the rejection of the Snelda project, a young, multicultural production site and scene, illustrates a lack of cosmopolitan outlook in Bjørvika. As the theatre's directors revealed, there were few reasons for the theatre to fight for making *difference* in the new area, when they were welcomed in other, multicultural districts of Oslo.²⁶² In this sense, their new location in the district of Gamle Oslo was a predictable event.

The ambivalence of cosmopolitanism in Marseille

Compared to the Norwegian context, immigration has long traditions in France, implying more experience with multicultural society. Cosmopolitanism is consequently also more reflected as a multi-ethnic trait of Marseille compared to Fjordbyen, yet not less challenging.

Though the population of foreign origin in Marseille merely represents 14 percent of the total, the historical flows of immigration imply that Marseille of today is ethnically and religiously a much diverse city (Témime, 1997:23). Marseille is also historically known as a cosmopolitan city, largely due to its international role as a central port and trade city in the Mediterranean region. The city's openness and migration flows have invited a range of cultural practices to characterise city life. In the city centre, where Euroméditerranée is developed, practices of people in transit also characterise the city, as Mark Vacher (2005) has shown. Here, a range of activities is carried out, catering and conducted by people in transit between, in particular, Africa and Europe. In this way, the exchange offered by the port has created a meeting place and a place of transit, of flows and of immigration. Immigration also implies that new inhabitants and social groups influence social life and urban space through new uses and practices. In Leonie Sandercock's (2003:21) words, this plurality of ethnicities and cultures has contributed to urban landscapes formed by difference.

Despite a truly cosmopolitan character and absence of uprisings like those experienced in Parisian and Lyonnais suburbs, historian Emile Témime (1997) warns that the image of Marseille as diverse, tolerant and with acceptance of others is more complex. Longstanding mistrust in newcomers, ethnic divisions, and occasional treatment of minority groups as

²⁶² Interview 15 September, 2010.

outsiders are, according to Témime, parts of the city's character.²⁶³ Numerous theories are given for Marseille's rather peaceful ethnic and religious society, such as the historical role of immigration, the sun and climate, the football team l'Olympique de Marseille, the work of the local associations in neighbourhoods and the stronghold of drug-dealers and criminals in the poorer neighbourhoods. Furthermore, the director at the planning agency AGAM claims the establishment of Marseille Esperance a success that has potentially prevented uproars in Marseille. After the 1995 terrorist attacks in Paris, it was established by mayor Vigouroux as a platform assembling religious leaders in Marseille. In the director's view, the role of exchange in culture is important and a characteristic of Marseille. He illustrates the positive aspects of a cosmopolitan urban society with an image of a tram advertisement promoting "Marseille, experience of the world". To the planner-consultant, the diverse and cosmopolitan character is a benefit to Marseille that Euroméditerranée should address:

I think Marseille has a benefit in its mix of cultures, the mix of nationalities, also of age, there are as much young people as old ones. There are people who grew up here and others arriving from elsewhere. It is really a melting pot, as one used to say about N.Y. It is unique, and it gives Marseille a certain image, and a position, it seems, rather unique in comparison to the other cities studied by Ernst & Young. I think Marseille probably is the most multicultural of all, [with] people from all continents. And for the position that Euroméditerranée aims to develop for Marseille, it is exactly this international dimension, with strong relations with the other side of the Mediterranean, but also the Orient...²⁶⁴

In the early planning stages of Euroméditerranée, there were similar yet differing views upon the role of multiculturalism in Marseille and Euroméditerranée. The Chamber of Commerce and Industries, a conservative voice in Marseille, suggested removing multi-ethnic activities from the city centre. African markets, which have been operating in the central neighbourhoods of Noailles and Belsunce on each sides of the main street la Canebière, should be moved to "more suited conditions". The more suitable location was suggested to be a Mediterranean market, with South Mediterranean architecture, located by Arenc, north of Joliette (CCIMP, 1987a:99):

[T]he population of Marseille, French and foreign tourists and particularly those from the countries of Africa, Maghreb and the Middle East can find a quality place here, that constitutes a pole of original attraction as well as a factor of urban cohesion, by its products and services as well as by the picturesque ambience and its architectural features.

As in Fjordbyen, the promotional dimensions of multiculturalism are enhanced in this discourse,

²⁶³ The far right-wing party Front National has had its stronghold in the region PACA, and in Marseille, the party has seized many votes in the last municipal elections (Peraldi & Samson, 2005).

²⁶⁴ Interview 17 October, 2008.

yet in Marseille, there is also an idea to assemble and seclude these dimensions from the city centre and accommodate an exotic and attractive centre exhibiting difference. The city centre's cultural diversity is not desired as a visual trait of Marseille's representational space, but is rather desired as a festive souk outside the centre.

Contrary to this aim of turning immigrant markets into a touristic and more peripheral affair, the mission of Masson, planning the project in the early 1990s, intended for immigrant activities to continue taking place in the city centre, and aimed to develop Marseille's economic and cultural connections to Maghreb. According to the local government official engaged in the mission, the commercial markets of Maghreb, the souks, were envisioned models, relevant to Mediterranean maritime traffic and trade, potentially assuring existing activities in areas adjacent to the port.²⁶⁵ A social and cosmopolitan mix of new and original populations was promoted in a cultural conception acknowledging the ethnic variety of Marseille: “[t]o us, it was more about cults. It was rather a trace with the Buddhist temple, there were Chinese in Marseille, it was really idealistic. Small mosques, ‘the choice of the world’, we called it. But these are things that do not pay”, the official admits. These visions, in which new landscapes were conceived on the basis of Marseille's immigrant history, are not officially expressed by the mission. Partly in the present, partly in retrospect, they are utopian in competitive policies. Their ideas were not judged compatible to market ideologies in which the city centre should symbolise the values of business, as the official stresses. In the recent course of development in Euroméditerranée, the cosmopolitanism of the port is still at stake.

Marseille's cosmopolitan port

The port of Marseille is undergoing a shift in appearance and activities, with implications to a cosmopolitan outlook. With Euroméditerranée, the port's cosmopolitan role is at once used to nurture the imaginary of Marseille through Euro-Mediterranean exchange, as well as being transformed into a transnational space. Ferry terminals will still be retained in Marseille, though there have been regular discussions about the potential delocation of the passenger ferries to Maghreb. The installation of a yacht marina is desired by many of the governing bodies, as it is commonly held that Marseille should gain more shares in the economy of Mediterranean maritime tourism. EPAEM's representative stresses that a yacht marina will add to Marseille's attractiveness and that passenger ferries might be relocated in order to provide it:

²⁶⁵ Interview 9 October, 2008.

Concerning the ferries, we have to start reflecting on how the basins can be used by the port, in economic activity but also for the benefit of the city, so that the port activities, the most urban ones, localise in the most beneficial way for the city. If they don't need it all, maybe it could be used for yachts - a necessity in Mediterranean cities today, I think. Furthermore, we have to see how we can facilitate for large yachts. We will not chase the popular *esprit*, for the neighbourhood, the spaces for the poor. To me, it is not an issue. (...) [G]rand yachts, like at Vieux Port, it (...) [It is not] illegal to have a look, or to ignore them, for that sake. Not all people are interested. In return, the arrival of yachts may generate an economy, employment in maintenance, service, building... It is an economy in full development, a strong economy in terms of investment capacities and development. So it cannot be neglected. In terms of image, it can also be interesting to tourism (...).²⁶⁶

The economic rationale for EPAEM includes aims to enhance the maritime sector as a locally based industry with potential to develop into the knowledge-based economy. A strategy targeting activities that conform to the attractive city is prevalent, however, as the image is connected to economic restructuring. Whereas the tourist economy is favoured, the economy of transit represented by the ferries serving Maghreb and Corsica tends not to be. The semiosis of the knowledge-based economy, materialised and symbolised in the central urban landscape, emerges as a central concern in urban restructuring. The Mediterranean horizon symbolises this shift, as does the kind of boats allowed to anchor.

One activity that oppose these ideas about a unison expression of the knowledge-based economy at the waterfront and which negotiates the places produced at Euroméditerranée is the world music festival *Fiesta des Suds*. The festival represents the cosmopolitanism of Marseille, acquiring not a Mediterranean scope but a worldwide one. The festival has taken place in various areas at the port of Joliette since 1992. According to one of the founders, they wanted to show another Marseille than the one represented by the support of the right-wing party *Front National*, gaining as much as 40 percent of the votes in some districts of Marseille (Lanaspeze, 2006). The other founder of the festival expresses that it was started by people aiming to do something in Marseille related to the city's history, by basing the festival at the port.²⁶⁷ They wanted to locate in a place in transition, to invite all Marseillais and neighbours, and to continuously move the festival around the port. The mobility became part of the festival, allowing people to discover places while discovering music. The nomadism of the festival aligns the place of transit and cosmopolitanism represented by the port. The music from the south, in transit in Marseille and its port on the way to the north, i.e. Europe, is symbolic of the general functioning of the city as one of transit, passage and trade. As Eric Hirsch (1995:13) stresses, "like space and place, notions of inside and outside are not mutually exclusive but depend upon cultural and historical

²⁶⁶ Interview 14 February, 2008.

²⁶⁷ Interview 27 February, 2008.

context". The Fiesta des Suds aimed to transgress such divisions by using space in nomadic terms to nurture the past and future imaginary of Marseille.

With the coming of Euroméditerranée, the festival organisation Latinissimo moved to a building where they developed Docks des Suds. The artistic director stresses that this place is aimed "to contribute to the understanding of the city, its places, its bars and events, as an engagement to the souths, our imaginary or real souths" (Docks des Suds, 2008:1). The location of the Docks des Suds, which had been invested by local and regional authorities, was endangered as the port authorities owning the land aimed to allow the construction of high-rise office buildings. EPAEM assisted the process of housing the festival in the area, showing its aim to preserve existing offers in the perimeter.

The cosmopolitan outlook of Oslo and Marseille

The redevelopment policies carried out in both cities importantly rest upon the aim to offer transnational social spaces that will make them attractive to mobile professionals, the creative class or the transnational social class. There are also similar aims to develop the ports as hubs for tourism by accommodating cruise-ships and yachts. What differentiates the cities, however, is the role of cosmopolitanism in the Kantian sense. The vision of Euroméditerranée is inscribed in a will to engage with "the Other" by facilitating not only economic but also cultural exchange in the Mediterranean region. In Oslo, a mere economic rationale tends to guide the visions, whereby the international reach is more abstract and tacit compared to the various ways in which the vision of exchange is built upon in Marseille. The historical and geographical contexts play a central role in these different outlooks, but they do not explain why the development in Oslo is not reflected upon in terms of the current realities of a multicultural society. The role of real estate development and the governing role of companies are likely to be part of the explanation.

Institution-building capabilities and cultural identities

Christopher Bailey *et al.* (2004:49) argue that successful culture-led urban redevelopment is not about trickle-down effects. Rather, it concerns a revitalisation of cultural identities in ways which counter-balance wider processes of cultural globalisation. In Euroméditerranée, cultural institutions have taken the role as mediators between place and mobility, past and future, and as preservers of cultural identities. When the role of culture is understood in this way, in how it connects to spaces, it may provide a framework within which citizens may re-establish ownership of their own sense of place and history. Connected to the creative city, questions of

urban citizenship means that concerns with the ordinary city should be included in urban redevelopment policies (Chatterton, 2000:393):

[T]he creative city concept needs to be tempered through a grounding in not just the “buzz“ and glamour of cities, but also the “hum“ - the everyday, mundane, the ordinary and the drabness which makes up life for urban dwellers. In contrast to the new corporate playscapes in cities, large swathes of urban areas function on a less glamorous and spectacular basis and meet a range of other, more basic, needs for its inhabitants. Creativity, then, is all around us in the “ordinary” city—in the markets, taxi ranks, bingo halls or the betting shop.

Whereas everyday life for people is importantly spatialised in home and workplace, the public sphere is crucial for the enactment of citizenship, which is also central to ordinary life. Citizenship and cultural identities are nurtured at public arenas. To a society, the cultural domain gives materially and symbolically specific cultural expressions (Crang, 1998:3):

If we look around at any society, there are activities whose primary role is symbolic; say, theatre, opera, art, literature or poetry. All of these are generally seen as products or expressions of that society’s culture. Indeed, we may might instantly extend our account to include libraries, museums, galleries and so forth that allow these forms to exist; that preserve and reproduce them; that make them available to people.- the institutions that keep cultures going...

