Mediating Cityscapes
Cultural Analysis and the Development of Urban Places

Samantha Hyler

Master of Applied Cultural Analysis

Department of Arts and Cultural Sciences
TKAM01 - Spring 2011

Supervisors

Lars-Eric Jönsson
Markus Idvall

Mediating Cityscapes:
Cultural Analysis and The Development of Urban Places

Abstract

Helsingborg, a coastal city in southern Sweden, has initiated a twenty-five yearlong re-development project called H+, aiming to convert the southern industrial harbor space into a new, livable urban neighborhood and city center. The winning plan for the H+ project, titled 'The Tolerant City,' is an inherently social redevelopment that requires innovative and collaborative strategies, as well as a strong focus on social sustainability, to achieve. As a cultural analyst working with the City of Helsingborg (Helsingborgs stad) and the H+ Project, my role has been to mediate information between planners and citizens, focusing the project's visions towards existing communities and their values. This thesis develops how ethnographic research and cultural mapping engages with and revitalizes city planning to enable the development of a 'tolerant city,' essentially a process of place-making the southern harbor. Cultural mapping translates ethnographic data into usable maps for city planners, used here as a methodological tool in the process of developing the H+ area as a physical and non-physical place. This thesis examines the ways in which an applied cultural analytical approach engenders planning practices towards openness and inclusion through deeper understandings of the dialectic identities emerging from the relationships between people and places.

Keywords: cultural analysis; anthropology of place; place-making; cultural planning; urban renewal; cultural mapping; urban ethnography; sensory ethnography; Helsingborg; the H+ Project

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Figures

1. Introduction

H + is not just a construction project. It will put Helsingborg on the map and change the city's identity. Through communication, you create a concrete picture of a reality that is not yet available.

(Helsingborgs Dagblad, 2011)

Figure 1. A divided city.[1]

A divided city is visible immediately upon leaving Knutpunkten, Helsingborg's central transit station. The south lies to the left in this photo, and the north to the right.

As it stands now, in Spring 2011, Helsingborg's H+ project is being called "Sweden's most exciting city renewal project." (The H+ Project). This concept, 'exciting,' indicates that H+ might be something new and innovative, something creative and unexpected. But how does this describe the actual process of the H+ project and what it means for everyday life in the city? The H+ project is a long-term urban renewal project for Helsingborg's southern, formerly industrial, harbor. The project's vision is to redevelop not only structurally, but also socially, choosing 'the tolerant

---

[1] All photos by Samantha Hyler.

city' as it's winning city model from an initial architectural competition in 2009. As an approximately twenty-five yearlong project, H+ leaves a lot to be expected. Perhaps it is expectation that makes it exciting? But expectation for what, why, and for whom?

Cities, as complex spaces, layered with places, people, communities, rhythms, and routines, offer particular environments to their citizens, which are constantly changing. While cities are in need of new developments that attract outsiders and add elements of excitement to everyday routines, cities also primarily offer facilities for everyday lives of its citizens, such as public spaces, citywide events, businesses, restaurants, living spaces, and so forth. The question becomes, will Helsingborg's 'most exciting' urban renewal project respond to existing and potential future communities, or will it simply be 'exciting' in terms of creating another so-called 'creative city' in Europe or the Öresund region, for global business people or tourists? The question is philosophical and ideological at its core, asking what sort of image Helsingborg is trying to achieve, and what kind of everyday life and rhythms that will create.

This thesis is the product of a yearlong cultural analytical study conducted in cooperation with the City of Helsingborg (Helsingborgs stad) and the H+ project. Here I will argue that city planning, working anthropologically, can gain valuable insights into the narratives and identities of communities within cities, citizens' everyday lives and values, and fit physical developments to these 'imagined' cities. By imagined, I am referring to the identity of the city which is created socially, an imagined social space created by those who live there and based from their everyday social lives, habitus, and dialectic relationships with places. A cultural anthropological approach understands the needs and values of the communities in the city, as they are the ones whose everyday lives, cultures, talents, interests, and businesses are supported and nurtured by their environment. Since the H+ project aims to become the 'tolerant city,' an explicitly social concept, cultural analytical perspectives are incredibly important to the process of developing the city both as a physical and imagined place. Here, I will address several 'cityscapes,' landscapes of experience that form the physical and imagined atmosphere of spaces as a result of everyday lives (O'Dell 2005, p. 16). My role as a cultural analyst has been to mediate cultural understandings between three primary 'cityscapes,' which I define as the north and south of

Helsingborg, as segregated areas, and the 'cityscape' from the perspective of the city planners.

Urban planning often focuses on physical details and concepts, producing maps and images to convey the experiences of redevelopment. Though at times picturing 'potential users' in these images,[2] urban planning needs an inherently greater focus on the social and cultural aspects if their aims are to build cities for people. How can physical infrastructural planning respond to ethnographic research about communities and everyday lives in urban environments, planning for potential inhabitants based on existing cultures? This thesis will address anthropologically derived knowledge about cities and city planning processes, and suggest ways in which these two can cooperate for more culturally derived, 'people-centered' planning. I will address how this can be developed through examples from my own work with the City of Helsingborg, using images and maps to translate ethnographic knowledge into existing city planning processes. Furthermore, I will be developing a theoretical understanding of an 'anthropology of place,' as a manner through which research can be done about *places* and analyzed for greater understandings of communities and identities. This will develop an understanding of people and environments, and how relationships, meanings, images, emotions, desires, and identities are formed from the relationship of people to places and the possibilities that lie therein. This research is the basis through which cultural analysis can be conducted for city planning, as well as other kinds of community development and research.

The H+ Project and Helsingborg

Helsingborg is a city located in northeast Skåne, Sweden, and now part of the Öresund Region connecting southern Sweden and Denmark. Although Helsingborg has a much longer historical trajectory, industrialization in the southern harbor during the 1800s prominently increased the segregation between working and upper classes. The placement of the rail station and industrial area in the southern neighborhood has continued to divide the city along Trädgårdsgatan, a west-to-east running street dividing the neighborhoods of Söder and Centrum in central Helsingborg.[3] This has created

---

[2] See images created for the H+ area by Schønherr Landscape / ADEPT Architects, for example. http://www.adeptarchitects.com/ and http://hplus.helsingborg.se/
[3] For further discussion about the historical aspects of Helsingborg, see Högdahl (2007).

what I will call an 'invisible line' of segregation in the city. The H+ project intends renew and redevelop the southern harbor and neighborhoods of Helsingborg, currently a post-industrial city, into living and working areas that break down existing barriers such as this invisible line. The emerging transnational identity of the Öresund Region, primarily taking root in region-building efforts in Malmö and Copenhagen, will play a role in the development choices of the H+ project.

The H+ project is a long-term city renewal project, scheduled for approximately twenty-five years in total, aiming to redevelop the southern, formerly industrial harbor in Helsingborg. The project is using an open source planning method, and aims to redevelop physical infrastructures primarily in the southern neighborhoods of the city, but further through building a new transit station and railway. The project has also begun to apply social and cultural perspectives to city renewal processes in order to develop social aspects of the city in tandem with the infrastructural. In 2009, the City of Helsingborg held an architectural competition to choose a city model for Helsingborg. "The Tolerant City," lead by Schönherr landscape and ADEPT Architects, was the winning model, with 2035 set as the target completion date for the project. The 'Tolerant City' model aims for a 'people-centered' social focus, which aims to develop the city under a model of openness and collaboration, among other goals. The southern neighborhoods will furthermore be connected to the water via a 'blue green' connection, which flows water from the harbor into the southern neighborhoods and adds an important 'green' element (Helsingborgs stad 2009 a, 2011 a).

My research and work with the H+ project began when I met with a representative from the H+ project in March 2010 during a methods and project management course at Lund University. Shortly thereafter I began working with a cultural mapping project for several months. As my work continued as an intern during the autumn, our group of consultants, architects, communications officers, and artists began to form as a more solid working group, tentatively called the 'livability group,' meeting once per month to discuss, coordinate, and determine actionable developments for the H+ project. The work of this group has been essentially driving forward a place-making process for the Tolerant City through a people-centered, collaborative cultural plan.

In spring 2011, the H+ project began moving from a planning phase into an 'action' phase, which begins to realize physical development plans as well as begin to open up the harbor area for everyday life outside of industry. Notably, construction of

southern tunnel (Södertunnel) and Bredgatan, the street connecting the transit station to Lund University Campus and the neighborhood of Planteringen, is scheduled as the next construction phase (The H+ Project, Interviews & fieldnotes f.).

The H+ project, though in its initial stages, is not unconcerned with its place among other cities: primarily in the Öresund Region, Sweden, and in Europe. Conceptualizing *places* as aggregates of individual narratives, communities, and interactions is an important factor in seeing the Öresund Region strongly as a network of individual spaces with layers of individual and potential places. Arguably, a network of interconnected places is developing in the 'imagined region,' (Hospers 2006), which are beginning to connect across the sound and tighten the stitches of the region, creating a larger transnational place.[4] But this isn't to ignore the diversity otherwise inherent in each place, with migrant communities for example, for minority and subcultures, and for other forms of diversity. Thus, the cities in the region, Helsingborg included, can be seen in a matrix of connectivity, layering people, cultures, and places.

Research Background

This thesis is an analysis of the qualitative research I have conducted in developing three projects, collaboratively with Paul Sherfey, for the City of Helsingborg and the H+ Project. In essence, this thesis is a culmination of these projects, though with a new aim to deconstruct the ethnographic processes I employed in producing cultural maps and other visual data used in the urban cultural planning processes.

My fieldwork and research was conducted during my time as a master's student in applied cultural analysis at Lund University, in collaboration with the City of Helsingborg, and the H+ project. The research, fieldwork, and project development was conducted in collaboration with a project management course in spring 2010, an internship at the City of Helsingborg in the autumn 2010, as well as continued collaboration and consulting with the H+ project throughout the writing process of this thesis in spring 2011, constituting over a year of research and development. My projects designed for the city were conducted within the city planning office (stadsbyggnadsförvaltningen, SBF) for a project on streets and meeting places (stråk och

---

[4] There are numerous books and articles written about the region, including Hospers, G. J. (2006) and Idvall, M. (2000). I have not deeply analyzed texts about the Öresund as their concern is tangential my larger aim and the potential discussion quite large in regards to the scope of this thesis.

mötesplatser), and the H+ project (including communications officers, an artist, architects, and an external cultural consultant) for two projects, one concerning cultural mapping and the other in organizational development and cultural planning. The results of these projects produced several 'cultural resource maps' for three southern neighborhoods in Helsingborg (Söder, Planteringen, and Närlunda); a report on social cohesion in Helsingborg; a framework strategy plan for public engagement between citizens and planners; and an analysis on public spaces, streets, and meeting points.

My role was a 'cultural consultant' and ethnographer for the City of Helsingborg and the H+ project. As described earlier, the H+ project aims to renew and redevelop Helsingborg as a 'tolerant city,' through developments in the southern harbor, and also the surrounding southern neighborhoods. Both the physical structuring and the ideological redevelopment in this open planning process call for an understanding of existing social conditions of, and within, the city. My cultural, ethnographic expertise accesses existing social conditions, values, meanings, and behaviors in city spaces in order to strategically plan for positive changes with a 'people-centric' vision, emphasizing and incorporating the values and voices of citizens in the planning process.

City planners commonly use images and maps in understanding physical and potential spaces in their work to redevelop urban places, producing creative solutions substantiated by collaborative specialized knowledge. Much of city planning literature focuses on physical aspects of the city, in a similar way as Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City* (1960). Lynch develops five elements within the city images: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks. Although his descriptions are inherently based in the sociality of a city, he emphasizes the image, portrayal, and physical elements to the city, rather than the cultural or social. As an applied cultural analyst working with urban development, cultural understandings come first, not as a result of city developments. Therefore, inherent in my work is the importance of cultural and social aspects to cities, which encompass the everyday, the mundane, the routines, and the experiences of city dwellers. My research further encompasses the translation of complex ethnographic and theoretical understandings into different kinds of visual materials for city planners, who have diverse background training and perspectives, in order to aid culturally focused, collaborative work. Thus, I have been researching the 'soft' elements of the city and translating them into 'hard' physical tools, such as reports and maps. This thesis includes analyses on public spheres and experiences of places

in Helsingborg through ethnography and qualitative research, developing a cultural analytical approach for collaborative cultural planning.

Anthropological approaches generally facilitate social understandings, and in my own work, of places, communities, and their unique narratives. Using culturally analytical tools, ethnographic findings can be translated into visual data (here, most notably cultural maps, but also pictures, images, and diagrams), which aims for understandability, applicability, and usefulness for city planners with respect to time sensitive projects, both in conducting and incorporating information into larger processes.

Place-making and Cultural Planning

To a large extent, place-making and city branding are parallel processes in the aims of the H+ project. The fieldwork and projects I have been involved in are part of a larger re-branding and place-making process for Helsingborg, which is inevitably tied into larger processes of the region and it's development. Furthermore, this is a process of making Helsingborg into a new place, and creating new places within Helsingborg. Place-making, as I am using the term, is an inherently social process based in human relationships to places, and places to social identities, among other things. Although cultural planning has many philosophies and approaches in western countries,[5] 'making places' is foundation to the resulting 'brand' or 'image': sustainable, creative, innovative, or people-centered cities.

Cultural planning is a tool for developing cities, often using terms such as 'creative,' 'people-centered,' 'livable,' and 'sustainable,' to describe the ideal cities. Many slightly different models for cultural planning exist in the western world, and their differences can be debated to the effect of understanding the processes and results of their models. My own analysis concerns the development of approaches to redevelopment and urban renewal processes, arguing that sustainability, creativity, and successful place-making has a direct correlation to the city's anthropological understandings of local culture and communities. In this way, I am arguing for an understanding of the human factors of the city as a pre-curser to physical redevelopments,

---

[5] Ghilardi (2001) argues that the idea of cultural planning is still uncommon in European policy models, and notes the difference between models in North American, British, and Australian city planning.

and as a constant process of working in the future. Some might call this an adjustment to a political, democratic process for strong citizenry participation.

A meeting of the H+ planning group (Livability Group) on March 10, 2011 called for an investigation into the processes of other cities in the region and their aims, goals, and strategies in order that Helsingborg and the H+ project's vision matches and compliments other cities in the region for a larger overall regional building process (Interviews & fieldnotes f). This is one manner of examining regional and local sustainability. Sustainability, in this way, means well-thought and researched strategic development that is lasting for residents and users, though it can have wide ranging applications and meanings. The Tolerant City model for the H+ area proposes the following thoughts about sustainability in their introduction:

> A dynamic and adaptable planning process is to a large extent 'sustainability'. Not only the physical organization of the area, but also its ambience, its cultural and functional content have been dealt with in order to create The Tolerant City. The different districts open themselves to a great variety of people and a future life as yet unknown, while they interweave with the rest of Helsingborg, psychologically as well as physically.
> (Helsingborgs stad 2009a, p.104).

Social sustainability, then, refers to creating infrastructures within the city that promote communication and development of the social sphere. However, sustainability should be designed flexibly, understanding change and development to be inherent.

Sustainability can also refer to the creation of a creative city: "The first implication is that creative management and planning of cities is the necessary and sufficient ingredient to lasting urban success and competitiveness" (Ghilardi, 2009 p.4). Richard Florida's work points to the economic development of cities, dubbing the 'creative class' as the key to successful urban regeneration (2002). "Creativity has come to be the most highly prized commodity in our economy—and yet it is not a 'commodity.' Creativity comes from people" (Florida 2002, p.5). Certainly my own criticisms of Florida's theories mimic those others have already made regarding elitism inherent in his approach. However, I would underscore the importance of seeing the city holistically, using urban renewal not only as a tool for re-branding or re-inventing a city, but to also support and emphasize existing strengths. Often city renewal projects focus on creating new faces for cities, but this process without anthropological understandings will only inhibit growth and development. Thus, sustainability must include social factors. This is where cultural planning is involved in under-

standing social spaces and communities, what Ghilardi calls the 'cultural DNA' of a place (2009), as a first step in working towards sustainable, people-centered urban development. A scientific term, DNA, being the genetic coding that forms a human being, applied in a cultural context conjures images of the underlying 'coding,' which forms and constructs urban places, a strong metaphor for the work on an urban ethnographer.