The competitive role of cultural institutions in wider territorial policies has, as discussed, changed their orientations. Institutions commodified in the production of place risk being reduced to their image-generating potential: “Flagship cultural institutions, frequently financed as public-sector investments to attract private-sector renovation of the surrounding area, tend to be engines not of democratisation of culture but of gentrification” (S. Miles & Miles, 2004:53). In Euroméditerranée, public institutions work both on geographical imaginaries and everyday life in the neighbourhood. I will discuss the roles of knowledge and cultural institutions to the creation of place in how they may negotiate redevelopment processes by creating alternative places for cultural identities. This topic is discussed in the context of cultural institutions as public spaces, in which education, identity and history are brought into the experience offered.

Schools as public arenas for social diversity

Schools provide an area in which social diversity is realised in a concrete setting, thus holding a societal role for the enhancement of citizenship (Biseth, 2012). In Euroméditerranée, the school as a public arena where difference is experienced is challenged. The public and private schools existing in Joliette prior to the development of Euroméditerranée experienced social problems.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁸ Interview 13 October, 2008.

EPAEM sees it as a challenge to the new inhabitants, who are in the top levels of the social ladder. They demand establishments where their children “can develop in the best conditions, which are not necessarily the case with mixed publics as to the scholarly level”.²⁶⁹

The lower secondary school Collège Izzo opened in Joliette in 2005. The school aims to enhance democracy by emphasising culture and integration in the new neighbourhood, for instance by sharing its amphitheatre and sports field. The headmaster explains that when the school opened, the challenge was to experiment with social diversity: “Because the new ones arriving, they are mainly professionals, and we will try and make them cohabitate at this school, children from privileged backgrounds and children from disadvantaged backgrounds. It is some kind of a wish, an ideal”.²⁷⁰ In this way, the school initiated public action to contribute to social cohesion. Such actions illustrate how public institutions can take responsibilities for the collective making of urban society (Miciukiewicz, *et al.*, 2012:1855-1856). However, the new inhabitants were mostly couples without children, 40-50 years old or young couples, the headmaster reveals, implying that the school was opened with mainly children from the original neighbourhood, with 84 percent of the pupils having an immigrant background.²⁷¹



Illustration 49. Collège Izzo.

²⁶⁹ Interview 14 February, 2008.

²⁷⁰ Interview 14 January, 2008.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*

The pedagogical programme of Collège Izzo is also developed to assist aims of social diversity. The programme is based on three axes, “all concerning citizenship”: to take care of children with problems, fight against absence and against inequalities between girls and boys; and to develop cultural and sport facilities as a means of favouring social diversity and difference. The desire is thereby that the new inhabitants, the professionals, will consider sending their children to the school because they will gain a different experience. The sport and cultural offers should accordingly be the school’s emblem, the school’s distinctiveness. “Our *pole d’excellence* is a diverse culture for learning” the headmaster stresses.²⁷²

The passage of ideas and the reflexive aspects of culture are also present in the inscription of the school in the visions of Euroméditerranée. In addition to the aim of providing educational offers preparing the pupils for a professional job in Euroméditerranée, the notions of exchange and a cosmopolitan outlook are included in the school’s vision:

There is a very strong desire to enforce the Euroméditerranéen character, particularly the Mediterranean one. In the school, every room has the name of a port. So it implies that each day, the kid sees Istanbul, Alger, and I think that it’s really in a triple, quadrupled cultural belonging, because we have many children with a background from North-Africa, the Commodores, Africa and beyond. So it is their culture of origin. Belonging to a neighbourhood in Marseille... of Panier and Joliette, which are keepers of symbols in terms of immigration... And then their belonging, to the phenomena such as the problems of the people without residence permit, the mobilisation of teachers to defend them and all that. It is the desire to be French, without denying their origins, by affirming strongly that one is Marseillais, in a European context.²⁷³

In this way, the school internalises geographical imaginaries that emphasise difference and a mix of cultural identities that take a material expression by the use of the port cities for naming classrooms. Collège Izzo also adopts the visions of exchange as well as including the pupils in Euroméditerranée as a place where they have the right to belong. The headmaster thus acknowledges that the school is located in a neighbourhood in transition, whereby the labour market and cultural identities are changing with the redevelopment process. There is on this background perhaps not only the need to rephrase and act upon a right to culture or dwelling in the city, but also a right to work that must be considered, if justice is to be situated in the city. This situated right is inherent in the experiences offered at the Collège Izzo, where citizenship and cultural identities are reflected upon, and where capabilities to stay put are aimed empowered by the teaching of competences apt to the knowledge-based economy.

The aim of social diversity in the school is, however, hard to achieve because it is not

²⁷² Interview 14 January, 2008.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

necessarily desired by the new inhabitants. Mixing old and new populations is conceived of as a challenge due to the differences between the transnational social classes and poorer inhabitants of mainly immigrant origin. To EPAEM, the school represents an arena in which the diverse neighbourhood poses problems of attractiveness:

[I]t is evident, as we are in an extremely marginalised neighbourhood (...), at the same time as the new inhabitants, who are rather in the high end of society one might say, they, they still search establishments where their children may have... develop themselves fully, and to be in good circumstances, which is not necessarily the case in the mix at the scholarly level.²⁷⁴

EPAEM's director expresses his understanding of how new inhabitants also aim to appropriate the neighbourhood. Their demands and complaints are conceived of as natural and understandable, since the individual's choice of school would favour the best conditions. The development agency's role in facilitating the development involves making the district comfortable for new inhabitants. This role implies arranging services at the level of quality demanded. New, private schools are developed, and can thus be an obstacle to the aim of social diversity held by Collège Izzo. The separation into different spheres represented by these choices is an obstacle to social cohesion at the local scale.

The theatre director of la Minoterie points out that they have always reflected on what it means to be a theatre in the heart of a city, and Euroméditerranée's vision of exchange is acceptable and even desirable to conform to. The relations la Minoterie has built upon in the neighbourhood are appreciated by the headmaster of the Collège Izzo, who shares the theatre director's perspective on the role of culture in urban society:

The school is one way in which access to culture is given, the family is another. But, in deprived neighbourhoods, access to culture is not a priority. So today, the school must play a role in regard of social equality and the access to culture. And work in the long-term, so that the person becomes experienced. It also has to be financially realistic. This means that we work with theatres, such as la Minoterie, which use the amphitheatre. We choose a specific play, and we lend out the amphitheatre for a week...And we always work with professionals...It does not cost much (...) [but] in return we obtain real things, cultural objects to the pupils. It is this idea of exchange, and then, the strong idea is really to say that in addition to cultural consumption, for the pupils who go to the play made by the theatre Minoterie..., something happens at their school, so there is pride. And..., the [director] works with the classes seeing the play. After class, there is discussion with the actors. So, it is always to say; a cultural act is not an act in itself. There is something which allows it to "pass". I like this expression. The place of the school is a place of passage.²⁷⁵

The Collège Izzo has ascribed a central role to culture as part of education, facilitated by the

²⁷⁴ Interview 14 January, 2008.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

infrastructure of the school and the cooperation with theatres. The school's role in urban society is further conceived of as central in terms of social equality and access. The school thus attained a new meaning in the everyday life of the pupils by working on the qualities of place in the neighbourhood. The theatre and the school have together created a place for inhabitants, based on both enduring practices offered by the theatre and new relations offered by the cooperation between the school and the theatre. Such an experience is also created at la Friche de Belle de Mai, where Mark Ingram (2011 :xxi) learnt about the theatre's production of a play made with pupils from the neighbourhood to help making them creative and dynamic actors as well conscious about their environments, to help avoiding them to withdraw into communities. As Ingram notes, the theatre's aims was to promote the French ideal of universalism, which favours culture as a medium for transcending the particular interests of communities.

Similar aspirations for the role of schools as arenas enhancing social cohesion and integration in neighbourhoods target Tøyen, where inhabitant initiatives and the political agreement in city council favouring delocation of the Munch Museum to Bjørvika in exchange of an action plan for Tøyen coincided in 2013.²⁷⁶ The action plan assists the school Tøyen skole in becoming a local cultural arena by extending its uses, whereas the Tøyen Initiative Action Group aims to increase the number of ethnic Norwegian families staying after their children reach school-age to avoid white flight. Whereas schools in general operate as public arenas in Oslo, cultural institutions have not traditionally taken this role in their environments. In Euroméditerranée, cultural institutions have worked to invite users from various scales.

Cultural institutions and their place qualities in Oslo

Cultural institutions in Oslo do not seem to have reflections on their socio-spatial location or place-making qualities to urban society, compared to Marseille's new institutions. The Norwegian Opera and Ballet is an exception, where the institution constitutes a diverse cultural arena that has supported actions to assure a broader cultural offer in Bjørvika.

According to its director, the private foundation Astrup Fearnley does not have the same access to and close contact with schools and families as public institutions do. On the question of whether the museum had any visions for Astrup Fearnley's location at Tjuvholmen in terms of the neighbourhood and the variety of audiences, the director holds that political conditions in part explain why the museum has not embarked upon this reflection:

²⁷⁶ <http://loft-toyen.no/t-yen-initiativet.html>, retrieved 3 March, 2015.

Our social embeddedness goes mainly through the media. And I cannot say that we have reflected upon which role we will have in an urbanistic context. I cannot say that. And it is because the urbanistic philosophy is so incomprehensible here in Oslo, and that you have to lean on to someone. If there has been a more coherent philosophy and connections, we could have contributed. Then we could have engaged in the discussion, signed in, and developed visions connected to...we are almost like an island like most of the institutions.²⁷⁷

The director indicates that there are few connections between cultural institutions and the institutional arrangement of urban development and planning. The lack of policies of urban overall cohesion is characteristic to the political decision to relocate institutions to Fjordbyen.

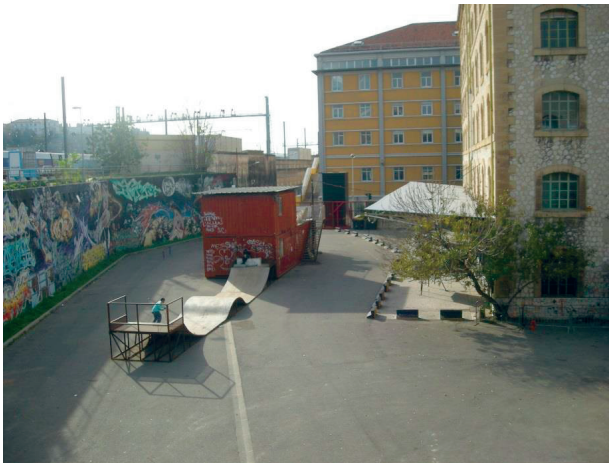


Illustration 50. The skateboard ramp at la Friche de Belle de Mai.

Euroméditerranée and the scaled offers of cultural institutions

In Euroméditerranée there are several examples of how cultural institutions can negotiate the agenda chosen by a development agency, in the aim to invite the original population into the new public arenas as a reflection on social cohesion. Prior to the opening of the new museum, MuCEM organised exhibitions that targeted the urban immigrant population and organised workshops at social centres in the city-region.²⁷⁸ The theatre la Minoterie collaborates with the Collège Izzo to engage pupils, and aims to programme plays relevant to the Euro-Mediterranean vision.²⁷⁹ There have been seminars on how to prevent gentrification at la Friche de Belle de Mai,²⁸⁰ where neighbourhood functions such as a kindergarten and a skateboard ramp also are

²⁷⁷ Interview 27 October, 2009.

²⁷⁸ I attended one workshop about objects and memory in Hyère, 17 December, 2007.

²⁷⁹ Interview 14 December, 2007.

²⁸⁰ I attended one meeting in November, 2009.

developed, as illustrated above. The integration of la Friche in the neighbourhood is however not a priority compared to its integration in the strategic culture-led redevelopment policies of Marseille (Andres, 2011). The Archives and Library of Bouches du Rhône (ABD) and the Villa Méditerranée illustrate more specifically how the development process is negotiated through the programming and facilitation for the original, predominantly immigrant, population.