Lynch argues that cities have sensory elements and that there is 'a two-way process between the observer and his environment" (1960, pp. 6, 119). His arguments lean towards designing cities with particular kinds of elements, namely social, psychological, environmental, sensory, and so forth, instead of designing cities from these existing elements. I would argue that successful, sustainable, city planning should start with an anthropological evaluation of these elements which already exist, to see their potential, and build infrastructures to support their growth and development.

Research Formulation and Structure

Applied cultural analysis is a field that exists and develops in a constant state of 'in-betweenness' – between clients, informants, fields, academic disciplines, methods, theories, and so forth.[6] This thesis will develop a cultural understanding of urban communities through my own fieldwork and research in Helsingborg, theorizing that places have unique identities formed through dialectical relationships of people and places. I will also examine how an understanding of this theoretical standpoint through visual tools can be made useful in planning for physical and social urban infrastructures. The fieldwork I conducted gathers around important methodological tools, cultural mapping and visualization through images, and the ways in which this translates anthropological knowledge (theories, methodology, and fieldwork data) into usable information for city planners. My intention is to address both an academic audience and those working outside of academia, and to fill in the gap between the sectors by emphasizing the importance of research about, and for, everyday life and its practical applications. Thus, my thesis is an academic exploration and deepening of the applied work I have done with the City of Helsingborg and the H+ Project, with

---

[6] See discussion regarding applied cultural analysis in Fredriksson & Jönsson (2008) *ETN: JOB*, and also in Sunderland & Denny (2007).

the hope of encouraging greater cooperation between researchers and public planning, organizations, and businesses. Importantly, my discussion is intended to join with those within academia who are exploring ways in which academic research can connect, collaborate, and make a difference in applied situations, essentially re-thinking the purpose of academic study and how results are being written and presented to a wider audience.

In many ways, urban planners are tasked with the job of constantly re-constructing urban environments and the resulting public life can be understood in relation to the possibilities that those spaces allow. Conversely, people also create places, bringing them into being, and these places can be understood as productions of social space (Heidegger 1971, Lefebvre 1991). Re-developing and place-making Helsingborg through the H+ project is a task encompassing short- and long-term physical and ideological change through a large future oriented project, which aims to collaborate knowledge from different sources and perspectives to develop a 'tolerant city,' which should foreground the diverse group of people who reside in Helsing-borg. As a cultural analyst, my position has been situated between planners and users in understanding the multiple layers, as constitutive of multiple narratives, of the city. In this way, I have been mediating and interpreting information from several city-scapes, first across the 'invisible line' of segregation, Trädgårdsgatan, and second between two 'cities,' as the citizens and city planners, to understand and deconstruct the narrative of Helsingborg's 'cityness,' in order to access the underpinnings of community life and behavior. This work aimed to affect positive changes through collaborative and supportive project work by situating larger themes of re-development in the H+ project to everyday lives and vice versa. Examining the way in which a cultural analytical approach engenders practices of city planning towards openness and inclusion – through deep understandings of the cities' narratives, as that of users, residents, workers, planners, and so forth, to access the underpinnings of understanding and perceptions, that is, of being – transforms the work of 'the City' (the City of Helsing-borg) to the collaborative work of the city (as a diverse grouping of individuals and communities in a particular locality) to enable the development of a 'tolerant city,' which breaks down barriers into openness.

I will, in part, be examining how cultural mapping, as a methodological tool, accesses and translates cultural knowledge from ethnographic data to usable data for

city planners in the planning process of the H+ area – both as a physical and non-physical place. I will furthermore develop the role of ethnography in understanding places, as an 'anthropology of place.' The research that I have conducted has been an exercise in re-thinking what it means to publicly plan, by opening up the process and understanding the city, culturally, from the ground up. As a cultural analyst, mediating information between planners and citizens, focused the project's visions to existing communities and their values and contributing to the H+ project's open source method of strategic public planning through ethnographic understandings in a process of 'culturally mapping' Helsingborg's resources. Cultural mapping, a useful methodological tool in accessing cultural knowledge, translates 'raw' ethnographic data into usable maps for city planners in the process of developing the H+ area – as a physical and non-physical place. How does cultural mapping engage with and revitalize city planning to enable the development of a 'tolerant city,' essentially a process of place-making the H+ area? This thesis examines the way in which a cultural analytical approach engenders urban planning practices towards deeper cultural understandings of the places and the public sphere to emphasize a focus on the particular, unique values and needs of diverse communities already present in Helsingborg.

The aim of this thesis is twofold:

1. To develop an approach to urban space and communities through sensory ethnography and phenomenology in order to gather understandings of the unique place identities and experiences formed from the dialectic relationship of people and places

2. To develop tools for translating anthropological knowledge through images and cultural maps into city planning processes, as a mediating role between 'cityscapes' in a number of ways.

The overall aim of these investigations is to answer the question: "How can Helsingborg become a 'Tolerant City?'" This investigation begins in chapters two and three, with a theoretical framework and method to center my approach to the field. In chapter four, I have examined experiences of places through sensory and phenomenological approaches to understand the dialectic relationships of people and places, and how distinctive place identities are formed. I have then examined urban cultural landscapes in Helsingborg and the concept of 'Othering,' occurring in Helsingborg as a result of the 'invisible line' of segregation. Chapter five applies the anthropological investiga-

tions developed previously to cultural planning 'for people,' by developing visual tools for city planning methods which creates a central point of reference to cultural understandings of the city. This process develops into the notion of the role of an applied cultural analyst, tasked with mediating between different 'cityscapes,' within the city itself, and between citizens and city planners, to develop mutual understandings and strong culturally based 'place-making' processes in urban planning.

Limitations

As a yearlong study, my research has been multi-focal, and initially designed for the City of Helsingborg and the H+ project. In this time, I have conducting field-work and research in addition to developing three projects for the City of Helsingborg and the H+ project. As a student ethnographer on a limited time-budget, and as my research time was further divided by the need to design reports for my client, my time in the field was limited to several months, and further fieldwork could expand upon the work that I have done. My research projects required a certain amount of time to plan and design, reducing the actual amount of time spent in the field. Thus, my time has been divided between the research, project development, and delivery. Working in this way provided me with valuable insights into Helsingborg's city planning process, which form a basis for this thesis in its own way. Thus, this thesis is in some ways a culmination of those projects and their goals, together with new research and interests of my own, about 'places' more theoretically. So, my research has been limited by time and scope, but also by conditions of the field and unforeseen circumstances in my own personal life.[7]

Doing fieldwork in Sweden, particularly inquiring into communities and everyday social life, requires extra time and a particular understanding of the society. I have lived in Sweden for three years in total, and as I understand, activity primarily happens 'behind doors' in a physical and ideological sense. Becoming part of this life takes extra time, even for general and 'surface' understandings of communities in cities. Thus, accessing communities was more difficult in this setting, though Internet resources, observations, and 'hanging out' in the city with informants provided other

---

[7] My personal time in the field has been limited by a long and difficult illness I suffered during my internship period in autumn 2010, and many thanks are owed to Paul Sherfey for carrying on with our projects until my return.

kinds of insights. In some ways, I can consider my research to be anthropological rather than ethnological, the difference I refer to being primarily that of an outsider looking into another culture, versus a one looking into 'their own' culture.

Finally, the designated time for writing this thesis has been a mere five months, limiting the scope and depth into which I can delve into Helsingborg's communities and places. My hope is to contribute to research about Helsingborg and the H+ project, the anthropology of place and sensory anthropology, urban studies and cultural planning, and point towards further research needs intended primarily for the successful development of Helsingborg, but also for other applied cultural analysis projects that seek to understand 'place' and the infinite cultural connections therein.

2. Theoretical Framework

> " *'Cityness' is something that is happening now, in the present, that develops without people noticing it and is changed as a social reality*"
>
> (Arvaston & Butler 2010, p.9)

This chapter serves as a framework for building my research in urban anthropology, phenomenology, and an 'anthropology of place,' which will be developed together with my ethnography and analysis later in this thesis. This is an introduction to the theoretical concepts I use to develop my analysis and arguments, and will connect several theories and perspectives in developing my own basis for understanding cities anthropologically. Thus, my analysis is based in understanding communities and social questions 'from the ground up,' from an anthropological perspective. My previous work as an intern with the city of Helsingborg has understood the importance of political and economic factors in urban planning, but here my work is primarily focused on understanding the city from cultural perspectives. A large portion of my later analysis is dedicated to the applied aspect of research on 'place,' connecting this knowledge with other city planning processes. This forefronts the urgency and benefit of incorporating qualitative knowledge into city planning models and place-making.

Philosophically, Maurice Merleau-Ponty (2002) and Martin Heidegger's (1971, 1996) theories are at the center of my thoughts on places, each speaking to an ontological understanding of environments, place, and identities formed. These thinkers have influenced much of the ontological research about place as 'being-in-places'.[8] Thus, valuable insights can be gained from each of their writings when working analytically with culture. City planners need to understand urban environments from various perspectives and identify their own city's needs before, and during, the process of developing new spaces. My theoretical framework develops an understanding of everyday city life in spaces, and that the particular identities and narratives of cityscapes result from the interaction and experience of people and places.

The collaborative research I have conducted with the H+ project has been an exercise in 're-thinking' the meaning of public planning by opening up the process

---

[8] See for example, Casey 1996, Pink 2008, Feld and Basso 1996, Frykman and Gilje 2003.

and initiating a cultural understanding of the city which emphasizes narratives of places derived from qualitative research before physical construction of spaces, buildings, or neighborhoods. This chapter is the theoretical 'compass' for the larger research project; it examines the ways in which social scientific approaches can engender planning practices towards openness and inclusion through deeper theoretical understandings of the public sphere and human behavior, more specifically in Helsingborg. Broadly speaking, I am seeking to understand how the re-development of public places (particularly within the H+ area), as affected by planners and users alike, can 'bring forth' positive reflections of the cities' existing narratives and communities. These reflections could be seen both in the physical and non-physical developments of the H+ area, though my work is primarily aimed at understanding the non-physical as the social, experienced, and imagined. I'm further asking how investigating the nature of public space and the public sphere can gather new understandings of everyday city life, which can ultimately transform Helsingborg's cityscape through the work of the H+ 'tolerant city' project.

As a foundational theoretical analysis of these questions, I will examine and compare concepts as a point of departure for understanding public spheres, environments, and places. This is a foundation for the larger research aim of this thesis that seeks to investigate empirical methods to develop possibilities for effective cultural planning strategies. From here, I will begin an empirical investigation using phenomenology and sensory ethnography to understand place and people's relationships to, and experiences within, a city planning process of 'making places.'

Articulating Public Spaces

What is public space, and how can an anthropological investigation of it help strategic city planning? In what ways can an examination of the point of interaction between people, behaviors, and spaces deconstruct perceptions of place? Here, I will develop a theoretical notion of spaces and places. This will also begin a discussion about place-making in terms of creating new public spaces and neighborhoods based on the existing identities and narratives of Helsingborg, which reflect the current city and its future vision. The purpose of understanding place-making is to understand how ethnographic foundations and cultural planning can positively affect the planning

process towards people-centered values, as one aim of the H+ project. Developing theoretical understandings of public space through a 'modern' lens is a starting point for deconstructing existing spaces, but is more importantly the opening up of possibilities and potential which are vital to the development of new, innovative spaces that positively reflect existing social conditions. My investigations aim to understand public spaces and the meanings underlying human behavior on a deeper level in order to reposition city planning towards the interests and values of the citizens, and encourage a participatory process.

Those who use public spaces, as perceived, conceived, and lived (Lefebvre 1991) and thus collectively constructed places, have the power to define it. Thus, building and dwelling play a significant role in the possibilities and existence of public urban environments as "locations that allow spaces" (Heidegger 1971 p. 157). Heidegger argues that letting-dwell, 'a staying with things,' can be understood as the basis of modern urban living (1971, p.149) and proposes examining production in such a way that emphasized the nature of things and how they 'bring forth' localities into being. "Building accomplishes its nature in the rising of locations by the joining of their spaces" (Heidegger 1971, p.157). As city planners are not only developing new spaces but also (re)building them, the existence of 'being' within spaces importantly conceptualizes public spaces and subsequent development strategies towards the conditions and needs of citizens.

Re-development opens up new possibilities for being and dwelling in the process of building places. Thus, urban planning can understand building as 'bringing places into being.' Anthropological understandings can direct planning projects (re-building projects) towards the existing 'dwellings' of Helsingborg. To this effect, Jan Gehl and his company, Gehl Architects, provides interesting conceptualizations about 'the good city' in regards to public space by focusing on the space *in between* buildings that emphasizes life first, and buildings and space as secondary constructions around existing social conditions.[9] This kind of analysis can be found similarly in various cities around the world, and serves as a model for understanding public spaces in Helsingborg and the potential of the H+ urban revitalization project.

If cities are places of dwelling, a "staying with things," whereby multiple activities and rhythms develop spaces into places (Heidegger 1971, p.149) then spaces

---

[9] See www.gehlarchitects.com, Gehl J. & Gemzøe L. (2003) *New City Spaces*, and Gehl J. & Gemzøe L. (2004). *Public Spaces Public Life*, for further discussions.

in which individuals are dwelling can be understood as produced space, both by citizens and the city. This space is comprised of both physical and abstract constructions about particular environments, whether it is a street, public square, or community space. Lefebvre asks about the production of space, "'Who produces?', 'What?', 'How?', 'Why and for whom?'" (1991, p.69). My work with the H+ project, seeking to create the 'Tolerant City,' seeks the answers these questions by going deeper into an ontological discussion about 'being in places.' The fieldwork I have conducted has focused on public life, emphasizing the need to increase communication in developing better spaces for current and future citizens. Space, then, is more than the physical squares, streets, and meeting points, but an abstract space that is in constant production (Lefebvre 1991). Working with social questions about public space requires an examination of diverse perspectives, physical and ideological, public and private, and from various perspectives of residents.

Cities are immense laboratories, full of action, events, building and design. In imagining 'urbanness,' one must first account for the identities being (re)created on the public and private spheres of life, and how their interactions create energies and atmospheres for others (Jacobs 2010, p.20). Arendt's examination of the 'public sphere' as a political space and gathering of a community is ultimately a comment on the state of the modern era, understanding human life as conditioned by related things whereby the habituation and environment of humanity accentuates life (1958, p.9). To this effect, Arendt's interpretation of the public realm, influenced from models of antiquity, argues that it does not exist as such in the modern world. Through this, an *ideologically* public realm is emphasized. Thus, city planning should become intuitive to resident's understandings of places, such as Trädgårdsgatan, the 'invisible line' of segregation, in order to open up physical areas to greater public collaboration and understandings of public spaces between planners and citizens. In order to facilitate this, the behavior and social conditions of the public must be closely examined despite societal influences that might demand, "that its members act as though they were members of one enormous family which has only one opinion and one interest" (Arendt 1958, p.39). City planners can be seen, in some respects, as moderators of this enormous city-family, creating the opinion and interest of residents in their 'vision' for the future. Physical redevelopment of public spaces can lead to strong impacts on social

aspects of the public sphere, thus thoughtful planning that incorporates the values and needs of citizens facilitates a stronger democratic process.