The Archives and Library of Bouches du Rhône (ABD)

The objectives of ABD are principally related to the provision of library services to professionals and institutions and public archive functions.²⁸¹ However, the director of the library stresses that they have “opened [the institution] a little to the neighbourhood because it is a bit sad to have a nice building in this neighbourhood without opening it to the inhabitants. This implies that we provided a press room to the benefit of the neighbourhood”.²⁸² The director of the Archives adds that ABD’s activities are inscribed in the department’s objective of democratisation of culture, “which is not very original, but still important to continue believing in and adhering to”.²⁸³ The exhibitions organised at the ABD include focus on the mediation of historical knowledge, memory, family, and community life, according to the director of the archives, who thinks the success is reflected in the number of visitors:

Perhaps it sounds rather modest, but even though public transport to Arenc was very limited our first year here, we still registered almost 40 000 visitors. We read that number with great satisfaction and were encouraged to continue our efforts in cultural mediation. Because, we start to really identify it as a space where one can come, for several reasons, because there is always an exhibition, events, manifestations, in addition to the reading room and pressroom.²⁸⁴

The different activities developed at the ADB imply that an arena is created that is inclusive and targeting various social groups. Democratisation of culture is further inscribed in ADB’s aim to contribute to the mediation of historical knowledge. With the level of immigration in Marseille’s region, it is a central issue:

We are right to consider our role in the diffusion of knowledge, historical knowledge in particular, and this has brought us to develop a programme that, I’d say, doesn’t stop at exhibitions. An exhibition for us must be accompanied by manifestations, principally conferences, perhaps rather evolutionary. We try to do so in cooperation with associations that

²⁸¹ The district department authorities of Bouches du Rhône had poorly invested in Marseille, and with its new president elected in 1998, Jean-Noël Guérini from the Socialist party, a fusion of the department’s archives and library was decided in the perimeter of Euroméditerranée.

²⁸² Interview 16 January, 2008.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

themselves are interested in the importance of memory for the inhabitants in the neighbourhood, or in the region of Marseille. We work a lot on that dimension.²⁸⁵

Contrary to the use of the pressroom, only a few inhabitants, those interested in genealogy, come to the reading room. The ABD organise exhibitions primarily targeting a local audience, based on the multicultural neighbourhood:

Parcours de Ville, yes, and Cap sur la Madagaskar, - because there are many Marseillais who have professional or family relations with the sea. So, the exhibitions may work well in Marseille and in this neighbourhood because they invoke several things. And a lot of people came to the inauguration of Parcours de Ville, people from here. They wanted to see what we had made for a ramble of memory, which we had confined to an association.²⁸⁶

By providing activities and functions targeting various social and cultural groups and nurturing different geographical imaginaries, the ABD represents a place and an arena characterised by diverse activities. Such arenas allow the multicultural creation of place (Entrikin, 2002:23-24).

The cooperation with the Vezzoni Architects building the ABD is mutually appreciated because of the shared visions for the role of the building in the new neighbourhood, illustrated by the development of a garden adjacent to the ABD, according to the director of the archives:

The terrain belongs to the department, but [Vezzoni Architects] have made it open to the city, to the neighbourhood. Yes, it is taken care of, this is the reason why we could permit ourselves vegetation, maybe trees, flowers, so, the city doesn't have the means to preserve more rare plants, so we have treated this little park, much worked, a small square for the children, for the mothers, because, we had to say it, there are enormously many apartments at that side. And no garden, in this zone. There were port activities, there were no green zones.²⁸⁷

Vezzoni thinks they won the competition because they proposed only one building at the two land-lots offered, in order to propose a public garden on the other lot.²⁸⁸ She also thinks that the quality of the architecture is that it is included in the surrounding urban landscape and adhering to the historical street alignment, which they have respected in the construction of the ABD.

Villa Méditerranée

Another French institution relevant to the discussion here is the Villa Méditerranée, which

²⁸⁵ Interview 16 January, 2008.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ Interview 6 February, 2008.

opened in 2013. It was aimed to serve as a place of exchange at various scales. The regional council of Provence Alpes Côte d'Azur (PACA) wanted, in line with other territorial authorities, to mark the new area with a new institution, materialising their collaboration in Euroméditerranée. Villa Méditerranée was envisioned as a place of popular life, economic life and artistic expression, whereas philosophically, the centre should symbolise and be an instrument of the council's aim "to bring to fraternity the peoples of the Mediterranean" (Conseil Régional PACA, Undated:2). It opened as an international centre for dialogue and discussion in the Mediterranean at J4, close to MuCEM. Two representatives of the Centre's preparatory mission stressed in 2008 that the specificity of the current Regional Council was its relations to other Mediterranean regions, reflected in all of its political areas.²⁸⁹ The centre represents an infrastructural core enabling these relations, according to the director:

The agents of this cooperation in the Mediterranean basin are never the authorities themselves. It is always civil society, and the regional council's role is to provide the framework within which the entrepreneurs, people from the cultural field and social associations can work in a constructive way. So, slowly, an idea is born around this notion, that the centre should be constructed...by three dimensions. The first is the international and long-term notion of the Mediterranean basin. The necessity is also that the will to cooperate is acknowledged locally, comprehensible for everyone. Secondly, people who will develop, direct and multiply this cooperation must have a place to meet, where they also can show what they produce. It is about expression, the vivid character of the cooperation. The third thing is that the authorities involved should have a neutral place to meet, where they can debate, without neither taboos nor restrictions.²⁹⁰

The centre is aimed to be a geo-strategic facilitator of cooperation and exchange, whereby both the locality in the perimeter of Euroméditerranée and the engagement with the pan-region were aimed to enforce EUs neighbourhood policies. The representative of the centre emphasises this point and connects it to other cultural offers, which form a general strategy with mutually reinforcing aims and activities:

It is crucial that Euroméditerranée has something which speaks to people in this region, but also to the entire world, that there are symbolic places. The perspective to see the MuCEM and the Centre, side by side on the entrance of the port...it's interesting. We see that the Centre takes the history of the Mediterranean where MuCEM stops. It is about the future, history of the development, of exchange...²⁹¹

The centre would be symbolically located on the shores of Marseille and the Mediterranean Sea, materially representing spaces of exchange between the two neighbourhood levels, according to the representative: "The situation of the J4 enforces the multiple aspects of happenings that are

²⁸⁹ Interview 29 February, 2008.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*

touristic, functional, urban, memorial...cultural and historical (...) [and] will be one of the propositions offered to all publics who will practice this site, the local and regional public, tourists, cruise passengers, companies, business tourism” (Conseil Régional PACA, Undated:10).

To my question if or how the centre’s aims at dialoguing with inhabitants in the adjacent neighbourhoods or in the city would be realised, the other representative stresses that the centre should be turned to the local level. She stresses, however, that the particularities of Marseille and its cosmopolitan history make it important to enhance activities and exhibitions at a scale involving various audiences:

...The idea that one has to open up to the largest possible public, it is crucial that the Centre opens towards the neighbourhood, that there is a real policy turned to the neighbourhood and to Marseille too. It is rather particular, but every neighbourhood [in Marseille] is easily identified, connected to their past, their jobs. So it is also good that at one point everyone can feel at ease, feel good when they come, and to identify in the program the Mediterranean world of today. It is of course also the [issues of] economy, ecology and migration. It is really a mix in this city. So, at a given time we may [offer] a system of workshops and meetings available to people, and questions of migration in the 20th century. Because we all have a grandfather who came from somewhere, he was not from here...Then again it is the ecological question, which concerns all of us, young people, and fishermen. These are topics that concern all of us. It is thus not a question of neighbourhood.²⁹²

These reflections broaden the concept of neighbourhood. It illustrates ways in which urban identities, in whichever city, are connected to exchange of ideas, meanings, images and people between different cities and places (Tonkiss, 2005:4). The containment of the neighbourhood is perhaps not of definitional centrality, but assists in identifying a scale on which human experiences and practices are materialised and leaving traces. The representative adds that the site is not yet a neighbourhood in people’s perception. The reason is that port activities have taken place here for decades, as is the case in Oslo.

There is on this basis a geography of programming, a geography of local functions and a geography of public spaces that together constitute a cultural and spatial offer enhancing the capacity of the institutions to provide neighbourhood functions and embed the vision of the pan-regional neighbourhood, that of Euro-Mediterranean exchange and dialogue. The vision is materialised by the cultural institutions, which insist on scaling their spatial and cultural practices and offers at various levels, feeding various geographical imaginaries.

²⁹² Interview 29 February, 2008.

Citizens and negotiation

Amartya Sen (2008) sees a fundamental difference in the concept of social justice between a perspective emphasising the existence of just institutional arrangements and the perspective on social justice in a comparative frame. Similar perspectives divide theorists of planning, between those who advocate just procedures and those who advocate just results as an orientation toward the redistributive role of planning (just redistribution of resources) (Nylund, 2014).

Negotiation enabled in redevelopment processes necessities capability. Various forms of alternative actions resist and renounce redevelopment projects, though there is regularly a lack of capabilities to actually influence and change the directions of redevelopment projects. Gro Sandkjær Hanssen (2012) refers to the difference between the ability and the capability that politicians have to make strategic choices and decisions in urban redevelopment projects in the frames of current public-private partnership models. Whereas abilities are defined as instruments and tools for action and decision-making, capabilities refer to the skills, knowledge and will to use them. Negotiating force in urban governance is often a capacity held by economic and political elites. In what follows, I will briefly discuss the capacity to negotiate the redevelopment projects by focusing on the issues raised by local associations in the respective cities. The topic of public participation in these mega-projects deserves separate attention, and will here only be treated as part of the broader discussion about social cohesion and the right to stay put, seen from civil society.

I have discussed Lefebvre's theories about the city as work and the city as oeuvre, arguing that the concept is useful in analysing urban restructuring and competitive policies, though with a creative opening in the domain of culture. The discussion based on this distinction can be connected to how Lefebvre conceives historical phases of everyday life (C. Butler, 2012): the first being a naturalistic phase in which religion played a role, where human life was intimately related to nature. The second phase is conceived of as emerging together with urbanisation and mass consumption, whereby everyday life is addressed by an urge for consumption categorisation, though not without opportunities for spontaneity. The third phase Lefebvre theorises is the latest one in which consumption has transcended societal spheres, through active control, manipulation and programming, as Chris Butler (2012:29) recounts:

Through the mass media, forms of advertising and state bureaucratic collaboration, capitalism colonises the everyday and institutes what Lefebvre terms "the bureaucratic society of controlled consumption". Unlike the "spontaneous self-regulation" of the era of competitive capitalism, everyday life in advanced industrialised societies has become a "voluntary programmed self-regulation" contained within a "closed circuit" of "production-consumption-production".

Lefebvre argues that pre-modern societies manifested a great diversity of social practices while achieving a high degree of internal unity. With the advent of modernity, the permeation of technocratic rationality within everyday life and the rise of bureaucratic organisation have replaced these characteristics with tendencies towards homogeneity and uniformity, while simultaneously introducing fragmentation and functional specialisation. Consequently, all aspects of “domestic life leisure time [and] cultural activity” have fallen prey to this systematisation.

Even though the consumption of the city is at stake in current redevelopment policies, cultural activity and active policies can substantiate the creative city and the city of cultures as a diverse and cosmopolitan arena. Lefebvre’s observations are relevant to the ways in which waterfront projects tend to fall into a repetitive pattern caused by the use of planning and policy models and the aim to attract the transnational social classes. The role of citizens is an important part of Lefebvre’s notion of the right to the city, which is based on his understanding of the urban as “more or less the *oeuvre* of its citizens, a work of art constantly being remade”(C. Butler, 2012:143). This will now be discussed in the respective cities.

Changed participatory processes in Norwegian urban redevelopment

In Norway, the planning and building act is a tool that regulates spatial development, aimed at assuring society’s shared interests in planning. The act was revised in 2008, with public participation as a targeted goal, stating that the municipality has the duty to control that public and private developers initiate processes of participation. The municipality has a specific responsibility in assuring the active participation of groups with specific needs for facilitation, herein children and young people.²⁹³ The right to participation in Norwegian planning was not included in the planning legislation until 1985, emphasised as strengthening democracy, not replacing representative democracy (Falleth & Hanssen, 2012). Similarly, the revision of 1985 greatly increased the number of private plans submitted, contributing to a new role of local politicians in planning, which according to ideals of public-private partnership can make politicians more strategically oriented, rather than detail-oriented (Hanssen, 2012).

In the Norwegian urban context, politicians at the municipal level seem to have the instruments and tools to steer the process, but there tends to be a lack of capability to prioritise the most important issues in urban redevelopment (Bowitz & Høegh, 2005:61). According to Sandkjær Hanssen (2012:40), politicians do often not have the skills, knowledge or will to do so, with the critical conclusion that “[t]he practices of development agreements, negotiations and public companies all require strong strategic leadership by politicians - a role they do not seem to be very comfortable with”. As the author points out, this condition of planning becomes a

²⁹³ Lov om planlegging og byggesaksbehandling, §5-1, Lov 2008-06-27 no. 71 (participation in planning).

democratic problem since companies carry out the majority of development plans in Norway. In his study of changes in the scope of regional planning in Denmark, Daniel Galland (2012) came to similar conclusions concerning the Danish welfare state orientation in the field of planning.

The Swedish planning and building act instructs municipalities to counteract socio-spatial inequalities in their comprehensive planning (Nylund, 2014:42). The Norwegian planning and building act does not include aims at social cohesion, but has in its latest version included universal design, regard of the children and adolescents environment of upbringing and public participation in its latest version. Aesthetic design of the environments is emphasised.²⁹⁴ In the municipal plan of Oslo, one of the four goals is that the citizens contribute to the city's development and in decisions concerning them (City of Oslo, 2008c:42-43). The municipality intends that local political arenas will be strengthened in order to assure close relations between inhabitants and the elected politicians in the city and district councils (Schmidt *et al.*, 2011). A strategy formulated to target this goal is that the city districts are strengthened as political arenas. The local democracy should consequently be empowered to assure that political power is enacted in close dialogue with the inhabitants, and decisions should be made the closest possible to those who are affected by them (City of Oslo, 2008c:42-43). According to the leader of the council of the Gamle Oslo district, the council does not have more influence than non-political parties, and the district has according to the informant no influence on Bjørvika after the Opera decision.²⁹⁵ He also stresses that the city council can be more visionary as members do not have the ability to decide in the development process. They do not have to carry out pragmatic policies as in the city council. Based on the ability to be visionary, the district council launched an alternative plan for Bjørvika, in which all citizens could voice their concerns.

An alternative vision of Bjørvika

Politicians and local associations in the district of Gamle Oslo have been eager to influence the redevelopment process in Bjørvika, which they see as taking place on their doorstep. To them, the call has been to realise the aim of opening up the spaces between the district and the fjord. After the engagement in the campaign to locate the Opera House in Bjørvika in the end of the 1990s, the next larger act based on local political vision by representatives of the district council was motivated by the extent of opposition to the high-rise buildings in Bjørvika. About 30 000 signatures were collected on a privately initiated web survey in 2006. The aim was still to

²⁹⁴ The Planning and Building Act LOV-2008-06-27-71.

²⁹⁵ Interview 6 October, 2009.

influence the Bjørvika development, which the city council was to treat as part of the Fjordbyen plan in February 2008.²⁹⁶ The district council's urban redevelopment committee was contacted by persons connected to the New Urbanism movement in Oslo (*Byens fornyelse*),²⁹⁷ a network of architects, art historians, writers and others working to promote more traditionally based alternatives within architecture and place-making.²⁹⁸ Many of the participants had further been engaged in the Fjord and the City Competition in the early 1980s. In 2008, a programme of one week of actions was initiated to draw an alternative plan for Bjørvika, in which inhabitants and other interested parties were invited to join in the making of the plan. The actions were organised as a charrette, a method developed within New Urbanism: an extended participative planning workshop aimed at making various voices heard in redevelopment processes.

The local politician holds that these persons did not "like high-rise buildings or that type of architecture, whereas we in the district were merely preoccupied with the removal of the barrier, or to stop the barrier". The district council's urban development committee had for years objected to Bjørvika's development plan, and criticised the planned street grid for its lack of compliance to the streets of Grønland in Gamle Oslo. Representatives of the committee further emphasised that in order to make the landscape of Bjørvika a continuance of the neighbouring district, the railway tracks had to be covered, on which construction could assure urban continuity between the fjord and "the city behind". The charrette resulted in an alternative plan, which they hoped would be considered before the adoption of the Fjordbyen plan.

The alternative plan evolved in line with economic and material calculations, required if it was to become viable as a reasonable alternative to the existing plan (See illustrations below). Therefore, instead of accepting Barcode's density and high-rise structure, which was the response to the aim at maximum land-use, the alternative plan suggested the compliance to this principle by suggesting the coverage of the railway tracks and the construction of a rather intensified urban structure on its surface. This alternative provided a street grid acting as a continuance of Gamle Oslo, with the economic premises taken into account. People attending the public meetings and stepping into the planning office during the charrette were largely concerned with the qualities of place, and what they conceived as threatening such qualities in the process.

²⁹⁶ Interview 13 March, 2009.

²⁹⁷ www.byen.org/, retrieved 6 July, 2011.

²⁹⁸ Interview 13 March, 2009.



Illustration 51. Excerpt of the current plan of Bjørvika. Source: HAV Eiendom AS & ViaNova AS.



Illustration 52. The alternative plan for Bjørvika. Source: Arne Sødal.

The public meetings organised were well attended (100-200 people), and the voices raised were concerned about democratic deficit, protection of local qualities such as green and public spaces, and the actual connections between the city and the waterfront. The open office where the plan was drafted was open to the public, and people visiting was either concerned citizens, students, or representatives of cultural institutions. Some people misunderstood the role of the charrette, thinking the municipality or the redevelopment companies were organising it,

with a generous space of influence and participation. Cultural intermediaries and artists asked about the possibilities to rent locales in the vacant buildings in the railway area, where they had seen opportunities to carry out their activities. These wishes were included in the alternative plan, yet without any results. The alternative plan eventually impacted the city council to decrease the number of floors of the Barcode towers, receiving much attention and enthusiasm, but no wider impact.

A temporal information centre for Fjordbyen was set up at the Central train station in the 2000s, yet there in recent years, it has been lacking, even though the Fjordbyen plan aims at its establishment (City of Oslo, 2008b:17). A permanent office has thus not been established, in contrast to two information and communication offices in Marseille, where an Atelier d'urbanism and EPAEM also organise several and regular excursions in the perimeter, which mainly takes place once a year in Bjørvika. Despite the promotion of Bjørvika as one of the projects with the most extensive public participation processes, there have been few solid participative actions that have been made early in the process, well ahead in time to influence the process. This is a challenge in Norwegian planning, where companies and investors lobby for their interests in the early phases, whereas the lack of arenas where politicians and inhabitants can participate reduces their role and augments the role of the market (Falleth & Hanssen, 2012).

In Fjordbyen, there have been charrettes, hearings and information meetings, which still assemble the same audience engaging in the same questions, and where there are few signs that the debates actually influence the redevelopment process. In order to understand how various factors contribute to sense of place for people, innovative methods are required in order to reach a broader spectre of urban society, for instance by being pro-active and meeting people in their everyday life surroundings (Swensen *et al.*, 2012). An inventive method was applied in Bjørvika, but by agents lacking capability to negotiate the project from a local scale.

Envisioned and promoted as an exposition platform of the modernity and creativity of Oslo. The cosmopolitanism addressed in Fjordbyen points to the characteristics of the transnational social class through the offers planned and developed. This is illustrated by the promotion of culture in the Fjordbyen exhibition, which had visited seven cities in five countries before it was held in Oslo in 2009. The aim of the touring exhibition was to promote Oslo internationally, whereas the exhibition in Oslo was aimed to inform Norwegians in general about Fjordbyen. The exhibition itself thus illustrated transnational aspirations for the waterfront project, whereby participatory planning including Oslo's inhabitants have been scarce. It has not included reflections on the diverse society in Fjordbyen, as has been documented in other cities (Sandercock, 2003:129):

from the overall failure of the planning system to respond to the increasing cultural diversity of the city, to the ways in which the values and norms of the dominant culture are reflected in plans, planning codes and bylaws, legislation, and heritage and urban design practices, to planners' inability to analyse issues from a multicultural perspective or to design participatory processes that bring (cultural, religious and other) minorities into the planning process.

These lessons are significant when original, multicultural neighbourhoods are developed, though with an immigrant proportion of 25 percent in the municipality, the development of Oslo's city centre and the new waterfront calls for questions about the identities and functions enhanced in a truly cosmopolitan outlook. The ways in which planning has been generally conducted have been based on traditional mono-cultural norms of how space should be used and framed in an urban society (Sandercock, 2003:21).

Local concerns and decision-making powers in a district council of Marseille

In France, the Paris-Lyon-Marseille Act was adopted 31st December 1982 enhancing creation of elected councils at the level of the *arrondissement* as a means to strengthen local democracy.²⁹⁹ This policy advocates local autonomy, which is a locality's capacities to control and act upon the production of place, as a set of power relations continuously produced and reproduced (Van Dyck, 2010:199). Thus, the local entity should be empowered to negotiate political and economic processes affecting its places, inhabitants and actions.

The Marseille senior officer in charge of international affairs and the director of studies at AGAM state that the problem of *Euroméditerranée* is that it is not well enough inscribed at the local level and that what takes place within the perimeter is isolated from the city's wider development.³⁰⁰ The general secretary of the *arrondissement* council in Marseille's 2nd sector (including 2nd and 3rd *arrondissements*), within which *Euroméditerranée* is mainly developed, holds that they are consulted and informed in the development process, but that they have no formal decision making powers in this case.³⁰¹ He is pointing to the lack of ability to negotiate the redevelopment process that takes place within these districts, hence a lack of local autonomy. He emphasises, however, that the project is important in a wider sense, at the metropolitan and national scale. To him, the local council's role is to try influencing the development in the favour of the population, so that everyone profits from better offers. In particular, they need to reclaim the banal and everyday needs of public space, schools and sports fields that the sectors lack, yet by also acknowledging the difficult spatial negotiation within which this must be conceived.

²⁹⁹ Loi n°82-1169 du 31 décembre 1982 relative à l'organisation administrative de Paris, Marseille, Lyon et des établissements publics de coopération intercommunale.

³⁰⁰ Interview 21 March, 2008 and 17 October, 2008.

³⁰¹ Interview 13 October, 2008.

In these densely populated neighbourhoods, the general secretary thinks that a balance “is difficult to sustain, it is not antagonism, it is this relation that exists between the wish to make people come, that create new needs, and the lack of space”.³⁰² The pragmatic aspects of urban redevelopment mean that the combination of new and old inhabitants and their daily needs are questions to be addressed by negotiation and not contest, since urban space is scarce. The politician thinks that to some extent, the local council might influence, but that the most important thing is that they remind EPAEM’s developers of what they evidently already know, such as the need to build schools, which may be delayed in the development process. The sector is further the one with the highest unemployment level in Marseille (in 2008), and the general secretary of the sector stresses the paradox that many jobs are created that do not really benefit the local, unqualified population, who no longer find jobs in these districts. The income level of the original population also makes the politician wonder whether the cultural offers planned in Euroméditerranée can benefit the population, or whether they will be more affected by the nuances of increased traffic, that he fears will be a consequence of the new and large cultural offers such as the concert hall of le Silo d’Arenc.

The need for green spaces in this sector, which holds merely 3 hectares, is emphasised, as well as the importance of these to be larger spaces and not small clusters of trees in various locations. The claim for green spaces has also been made by local associations, and the vice president of the neighbourhood council Tourette adjacent to the J4 holds that their space for intervention in Euroméditerranée is minor. In public meetings, most of the time is used for information and a minor part for questions. For the J4, he envisions greeneries and facilities for children instead of voluminous constructions. “The J4 belongs to us”, he says, but “at the international level, if the Parisians descend to Marseille for a conference, they would be better off at the J4...”.³⁰³ The attractiveness of this area at wider scales is acknowledged, yet the local appropriation is expressed as a right and need at the local level that come in contrast with the upscaling of the city. The same conflict of scale was evident in Oslo’s Bjørvika development.

During my fieldwork periods, there have been no “concertations”, i.e. participatory processes obligatory in planning processes to observe. A study of the participatory methods is thereby prevented. In Marseille, an interesting establishment is however the Maison d’Euroméditerranée, which was opened in 2002 to cater particularly to the original population. It is a centre of information answering questions such as where to seek work or how to find an apartment, and to inform the population about the redevelopment process as well as handling

³⁰² Interview 13 October, 2008.

³⁰³ Interview 18 February, 2008.

complaints.³⁰⁴ Services located in the centre provide assistance regarding reimbursements connected to rehabilitation of classified buildings and the rehousing of inhabitants living in the social housing offered in the neighbourhood. The location of the centre was made in a neighbourhood, a location that according to the leader of the Centre was carefully chosen, because EPAEM wanted to reach original inhabitants. They wanted:

an antenna of proximity that was more accessible than the building of the Docks (...), a place a little intimidating for the inhabitants, so this place has been created to respond to that, the difficulty of access, and, in Marseille in our perimeter there are many who are not familiar with the written language.³⁰⁵

This account testifies to differences between parts of the original population and newcomers in the neighbourhoods of Euroméditerranée. The Docks accommodate more than 200 companies and institutions, and is an office building with symbolic barriers to many people.