Public and private spheres foreground the conceptualization of cityscapes, as these are densely populated areas that become arenas for negotiating public and private. "The most elementary meaning of the two realms [public and private] indicates that there are things that need to be hidden and others that need to be displayed publicly if they are to exist at all" (Arendt 1958, p.73). Public and private spaces become important both ideologically and physically. Public spaces are meant to provide free and open arenas for everyone, though cultural restrictions placed from the city itself for example, in the form of traffic flows, smoking areas, bike lanes, and so forth are inherent in them, and place limitations to one's ability to use them. This structuring is important, as the notion of public is understood in particular ways depending on cultural and societal rules on multiple levels of local and global.[10] "Society expects from each of its members a certain kind of behavior, imposing innumerable and various rules, all of which tend to 'normalize' its members, to make them behave, to exclude spontaneous action or outstanding achievement" (Arendt 1958, p.40). These questions further break down public space in terms of cultural rules and behavior, best answered through localized phenomenological investigations, which seeks to understand culture in the everyday from the individual perspective of the user. People, as users of public spaces, are interacting with the inanimate and animate of a space and affecting it with their presence and use, and bringing forth places in their own ways. In this way, they create atmospheres and particular place identities.

Phenomenology hereby becomes a bridge between theory and methods as *methodology*, by adding a new understanding of the field from the perspective of individuals *in* and *of* places (Casey 1996 p.19). Thus, working in cities has meant that I foremost studied behavior in everyday contexts with regard to the place and experiences of it, or 'being-in-the-world' (Heidegger 1996). Using phenomenology, one can go beyond the production of spaces and the conditions of the human to access and engage with narratives and experiences underlying public life.

---

[10] See discussion on public and private spaces in Jacobs (2010). pp.27-30, and Jacobs (1992).

(Re-)Becoming Place

The world comes bedecked in places; it is a place-world to begin with.
(Casey 1996, p.43)

The movement toward the development of a sense of place is strengthened through a tightening of the interrelation between the self and the environment.
(Næss, A. In, Drengson & Devall 2008, p. 46)

Place is the most fundamental form of embodied experience.
(Feld & Basso 1996, p.9)

What is a cultural understanding of place? What do places mean for individual experiences, and individuals for the formation of places? Places are intrinsically connected to human lives and experiences, perhaps even directly at the center of them. They play a large role in the formation of identities, concerning ontology explicitly or implicitly. How people experience and think about places are important in understanding not only their own self-perceived identity, but also that of the place itself, as the perception of places is both constitutive and constituting (Casey 1996, p.19). Essential to an anthropological understanding of Helsingborg's cityscapes is an understanding of this dialectic, which can be applied to place-making processes of city planning which seek to understand cities anthropologically.

Place has to do with one's identity through the experience and perceptions of places, one's sense of belonging, and feeling at home. *Place* is a central concept to being in the world, a sensory experience unique to each individual. In other words, bodies and spaces are intertwined to create places as embodied experiences (de Certeau 1984). Urban environments are layered with places, made unique by the individuals and communities sustaining them. "The living-moving body is essential to the process of emplacement: *live bodies belong to places* and help to constitute them" (Casey 1996, p.24). These local expressions are invaluable to understanding the social layers of a city, underpinning the greater 'city identity.' In this way, ontological concepts of 'being,' and phenomenological perspectives are essential to understanding places.

No matter what developments are planned, what buildings are built, destroyed, or moved, no matter how much control city planning asserts over it, place will come into being, in a cultural and social sense, based upon how people use and perceive

them. It is through the relationship of people and their environment that 'produce,' or 'make,' a place, and determine how it 'becomes' a place.[11] It is for this reason that I have chosen the title of this theoretical section, '(Re-)Becoming Place.' Somewhat of a grammatical or linguistic point in question, which in many respects makes redundant the idea of 'becoming,' it can be also seen as a never-ending process to 'become' again, in new ways, over and over. However, it is in my experience that city planners are using a process of re-developing spaces primarily through image-based physical planning (and social planning to a greater or lesser degree, in some projects). The idea of re-building, re-doing, or simply to re-make places - from what was before to what it will be - is a constant in the trajectory of spatial planning. But, often city planning processes miss the cultural (anthropological) and philosophical aspect of 'being' and 'dwelling' in places and spaces. This ignores the fact that cities are 'becoming,' – being rebuilt, reformed, and remade - all on their own, all the time, in many different ways. This sociality exists regardless of efforts of city planners to move and adjust people, places, and things. Thus, while city planners attempt to 're-,' the social communities are already 'becoming,' irrespective of 'the City's' plans. For these reasons, city planners would do well to pay attention to the cultural particularities of their own cities, particularly in the interest of social sustainability.

Perhaps we, as people in places, know implicitly this fact of spatial creation and constitution. Indeed, we are aware when atmospheres change from one place to another, and many times recognize our presence and activities to transform that place. But, questions remain as to what extent city planners know this explicitly, and to what extent they are researching and planning places and landscapes based on their city's particular identities, narratives, communities, and cultures. Sustainable, creative, and innovative cities will not only be attractive destinations for tourists and business professionals, but be a good place to live, work, and play for *all* citizens – not only those with particular social capital.

Thus, city planning should begin to 'see' their own cities anthropologically, and respond to them through more integrated and collaborative practices, breaking

---

[11] Actor-network theory (ANT) addresses similar questions regarding the dialectic between people and environment, as does ontological studies regarding nature and culture, including ecophilosophy and the deep ecology movement (See, for example, Drengson, A. & Devall, B. (Eds.) 2008). Joakim Forsemalm (2007) has used ANT to deconstruct power structures and practices in city conversion in the city Göteborg, Sweden. He argues similarly that the performances of places, and their multiple realities and power structures, are affected by interactions between human and non-human objects. "Objects, human or non-human, go places, and do places." (Forsemalm 2007:163).

down old-model divisions which still exist, as I will describe later, between the 'City,' as city planners, and the 'city' as it's citizens and users. This kind of ethnographic understanding of cities, as I will develop, will understand communities and spaces as organic wholes, wherein 'place' becomes the foremost concern in understanding identities and narratives. This model is one useful way of understanding cities, being that places, and the construction of them, can be seen as the 'red line' centering cultural planning. As city planning processes frequently use maps to discuss the physical structuring of places, this thesis will in part develop how the social layer can be incorporated into the process for a better understanding of place and communities for public planning.

Heidegger's *The Age of the World Picture* (1977) seeks to broadly understand the human sciences, whereby the subiectum – an essential awareness of being regardless of the human being in and of itself – is currently understood as human being in human scientific pursuits (p.128). "The world picture does not change from an earlier medieval one into a modern one, but rather the fact that the world becomes picture at all is what distinguishes the essence of the modern age [*der Neuzeit*]" (Heidegger 1977, p.130). This postulates that human-centric views affect the manner through which research is currently conducted. However, Heidegger asks more generally that we not question the thing – place, picture or human being – in itself, but how it comes to be as such. Foremost situating research, these overarching articulations of the human sciences, as applied to cultural planning practices, opens up spaces through which 'conditions of possibilities' in public planning can exist, and philosophy and creativity can interact to produce thoughtful solutions for social questions. Theoretical understandings of the public sphere are in this way placed within the world picture, but moreover opened with new dimensions of thinking, whereby cultural planning becomes an emerging discourse within urban planning. This thought is grounded in anthropological understandings that deconstruct public spaces in direct relation to culture, asking *how* it becomes such a place.

Places are more than physical, they are also imagined and experienced. As Gehl and Gemzø's work in urban studies has developed – building upon Heideggarian concepts that explore ideas of dwelling and 'being' – 'cities for people' should respond to what already exists in spaces and enhance it as a distinct place (2003, 2004). This can happen on many layers of locality, from very small street corners to larger

neighborhoods. Social development projects in urban planning, like that of H+, can enable structural development around existing people and communities. This is a useful model for approaching development in Helsingborg as well as for the region. My research will develop a phenomenological approach to understanding cities and how one can think about places and consequent place-making, as a process of 'creating' places collaboratively.

The identity of the H+ area will be consummated by the addition of people to the planning process and in their presence – being there – as the area, as a place, exists in a dialectical relationship comprised of (everyday) practices, behaviors, and multisensory experiences, altogether. The identity of H+ will be the result of not only the built environment and place-branding, but through place-making: the dialectical relationship between people and place and their being *in* places and being *of* places as a complex and endless development (Casey 1996, p. 19). Therefore people and their culture, behavior, and values can be accessed through anthropological methods as a precursor to the building of a place, as a place-making process that understands these dialectic relationships and identities of places and communities.

A Phenomenological Thread

A 'phenomenological thread,' foremost captures the essence of ontological understandings in social and cultural analyses. This kind of theoretical understanding is invariably connected to understandings of human behaviors, inquiring into the conditions for 'how' things happen rather than 'what' is happening. This frame of mind fundamentally deepens the possibilities of the human sciences, as research moves beyond traditional observations by asking how we *experience*, and to reflexively think about the possibilities this 'brings into being'. My own work in Helsingborg has used this perspective to understand people, behaviors, and places complexly, to experience, and thus know, how things are happening.

> Pointing to the 'thingness' of things, the 'placeness' of places, and the 'human-ness' of individuals. When the word culture is used in the active sense, it means that the researchers takes an interest in how people are implicated sensually and bodily as well as rationally. It implies that the vague, the inexact and that which is not clearly formulated should be taken into account. The impulses, the pictures and the imagination often precede thoughts.
>
> (Frykman and Gilje 2003, p.35)

The concepts raised in phenomenological research deepen human understanding as a framework for deconstructing cultural behavior and the social world. Informing empirical materials and analyses, this theoretical foundation can pave the way for well researched, innovative solutions to social questions in public planning – which, in this investigation, centers on changing the isolation that hangs in the air of Helsingborg's public spaces and divides the cityscapes across the 'invisible line.'

3. Methodology and Research Design

> *The mere aspiration of starting with the everyday, to see 'culture from below' and to take the perspective of 'the other' or 'thinking with one's feet' is in itself an obvious effort to want to understand culture in use.*
>
> (Frykman and Gilje 2003, p.19)

Cities, even small ones, are complex places filled with people, objects, buildings, events, experiences, emotions, everyday life, and so forth. Thus, fieldwork 'about cities' can be a daunting task. As my projects for the City of Helsingborg and the H+ project were focused on finding and documenting existing communities and social aspects of public spaces in Helsingborg, my methods emerged as a response to the kinds of data needed to complete this study. My fieldwork was conducted between April 2010 until May 2011, and included ethnographic observations, participant observations, interviews, go-along interviews, 'hanging out' with informants, qualitative spatial analysis, discussions with key with individuals in the community and within research about Helsingborg, Internet and desk research, photography, and cooperative work with city planners, artists, architects, and communications professionals. Thus, my view of the city was both within parts of the city planning office and that of citizens. My ethnographic process was intended as a way of gaining access into, and understanding, the communities within Helsingborg and how they conceptualize and experience Helsingborg as a place.

The material I gathered for one project focuses on four neighborhoods of Helsingborg – Söder, Planteringen, Närlunda, and Centrum – and aimed to understand public life, movement, spaces, needs, and values as both physical and ideological in these areas. The results of this work was presented to the City of Helsingborg and the H+ planning team in the form of 'cultural resource maps,' a method of documenting, communicating, and collecting together ethnographic work into visual data. These maps were accompanied by short texts in the form of an internal report. Although I have done fieldwork resulting in other projects for the City of Helsingborg, I will focus primarily on the methods of, and behind, culturally mapping and using visual data for this thesis in order to illuminate a process of transferring ethnographic information into urban planning processes.

Approach and Design

Methodologically, my work is inspired by phenomenology and sensory ethnography, in the sense that being there, participating, interviewing, walking the streets, and experiencing the city from multiple perspectives and all five human senses, is important foregrounding to understanding multiple layers and narratives that exist in cities with the desire to know the individual in relation to space, and vice versa. "Ethnographic places are not simply made in the moments that they are lived. Rather, they are crafted over longer periods of interaction and intellectual activity" (Pink 2008 b, p.190). Pink argues that an ethnographer's understanding of people and their relationship to places are created through the process of doing sensory ethnography, where the process becomes an 'ethnographic place.' The idea is that by attuning one's senses to the experiences of places, ethnographers can "begin to make places that are similar to theirs, and thus feel that we are similarly emplaced" (Pink 2008 b, p.193). Therefore, I used sensory ethnography as a manner of learning about places and communities in Helsingborg by 'emplacing' myself in the field and experiencing through my informants perspectives and perceptions.

Talking with people living and working in Helsingborg is an important aspect to learning about social aspects of the city, finding more subtle routes, events, or activities and how places play a role in their lives, afford them certain opportunities, and affect their routines. My key informants were between the ages of 20-40 with different national and ethnic backgrounds and socio-economic statuses, all living or working in Helsingborg in different capacities and neighborhoods. Some had lived there for most or all of their lives, and others for shorter periods. My interviews aimed at gathering opinions about the city and its neighborhoods – especially regarding the line of segregation separating the north from south – and seeking to understand daily routines and destinations of my informants in the city. I took a reflexive approach to interviews, acknowledging that the process, and understandings derived from it, is subjective and not without influence of my own presence as a researcher (Davies, 1999). I attempted to point my informants towards my research focus without directing them entirely, minimizing my influence over their opinions.

In the field, I conducted in-depth interviews with six key informants: Per, Maria, Mia, David, Navid, and Abdul.[12] I asked four of these informants to take me on a tour of Helsingborg to show me places they go in their everyday lives regarding the central areas of the city. This method is similar to the 'go-along' technique, "a hybrid of participant observation and interviewing" (Kusenbach 2003, p. 463). Lee and Ingold point out that walking is an important everyday practice, and becoming part of an informant's everyday life opens up the field to the ethnographer by "sharing or creating a walking rhythm with other people can lead to a very particular closeness and bond between the people involved" (2006, p.69). Additionally, I became close to a social group where I gained valuable knowledge into some experiences of the city through 'hanging out' with them in various social situations. I conducted several informal interviews in these settings and in other public spaces of Helsingborg, which provided further tacit knowledge about the 'social' city. This provided a venue for gathering opinions and knowledge about everyday life in the city in a more 'natural' setting, without my direction or aims in particular focus for discussion.

I also used participant observations as a method of learning about public spaces, spending significant time walking through, sitting, or standing in different public areas (including streets, squares, shops, buildings), eating local foods, taking pictures of the area, and watching behaviors. Overall, this was a manner of experiencing the places by being present in them (Czarniawska 2007, Davies, 1999, Frykman & Gjile 2003). Being present with informants, in places, leads to perceptions regarding the body, self, and environment, and becomes a point of entry into, and understanding of, the field (Lee and Ingold 2006, p. 69). Casey (1996) and Pink (2008) agree that *place* is central to 'being in the world,' and thus people are always 'emplaced,' meaning that our existence, or way of being, is contingent upon our relationship with places, while we are at the same time constituting the place. "The task of the reflexive ethnographer would be to consider how she or he is emplaced, and her or his role in the constitution of that place" (Pink 2008, p.193). Being in the city and interacting with people, shops, spaces, and objects, feeling the rhythms and flows of people, bikes, traffic, and seeing the advertisements and local expressions in the city park was important for me to understanding the particular social urban identity of Helsingborg, and has profoundly informed my analysis of it.

---

[12] All names of informants have been changed for anonymity.

Internet research furthered my work by developing my knowledge of urban planning, architecture, cultural planning, and other current trends in the topic. I also accessed information about Helsingborg's communities through investigations online, furthering my knowledge of the social landscape of the city via its digital communities and representations. My collaborative work with the city planners shaped and developed my own working process as an applied anthropologist, pointing me towards important aspects in the working environment (maps and images, for example). This also gave me an insider's view, as a participant observer, into the processes of the city planning as well as conducting field research in Helsingborg, invaluable in seeing a more holistic picture of Helsingborg and its development process from both sides (Czarniawska 2007, Davies, 1999).