Class interests and the right to stay put

Large urban redevelopment projects are accompanied by debates that take different shapes in cities, though they are regularly in the opposite categories of NIMBY protection of neighbourhoods or as right to the city anti-gentrification activism. Whereas the first has characterised much opposition to urban redevelopment policies in Oslo, the latter has characterised the opposition in Marseille. Principal questions have however been raised in both cities, a brief action targeting accountability and transparency in Oslo, and long-term engagement concerning housing policies in Marseille.

The main debates about Oslo's waterfront development have concerned aesthetical notions of, particularly, the Barcode construction programme in Bjørvika, but also other issues in this new neighbourhood concerning heights, axes, volumes and views - in other words, elements of landscape and urban design. The debate about the construction of high-rise buildings has been characterised by polarised discourses and rationales, whereby the rhetoric of the municipality assesses the symbolic value of high-rise buildings, important to the inscription of Oslo in "global modernity" (Skogheim & Røe, 2003:41). Barcode's symbolisation of global capitalism in Bjørvika was later approached by the Fjordby action group formed in 2009, who raised a debate about democratic deficits resulting from the sales of land and the powers of companies. The cultural heritage and the urban landscape are often used to highlight distinction and uniqueness, yet in combination with spectacular, exclusive and/or reproduced signature architecture (Bailey,

³⁰⁴ Interview 14 October, 2008.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

et al., 2004). Signature architecture has always existed, but what characterises it today is the ways in which the cultural values of architecture are connected to the economic values of buildings and land (Zukin, 1991:45). This was one of the main arguments of the action group, whose actions were initiated and ended in 2010, a short-lived collective opposition to plans.

Marseille is likely to be among the cities with the densest structure of local associations. An informal division of Marseille is made into 111 neighbourhoods, yet these neighbourhoods are matched by a structure of neighbourhood councils (*Comité d'intérêt de Quartier*) that covers more than one neighbourhood, as there were 190 such councils in total according to Cesare Mattina's (2001) study. The neighbourhood council is, in the scholar's words, a form of local association that is intimately connected to territory as a resource for political impact, and with continuous need of legitimacy. The councils have channelled clientelism, where their presidents have close contact with municipal politicians concerning various forms of municipal services. Mattina (2001:283-285) refers to the presidents of the neighbourhood councils as patrons, where in le Panier the patron took on the role as policing and managing the law and order in the neighbourhood, delocating immigrants from the area.

As indicated by informants and inhabitants of Marseille, these neighbourhood councils are often not representative of the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods they represent, as the media have also questioned (Mattina, 2001:270). There is in the case of the neighbourhood councils of rue de la République a large majority of people of Corsican-Italian origin as well as merchants, who, together with middle-class newcomers, call for order and security measures. A question raised is consequently how the interests of other social groups are spoken for in this kind of clientist relationship. At a meeting on security organised by the Euromed association in Panier prior to the municipal elections in 2008, the leader of a neighbourhood council launched a discourse on how they had to get rid of the problem that young people made noise (which several people attending the meeting complained about), that there were squats, people living in the street and garbage.³⁰⁶ This discourse corresponds to the topics raised within NIMBYISM, a conservative voice that raises questions about safety, security, heritage preservation and beatification in neighbourhoods.

A different kind of association operating in Euroméditerranée is *Centre Ville Pour Tous* (a city centre for all), which works to enable inhabitants to stay put in their neighbourhood. The eviction of inhabitants and merchants in rue de la République, as well as in Noailles and Belsunce, has been an important topic of debate, research and art interventions in Marseille. This

³⁰⁶ Observation at the meeting 20 February, 2008.

association originates from the detailed programme of Weiss in 1994/1995, as discussed in chapter 5. Members of the work groups formed the association Forum Civique in 1998, changing its name and scope in 2001 to work for housing rights generally in the city centre. The association has in both forms engaged in dialogue with EPAEM, and has organised several meetings and manifestations aimed to negotiate social rights concerning evictions and rise in prices. The association has succeeded in negotiating some of the eviction processes in rue de la République by assisting inhabitants at risk of eviction and by putting mediated emphasis on the right to stay put in Marseille's city centre.



Illustration 53. The street is [not] chic. [It is in combat].

Policies for diversity and local voice in Oslo and Marseille

Cosmopolitanism can be conceptualised as a sensitivity to difference, by which it can be performed as a strategic resource to increase opportunities or to gain power (Jeffrey & McFarlane, 2008:420). Difference can also be seen as a foundation of cities, which have been societies constituted by a range of cultures and different classes, and cities have always been changing (Cf. Sennett, 2008). Today, difference is paradoxically suppressed by the development of transnational social spaces and gentrification while celebrated as the distinctiveness of cities.

Oslo and Marseille are multicultural cities, but in the waterfront projects, the cosmopolitan outlook tends to present in Euroméditerranée and absent in Fjordbyen.

Marseille as a cosmopolitan city has developed through centuries of flux and flows of people and ideas. Its multicultural basis necessitates a cosmopolitan outlook. This is also required in Oslo, but is likely to be lacking due to the shorter history of multiculturalism. These two historical conditions are most likely important to the ways in which multiculturalism and diversity have been included in the cultural strategies. In Oslo, it emerges as a feature in the marketing of the Fjordbyen's reflection of a modern metropolis. Even though cosmopolitanism has an ambivalent position in Marseille's new urban redevelopment policies, since aims are made both to make the city centre more "Marseillais" and to produce a transnational social space, the vision of the waterfront project and the actions launched by various territorial authorities maintains the cosmopolitan outlook.

By a leap from the cosmopolitan outlook to the design of cities, there might be a possibility that with time, the multiculturalism of cities increase the tolerance of difference and disorder (Sennett, 2009). As Sennett holds, visual evidence of disorder is projective, but in reference to Rob Sampson's research, the role of perception goes further, because "the immigrants and migratory processes which diversify cities in time also promise to diminish the fear of disorder; that is, the more dynamic a city can become, the less fearfully chaotic it will seem" (p.57). Perhaps then, a cosmopolitan outlook can include the tolerance of disorder as a stimuli to the urban experience. The urban experience can be valued through urban citizenship and fellowship, and through the work of institutions, among which some exceed their mandate in order to contribute to the inclusive city.

This leads me to the second topic treated in this chapter, which concerns the potential held by public and cultural institutions to provide public arenas combining the creation of place with the exhibition of geographical imaginaries at various scales and from various times. Iris Marion Young (2011) provides a normative perspective that encourages social progress and change in an inclusive way, and that Marseille's cultural institutions illustrate. She advocates "an ideal of city life as a vision of social relations affirming group difference" (p.227):

As a normative ideal, city life instantiates social relations of difference without exclusion. Different groups dwell in the city alongside one another, of necessity interacting in city spaces. If city politics is to be democratic and not dominated by the point of view of one group, it must be a politics that takes account of and provides voice for the different groups that dwell together in the city without forming a community.

This ideal is particularly important in the role of city centres as public arenas, not the least in socially divided cities such as Oslo and Marseille. When large public land resources are developed as part of an extension of the city centre, ideals of difference and voice informing

urban development may include the production and creation of public arenas allowing city life in all its facets to unfold. The cultural institutions discussed in the case of Euroméditerranée contribute to enhance such arenas, even though the aim at social mix in new neighbourhoods is difficultly assured. Actions taken by various institutions and agents aimed to contribute to social cohesion seem to be required to give voice and assure that all inhabitants feel belonging and identify with the city, at least as a place where one's value as citizen is acknowledged. Providing such arenas promote the right to urban life and the city as a space of centrality and gathering, as Lefebvre stresses (C. Butler, 2012:144). On these grounds, Alternative visions and powers in the redevelopment process have been engaged by cultural institutions in Marseille that negotiate the uniform idea of attractiveness and the social distinctions created in competitive policies.

The question of voice and participation is another aspect of negotiation, which was discussed in the final section of this chapter, but with clear deficiencies in data material which prevents generalisation. The main attention was directed to the processes of the Bjørvika charrette and the actions of the Centre Ville Pour Tous. Neither of these interesting episodes and associations possessed the capabilities to negotiate the redevelopment projects in substantial ways. On this basis, together with empirical research referred to and consultation of planning documents, a careful argument is that participative tools provided in the planning processes in Oslo and Marseille do not tend to be sufficient as methods to enhance citizen perspectives in urban redevelopment processes.

11. CONCLUSION

This thesis has aimed to deal with the complex processes involved in culture-led redevelopment in Oslo and Marseille, approached from three angles: from “above” by enquiry of the role of these policies and processes in wider urban restructuring; from a horizontal scope by studying them in relation to city centre development and landscaping; and from “below” with the focus on the production of place and local and citizen perspectives in Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée. The objective of the thesis was to investigate socio-spatial dynamics and implications of culture-led urban redevelopment policies and processes in Oslo and Marseille, by a study of the research questions targeting (i) the aims of the redevelopment projects, and the role they play in urban restructuring; (ii) how culture-led urban redevelopment strategies are socio-spatially embedded and targeted; and (iii) how the waterfronts projects are governed and negotiated.

The perspective of cultural political economy has served as an epistemological framework encouraging both cultural and economic explanations of the socio-spatial dynamics and implications of culture-led urban redevelopment (Sayer, 2001; Jessop, 2004). This form of urban planning implies important relations between competitive policies and attractiveness. The enquiry of the various relational dimensions has been strengthened by the use of geographical concepts, such as scale, landscape and place. The complexity of sub-themes and empirical details increases the risk of fragmentation. I have tried, however, to show how different economic, political and social processes are integrated, and can be explored within cultural political economy, as I will generally discuss in this chapter.

This study was motivated by the contextual aim of studying how the welfare states of Norway and France informed and negotiated international trends in competitive policy, as we today see a global form of policy transfer between cities and territories (S.V. Ward, 2006; McFarlane, 2010; Cook & Ward, 2012). The main approach was to enquire the role of universalism in the redevelopment policies, and the place of social cohesion in the plans of Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée. Using a comparative case study method has been valuable in teasing out nuances of the waterfront projects and their connections to universal aims. This method has resulted in the inclusion of dimensions which I think the single theoretically informed case might have missed. The challenge of a comparative case study is naturally the time-consuming fieldwork required, as well as handling differences in comparative analyses. The choice made in this thesis was to adopt a more open comparative approach, and to discuss unique sub-cases that can inform theory.

Waterfront projects within wider urban restructuring

Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée have been guided by constant overarching visions. The waterfront projects are similarly based on the aim to produce space accommodating the post-industrial city by the combination of cultural and economic strategies: facilitating city life, promoting cultural effervescence and developing an infrastructure for leading businesses.

The visions have, however, differed in important ways, as the project names also indicate. Fjordbyen is a project where the municipal authorities most importantly provide for extensive recreational spaces in a landscape strategy. Euroméditerranée is substantially developed to enforce Marseille's position as "a junction city", facilitating and materialising exchange between Europe and the Mediterranean region.

The up-scaling of cities

The waterfront projects are scaled configurations. They are firstly scaled by territorial authorities involved in developing the projects. Secondly, they are scaled through the reach they should have in terms of attractiveness - to neighbours, citizens, or to global capital. Finally, they are relational in how they are connected and integrated in the wider city, how they relate socio-spatially to other landscapes, in what I have called the reconfiguration of the city centres. Urban landscapes are never independent of other scales on which ideas spring out, decisions are made and accumulation of capital takes place. This means that they are not independent of ideological production or promotion of other landscapes, or at other scales (D. Mitchell, 2003a:791). This is clear in how waterfront models are circulated between cities, or how institutions at various politico-territorial levels may have stakes in urban redevelopment projects. To both Oslo and Marseille, the waterfront model has informed selected, competitive strategies. Whereas entrepreneurial policies have been selected in and through Euroméditerranée and Fjordbyen, the governance model selected in Euroméditerranée is based on modernist modes of government. In Oslo, the redevelopment policies are neoliberal, and do not include territorial authorities in the selected mode of governance. In Fjordbyen, companies are established to carry out the projects.