Visualizing Places

What is 'cultural mapping,' and how can it help city planners? Cultural mapping incorporates methodological understandings from ethnographic work, finds points of applicability, and translates ethnographic information into visualizations in the form of maps and images. Figures 9, 12, 13, 14, and 15 are examples of the cultural resource mapping created by Paul Sherfey and myself. Cultural mapping examines methods of visualizing ethnographic work, and connects to the development of cultural planning processes in the analysis chapters of this thesis.

Though there are many possibilities for methods and methodology, the process of doing fieldwork often brings out that which works and fits best. Readjusting and modifying practices and perspectives are a natural and important part of understanding as a researcher, something I experienced in my own work. The model of cultural mapping was requested, more or less, by my supervisor at the City of Helsingborg at the start of the project in March 2010. The approach and fieldwork itself, however, was developed along the way as a group process for a project management course at Lund University and for the H+ Project as a client. Later projects, conducted during my internship period from September to December 2010 addressed different questions and used different models for translating cultural information. All of the projects, however, relied heavily on the presentation of information into visual materials – pictures, diagrams, and maps. Although visualization is already a natural part

of many working cultures, the cultural mapping materials have a different gathering process, grounded in qualitative cultural analytical methods. For my part, these influences are primarily ethnographic, aimed to understand the cultural particularities of Helsingborg through qualitative research.

Ghilardi's model of cultural planning with Noema Research aims to gather anthropological information about the particular identity of a city - which she calls the city's 'cultural DNA' or 'social fabric,' - as a first step in the process of developing creative and people-centered cities. "Each city, furthermore, has its own idiosyncratic way of working and its own 'cultural DNA.'" (Ghilardi 2009, p.3). Cultural mapping is a tool for organizing relevant social information and aids the process of planning work.

> This method is based on the assumption that a precondition for identifying and exploiting local potential is to conduct a wide-ranging exploration of the distinctive cultural assets of a place. How a place is shaped (history, landscape), what it feels like (the urban fabric and the interaction between different cultures and communities), how it projects itself (the images it conjures up) – these are all based on its local culture. Such broad mapping of the local cultural assets can be an effective way of responding to local needs while providing opportunities for local development.
>
> (Noema.co.uk)

Working within the public sector was a method of knowing another side of Helsingborg, which I will later develop as the 'City,' in the sense of those who hold a certain power in development processes. This was important to my understanding of how ethnological work can benefit public planning. Thus, cultural mapping is a method I used to gather information about the social aspects of Helsingborg, as well as a method of working within public planning.

Cultural resource mapping can be a method of tangibly locating important social points, or 'hotspots,' within the city, which can include meeting points, cultural centers, and social hubs, among others. This is a method I used in understanding the city socially, and in translating this information into city planning processes. Cultural mapping is hereby a tool to connect the work of an ethnographer into useable material by architects, communications officers, artists, and so forth. In this way, visualization is key to quick and easy understandings, fitting well with the working process of the city planning model at the H+ project. Facilitating collaborative work around the social aspects through cultural maps aids in the development of a 'people-centered' city, based on it's own social conditions (in the anthropological sense) and landscape

(showing a physical representation of 'what's there' in relation to existing social values). Thus, cultural mapping incorporates all methods and methodologies in a process of translating information and knowledge from citizens to planners. By this, I mean that I conducted ethnographic fieldwork to explore how residents viewed and used public spaces Helsingborg, among other methods, in the process of creating cultural maps. This ethnography gathered knowledge, which I will develop as an 'anthropology of place' in the analysis chapters of this thesis. The maps that Paul Sherfey and I created were primarily social and economic reflections, though different kinds of cultural maps, showing, for example, auras, perceptions, routes and movement, would present different aspects of social conditions happening in the city, which I discuss later in the analysis of 'culturally mapping' under chapter five. So, the 'why' of using cultural maps lies firmly in the translation of knowledge and social understandings across disciplines and departments in public planning.

Re-development of places can have a huge impact on an individual's practices, rhythms, and perceptions of their everyday lives. In this way, the H+ project is more than building a tunnel, new housing, and other infrastructure, it also aims to be a collaborative social renewal process. The project's vision includes building a 'tolerant city,' changing the profile and individual lives within Helsingborg in its construction of sociality, which develops together with the construction and production of spaces. My fieldwork data was used in the creation of cultural resource maps and other visual data and reports presented to the City of Helsingborg and the H+ Project. Thus, ethnographic fieldwork and research has produced cultural maps, among other tools and results, understood both as a method of doing ethnographic work and also as a tool in translating this knowledge into usable city planning reports and materials. Cultural mapping being the primary methodological tool I used in accessing culture on the ground and collecting all of these methods together transfers anthropological knowledge into usable information for city planners and architects alike. Here, cultural mapping is central to the exploration of applied cultural analysis in urban planning.

4. Experiences of Place

For it is still the case that no one lives in the world in general. Everybody, even the exiled, the drifting, the diasporic, or the perpetually moving, lives in some confined and limited stretch of it – 'the world around here.' The sense of interconnectedness imposed on us by the mass media, by rapid travel, and by long-distance communication obscures this more than a little. So does the featurelessness and interchangeability of so many of our public spaces, the standardization of so many of our products, and the routinization of so much of our daily existence. The banalities and distractions of the way we live now lead us, often enough, to lose sight of how much it matters just where we are and what it is like to be there. The ethnography of place is, if anything, more critical for those who are apt to imagine that all places are alike than for those who, listening to forests or experiencing stones, know better.

(Geertz 1996, p. 262)

A major consideration in the initial planning stages of the H+ area is how the project can strengthen the adjacent quarter known as Söder, building upon the values and potential of the area to serve local residents and not become a gentrification project. Though bordering the old city center, Söder has historically been segregated from it its development as a working-class neighborhood, originally populated by labor migrants from rural Sweden and now notable for its largely immigrant population (Högdahl 2007). Despite the rich cultural diversity of Helsingborg, its positive attributes have not been realized, instead remaining separated and 'othered' in the city's south across an 'invisible line' of segregation, Trädgårdsgatan. The question of how marginalized communities can be supported - without being co-opted into dominant local culture(s) – through strategic city planning, is inherent in the Tolerant City model. As an anthropologist, this question must first address the 'invisible line' of segregation between north and south. My research aims to access these intangible feelings that my informants so often expressed, and relate them to their experiences of places in Helsingborg to deconstruct segregation with concern to this 'invisible line.'

As a cultural consultant with the City Planning Office (Stadsbyggnadsförvaltningen) and the H+ Project, I aimed to provide recommendations that promote social inclusion, developing spaces that diversify and democratize spatial use and interaction. I focused on the intersection of the unfamiliar which occurs in Söder – not only as narratives of 'ethnic others' but also 'economic others' – and how to enable the diversity and economic character of Söder to be experienced positively, rather than

associated with discomfort and a lack of safety. Experiences and uses of space are affected by structural developments, which are sharply contrasted between Helsingborg's north and south. How can Helsingborg support Söder and not further marginalize its residents and reputation? How can the diverse narratives of residents and the 'good intent' of city planners be reconciled with imperatives of a process, which tend towards generalization and foreclosure of narratives of difference? What is culturally distinctive about Helsingborg as a place, and how can anthropological understandings of this distinction be used to support diversity in the public sphere? This section addresses these questions by examining the existing cultural profile of Helsingborg, stemming from my fieldwork and analysis on places and narratives of belonging. The intent is to show the underlying cultural processes that enable the distinct social profile of Helsingborg's north and south through ethnographic methods. This work is a precursor to cultural resource mapping, and ties into the larger process of understanding the needs and values of citizens, particularly understanding the existing isolation and barriers which segregate the city.

It is precisely the understanding of places as experiences unique to each individual, and creating an ever-changing place-identity, which underlies my work as an anthropologist in Helsingborg. This sensory approach is the basis for locating unique identities of cities, and the culture, communities, and values therein, and becomes the basis for 'cultural planning for people'. This chapter is concerned with understanding perceptions of places and human relationships with them as emplaced experiences, as constitutive and constituting, "that we are not only *in* places but *of* them" (Casey 1996, p.19). I will demonstrate the value of sensory ethnography for research about places based on this dialectical 'place-bound' relationship of perception and place (Casey 1996, p.19) through my analysis of Helsingborg's 'cultural landscape.' In this chapter I will use an analysis of walking with people and the kinds of knowledge it affords, propose ontological perspectives to people's relationships with their environments and what this can say about the particular identities of a place in a broad sense, and seek some perspectives to intangible feelings which comprise 'othering' in the city in order to access understandings of the experiences of this 'invisible line' as a geographical point relevant to the understanding of distinct urban identities and creation of 'cultural maps.'

Walking with People

Figure 2. Kullagatan.
Walking along Kullagatan, Helsingborg, which was under construction, with Mia in late April, 2011.

Mia asks me what I am taking a picture of as I snap a quick photo of the construction along Kullagatan, where we had just walked, remarking that it is a strange photo to take. As an ethnographer, photos such as figure 2 are visualizations of social realities and human behavior that give clues into experiences of places, which I will discuss later in the section 'expressions of place.' How are people moving along this street, with this construction? What is their behavior like? Are they stopping or moving? Are there fewer people than before? What are the aesthetics like? Redevelopment of city spaces is also about the process of construction, and what that could look like for citizens. "*I think the building process [of H+], it will be a mess. I don't think it will be convenient to live here during this time.*" (Interviews & fieldnotes e. Mia). Mia's perception of Helsingborg, and it's potential future, is that of construction chaos, is part of her overall perception of the place. This includes indicators of how

the place affects her life, what it offers, and what it hinders. Figure 2 captures the kind of 'chaos' she was talking about, a visualization of her embodied experience. Walking with people in Helsingborg has provided me with tacit knowledge into embodied experiences and perceptions of places, a window into their experience of the city – or a view of 'their city' as individually constituted places. My walk with Mia is an example of the kind of knowledge that can be gathered for an anthropological understanding of people in places.

When I walked with informants in Helsingborg, I asked them to lead the way and show me parts of their everyday routes, places they enjoyed or didn't, or places they commonly spent time in. This was a method of accessing knowledge about their perceptions and experiences of places. "It is through the shared bodily engagement with the environment, the shared rhythm of walking, that social interaction takes place" (Lee and Ingold 2006, p.80). Most importantly, walking affords access into embodied experiences of informant's in places.

Mia, a young Chinese woman who had lived in Helsingborg for approximately one year, described the city as a fairly 'boring' place without activities. She lived in a neighborhood in the eastern part of the city, but spent time in the center as a university student. As a newcomer to Helsingborg, she perceived Centrum as the center of the city but did not include Söder in the central area, though both were part of her everyday route.

> Mia: I mean the city center there…Except the city center, I don't know where else to go. The place I really go to often is the Supermarket [In Söder] for shopping, for everyday food.
>
> Me: Could you describe one place in Helsingborg that you enjoy or don't enjoy?
>
> Mia: I think a place I enjoy is the city center. They have shopping spaces, they have restaurants…The city center is the only place I can go inside Helsingborg. Yeah. Everyday.
>
> Me: Why is that?
>
> Mia: Because everything is just gathered there. Because in the other places, you don't have such a, you know, downtown feeling. The other places have just some apartments, no restaurants. No place to gather. There is nothing to do there.
>
> (Interviews & fieldnotes e. Mia)

Mia showed me both Söder and Centrum, as she was often in both areas when she travels into town to go to campus. Although she didn't consider Söder to be part of the center city, the area is important to her everyday life. She described the area as just a "small center near Campus," and visited it primarily for everyday food shopping or for a few available restaurants. Walking with Mia demonstrated that both Centrum and Söder are part of the central urban hub, providing different kinds of experiences and available activities. Mia, however, didn't have a strong attachment to one place, rather explored them for their available options of restaurants, groceries, or shops. Her opinion was that Helsingborg was a nice and calm place to live, but that it was a fairly 'boring' place.

> *I'm not that kind of night person. But I think at night there is nothing special [in Helsingborg]. People maybe just go to a bar to drink. You know, all shops close at six or seven, so early. It's impossible. Especially during the weekends when people have lots of time they want to shop, but every shop is closed. People have no place to enjoy … no, to spend money! (laugh).*
>
> (Interviews & fieldnotes e. Mia)

In this way, Mia was unable to fully access the kind of life she wanted, and instead settled her life across Trädgårdsgatan and in the neighborhood that she lived. Mia said, like many people I encountered, that the atmosphere changed when walking across the city park (and Trädgårdsgatan, the 'invisible line'). Thus, her perception was constituted in both neighborhoods, but was also primarily wanting of something more that was outside of Helsingborg and in other places where she has lived previously. Thus, her identity, as constituted by other places, is also constituting the social identity of Centrum and Söder by her presence, and moreover affecting the overall 'cultural profile' of Helsingborg – indeed a continuously shifting identity.

All of my informant's experiences of the city were based on their own habits and interests, and some parts of their experiences were made evident through our walks. Walking and talking with my informants showed me different perceptions of Helsingborg and aspects to their emplaced relationships to these places. "There is no knowing or sensing a place except by being in that place, and to be in a place is to be in a position to perceive it…Local knowledge is at one with lived experience if it is indeed true that this knowledge is of the localities in which the knowing subject lives" (Casey 1996, p.18). By being there, and walking with them, I was able to access the process of how some particular place-bound identities in Helsingborg take place as

embodied experiences "grounded in an inherently sociable engagement between self and environment" (Lee and Ingold 2006, p. 68). In a way, we were mapping routes and places in their lives together 'on the ground,' accessing the dialectic of perception and place which constitutes Helsingborg's social narratives.

Being and Environment

The perspectives I gained from walking and talking Navid, a resident of Söder and long term resident of Helsingborg, and from his perhaps off-handed statement that he is currently living as a "real urban guy,' nevertheless demonstrate his relationship to his environment in the central areas of the city. Here, 'being in places' is important to the formation of identities from the dialectical relationship produced by the interaction of people and environments. His being in the city, or being-in-the-world (Heidegger 1996), is constituted by his chosen experiences and imagined sphere, as the places he pictures himself to be part of, and which he demonstrated to me on our walk of the city. Crossing Trädgårdsgatan is an important geographical point in the experiences that Navid relates to his identity, as his activities take place on either side of the mark, and are experienced quite differently. His interests and chosen activities primarily exist across the 'invisible' line in Centrum, while his home is in Söder, creating a continuous movement and desire to be across the line. "Perception remains as *constitutive* as it is constituted. This is especially evident when we perceive places: our immersion in them is not subjection to them, since we may modify their influence even as we submit to it. This influence is as meaningful as it is sensuous" (Casey 1996, p.19). Walking with people, and understanding their emplaced experiences or 'being-in-the-world,' affords an understanding of places and their particular identities as created by this ontological and dialectical relationship.

Navid lives in a small apartment in Söder and considers himself a 'Helsingborgare' or resident of Helsingborg. He appeared quite proud of his city, and told me that he felt that Helsingborg is an attractive place to live in Sweden.

> *You know when people move here, new people move here, when the amount of Helsingborgare is increased, city funds are increased….So that is very positive. One often hears other accents than Skånska [the regional accent]. It makes me glad. Then I know 'here is something that attracts people.' It is good. I shouldn't go from here, because people are moving here. Why go from here? Here is something good. Let's stand still and look on the earth and*

where I am standing. You walk past nice buildings everyday, but you don't no-
tice anything about them. Many times you are so stressed to go from A to B, so
you don't look around. So I've started to, when I'm walking in the city nowa-
days. I look at the whole building. And many buildings are very nice but
you've never seen it because you are so bored of the, let's say, bookshop at
the first floor, because your eyes are always looking down. But you should
look otherwise, then you will feel otherwise, and you appreciate it much, much
more.