I have aimed to show the value of adopting a diachronic perspective to the understanding of urban restructuring, as there is a parallel in today's redevelopment policies with urban development in the second half of the 19th century. Industrialisation was in both cities connected to public and private construction of infrastructure, particularly in the form of communication (ports, train stations, and the material and symbolic axes between them). The restructuring into industrial cities required the reconfiguration of the urban landscape, which offered the

opportunity to private investors and developers to profit from the need of housing and the aim at providing residences to the upper classes in the city centre. It did not succeed in the case of rue de la République and Victoria Terrasse, though the replacement of poorer strata of the population was made in both cities. Today, policy-led gentrification has taken place in the neighbouring districts of Bjørvika and in districts in Euroméditerranée. As shifts from spaces of manufacturing labour to transnational social places, the perimeter of Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée can also be conceived as gentrifying areas in the cities. There tends in this regard to be an enduring structure in the cities which was not treated within modernist planning: that is the socio-spatial segregation which evolved from the 19th century, and which has not seemed to be particularly politically targeted in any era. Today, when vast seaside areas are liberated from manufacturing purposes, their reconversion into places and landscapes for the middle and upper classes signal a phase of gentrification that alter the historical segregation divisions. The policies naturalising these replacements and targeted policies are based on the narrative of the knowledge society and required territorial competitiveness.

The evolution of plans and developments throughout the 2000s indicates that the knowledge society was enforced as the narrative to which the projects were increasingly enhanced. As Jessop (2002a) emphasises, the knowledge-based economy constitutes the narrative replacing industrial capitalism. As I have argued throughout the thesis, urban restructuring targeting this shift also includes the upscaling of the cities, a phenomenon understood within the rationale of interurban competition and global urbanism, testifying to the fluent relations between cities and global capital. This upscaling does not only include the expansion of the city, but tends to involve consolidating strategies and processes in which buildings and spaces in the city centres are growing both in size, volume and height. The upscaling is thus highly materially and symbolically evident in the two cities. Competitiveness conforms in this sense to the need to show and shine on the map, an outlook characteristic to both Fjordbyen and Euroméditerranée, which should provide the cities' horizon.

The narratives inscribing the cities into the knowledge society imply that the cities are distanced from their recent past. In both Oslo and Marseille, a dichotomy is made between the port and the city. The industrial ports are conceived of as barriers and obstacles to what is "urban" or "the city". The waterfront projects are thereby promises to give the seaside back to the city and its citizens. The distance sought to the industrial past not only concerns the economic activities to take place on the waterfront, but also to modernist urban planning ideals. The city is consequently extended on the port by dense, multifunctional places, what today is held to equal that which is "urban". The rejection in these narratives of the modernist city and

the socio-spatial reconversion of the urban landscape might ignore the memories and belonging of inhabitants, and what were and somehow still are, welfare cities (Bøggild & Bruun Yde, 2011).

The modernist city is commemorated in Euroméditerranée, and the inclusion of the existing neighbourhoods of Joliette, Arenc and Belle de Mai increases reflection on the reconversion of these urban spaces. The development agency pays attention to the role of the original population's memory and belonging by the commission of art targeting the transformation and by being attentive to the aims to conserve heritage and functions - from a theatre to a church and a world music festival. The work of the cultural institutions located in the area has further contributed to the reflection of how the past is included in the present and future of the neighbourhoods subject to change. The fact that existing neighbourhoods are not included in Fjordbyen makes comparison more difficult regarding this issue. However, the findings suggest that traces of the modernist city are rejected unless the aesthetics is transferable to postmodern design, and to a larger scale.

The memory of the city that may be important to inhabitants' belonging to the city, by places of work, and the welfare city of industrial prosperity on the one hand, and the attachment to places created around central cultural institutions on the other, is by various mechanisms replaced by the "attractive city". These changes in Oslo seems to align Tove Dannestam's (2009:288) findings about the restructuring policies of Malmö:

Buzz words such as "strengthening the brand of the city" and "enhancing its competitiveness", in order to be an "attractive city", are frequently translated into policies by Swedish local governments. Such activities might challenge the traditional policies of local politics, and thus our traditional idea of the meaning and function of local politics. From the perspective of city leaders, alternative discourses, such as the "Just City" or the "Welfare City", are seldom expressed.

Landscapes are political, they are involved in a polity, and this polity has shaped the landscape throughout history (Olwig & Mitchell, 2009:1-2). The industrial landscape in the modernist city was one in which work, production and external relations of trade and transit were central to urban dynamics. Its activities are moved into the geographical imaginary of an outdated city. Instead, spectacular flagship buildings accompanied by ordering design are the modern frame of the imaginary of the attractive city.

In both cities, the aim at upscaling as part of urban restructuring is favoured by a broad range of stakeholders. The competitive rationale is accepted as a premise of restructuring that includes the waterfront projects. Yet, whereas Fjordbyen illustrates the adoption of new planning tools such as visions and scenario-building as the form of governance adhering to new public

management, Euroméditerranée illustrates persistent use of modernist planning tools and government procedures in France. The public agency has thereby stronger control and decision-making capacities, which have been used to develop public functions, assuring existing non-commercial offers and to subsidise non-competitive activities. Such active policies appear in the case of Oslo to be seen as competition-distorting, or at least as unthinkable if they are not targeting profitable activities. This effect of the modes of governance selected in the two cities is one of the most important differences between the projects. Whereas Fjordbyen represents neoliberal policies and entrepreneurial strategies, Euroméditerranée represent publicly-led government procedures, with the combination of entrepreneurial strategy and managerial agency (facilitation and an active developer function).

In the processes of reterritorialization, the regional scale has also different roles in the projects. Both cities are aimed to enforce their roles as regional centres, as metropolises. Collaboration is however formalised in the case of Euroméditerranée as the strong nation state decided to include the various regional authorities in the governing coalition. Euroméditerranée is in this sense more politically accountable, compared to the decision-making processes in Oslo, where the limited companies operate according to market rules and not political interference. The regional scale further appears as an abstract receptor of the waterfront development strategies instead of an active partner in the restructuring of the city-region and the relations between the centre and the periphery therein. The up-scaling of Oslo and Marseille has been assisted by the nation state, and in the case of Euroméditerranée, also by the European Union. The project had national interest, as Marseille's position in the south of France had the potential to benefit the French territory. Being importantly a national project, Euroméditerranée could be scaled up through the consolidated mechanisms of EU tools and targets, such as the European capital of culture and the Union of the Mediterranean. In Oslo, state-operators of infrastructure and national government's decision to relocate cultural institutions to the waterfront are central to the development of Fjordbyen.

The role of cultural institutions in the upscaling of cities

The competitive scope of the city governments includes concerns with attractiveness that exceeds financial investments, innovation and business location and performance. It importantly includes symbolic offers contributing to frame the city, whereby cultural institutions play a central role in urban redevelopment (Hamnett & Shoval, 2003). Selecting the Norwegian Opera House and MuCEM as sub-cases in this thesis allowed the analyses of the changed relations of cultural and territorial policies. The relocation of these national institutions in Fjordbyen and

Euroméditerranée illustrates that urban upscaling is important to the nation state and to political domains in need of “alliance”. But whereas the Opera House was a lever of the redevelopment process in Oslo, MuCEM required the alliance of EU policies, since the project was fully supported only when Marseille was selected capital of culture and needed a flagship.

Both institutions were developed by attaining a role as motor in urban redevelopment. They have in both cases worked to embed their projects at various scales, most importantly at the national scale in Norway and at the local/regional scale in Marseille, to gain legitimacy.

An interesting difference between the cities in regard of the consolidation of the capital city with use of cultural institutions concerns the content of the institutions developed at the waterfront. In Oslo the clustering of cultural institutions representing “the high arts” (opera, modern and contemporary art) constitutes an important strategy to promote Oslo as a “city of culture”. In Marseille, most cultural institutions developed in the perimeter of Euroméditerranée are new developments and not relocations from other parts of the city, as is hitherto the predominant case in Oslo. Furthermore, in Marseille, they adhere to the vision of cultural exchange, in reflections of citizenship and place qualities, which is less evident in the case of Oslo. MuCEM, for instance, is an ethnological museum, focused on the European and Mediterranean civilisations, whereas other institutions represent a variety of cultural offers targeting various scales, from the neighbourhood to the global level. The Opera House in Oslo has however taken on the role as a broad public arena in Fjordbyen.

Culture-led urban redevelopment and structured coherence

Culture-led urban redevelopment as a perspective on the nature of the cultural strategies used in urban regeneration has contributed to insight in how the cultural field is used a means to achieve other ends such as image, social and economic ones. Cultural strategies used in mega-projects have been largely motivated by economic goals (O’Callaghan & Linehan, 2007), but there have also been signs that more socially oriented aims have been included in urban redevelopment plans the last decade (Stevenson, 2004; Doucet, 2010; Shaw, 2013). Such aims have been enquired in this thesis in the forms of the groups who are targeted to form the desired city life and to use or produce cultural amenities in the city.

The knowledge society can be seen as social model for how the knowledge-based economy and the lifestyle preferences of the professionals who are valued in the economy are brought together. As in other cities embarking on competitive strategies, Oslo and Marseille aim to attract or stimulate leading business and their workforce. Urban restructuring is therefore

targeting economy/work and culture/lifestyle, in which redevelopment of the inner cities form an integrative part. These integrative strategies to accommodate the knowledge society are oriented toward structured coherence, which is a necessity to the knowledge-based economy. It implies a specific set of material, social, and spatio-temporal fixes (Brenner & Theodore, 2002:356), that is developed by public and private interests to assure economic growth (Jessop, 2004:167). The waterfronts of Oslo and Marseille are aspired to be such fixes, as multifunctional and symbolic landscapes promoting the cities. The projects are still included in wider city centre reconfiguration. Structured coherence is sought through both a social and a design component, which I refer to as aesthetic cohesion with the production of hubs and city life. Landscape is a federating concept used to provide structured coherence.

Landscape is the main tool of the planning authorities of Oslo to steer the waterfront development, and which importantly include public space. However, it also implies a selection of areas to be included in the continuities of the central urban landscape. In this selection, policy-led gentrification characterises the process, in which the waterfront development plays a central role. In Marseille, the use of zoning and the historical lack of urban strategy reduce the role of landscape compared to Oslo. It has however been enforced by the consolidating and large-scale strategies of Marseille Provence 2013 and the expansion of Euroméditerranée northward. The narrative of the knowledge society values knowledge workers, and tends to exclude other social groups who do not fit into the visual frame of users of the urban landscape. Aims to gentrify the city centre are evident in Marseille as in Oslo, even though housing policies and EPAEM's support of existing neighbourhood functions cater to social mix, in ways which differ from the processes of Oslo. The similarities between the cities are mainly the process of beautification, illustrating the representative role of the city centre. This role is also aimed enforced by the creation of hubs such as the central railway stations, and the facilitation of city life. The city life facilitated targets the transnational social classes as a target of the knowledge society, as is exemplified by the studentification policies launched in both cities. In this frame for attractiveness, the city life should be fun, busy, buzzy and eventful.

Structured coherence tends to imply policies of social distinction, not only prevalent in the production of landscape, but also in the production of place. There are similar combinations of consumption and recreation offers developed at the two waterfronts, which imply the production of place by a "regulated" composition of offers. In Marseille, these places are mainly produced in rue de la République, whereas at la Joliette, there is a greater mix because of the preservation of original and varied offers. In Oslo, the places are more meticulously produced due to the removal of the few offers and functions present in the sub-areas prior to development

(Borgen and MS Innvik) and the detailed design involved. In Bjørvika and at Tjuvholmen, the developers envision the creative class as the consumers of place. The critical aspects of these policies catering to structured coherence concern everyday life of the city's population at large, on the one hand, and the disappearance of unordered and ambiguous places on the other.

The banality of the city needs not refer to the lack of originality, for instance in urban redevelopment based on the waterfront model. Banality can rather be understood and included in our conception of cities in what the Detailed Programme of Weiss and his colleagues in the formative phase of Euroméditerranée referred to as "a sublime banality". This concept, I believe, aligns how Paul Chatterton (2000:393) wants to reconceptualise the creative city, through an instance of the banalities of the everyday life which also have to take place in cities, and the creativities existing in all facets of human life and across social groups.