(Interviews & fieldnotes d. Navid)

I first met Navid on Gustav Adolfs Torg in Söder during a public event, and arranged to meet him at a later date for an interview. When we met again in Gustav Adolfs Torg, I asked him to take me on a 'tour' of the city and for an interview, which we later conducted at the public library, located in the city park directly along Trädgårdsgatan. I requested, quite broadly, that he show me the places that he most often goes, a part of his daily routine, or places he might enjoy. He considered this for a moment, and then led me down Södergatan, towards Centrum, and out of Söder. He explained that he lives in an apartment in Söder that suits his needs quite well, but that he spends his free time most often in Centrum. He goes to a gym everyday, for example, which is located in Centrum. As we walked through Centrum and down towards the beach, located further north in the city, Navid showed me different locations he frequents and places he considers nice, including café's, shopping areas, and Mariatorget, along with a few historical buildings. He explained to me that Helsingborg is a summer city, and areas like Centrum and the beach are really nice places to spend free time.

Navid told me that he considers himself a real 'urban guy,' because he spends most of his time inside the central areas of the city. Here, Navid is constituting his 'urban' identity based on a relationship to particular places and what it affords. Interestingly, this identity is primarily constituted in Centrum, based on the places he is interacting with. Even though he is living in Söder, he arguably derived his identity as an 'urban guy' primarily on the spaces that he showed me in Centrum, as he described his living arrangement as primarily financially based. "First we should attend to how place is produced through the interrelationships between human, material and sensorial agencies in urban contexts; second to understand urban processes – including the production of what is regarded by various actors as sustainable urban development – attention to embodied and sensorial (emplaced) aspects of social and material relationships is required" (Pink 2008 a, p.96). Navid pictures himself across the 'invisible

line,' as a member of the 'central urban community.' As pink argues, "by theorizing collaborative ethnographic methods as place-making practices we can generate understandings of both how people constitute urban environments through embodied and imaginative practices and how researchers become attuned to and constitute ethnographic places" (2008 b, p. 176). Thus, what is important to this situation is both Navid's embodied practices in Centrum as a place that constitutes his experiences, and his imaginative role in that community.

Navid, like many residents, is choosing spaces which reflect not only the kinds of activities he want in his life, but an identity which is based from this embodied relationship. The "multisensory experience of any physical and material environment … is inextricable from the cultural knowledge and everyday practices through which place is constructed and experienced" (Pink 2008 a, p.96). Thus, Navid's experiences in places are constructing his identity as much as he is contributing to the construction of the place itself. The mutual shaping of *place* constitutes its particular identity and the identity of those within it.

My walk and interview with Navid has shown that his experiences are directly tied to the places he is in, and in turn, his lived experiences contribute to the constitution of them. As Casey puts it, "lived bodies belong to places and help to constitute them" (1996, p. 24). It is through an understanding of this emplacement that creates a picture of the distinct 'urbanness,' as the lived experiences of the communities of Helsingborg. This distinct identity can be compared to the 'cultural DNA' of a place (Ghilardi 2009), and applied to understandings the values of a city's communities and their needs.

Perceiving the 'Other'

Cultural racism negatively stereotypes individuals based on their biological person and attributes this to a particular racialized cultural difference, thereby creating an 'other' (Pred 2000, p.66). In Helsingborg, cultural racism is contributing to an atmosphere and perception of difference, most visibly concerning Söder and the southern neighborhoods. Helsingborg, like many places, experiences the *local space of normality*, whereby racisms are often understood by citizens within boundaries in which one can understand the 'Other as a threat' without being 'outright racist'

(Räthzel 2010, p.151). The 'other' is consummated primarily by the perception of segregation by the 'invisible line,' which is experienced based on the perpetuated differences in places formed by this division. The perception of the other is integral to understanding the 'invisible line' of segregation. I aim to uncover some of these perceptions as part of Helsingborg's cultural narratives in an effort to realize the processes that perpetuate segregation, and further to suggest methods to change the atmosphere across the line by using techniques of applied cultural analysis.

'The Other,' in Helsingborg, is not necessarily a dangerous population, but rather one whose behaviors are different enough from the majority population to create mutual misunderstandings and discomfort: including immigrants and those with any connection to a 'foreign' background, minority cultures, and homeless persons. But moreover, the issue is the concentrated difference perpetuated by the invisible line. What Högdahl terms 'third-world behavior' of homeless and 'drunks' in Möllevågen in Malmö creates a polarization of "tolerance and positive diversion at one side, and deviation and criminality on the other that sometimes melts together with concepts of 'otherness' in the negative sense" (Högdahl 2006, p.92). In this way, 'othering' in Helsingborg is similarly fueled by negative behaviors that are primarily concentrated in the south, without much of the daily life that people seek to counterbalance the 'third world behaviors.' Furthermore, it is not their existence, but rather how 'the others' are imagined, which matters in regards to the positive or negative perception of spaces (Räthzel 2010, p.152). A discourse of difference emerges out of urbanization that emphasizes easily recognizable (national) symbols to create a homogenous people against all 'Others,' implying an implicit superiority. (Pred 2000, p.26-27). However, othering is occurring from north to south as well as from south to north: "From the south side to the north side they feel like they are not good enough, that they are not wearing good enough clothes." (Interviews & fieldnotes b. David). As David describes, those who live in the south often feel out of place in the north, like they cannot belong to that part of the city. Though I have heard many negative stereotypes concerning the south during my research, many of my informants also had quite positive things to say about the area:

> [Söder is] lively and foreign. But when I say foreign I mean it in a completely positive aspect. A totally positive aspect… Some people might read foreign as a negative thing […] foreigners are better at meeting and standing out by the road and making the place more alive with people…I like that about this area…. There is just stuff going on.

(Interviews & fieldnotes c. Maria).

> *I think that many cities with the same population are very similar wherever you go. But there is a totally different life here depending where in the city you go…. That frightens a lot of people. People just want everybody to be the same. But I think it's really fun that it's so different. So, I enjoy that that you can buy almost anything from all over the world from the south side, from the immigrants. And that it's very Swedish if you go to the north side.*
>
> (Interviews & fieldnotes b. David)

Regardless of the lived experiences of my informants that are connected between both Söder and Centrum, continued discourse generally on the existence of difference, most basically, contributes to a feeling of discomfort and separation between the neighborhoods and their inhabitants. The conceptualization is furthered because 'Swedishness' and 'Foreignness'[13] is often continually separated as polar identities. This division is manifested physically along the geographical point, or line, of Trädgårdsgatan. Although a city's vibrancy can be understood partly by the availability of difference, too much *concentrated* difference in Helsingborg has created a split down Trädgårdsgatan, a continuation from a historical, class-based division.

Public space serves as a minefield for experiencing the 'other' in terms of foreign *habitus*, going beyond personal behaviors and becoming attached to 'foreign' businesses, for example, as centers of cultural difference. Feelings of comfort and fear are played out in public spaces by territorially marking areas of particular groups.

> Public space thus confronts one as an enemy might – foreign, forbidding and minatory – and people complain, 'I don't feel comfortable going there. It's not our place. I don't feel I belong.' Moreover, the space of the other is like the gaze of someone who has greater power than oneself; it fills one with a diffuse sense of shame.
>
> (Jackson 2005, p.20)

Söder has many small shops with every-day products displayed outside (detergents, soaps, food items, etc), and often lacks clearly branded or recognizable commerce from a Swedish perspective. "The ethnicisation of places leads to an inflexibility in the relationship between places and people. The ethnic group becomes a signifier and the places become the signified. The relationship cannot be reversed" (Räthzel 2010,

---

[13] 'Swedes' and 'Foreigners' are used in this thesis as several of my informants used these descriptive terms, though they and I am not unaware of the problematic nature of these terms. In the way I understand it, there are layers of diversity in Helsingborg (and in Sweden), whereby Swedes are often conceptualized as 'blonde, blue eyed' people, though this is no longer the case in all instances. However, those who look 'foreign' according to this model are often conceptualized as such, even if they, or even their parents, were born in Sweden. This creates difficult experiences for many and problematic discourses regarding 'Swedishness' and 'Foreignness.'

p.144). Many of Söder's inhabitants participate in a transnational public sphere where connection to other cultures is fused with 'Swedishness' via products for sale, ideas and news, languages, and practices, "preserving imagined communities that are spatially discontinuous, territorially unbound, or diasporic" (Pred 2000, p.24). In this way, 'foreignness' is not only a separated set of subcultures, but also a fusion of these with the dominant Swedish culture, products, and practices. The use of this space has created a new unique subculture.

> Sightings of the swarthy complexioned, of the olive skinned, of the brown, black, or yellow body. Spottings of the alien gait, of the not-from-here hand gestures, of the (uncomfortably) active body language. Hearings of the unintelligible word, of the foreign tongue. Overhearings of the unfamiliarly familiar, of more or less accented Swedish, of recognizable but outlandishly animated chatter. Whatever local circumstances may have been in the past, reminders of somatic, behavioral, and cultural difference are now almost inescapable, an everyday matter, throughout most of Sweden.
>
> (Pred 2000, p.33-34)

Cultural racisms then, the existence of an 'Other' and a 'foreignness' that characterizes the southern harbor, is a major factor determining the atmosphere and perceived desirability of a place. Here, the power of bodies in embodying and claiming spaces holds an important role. For example, in Söder, 'foreign' bodies claim space dominantly, while the north side it is a 'Swedish' body. In each instance, 'Othering' is based on the minority and difference, and contributes to the production and perception of the environment, and an ability belonging to it. The project on social cohesion with H+ is intended to change this by way of imagining new spaces in which a commercial or physically dominant 'Other' does not exist and by realizing commonalities of comfort, fear, desires, and needs.

The built environment of a place is in direct interaction with one's life-world, an understanding through one's fully lived and bodily experiences whereby things become meaningful based on that which they have experienced (Frykman & Gilje 2003, p.38), thereby creating particular urban identities which in turn construct particular spaces, wherein perceived and 'local spaces of normality' become important (Räthzel 2006, p.150-3). "This phenomenological fusion of personal identity and physical environment is, of course, not a product of contemplation but a byproduct of our everyday relationships – sensible, corporeal and imaginative – with and within the built environments we inhabit" (Jackson 2005, p.17). Furthermore, understanding the different neighborhoods and residents of Helsingborg requires and understanding that

one's life-world is focused upon the everyday life and meanings that are created by the repetition of activity with that material environment, the life-world being primarily "something that you think *with* rather than think *about*" (Frykman and Gilje 2003, p.36-37). Therefore, neighborhoods and specific places in Helsingborg must be understood through the multiple 'foreign' life-worlds that exist there, creating different meanings about the same objects, events, and spaces, together and apart from those of "Swedes." In the market on Gustaf Adolfs Torg I heard many languages other than Swedish, people seemed livelier, and behaviors and movements were more expressive. Here, at least, were people who didn't follow the typical Swedish rules of decorum. But what does this mean? It means that this space is a place of difference, and for some that is connected to discomfort or fear.

> *Me: Have you heard of much crime happening in newspapers for example?*
>
> *David: Yeah, yeah. There's lots of news that I read. It's important to tell the truth, but sometimes maybe the magazines, and the city paper make it more about the bad news. Yeah they sell magazines and that sort of thing.*
>
> (Interviews & Fieldnotes b. David)

My discussions with Abdul, a Muslim leader in the Helsingborg region, revealed similar perceptions about the media's influences on perceptions of diversity. He felt that often the media targets the Muslim community, emphasizing problems related to the community over any of the positive aspects. His answer was that 'foreigners' should make efforts to reach out to 'Swedes,' to lessen the gap between the communities and facilitate better understandings between them. (Interviews & Fieldnotes a. Abdul).

In this way, double hermeneutics, whereby the ethnologist "must first interpret the meaning that is created by the actors by following the gaze of the beholder" (Frykman & Gilje 2003, p.39) means that one must understand behaviors from their roots and from multiple angles as part of a greater whole. In this way, culture can be understood as an everyday phenomenon where people are experiencing their environment and making it happen simultaneously. (Frykman and Gilje 2003, p.29). My project with H+ understands this definition of culture as a manner through which to understand the division happening across Trädgårdsgatan and in relation to othering, using it as a tool in realizing the ways in which particular public spaces and understandings could facilitate greater social cohesion.

Constructing a project that aims to understand and reflect how a city can develop as a 'Tolerant City' asks the question of how spaces are created to begin with (Lefebvre 1991). Cities, as spaces of living, play, and work, become places where people build lives and construct identities, unequivocally tied to their direct environment and their embodied experiences. These identities are not singular, regardless of their cohabiting spatial relation (as all who live in Helsingborg thus carry a 'Helsingborg identity' in some way), but rather realize the plethora of identities existing together in one space. However, in any diverse landscape, problems arise in response to difference. Therefore, Helsingborg can be understood through its contrasts – between north and south, foreign versus Swedish, comfort versus fear, young versus old, masculine spaces versus feminine spaces, movement versus staying, industrial versus living – in the process of more fully understanding the spectrum of urban identities and activities existing there. Though my fieldwork aimed to understand perceptions and experiences of the city in relation to the invisible segregation line, the most important aspects emerging from this analysis on the 'other' are the creation of urban identities in public spaces which is perpetuated by the experiences and emotions connected to the 'invisible line.'

The intangible experiences I gathered from my fieldwork, such as those reflecting the perception of the 'other,' demonstrates that cultural landscapes exists, and that in order to understand it, ethnography must locate the cultural elements underlying intangible auras, such as the invisible line dividing Helsingborg. The cultural landscape I have developed an understanding of here weaves into the methodological tool of cultural mapping, having the potential to gather cultural elements into mapable social layers. These maps both show the social city and become a point of reference to initiate discussion around cultural aspects, which can be emphasized more in the early stages of city planning and throughout the process of planning to affect deeper social understandings.

The Invisible Line

Helsingborg is comprised of many urban cultural landscapes. Here, I will locate the narratives of places inherent in my informant's experiences of Helsingborg's public spaces, particularly concerning Centrum and Söder, in order to understand the

underlying meanings of the discourse of the 'invisible line' of segregation. As an anthropologist, I am interested in understanding belonging and 'othering' in Helsingborg as it relates to the notion of a multicultural city. This examination, part of Helsingborg's distinctive cultural landscape, can help the city in developing 'tolerant' city spaces through a deeper look into the cultural underpinnings of the 'invisible line.'

> *The discursive and other process*
> *whereby the racial becomes the spatial*
> *and the spatial becomes the racial,*
> *whereby the imagined, the concrete, and the symbolic*
> *emerge out of one another,*
> *are complex and overdetermined,*
> *and multiply and often deeply sedimented,*
> *are a set of ontological and metonymical dirty tricks.*
> *But, however complex,*
> *simply awful/ in their consequences.*
> *Even in Sweden.*

(Pred 2000, p.185)

My fieldwork analysis seeks to understand the emotions of comfort, fear, and belonging from my informants' perspectives in order to access the intangible underpinnings of the segregation experienced in the city, particularly as it is attached to one very specific geographical turning point, Trädgårdsgatan, and tie this into the greater aim of understanding place.

As methodology, phenomenology is a manner of knowing by experiencing the everyday, of understanding both the informant's view and the action happening in places in tandem with one's own view as an ethnographer, and seeing "culture from below" (Frykman and Gilje 2003, p.19). Phenomenology and sensory ethnography positions me, as an ethnographer, in the field to understand places in the city through my informants, reflexively. This has been my primary approach to doing ethnography in Helsingborg – through being there and using sensory experiences to understand places – in order to understand how spaces are constructed and identities consummated in my analysis of places, as well as my analysis of the experiences of the 'invisible line.'

There is a particular energy that one feels immediately upon crossing Trädgårdsgatan, a particular characterization that distinguishes Centrum and Söder, the two central neighborhoods opposite this street. My informants' experiences of Helsingborg often focused on what it has to offer regarding their interests and needs,

and in this way, places were important to them. Many consider Söder and Centrum to be two separate areas, not one cohesive center, each with very different offerings and which play different roles in their lives. However, crossing Trädgårdsgatan, the geographical line, had a profound impact on my informant's conceptualization of places.