There is also an emphasis on urban design which contributes to the homogenisation of urban areas. Aesthetic cohesion favoured in competitive policies tends to be reduced to design, in which a sort of order is included. This scope is present in the aims to produce attractive landscapes in the frame of competitive policies, and which requires the suppression of elements and form which are considered ugly, unordered and ambivalent. They do not fit into the visual ordering of the city into a symbolic coherence (Zukin, 1995). What might be a certain aesthetic in industrial visual forms, as illustrated in the photo below, is not accepted in the design of the city as the visual representation of a knowledge society.



Illustration 54. An outdated aesthetics.

Social diversity in urban redevelopment policies

In today's multifunctional area-based development, there tends to be a targeted city life in which a real social diversity can evolve only with difficulty. In Oslo, public space stands out as the main tool by which universal access to the waterfront is targeted. Yet, the climate conditions of Oslo does reduce the universality, since the exclusiveness of indoor offers imply that outdoor public space remains the main offer to all kinds of socio-economic groups, in winter not a very real offer. In Marseille, a more inclusive scope tends to be taken, as mixed neighbourhoods are developed. There is still evidence of mechanisms reducing the possibilities for social cohesion in Euroméditerranée in the form of gated communities, construction of private schools and semi-private parks. Attractiveness is not mainly connected to quality of life but to quality of place, which is a distinctive quality more than a universal human category. The critical dimensions of the production of place are consequently diversity and justice, in more general concerns with urban society. The existence of regulatory tools such as public capabilities to fund non-profit activities and functions, measures of social housing, and the cultural institutions' autonomous sphere to create broad arenas, does negotiate segregation and gentrification, as well as supporting the right to stay put.

Urban restructuring requires a new landscape, in which space is produced which is not only economically oriented, but also socially integrated. New residences in both cities are targeted upper classes, yet within a global context: the transnational social classes whose work and social life call for a different and new urbanity. Thus, not only is the possibility to host interesting work a concern of city governments, but also the environment in which the knowledge worker plays out his or her life and identity. The lifestyle of the knowledge worker becomes important; network, lifestyle preferences, quality of life requirements and leisure activities attain significance in the strategies by which places and cities are sought to be attractive to human capital. Attention to the knowledge worker and his/her appropriation and consumption of urban space implies a mutual enforcement of values in the knowledge society. These relations are importantly reflected, enhanced and sometimes contested, but they nonetheless constitute a strong discourse and reality, conditions based on which urban policies are formed.

Waterfronts as welfare?

National territorial aspirations for urban growth and development are also impacting the role of cities in Norway, but to Fjordbyen, central government has mainly acted as a facilitator by its funding of physical infrastructure and of cultural institutions relocated to new buildings at the

waterfront. Otherwise, political negotiation of Fjordbyen from national government has not characterised development, as the process has been more marked by municipal aspirations and the strategies of companies. The companies owned by the state and the municipality are the operative units in Fjordbyen, together with the private company buying the land of Tjuvholmen. The question is if the use of this tool de-politicise the waterfront project is ambiguous, since their strategies conform to the aims of the city government. Fjordbyen thus represents public policies with neoliberal aspirations and tools.

The discourse on competitiveness and attractiveness tends to be naturalised in the Norwegian context, which can be interpreted as the reason for the support of various political parties in the city council. This support may also be connected to the low level of public debate and conflict about democratic deficiency and the market-led development taking place in Fjordbyen. One reason might be that private real estate investment is a norm in the Norwegian context, where home-ownership implies that your home is your investment, and that this norm has led to the acceptance of a privatized housing market. Another reason might be that Norway has rather recently adopted urbanism and urbanity as core societal conditions. If so, envisaging urban development at the planning and construction level and questioning this development in its role to diversity and the right to the city may be difficult. Yet, since I have not enquired the public opinion about these topics, these hypotheses cannot be concluded here, but would be an interesting topic for future research.

The multi-scale, political coalition responsible for the development of Euroméditerranée is a means through which political negotiation enhances the project, which implications are discussed throughout the dissertation. The central state's dominant position may, however, act as a moderator of political strife and competition across party policies. Another moderator is likely to be the agreement upon the evident needs for redevelopment as Marseille suffered from multiple problems affecting its population. The up-scaling of cities, as centres of metropolitan regions, as national motors of development, and as nodes in the global economy, imply a shift in perspective in which the regional and national authorities engaged in the governance of Euroméditerranée benefit from Marseille's development. Though the market-led development of Fjordbyen can be legitimised by the role of politics as discussed above, the fact that Euroméditerranée is publicly developed by government functions and retaining tools to assure social cohesion and cultural diversity point to the role of the institutional arrangement in exceeding party politics. This comparative aspect indicates the value of comparative urbanism as an approach to urban redevelopment policies.

As in Oslo, the district council is the local scale on which decision-making powers are deficient in Marseille. This outcome of the development of mega-projects in new urban policies is connected to the intimate relations to global urbanism. Local needs are incorporated in wider aims at attracting capital to the territory, which can be interpreted as connected to the target of the spatial entity of the city rather than to its citizens, as part of urban society. In this way, cities are exposed to more fluidity, by a scope on future inhabitants and workers rather than concerns with the conditions for the existing population. In Oslo, the deregulation of the housing market strengthens this trend, which enforces a more coherent neoliberal vision of the city. In Marseille, the enduring Keynesian policies retaining regulation of the housing market imply that Euroméditerranée assures some continuity in urban settlement and socio-spatial integration.

As cities found within welfare states that have still retained universal measures in central political domains, the role of social cohesion in and through urban redevelopment is ambivalent in both Oslo and Marseille. The initial visions of both projects were targeting the local population, and to develop functions and offers not existing in the city centre. Though Fjordbyen was never envisioned to mend the socio-spatial segregation of Oslo into the West and the East, the project was universally envisioned to attract a broader public mainly in a recreational strategy. Euroméditerranée was planned by stronger economic rationales than Fjordbyen, but was still targeted in the Detailed Programme by local concerns and aims to assist social cohesion. The participative and social scope of Weiss and his colleagues stands out as an inventive and unique planning method that built on central universal ideals of the welfare state. The change in national government is likely to have resulted in the rejection of the programme, much like the change in city government spurred the Fjordbyen development.

The fact that the central state is heavily involved in the development of Euroméditerranée cannot be ignored in comparison to the municipally developed Fjordbyen. This might also be a fundamental reason for the role of the public authorities in the project in Marseille. These have also initiated and funded functions, offers and relocations in Euroméditerranée that would not take place in Oslo. The subsidy of non-profitable functions is unthinkable in the market-led strategy of the development companies in Oslo.

Toward a new perspective on the diverse and creative city

Urban redevelopment, as one of the fields exposed to neoliberal policies, is also an area that importantly affects people's lives, and I would stress, signifies political visions of future urban society. Of course, territorial restructuring affects citizens in general, but cities tend to be more

affected by continuous and extensive change, which also seems to be more accepted when it comes to cities compared to other places. Even that word, *place*, seems less understood and used in the urban context than in the context of villages, towns, regions, and so forth. A central trend in urban redevelopment is the introduction of cultural strategies, which should logically imply the relative reduction of economic rationales in urban redevelopment as well as a return to more local and distinct expressions of redevelopment in the production of urban landscape and place. But as research on urban waterfronts in particular and urban mega-projects in general have revealed, cultural strategies have not tended to significantly alter economic rationales, let alone included cultural practices that reflect everyday life and its meaningfulness in the city, at least when the question of the urban society is considered. I will call this *the cultural paradox*.

A second paradox is that the celebration of diversity, creativity and knowledge in cities, assisted by theoretical models of “the creative city”, tends to be translated and articulated through trends that homogenise cities rather than making them more distinct. Given that urban stakeholders aim their cities to stand out as cosmopolitan, busy and buzzy, by thriving post-industrial life, one could expect to see the promotion of these mores in all their facets in urban redevelopment policies. There is consequently a question of preferences and spatial consumption that needs to be addressed in order to understand how diversity enters urban policies, be it to cater the urban population, necessarily being diverse, or to see diversity as a functional strategy and particularity. There tends to be much promotion of the urban society as a cosmopolitan and diverse melting-pot, yet the inner city, which is an arena of citizenship, is in risk of becoming less socially diverse. I should call this *the diversity paradox*.

Creativity and the city of difference

Joseph Schumpeter’s concept of creative destruction concerns the messy ways in which capitalism operates that imply continuous innovation. But if urban development is targeted as the development of human society that fosters creativity among all citizens, the concept could be reused to capture the creativity released in spaces freed from capitalist relations. In Marseille in the years of crises, the cultural field prospered, with a range of small-scaled initiatives and reuses of urban space and buildings. In Oslo, this space has been rather limited, and there has been no recent state of crises like in Marseille. Such spaces have been temporary and scarce.

An epistle can be made here. After the fall of the wall in 1989, Berlin experienced a political shift and vacuum that allowed artists and others to create spaces that were truly creative and open. As Jochen Sandig, an active artist in Berlin in the years following the fall of the wall, says it in this way: “We discovered places and gave them a soul. We had everything- apart from

money. Nobody had any of that. But we had ideas, we had dreams” (Fesel & Keller, 2014:85). Following from this account, ways to create spaces that are not based on consumption and profit should be found in order to allow the unordered city to exist. In cities experiencing growth, active policies could be expected to assure such creative spaces. One constructive way to do this is to institutionalise SLOAPs, Spaces Left Over After Planning, as unregulated spaces in new developments or as reserved space when the city is intensified, as in the case of Oslo in particular. Such SLOAPs could be open to free uses, they could invite different groups in a sequence to fill the space with activities, or they could be given to schools or local associations to administer them as public spaces. There is also the possibility to invite actors to develop low-price or free offers in locales in the redevelopment areas. If there is full acceptance of developers subsidising up-market merchants and recreational establishments, there is the legitimate claim that developers regulate the prices to assure affordable or free offers too.

The ways creative policies are currently carried out in Oslo and Marseille, they promote the market-led ideal of the attractive city, which depends on an ordering of the city in which creativity and culture is narrowly programmed. It might in Oslo and Marseille also imply, following Chatterton (2000, p.397), that “[u]ntil we have a serious debate concerning values and ethics, the creative city will remain a comfortable ‘feel-good’ concept for consultants, policy makers and politicians rather than a serious agenda for radical change”. In addition to this debate, a constructive engagement of artists and citizens can involve new models and methods that can result in a broader conception of creativity, in extending the political agenda with social and cultural dimensions of creativity (Borén & Young, 2013:1811-1812).

Though cities strive to be attractive, they tend to be little action towards creativity in the sense argued for in this thesis; as deviation, difference and resistance to orthodoxy. And here lies yet another paradox. The promoters of Marseille, a city characterized as this kind of unordered and creative city, do what they can to get out of this paradigm. As Miles and Miles (2004:45) argue, promoting the city as a cultural hub (what I call a city of culture, a creative city, as the discourses include similar definitions), is effective for promoting economic growth. It thus seems that the city of culture requires the “right” set of cultural attributes by which it is not sufficient to be a creative city, but that this creativity needs to be commodifiable as a means to promote the city of growth. Thus, perhaps unlike cultural capital, there is no valued status in being a creative city unless there are economic returns. The creative city rather tends to be a model for the attractive city, by a strategic use of culture and space. There is thus also *a creativity paradox*.

The redevelopment of the city centres of Oslo and Marseille is still in the making, and there are still possibilities to include more universal access to the vast areas of the waterfront

projects changing the urban horizons. The inner cities can be creative in more inclusive ways. As the illustration 56 below indicates, the future direction of city halls and the cities is still open to alternative policies and participation to make cities less homogenous and more creative, in an actually inclusive way that preserve the diversity of cities. This does not mean to counter the current role of knowledge to cities, or to argue against the development of talents. To provide a just city, which is also just in its relation to other cities, means in my understanding to engage a new back to the city movement. This movement can be one of values, welfare and universal access to the knowledge-based economy, decoupled from a coherently ordered frame that suppresses the cultures, diversity, and creativities of cities.



Illustration 55. In the city in making, the future is still open to alternative horizons.