> *David: [The south is] fun, different, and multicultural. The city can do even more about those places. [The City] does a lot, but they can do more … People tend to be a little bit more aggressive [in the South]. And some parts are really ugly in architecture, and I think its bad that many people think its bad. That's also bad, that they don't give it a chance. That pops up in my mind.*

> *David: It's really, really good that how they have really designed [Gustav Adolfs Torg] in a, not in a perfect way, but it looks much, much better than before. Because, in New York in the 90's, you know that the crime declined. Numbers went '**shooo,**'[down] … The reason why the crime went down so much in New York is that it was no longer allowed to graffiti the subways. And how can that be? There were crimes, but the reason was that people were proud. If there were really, really good looking subways, people didn't feel like, "Ah it's trash.' If it's really trashed down, you want to continue to trash. But if it really looks great, and it's a bad area, people feel proud: "Oh, don't do that!" If you allow a little bit like that, then you can continue. But they were really tough on that, and they were also very tough on small crimes. Like if you just stole chewing gum, "NO! Arrested!" If you allow the small crimes, then it's easier for the big ones. [This helps] young people from becoming criminals. And also the architecture. I was talking about, I think in the south side they made it much, much better. If you had a walk there just five years ago, it was much, much, really, really more of a slum. Not slum, but very bad.*

> *Me: And did they do the same thing with crime there [in Söder]?*

> *David: I don't know. I think a little bit about crime, but mostly the architecture. Like they wanted people to feel proud of their area. Like, when many people said, "oh it's so bad." [The changes are] really good.*
>
> (Interviews & fieldnotes b. David)

As David expresses here, many of the problems are stemming from the urban atmosphere, from the intangible feelings emerging out of the relationship of people to place. Changing spaces changes people's perception of them, and in turn, changes the resulting atmosphere, such as creating pride for Söder through the architecture. Trädgårdsgatan should be conceptualized in a similar way, and problematized based on the emotions emerging from it.

David brought up another important point, that places become attractive based on what is there, and that people visit places when there is something for them to go

to. *Tasty House* and *Pistachia's* success, for example, shops featuring nuts and pastries founded by an immigrant man, has very little to do with the fact that he is an immigrant, and a lot about what the shop has done in, and for, the area.

> *Me: How would you describe this area, the southern area?*
>
> *David: It's about the rights. It's been really, really down, and still many people say, "oh it's terrible there." But I think it's on the way up.*
>
> *Me: So you have a positive outlook for it?*
>
> *David: Yeah, yeah. A really good thing, I think it's important to encourage entrepreneurs. Like an immigrant man who started a store, who sold nuts. You've heard about him?*
>
> *Me: I think so.*
>
> *David: Yeah, that's really talked about. At first "oh it's the nuts, amazing" It's Tasty House, and then Pistachia. That's really good because many people from the north went to the south just for the special nuts. It's really good to have that small business that people talk about, and then people will go to that area, and visit that.*
>
> *Me: So he started Tasty House here in Helsingborg?*
>
> *David: Yeah, at the south.*
>
> <div align="right">(Interviews & fieldnotes b. David)</div>

Positive reflections, such as this business, create positive energies and atmospheres for areas such as Söder and encourage visitors. My interview and subsequent talks with David revealed his interest in developing and encouraging multiculturalism in Helsingborg, though he held similar reservations about how it exists in the city now:

> *David: Yeah. I don't want to increase the feeling against the south but of course those in the areas feel a little more… but I think it depends upon yourself. It's just like, if you walk into a pub, and if you don't... It's important how you act maybe… but it's the same in the north side. It's not a big difference. It's more like that the people said 'I don't feel safe here' during nights when they walk home if they are a woman or a young man or old lady. They don't feel so safe. It's more where 'I heard' [it's dangerous] than 'I feel.' [it's dangerous].*
>
> <div align="right">(Interviews & fieldnotes b. David)</div>

Here, David is speaking about the problematic perceptions of 'othering' occurring across Trädgårdsgatan discussed in the previous section. A long-term resident of

Helsingborg in his 30s, David has watched the city's development and has been in-volved in the discourse of the city for many years. My discussion with David was both honest and encouraging of the southern area, reflecting the perceptions of place and belonging as well as the growth and development of Söder.

All of my informants experienced differences between the segregation of north and south, and often explained that there is a tangible feeling of difference when one crosses Trädgårdsgatan, as if the atmosphere somehow changes. Their experi-ences and uses of the two neighborhoods directly crossing this line, Söder and Cen-trum, were different based not only on the available activities or economic possibili-ties of the spaces, but the kinds of dialectical identities formed by their interactions with these places. For example, Mia's feeling that Helsingborg is boring, or Navid's feeling of being an 'urban guy' are derived from the constitutive nature of place (Ca-sey 1996). There is an expression of intangible difference and characteristics occur-ring in the perpetuation of this line and its perceptions and meanings. Thus, examin-ing 'place-boundedness' in relation individual experiences of place can deconstruct this atmosphere of difference. These perspectives will be applied in the next chapter to examine how anthropological perspectives can enable cultural planning with a people-centered focus.

5. Mediating Two 'Cities'

Towns and cities are complex and multi-layered ecosystems, each with their own distinctive cultural DNA, their way of living, urban texture, routines and social interaction. Nowadays, what we see is that, to be sustainable, urban interventions require, in the first instance, in-depth recognition of the unique 'cultural' elements of a place.

(Noema.org.uk)

All the modalities sing a part in this chorus, changing from step to step, stepping in through proportions, sequences, and intensities which vary according to the time, the path taken and the walker. These enunciatory operations are of an unlimited diversity. They therefore cannot be reduced to their graphic trail.

(de Certeau 1984, p.99)

This chapter focuses on the role of cultural analysis in cultural planning, and develops tools through which this work can be realized. Cultural planning, in this sense, is a process where city planners focus on creating 'cities for people' by incorporating social and cultural perspectives. The chapter draws upon my own work with the H+ project and the cultural analysis projects I conducted therein as an ethnographer and cultural planner to further their aim towards a more open and collaborative planning process. My work for the city has, in many ways, been a process of bringing in knowledge directly from 'the city' and citizens through observations, interviews, photographic analyses, and so forth, and translating this knowledge through cultural maps and project reports for 'the City.' This chapter asks the question: 'how can the narratives of the 'two cities' work collaboratively towards common goals of positive re-development?' The chapter will answer this question by developing the role of an intermediary cultural analyst, who uses ethnographic methods and develops tools to translate information between these two 'cities.'

How can city planning processes be changed to increase public participation directly in the planning process? This section will develop the idea of people-centered cultural planning by broadly asking: 'what is re-development in city spaces?' and, 'For whom are we planning?' My approach here follows that of Bianchini and Ghilardi, in that, where cultural planning is not related to the arts, but rather to a cultural anthropological approach (1997, p.84-85 and Ghilardi 2001, p.4) This section

will primarily encompass perspectives of working with strategic planning as a cultural analyst, emphasizing the applied aspects of this thesis and bringing together previous discussions of methods and theories. My aim is to tie in the analysis from chapter four to develop how cultural analysis is essential to a city planning model which responds to citizens and existing communities. Cultural analysis as cultural planning involves not only strong anthropological approaches, but also the ability to translate this information understandably and usefully into the city planning process. I have done this through visualization via images and maps.

This section develops the 'two cities' concept ('the city' as the residents, visitors, workers, etc and 'the City' as the planners, stakeholders, politicians, steering groups, etc.) and the communicative space between. This will furthermore recognize the multiplicity of cities and their various cityscapes – narratives of multiple individuals and groups, habitus, world-views – and thus an already multicultural space that desires collaborative planning, and develop these aspects further. The title for this chapter immediately and unfairly segregates the people, narratives, and discourses of city between planners and citizens, though I am not unaware of the overlap where citizens are at times also planners, and the discourse between not always starkly separated. For the purposes of this thesis, however, 'two cities' serves as a metaphor for understanding my role in analyzing, synthesizing, and translating knowledge between the two 'stakeholders,' the two cities, for better cooperation and planning practices.

Researching Lives

Cities are immense laboratories, full of action, events, building, and design. In imagining 'urbanness,' one must first account for the identities being (re)created on the public and private spheres of life, and how their interactions create energies and atmospheres for others (Jacobs 2010, p.20). Capturing a semblance of this life can be usefully done through sensory ethnography, which focuses on embodied experiences, as people are active cultural builders, reflexive in their perceptions of that which surrounds them and simultaneously constructs that surrounding. In this way, people are experiencers rather than receivers (Frykman & Gilje 2003, pp. 10, 14). Qualitatively researching urban lives connects my analysis on experiences of places to the ways in

which applied cultural analysis can mediate this social knowledge between cityscapes.

Arguably, in a city, people attract people and they actively seek and enjoy the spectacles created by the movement of others, marking it for particular use, attractiveness, and desirability, as well as facilitating safety through sheer numbers (Whyte 2010, pp.34-35, Jacobs 2010, p.23). Though the tacit knowledge of a city dweller gives immediate impressions of particular areas, the vibrancy of Gustaf Adolfs Torg and the diversity of the southern harbor are undermined by its structure and upkeep. Long dark roads, industry, train tracks, and busses divide the neighborhoods of Söder, Närlunda, and Planteringen. The disjuncture then, is in the construction of multiple layers of city interaction that fails to hide undesirable characteristics or provide spaces for particular desirable activities.

One informant explained to me that 'Swedes' need an objective, they need to have something to do, something to hold in their hand, to drink, and that this is why no one 'hangs out' on Gustaf Adolfs Torg. "*We have a destination or a goal. If it's coffee or…it has to be some intake of a beverage, food…otherwise you meet up at peoples places*" (Interviews & fieldnotes c. Maria). It is easy to see that the café holds great importance in Helsingborg's public city life. The introduction of café's being relatively new to Söder, the space is still unequipped to accommodate them effectively with comfortable outdoor seating and cozy spaces, and furthermore the busses driving through generally interrupt the relaxing or sociable atmosphere of a *fika* (coffee break). Comparatively, there are many café's with outdoor seating in Centrum, almost always full in good weather, and only a short walk away from Söder.

According to Jane Jacobs (1992, 2010), activity and liveliness can be seen as positive, in terms of available activities and safety, in city spaces. Good public spaces have activities through which many people have reason to use them and to cross paths, "feeling for the public identity of people, a web of public respect and trust" (Jacobs 2010, pp.25-26). In this way, the mirroring of expectations through public behaviors demarcates spaces with either positive or negative energy (Whyte 2010, p.37).

Phenomenology is arguably a way of thinking more than an analysis, beginning with the precept that all senses must be engaged by centering the anthropologist in fieldwork that demands their active and engaged presence (Frykman & Gilje 2003,

p.9). Phenomenology takes a very similar perspective of seeing the world as Heidegger, making his theoretical investigations methodological by placing it intuitively in the process of fieldwork in examining precise moments of actions. "In the moment of interpretation, people do not just lend their inspiration to the surroundings but rather bring them to life and let them happen" (Frykman & Gilje 2003, p.15). This is a tool with which the ethnographer can understand the "complex present" through those actions involved in its creation by employing a double hermeneutic approach, which "first interpret the meaning that is created by the actors by following the gaze of the beholder" (Frykman 2003, pp.39, 45). This theoretical tradition easily lends itself to combinations with many other theories, since culture is primarily a tool that people use as meaningful and applicable knowledge in their everyday lives (Frykman & Gilje 2003, p.48). Phenomenology is a manner of accessing knowledge through experiencing the everyday, of understanding both the informant's view and the action happening in public spaces in tandem with one's own view as an ethnographer working intuitively with the concept of habitus. I have aimed to do this through my fieldwork, walking with my informants, using sensory ethnography, and being there, in Helsingborg, experiencing its rhythms, movements, and listening to its discourses. Bourdieu's concept of habitus (1999) is important to understand when working with people, as it means that an unconscious system of practices and habits that forms one's *being* as a human, and is always present and informing one's views. An anthropological approach deconstructs the everyday to gather understandings of residents' experiences, as I have shown in chapter four, in regards to the complexities of embodied experiences of public spaces and places and the habitus that is unavoidably informing these practices and perspectives. As Casey argues, "neither body nor place is precultural" (Casey 1996, p.46).

Bourdieu's theories of social and cultural capital, habitus, and practice are extensions of phenomenological understandings which focus more closely on dimensions of culture which are formulated through a complex set of cultural norms and behaviors. Thus, a deconstruction of these behaviors produces an ability to access the underlying elements of importance, needs, and desires in communities, which I have shown in previous chapters through a phenomenological approach concerning experiences of places. "As an acquired system of generative schemes, the *habitus* makes possible the free production of all the thoughts, perceptions and actions inherent in the

particular conditions of its production – and only those" (Bourdieu 1990, p.55). This combination realizes that the built environment of a place is in direct interaction with one's habitus, an understanding through one's fully lived and bodily experiences whereby things become meaningful based on that which they have experienced (Frykman & Gilje 2003, p.38, also see Bourdieu 1999), thereby creating particular embodied experiences and urban identities. These, in turn, construct particular spaces wherein perceived and 'local spaces of normality' become important (Räthzel 2006, p.150-3). "This phenomenological fusion of personal identity and physical environment is, of course, not a product of contemplation but a byproduct of our everyday relationships – sensible, corporeal and imaginative – with and within the built environments we inhabit" (Jackson 2005, p.17). Furthermore, understanding the different neighborhoods and residents of Helsingborg requires and understanding that one's life-world, or similarly, *habitus*, is focused upon the everyday life and meanings that are created by the repetition of activity with that material environment, the life-world being primarily "something that you think *with* rather than think *about*" (Frykman and Gilje 2003, pp.36-37). When the question of habitus is raised, one speaks of the unconscious, 'embodied history' which is active in the human present (Bourdieu 1999, p.56). Habitus connects past identity with the present, arguing that the two cannot be disconnected or the present uninfluenced by the unconscious force of the present. Thus, reflexive practice engenders deeper insights in to social conditionings of communities.

City living is a "truly modern phenomena" where power relationships and urban identities are continuously recreated (Arvaston & Butler 2010, pp. 8-9). Working with the culture, phenomena, and actions occurring in city spaces – at every level – first requires a complex understanding of human beings, places, and the public spheres created as a result of their interaction. Phenomenological perspectives are useful tools for researching lives, giving the researcher a window through which to see into, and experience, lives of others. These expressions can be captured and translated through visualization, images, and cultural maps, which allow city planners to also see the cityscape as informed by citizens, for which they are planning.

Expressions of Place

Figure 3. Car boot sale.

"Car boot sale, every Sunday 11-15." Söder is characterized by a sense of local community and events, as felt with this hand-made sign.

Expressions of places, here developed through images, grasp characterizations of the social nature of the city and its public spaces from a visual standpoint. This is another way of seeing Helsingborg from the ground that emerges from embodied experiences and perceptions of places, these reflections being primarily from my own view in the city as an 'ethnographic photographer.' This section will continue to examine the particular identity of places and seek ways in which this can be made accessible through culturally analytical approaches, using images as one form of visual material. My analysis here will include only a few images to illustrate my argument that images can further aid the understanding of places and their particular identities, as they invite the viewer to imagine the sensory experience of that place (Pink 2009, p.110). Images ask what constitutes a place visually, as sensory element, and what these aspects can tell about the dialectic of people and places (Casey 1996).