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APPENDIX. LISTS OF INTERVIEWS AND PUBLIC MEETINGS

List of interviews in Oslo

NAME	INSTITUTION/ AFFILIATION	FUNCTION	DATE OF INTER- VIEW
Pareli, Leif	Grønland neighbourhood association	Leader of the association until 2009	04.03.09
Okkenhaug, Erling	Bjørvika charrette, Allgrønn	Urban redevelopment activist. Co-organiser of the Bjørvika charrette in January 2008	05.03.09
Hovind, Anne Beate	Avancia, Bjørvika Infrastruktur as	Responsible for Bjørvika's cultural programming on behalf of Bjørvika Development	09.03.09
Andersen, Ingrid	Student project targeting the Cultural programme in Bjørvika	Student evaluating Bjørvika's cultural programme (KOP) in 2003	10.03.09
Winsvold, Helge	Gamle Oslo district	Local politician from the Labour Party engaged in urban redevelopment policies	13.03.09
Bettum, Ola	In'by consulting agency	Landscape architect involved in Oslo's redevelopment and planning	25.03.09
Felberg, Knut	Statsbygg	Commissioner in charge of the KOP in Bjørvika	05.05.09
Kolstø, Steinar	The Fjordby office at Oslo's Agency for Planning and Building Services (PBE)	Director of the office	08.06.09, 21.03.12
Elvestuen, Ola	The standing Committee on Urban development in Oslo City Council	Leader of the standing committee and Oslo Liberalist Party (2003-2011)	09.06.09
Moustache, Cliff	Nordic Black theatre	Art director	09.06.09
Støver, Anders	The Øya music festival held in the Medieval park in Bjørvika	Communication consultant at the Øya festival, engaged in the KOP	16.06.09
Simonsen, Bjørn	The Norwegian Opera and ballet	Former director (1984-1990, 1995-2008)	17.06.09
Tverrbakk, Per Gunnar	Kunsthall Oslo	Curator engaged in Bjørvika's cultural programme, director of Kunsthall Oslo	17.06.09
Hagen, Eva	HAV Eiendom	Director of the development company	24.06.09

Lillehagen, Per Christian	Gamle Oslo district council	Head of the district council	06.10.09
Veivåg, Kjell	Oslo Venstre, (social liberal party), Oslo city council	Former commissioner of culture	07.10.09
Bøyum, Gunnar	Tjuvholmen KS	Director of the development company	12.10.09
Stilluf Karlsen, Bent	Port of Oslo	Leader/ Director of board	13.10.09
Østberg, Sigurd	Oslo Heritage Society	Leader of the society	14.10.09
Halvorsen, Knut	Oslo Teknopol	Director of the promotional agency (2002-2011)	14.10.09
Tellevik Dahl, Tone	Oslo city council, Oslo Labour Party,	Member of the standing committee of urban redevelopment	15.10.09
Mikkelsen, Egil	Museum of Cultural History	Director of the museum (1999-2011)	16.10.09
Ødegård, Torger	City government of Oslo	Vice Mayor for Cultural Affairs and Education representing the Conservative party	26.10.09
Kvaran, Gunnar	Astrup Fearnley museum of contemporary art	Director of the museum	27.10.09
Paasche, Knut	Formerly; Viking-ship department, Museum of Cultural History	Former conservator at the Viking-ship department	28.10.09
Lødøen, Paul	OSU Development	Director of the development company	29.10.09
Hjort Guttu, Ane	Artist	Held an atelier at Borgen in Bjørvika	25.06.10
Solberg, Jarl	Nordic Black Theatre	Leader/ director of the theatre	15.09.10

Unrecorded interviews, conversations and discussions in Oslo

Rolid Johansen, Rolf	Fjordby office, PBE	Advisor at the Fjordbyen planning office	24.02.09
Boym, Per Bjarne	Snelda (Nordic Black Theatre)	Former director of the National Museum of Contemporary Art, engaged in the Snelda project	13.05.09
Fjordby office working group	PBE	Presentation and discussion of the thesis research	25.06.10
Børja, Maria	Norwegian Opera & Ballet	Consultant and guide	11.03.09
Mangset, Per	Professor in Sociology at Telemark University College	Mangset has carried out comparative studies of cultural policies in Norway and France	01/2010
Hjort Guttu, Ane and Bergaust, Kristin	Borgen	Discussion of the situation of artists in Oslo and former and current artist action groups	23.08.10

Friis-Olsen, Tore	The coastal federation	A federation for the use and preservation of historical vessels and coastal environment	15.09.10
Kolstø, Stein	the Fjordby office, PBE	Discussion of the status of the waterfront project and the thesis	23.03.12

Meetings and public debates attended in Oslo

Fjordby conference, Charette	Oslo Municipality	2005
Oslo charette	District council og Gamle Oslo	Ladegården, district of Gamle Oslo, January 2008, one week
Bjørvika Open day	Bjørvika Development	2008, 2009
Fjordby exhibition	Fjordby Office, Oslo Teknopol	Universitetsplassen July 2009
Architecture competition Munch/ Stenersen	HAV Development	National Gallery/ Tullinløkka 2008
Voices of Fjordbyen	Norsk Form	2007
The Labour Party's seminar on culture and urban redevelopment	Oslo Labour Party	Håndverkern 27.05.09
Seminar on culture and urban redevelopment	Oslo Polytechnic association	Håndverkern 2009
Seminar on Art in Bjørvika	Bjørvika Development	OSU Development 12.02.09
Launch of Commonlands	Bjørvika Development/ Commonlands	OSU Development 12.02.09
Debate of Fjordbyen	Norwegian broadcasting debate	Internet archive, 2010
Make a ring around the National Gallery	The friends of the National Gallery	Tullinløkka, 2009
Fjordby exhibition	City of Oslo	Universitetsplassen, June 2009
Public meeting about Bjørvika	Dagbladet (newspaper) and Norsk Form	Havnelageret, 06.04.11

List of interviews in Marseille

NAME	INSTITUTION/ AFFILIATION	FUNCTION	DATE OF INTER- VIEW
Lagesse, Guy-André	Art project at J4: "Mari Mira"	Artist / public art projects, Mari Mira presented a project during a month at the J4 (waterfront)	13.09.07
Campos, Philippe	Organising committee of Marseille Provence 2013	Worked for the cultural department of Marseille before joining the committee	12.11.07
Abhissira, Antony	EPAEM	Advisor in the department of communication / marketing	01.12.07

Monticelli, Pierrette	The theatre la Minoterie	One of two directors of the theatre	14.12.07
Ravet, Bernard	The intermediate comprehensive school Collège Izzo	Principal of the school	14.01.08
Gasnault, Francois and Rochelle, Matthieu	Archives et Bibliothèque Départementales (ABD)	Directors of the archives and the library, respectively	16.01.08
Geiling, Frank	EPAEM	Director of architecture	14.02.08
Foulquié, Philippe	Systèmes Friches Théâtre (la Friche)	Central theatre director (Massalia) and long-term leader of la Friche	17.01.08
Vezzoni, Corine (with colleague)	Vezzoni Architectes, architect agency	Designed the building of the ABD and the conservation building of the MUCEM	06.02.08
Hivernat, Pierre	Organising committee of Marseille Provence 2013	Has worked for a long time with Latarjet, who is the head of the committee working on the candidature	07.02.08
Morin, Daniel	Conseil de Quartier (CiQ) Tourette	Head of the CiQ Tourette close to the zone	18.02.08
Carrère, Daniel	Centre Ville Pour Tous, Detailed Programme of Weiss in 1994/5	Started several associations in Marseille, worked close to Weiss, and received the Legion of Honour in 2008 for his social engagement	19.02.08
Faucher, Pascal	Eureka, urban planning consultancy	Involved in the work groups during Weiss' mission, involved in a study for the extension of the zone	20.02.08
Chastanier, Florence	Fiesta des Suds	Co-founder and co-director	27.02.08
Aroumougoum, Jean Claude	Ville de Marseille (international department)	Was the lead person of the initiation of Euroméditerranée in the early 1990s	28.02.08 21.03.08
Isaac Abou, Nathalie and de Boisgelin, Francois	Villa Méditerranée	Commissioners working with the installation of the centre in Euroméditerranée (opened in 2013)	29.02.08
Challande, Philippe	Marseille Provence Métropole	Has been deeply involved in Euroméditerranée for many years. Currently the representative for Marseille Provence Métropole in the Administrative Council of Euroméditerranée	13.03.08
Vinson, Régine	Port Autonome de Marseille	Leader of port-city relations (since five years)	17.03.08
Brocher, Damien	Association Centre Ville Pour Tous (CVPT)	Works since the early 1990s at les Docks, active member of the CVPT	19.03.08
Dichon, Claude	Mission de Masson 1993	Retired state engineer engaged in the mission	09.10.08
Balouzat,	Euromed association	Leader of an association aimed at	09.10.08

Jacques		influencing Euroméditerranée on behalf of the neighbourhood (he is headmaster of a school in the area)	
Texier, Jean-Laurent	District council of the 2 nd and 3 rd district	General secretary	13.10.08
Kloyan, Véronique	Maison d'Euroméditerranée, EPAEM	Head of EPAEM's information office, in charge of local questions and public participation	14.10.08
Ceccaldi, Gilbert	Department of cultural affairs, City of Marseille	Municipal officer	16.10.08 17.01.11
Rouftan, Frédéric	Agence d'Urbanisme de Marseille (AGAM)	Director of studies at the development agency	17.10.08
Vallette, Claude	City of Marseille	Vice Mayor for Urban Redevelopment	08.11.09
Pizzorni, Florence	MuCEM	Conservator both at the Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires in Paris and MuCEM	08.11.09
Bodinier, Gérard	Conseil Régional de PACA [regional council of the Provence Alpes Côte d'Azur]	Director of international relations	18.11.09
Béridot, Christian	Conseil Général Bouches du Rhône [general council of the district department Bouches du Rhône]	Director of economy and territorial planning	20.11.09
Chevalier, Denis	MuCEM	Head of the division of MuCEM in Marseille until 2010	20.11.09

Unrecorded interviews and conversations in Marseille

NAME	INSTITUTION/ AFFILIATION	FUNCTION	DATE OF INTERVIEW
<i>Anonymous</i>	Professor and architect	Involved in the early stages of Euroméditerranée and several projects in the region	27.02.08
<i>Anonymous</i>	EPAEM	The only official at EPAEM who has worked at the development agency since 1995, engaged in the Detailed Programme	20.03.08
Vincent, Maurice	Théâtre de la Lenche	Director of the theatre located in le Panier, head of the CiQ of that area	15.01.08
Studenroth, Ina Chiarini, Azzurra and Porro, Celine	La Friche de Belle de Mai	Consultants	2007/2008
Echinard, Pierre	Revue Marseille	Historian and editor of the magazine	19.01.08

		Marseille. Discussion of the cultural and historical context	
Dell’Ombria, Alessi	Author	Author of the book “Histoire Universelle de Marseille” (2006)	16.02.08
Memain, Nicolas	Artist	Engaged in urbanism, organises excursions in Marseille	06.10.07
Renard-Chapiro, Claude and Foulquié, Philippe	La Friche de Belle de Mai	Discussion of the role of la Friche in the neighbourhood	16.11.09.
<i>Anonymous</i>	Photographer	Assigned art projects for EPAEM	20.11.09
Rogan, Bjarne	Member of MuCEM’s scientific board, researcher at the University of Oslo	Member of board, MuCEM	11/2009 09/2011
Researchers			
Gaborieu, Philippe	Historian	Shadyc	2007-10
Olive, Maurice	Political scientist	Université de Provence	2007-08
Donzel, André	Sociologist	Maison des Sciences de l’Homme (CNRS)	14.11.07
Vacher, Marc	Anthropologist	Copenhagen University	26.11.07
Mattina, Cesare	Sociologist	LAMES, l’Université de Provence	03.12.07
Fournier, Pierre	Sociologist	l’Université de Provence	08.02.08
Rodriguez-Malta, Rachel	Geographer	l’Université de Provence	10.07

Meetings and public debates attended in Marseille

Local rally meeting from the party Union for a Popular Movement (UMP) about neighbourhood security	Euromed association	20.02.08
Observation at the MUCEM’s workshop at the social centre of the town of Hyère	MuCEM	17.12.07
Visiting day in Euroméditerranée	EPAEM	2007
Excursion in Euroméditerranée	Ballades de ville	2007
Meeting on gentrification in Belle de Mai	Friche Belle de Mai	11.09
Public debate on architecture in Marseille	La Marseillaise (local newspaper)	2008
Public debate on the economy of Marseille	La Marseillaise	19.02.08
Excursion in Northern Marseille with a local association	Hendrik Sturm	2008
Excursion in the area Noailles about the state of the housing	CVPT	2008
Ville en débat (debate primarily on tourism in Marseille)	City of Marseille	17.01.08
Election meeting for the UMP party about culture held in the locales of Fiesta des suds in the 3 rd arrondissement	UMP party rally	14.02.08
Presentation and discussion about the documentary about rue de la République	The association Provençal	2008