Gustav Adolfs Torg is the most open and active public space of the three southern neighborhoods. Initially, I found this square to be lively, populated, and fitting to the diverse profile of the southern area. Public spaces in Söder were characterized by a particular kind of atmosphere, one where play was deemphasized and 'hanging-out' was uneasy. As one informant put it, Gustav Adolfs Torg is "*too spread out, [it has] too much open space…. Most shopping streets are not very wide, centered or focused; you are forced to go along in a straight line…. [Södergatan is] a bus street, not a walking street*" (Interviews & fieldnotes c. Per). As Högdahl argues, "How we 'make' people and interpret human presence creates notions not only about *what people are like*, but also about *what it is possible for them to do*. This affects city life and its rhythm in that it ultimately leads to conditions of emptiness, presence, silence, or noise" (2010, p.95). Images are one way of analyzing these rhythms and characteristics, and make possible the translation of this information. The visual characterizations of Söder affected the perceptions and experiences of it as a place, often contributing to negative views. For example, besides a few planters and a fountain that is always surrounded by pigeons, expressions of art, community, and gathering was not explicit in Söder during my initial fieldwork in spring 2010.

Figure 4. Public Art.

One of the only indications of public 'art' or creative expressions in Söder, before the installation of the 'Sammanstråla' lamps, pictured in figure 5.

Figure 5. Sammanstråla.

Sammanstråla, ('Converge' or 'Same beam') by artist David Svensson. Lamps from different countries were installed and opened in Gustav Adolfs Torg in November 18, 2010, adding a new dimension to the square as representations of different times, places, and cultures.

The lack of expressions concerning art, community, and gathering in the southern neighborhoods was furthered by their economic profile. Figure 6 is an example of Söder, where the products displayed outside the shops contributes to particular kinds of atmospheres, and likely reflects the economic and consumer needs of the area. Centrum has a very different atmosphere, which is likewise derived from, and perpetuated by, the visualizations of shops, buildings, and behaviors. Figures 6, 7, and 8 contrast visual aspects of Centrum and Söder.

Figure 6. Shop in Söder

The types of items outside of stores indicate what's inside, and attract buyers. Typical outdoor displays in Söder display common household products such as laundry detergent and soft drinks. This could be interpreted as 'functional' displays, based on people's needs.

Figure 7. ICA in Centrum.

The small ICA grocery in Centrum displays flowers and a mailbox outside, presumably responding to the middle- to upper class neighborhood. These displays could be interpreted as marketing tactics, appealing to buyers based on the attractiveness of the displays.

Figure 8. Helsingborg.

Typical representations of Helsingborg focus on the City Hall (Rådhuset) and Centrum, reflecting the historical areas of the city.

Images can be useful to cultural planning in multiple ways. Not only do they represent portraits directly from the city, they can be used to create maps with image representation of particular spaces and behaviors or relevant visual aspects within them. This is a way of making a part of multisensory information gathered from the field readily available to the planning process, where viewers can get closer to the experiences of informants and being in particular places (Pink 2009, p.132). Furthermore, images could be combined in a number of ways with information gathered from walking with informants, reflecting everyday routes and images from experiences the journey as maps at 'ground level.' Thus, users of maps can access embodied experiences through visualization of perceptions and experiences 'on the ground.' Images as tools for analyzing the field can also become tools in translating embodied experiences of places in themselves, or combined to create 'cultural maps.'

Cultural Mapping

Cultural mapping combines my experiences working for the City of Helsingborg to open up city planning processes and transforms them into more 'cultural,' people-focused, planning processes. Cultural mapping is a tool that connects the previously developed anthropological understandings of 'place' to city planning. Here, I aim to show the method of cultural resource mapping that Paul Sherfey and I developed, as well as problematizing their results and offering suggestions for further mapping.

I do not understand cultural mapping as simply a documentation of cultural resources for use by city planners, but a method of accessing an anthropological understanding of the city as a place within a cultural planning process. In this way, I have investigated place as an important factor in the shaping of urban identities and in the process of place-making. The idea behind cultural mapping in this case takes its point of departure from the model Lia Ghilardi has created with her work at Noema Research and Planning, Ltd. Therefore, while cultural mapping is a tool for understanding places socially, it importantly incorporates knowledge gained and cultural analysis and anthropological approaches used to develop an understanding of the "social fabric" or "cultural DNA" of the city (Ghilardi 2009). Anthropological knowledge is

transmitted both through the maps and process of using them in planning, but also reflected in the development strategies.[14] Thus, I want to understand the process of place-making in the multi-sensory experience of places (Pink 2009). This opens up a different kind of understanding of places based from a human experience, which is not just about how spaces are produced but about how they are experienced and consummate identities. Emotional experiences and responses to 'performance of emotion' constitute important to understanding experiences of a city (Thrift 2004, p.66).[15] Further understandings of culture, arts, 'creative' aspects, and business, for example, also become important, though my study will focus on anthropological and sensory aspects as through this, the identity and narratives of a city can be accessed and built upon in an applied project.

In a broad sense, cultural mapping can be understood in its ability to translate anthropological information, as a tool and point of reference for the social side of the city and its communities. The cultural resource maps that Paul Sherfey and I created as a result of three months of fieldwork and analysis for the H+ planning team from March through June, 2010 are shown in figures 9, 12, 13, 14, and 15. The five maps detail what we found as social 'hot-spots,' pathways, community groups, schools, sports areas, religious centers, and so forth. These maps visualize particular areas, hot-spots, or meeting points, which we found through our fieldwork. For example, Söder had many 'points' on the maps and required three maps to clearly show the information we wanted to convey: that Söder had few public places focused on arts and culture. The points on the maps were divided into three for clarity, but the event spaces and cultural/art institutions were placed on their own map to give a strong visual impact on what we found through observations and talking with people: they are quite rare in the south! This asked how individuals are given opportunity to express themselves, become involved in. or experience arts and culture in Helsingborg's south. How is the diversity of this place reflected through physical spaces? As an initial exercise in mapping, we began by looking for the availability of spaces that could fulfill these values. Informal community groups required more time than we had to locate, though also quite important. These groups are the types that have a weekly meeting point, like the café brunch group arranged by several of my informants. They

---

[14] See Helsingborgs stad (2011 b), for the resulting incorporation of the cultural mapping project by Paul Sherfey and myself.

[15] See discussion in Thrift, N. (2004). *Intensities of Feeling: Towards a Spatial Politics of Affect*, and Simmel, G. (2002). *The Metropolis and Mental Life*.

traveled out of Söder (where many of them lived) and into Centrum for these weekly brunches. Strong café culture and meeting opportunities in Centrum facilitated sociability and interaction that they were seeking in their everyday lives.

Cultural maps can be seen as a visual representation of social aspects, creating a new kind of map that layer social information (gathered through an ethnographic process) over infrastructural maps used in city planning. However, maps must be understood as having 'reconstructive power.' By this, I mean that creating maps is in many ways a construction of social realities in very particular ways. Thus, there is an infinite number of ways to approach and construct cultural maps. In this case, cultural maps became an important intermediary tool in translating ethnographic material into usable data for city planning with the H+ project. Maps, as visual materials, are already part of city planning tools, and thus give more information than long texts commonly used in academic studies. What is happening is a translation of results from the traditional anthropological medium of words into visual data, asking the researcher to be creative in developing new methods to translate and mediate meanings and knowledge.

Figure 9, below, is an example of the cultural resource maps produced in June 2010, which were used for the later and continuing stages of planning a cultural strategy for the redevelopment actions to be implemented in the H+ area in 2011. This was later published under 'Social Consequences' in the *Exhibition Document, Deepening of the Comprehensive Plan for H+* (Helsingborgs stad 2011 b. Author's translation). In total, five maps were produced for Planteringen, Närlunda, and Söder, neighborhoods in the southern region of Helsingborg. Söder is residential and commercial, effectively a 'center' of the city – serving primarily the southern neighborhoods of Helsingborg. We were asked to create maps for these neighborhoods as they provided preliminary social knowledge about neighborhoods that will be affected by the development of the H+ area. These maps should serve as an example of how ethnographic data can be compiled into visual data, while their content is an initial exploration into the city that has great potential for deepening. There are further ways of documenting the social city that could be developed from the fieldwork and analysis I have developed in this thesis, which reflects, for example, daily routes, experiences, auras, or nodes of activity by highlighting particular areas or adding pictures that reflect particular behaviors. However, the maps we created were important and useful at the par-

ticular developmental stage of the H+ project. The idea is that cultural mapping is a tool for translating ethnographic information, and can be constructed in ways that reflect different social layers in the city.

These resource maps later became useful not only as a point of reference in discussing social aspects to the city, but also for further studies. Figure 10 is an example of a study conducted within H+ about the possibilities for redeveloping Planteringen with a central 'town center.' The study draws directly from the cultural resource maps, translating and incorporating our 'raw' maps and their social information into current city planning processes. The Planteringen study includes several other maps of Planteringen, each displaying titles of: public transport, infrastructural pre-requisites, mapping values, typologies, barrier mapping, and pedestrian and biking. Considering the social aspects of the city is one piece of the many necessary processes in collaborative city planning, and can be taken further with deeper cultural analysis to create a more responsive central plan. As developed in previous chapters, cultural mapping could also include aura maps based on experiences of places by individual users, using walking or images as a venue for the creation of these maps.
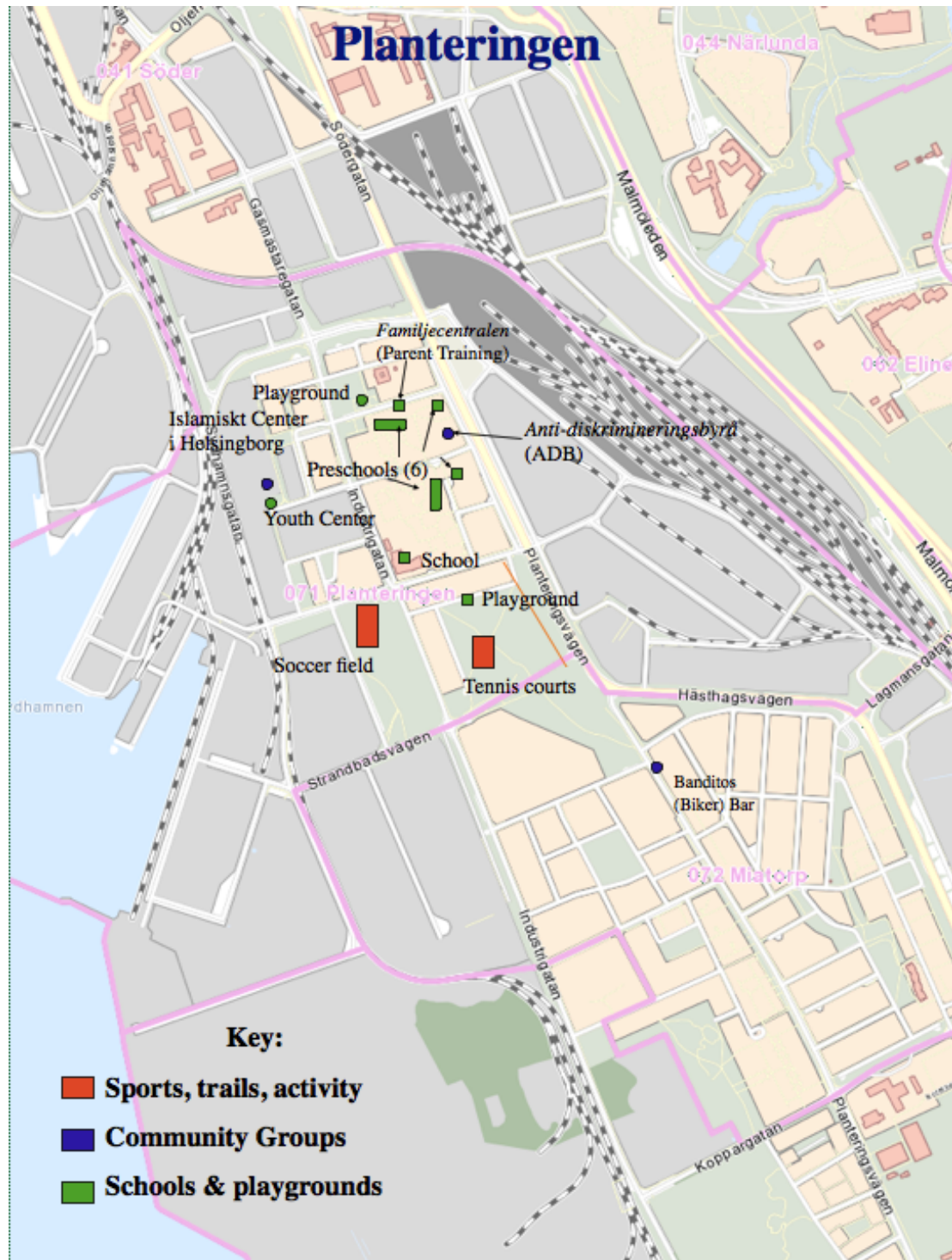
Figure 9. Cultural resource map of Planteringen.

Created by Samantha Hyler and Paul Sherfey, June 2010.

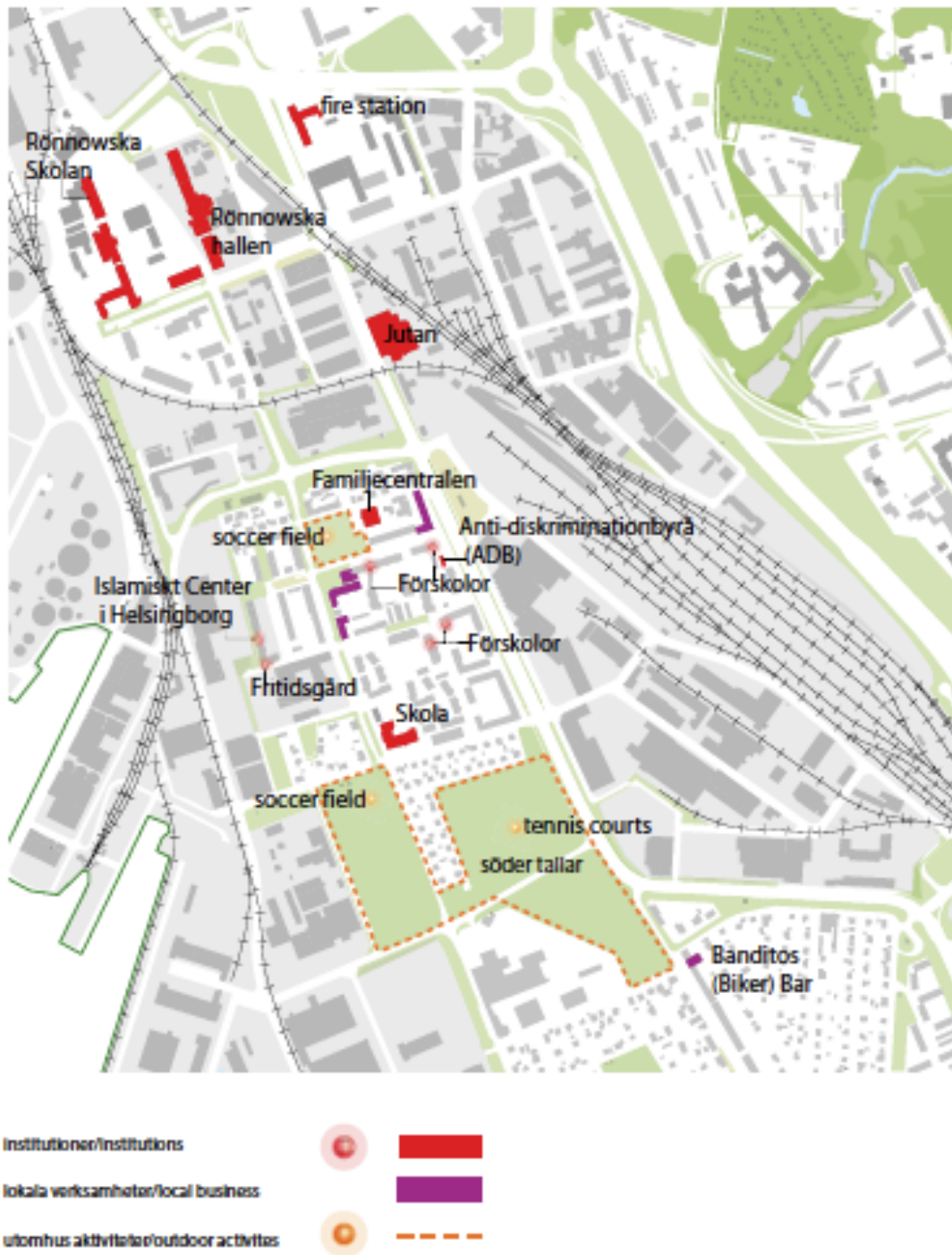## Sociala träffpunkter/ Social hotspots

Figure 10. Excerpt from 'Planteringen' Study.

Planteringen Study by Kapri, S. and Nilsson, K. (2010, p.10). Reproduced with permission.

These maps visualize some social aspects of the city, which have been incorporated into the overall process of creating a cultural strategy for the H+ project, and

specifically in the project on re-developing Planteringen. Cultural maps generally inform cultural planning processes as a first step to understanding the city socially and culturally. De Certeau, writing about walking in the city, explains that human behavior is central to urban environments, their presence adding important elements to space that are impossible to administer (1984, p.95). For this reason, city planning can benefit greatly by incorporating anthropological perspectives, which can capture pieces of understandings of human behavior within the city, throughout the process of planning cities. As images and maps are integral to city planning processes, cultural maps are a strong tool for displaying information about human behavior and social resources in ways already understood, which are importantly derived from a different perspective.

In developing projects for the H+ project, my supervisor's advise at the City of Helsingborg and the H+ project was always to 'make the maps as big as possible,' in order to see the detail in them, but also emphasizing how important visualization can be over any text in city planning work. As an anthropologist, I realize that there are elements of urban life that might not necessarily be 'map-able.' However, cultural maps – in the various forms they can be produced - do provide a basis for understanding and exploring social and cultural aspects of the city in ways that are accessible to those not trained in anthropology. As I have discussed in previous chapters, walking with people affords a new perspective to places, in a way creating maps from another perspective. Maps based on walks with citizens would further the possibility to document particular experiences from a new perspective, as different maps produce different ways of understanding the city socially. Mapping is an essential tool in place-making, where anthropological (and anthropologically constructed) maps aid the process of understanding and also constructing, places. Maps are more than physical representations of places; in fact maps and people are mutually constitutive, involving social and cultural perceptions of places that have transformative power regarding both the landscape of people's relationships to it (Idvall 2000). Cultural mapping is not only a process of visualizing, but understanding the embodied city, as a tool for incorporating people and their values into planning processes. Sensory approaches becomes useful in experiencing urban social practices, as connecting places intrinsically to informant's lives and behavior, through 'being there,' experiencing,

observing, and participating in the place and its sociability, as I have shown in the fourth chapter.

In 'the city' and for 'the City'

The aim of this thesis has been to deconstruct embodied places and the reconstruct understandings of them through images and maps for the purposes of city planning. Here, I aim to develop the translation of ethnographic knowledge through development of my own 'two city' metaphor, whereby city planners are conceptualized as 'the City' and citizens as 'the city.' Capitalization of 'the City' indicates their traditional 'lead role' in planning the infrastructure for everyday lives of citizens, 'the city.' I am emphasizing the introduction of a new method of city planning, which uses cultural analytical approaches for collaborative, people-centered planning in my work with the H+ project. In this way, the process aims to become more open by breaking down barriers that exist between the cityscapes in all forms, between city planners and citizens, and the cityscapes of the north and south of Helsingborg. Thus, my role as a cultural analyst and cultural planner has been an intermediary between various 'cities' and cityscapes.

As I have argued previously, one must access a deeper, more anthropological, understanding of citizens, the 'cultural DNA' (Ghilardi 2009) of the communities and people within the city in order to make a cultural plan work for city planning. This means not only a cataloguing of groups, but also finding the networks and crossing lines of people and communities, the underlying 'urbanness,' and sociality of the city in order to reflect these existing social conditions in the developing area, and furthermore involve people in the process of creating and structuring the development of this sociality. In my own work, this involved observational work in four neighborhoods in Helsingborg, research online about these communities, talking with people, interviewing, and participating in the life of the city. For example, in one part of my study, I examined three grocery stores in Söder, investigating demographics, products stocked, and social behavior in them, and movement between them, as these grocery stores were the largest in all of the central Helsingborg area and served much of the community in Centrum as well as Söder. From my observations, I found that one grocery, ICA Oj!, had a higher number of people traveling to and from the Centrum,

pulling people along one street of no particular significance other than its direct access to the store, while the other two stores carried 'ethnic' names and products, reflecting the demographics of the southern area. Qualitative observational work gathers these kinds of details, among many others, and investigates demographics, behaviors and insights into why they are happening in the way they are, and seeks to understand rhythms, flows, networks, and everyday aspects of living in a city, which a quantitative study or a traditional physical map would not understand in the same way. This is the kind of social information that informs a deeper cultural understanding of the social city (as opposed to the physical, economic, or political city). This work influenced the recommendations made based on spatial analysis and movement of people in the city – which streets were used more often, etc. This also influenced my understanding of comfort, fear, and movement patterns – as often people moved from Centrum to Söder for grocery shopping, but would leave again immediately, a kind of 'fetching' the necessary products, but lack of interest in staying in the area. This is considered a persistent 'problem' of the area.

My own work with informants lead to several unconnected and social events, some I initiated and some of which I did not, which became informal participant observatory information about 'what really happens' in Helsingborg, as well as what is possible based on what structures and communities exist there. I became a member of the greater Helsingborg community by attending these events, which was important to my belonging there and ability to access and continue to participate in social communities and ongoing informal discourse about the city. For example, at a party hosted by an informant and friend of mine, I casually discussed cultural events in the city with a self-employed woman in her 30's living in Helsingborg for a number of years. In this discussion, she mentioned *Teater Tomorrow*, a newly started theater (at the time, in autumn 2010) by an immigrant truck driver who decided to create a community cultural space in Söder, currently a significantly lacking aspect of the community. She also mentioned a presentation by a professional that she listened to at Dunkers Cultural Museum about storytelling as a method of incorporating citizens into community planning, and generally as a facilitator of greater community building through documenting and preserving personal social histories (Interviews & fieldnotes f.) Both of these things became part of the report Paul Sherfey and I delivered to the H+ Project about participatory design and cultural planning (*H+ From the Ground Up: A*

Strategy Plan for Public Participation 2010). In this way, involving oneself in the social life of a place and listening in to ongoing discourse allows the researcher to see a place through others in very natural settings, gathering readily available information by noticing parts of everyday behavior, topics of conversations, or repeated visits to particular locations and seeing them for the important role they play in informants' everyday lives (whether or not they notice them explicitly).

Who is my audience? Who am I researching for? Into what form do I need to translate knowledge and information gathered? These are important questions for an applied anthropologist and cultural analyst, questions that I constantly addressed throughout my own research process for the City of Helsingborg and the H+ project. Indeed, this past year of work has taken many different forms with different audiences. My ethnographic fieldwork and research became cultural resource maps, a strategic social plan, recommendations about social behaviors and movement in public spaces, images, short reports, presentations, outreach, and so forth. This thesis, however, has focused on the translation of ethnography into cultural maps and visual tools, based from my work with city planning in Helsingborg. The idea is that applied work is strongly 'academic,' but that its presentation can be formatted for different goals and audiences. The same material, concepts, and knowledge is interpreted through particular venues for different audiences, where academic knowledge can connect outside of universities and use qualitative methods to enable social change. Thus, my ethnographic work has been about 'the city,' as the citizens and their everyday lives, and for 'the City,' as the city planners. My role as an intermediary importantly translates information between them, making ethnographic work understandable and directly applied.

6. Conclusion

Whether a city square, plaza or piazza, or a public monument, building or landmark, or simply the landscape in which one makes one's livelihood, this is where we consummate our identity as something more than a random aggregate of individuals; this is where we objectify ourselves as a community, a civilization, a nation.

(Jackson 2005, p.19)

Practitioners within applied cultural analysis often describe 'toolboxes' that they use for understanding culture, using theories, methods, and literature as 'tools' in the process of deconstructing culture and developing cultural understandings for businesses, organizations, public policy, and so forth.[16] Cultural mapping is a tool in a similar way, an instrument I have learned and also developed in my own way to translate ethnographic knowledge into visual materials that follow the City of Helsingborg's own internal mapping and working models. Using the organizations own models has been an important way of conveying new information from different perspectives, facilitating discussions and further collaborative work with a cultural and social focus.

As an investigation into places, the theoretical and methodological approaches I have developed are not only limited to urban renewal projects. Redevelopment of local communities, buildings, and spaces in urban, rural, or other contexts, architectural planning, and other organizations can benefit from the very basic concept of building upon existing community identities and values. Seeking to understand communities anthropologically provides rich information about the social particularities of place, experiences and perceptions, and everyday rhythms of life that can become the basis for developing projects and encouraging openness, tolerance, and even facilitating 'creativity' and sustainability.

The aim of this thesis has been twofold: to first develop ways of approaching urban space and communities through sensory ethnography and phenomenology in order to understand the unique place identities and experiences formed from the dialectic relationship of people and spaces; and second to develop ways of translating

---

[16] Fredriksson & Jönsson (2008) *ETN: JOB* provides many useful perspectives to practicing cultural analysis.

this anthropological knowledge through images and cultural maps into city planning processes as a mediating role between 'cityscapes.' The aim of doing this work has been to explore cultural ways of approaching the question: 'How can Helsingborg become a Tolerant City?' This thesis has sought to understand culture and places anthropologically, not in terms of arts, museums and 'cultural events,' but rather the everyday, and that which is distinctive, unique, and characteristic about it (Bianchini & Ghilardi 1997), and incorporate these perspectives into city planning processes to better re-make, re-develop, and let re-become: places.

7. References

Arendt, H. (1958). *The Human Condition*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Arvaston, G. & Butler. T. (2010). Metamorphoses, Transformation and European Cities. In Arvaston, G. & Butler, T. (Eds). *Multicultures and Cities*. Museum Tusculanum Press: University of Copenhagen. pp. 5-17.

Bianchini, F. & Ghilardi Santacatterina, L. (1997). *Culture and Neighbourhoods: A Comparative Report*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Bourdieu, P. (1999). *The Logic of Practice* (R. Nice, Trans.). Cornwall: Polity Press.

Carlson, P. (2010, October 21) Han ska få kulturen att blomstra på Söder. *Helsingborgs Dagblad*. http://mobil.hd.se/helsingborg/2010/10/21/han-ska-fa-kulturen-att-blomstra/

Casey, E. (1996). How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena. In, Feld, S. & Basso, K. H. (Eds). *Senses of Place*. Santa Fe, New Mexico, School of American Research Press. pp. 13-52

Czarniawska, B. (2007). *Shadowing and Other Techniques for Doing Fieldwork in Modern Societies*. Slovenia: Copenhagen Business School Press.

Davies, C. A. (1999). *Reflexive Ethnography: a Guide to Researching Selves and Others*. New York: Routledge.

de Certeau, M., (1984). *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Los Angeles, University of California Press.

Drengson, A. & Devall, B. (Eds.) (2008). *The Ecology of Wisdom: Writings by Arne Næss*. Berkeley: Counterpoint.

Feld, S. & Basso, K. H. (Eds). (1996). Introduction, In Feld, S. & Basso, K. H. (Eds). *Senses of Place*. Santa Fe, New Mexico, School of American Research Press. pp. 3-11.

Florida, R. (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. New York: Basic Books.

Forsemalm, J. (2007). *Bodies, Bricks & Black Boxes: Power Practices in City Conversion*. Göteborg University.

Fredriksson, C. & Jönsson, H. (red.) (2008). *ETN:JOB*. Etnologisk skriftserie 5. Lund: Etnologiska institutionen, Lunds universitet.

Frykman, J. & Gilje N. (2003). Being There: an Introduction. In Frykman, J. & Gilje N. (Eds.). *Being There: New Perspectives on Phenomenology and the Analysis of Culture*. Lund: Nordic Academic Press. pp. 7-51.

Gehl Architects. http://www.gehlarchitects.com/

Gehl, J. and Gemzøe, L. (2003). *New City Spaces*. (K. Steenhard, Trans.) Third Edition. Copenhagen: The Danish Architectural Press.

Gehl, J. and Gemzøe, L. (2004). *Public Spaces Public Life: Copenhagen*. Third edition. Copenhagen: The Danish Architectural Press & the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts School of Architecture Publishers.

Geertz, C. (1996). Afterword. In, Feld, S. & Basso, K. H. (Eds). *Senses of Place*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press. pp. 259-262.

Ghilardi, L. (2001). Cultural Planning and Cultural Diversity. In *Differing Diversities: Cultural Policy and Cultural Diversity* (T. Bennett, Ed.). Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publications.

Ghilardi, L. (2009). *Nature or Nurture? Rethinking the Creative City*.

H+ Project, the. *Helsingborgs stad*. Retrieved May 16, 2011. http://hplus.helsingborg.se/

Heidegger, M. (1971). Building Dwelling Thinking. In *Poetry, Language, Thought*. (A. Hofstadter, Trans). New York: Harper Collins Books. pp. 143-159.

Heidegger, M. (1977). *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays* (W. Lovitt, Trans.) New York: Harper Perennial.

Heidegger, M. (1996). *Being and Time: a translation of Sein und Zeit*. (J. Stambaugh, Trans.). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Helsingborgs stad (2009a). *Imagine Helsingborg: Competition Report*.

Helsingborgs stad (2009b). *FÖP H+: Samrådshandling fördjupning av översiktsplan för H+*.

Helsingborgs stad (2011a). *Imagine Helsingborg: Manual*.

Helsingborgs stad (2011b). *Utställningshandling fördjupning av översiktsplan för H+, inklusiv miljökonsekvensbeskrivning*.

Helsingborgs stad. *City Map of Helsingborg*. Retrieved May 16, 2011, http://www.helsingborg.se/Medborgare/Kommun-och-politik/karta-helsingborg/

Helsingborgs stad, H+ kontoret (2009 November, 16). *H+ Imagine Helsingborg. Strukturarbete- en strategi för H+ stadsförnyelseprocess*. Stadens nätverk och kopplingar.

Hospers, G. J. (2006). *Borders, Bridges, and Branding: The transformation of the Øresund Region into an Imagined Space*. European Planning Studies, 14(8), pp. 1015-1033.

Hyler, S and Sherfey, P. (2010). *Mapping Social Cohesion: Cultural Resources in the H+ Development Area*. Internal report for Helsingborgs stad and the H+ project.

Högdahl, E. (2007). *På andra sidor Trädgårdsgatan: om Norr och Söder i förändrings Helsingorg*. Helsingborgs stad och Lunds universitet Campus Helsingborg: Helsingborgs stad.

Högdahl, E. (2009). Välje sina ord. In Arvastson, G. & Ehn, B. (red.) *Ethnografiska Observationer*. Hungary: Elanders. pp. 101-115.

Högdahl, E. (2010). Urban Strategies and Loophole Tactics. Claiming Space in Cape Town and Malmö. In Arvaston, G. & Butler, T. (Eds). *Multicultures and Cities*. Museum Tusculanum Press: University of Copenhagen. pp. 85-96.

Idvall, M. (2000). *Kartors kraft: Regionen som samhällsvision i Öresundsbrons tid*. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.

Interviews & fieldnotes. All interviews and fieldnotes in the author's possession.
   a. Abdul (2010 April 25) Personal Interview
   b. David (2010 April 29) Personal Interview
   c. Maria and Per, (2010 May 13) Personal Interview
   d. Navid (2010 May 17) Personal Interview
   e. Mia, (2011 April 28) Personal Interview
   f. Fieldnotes (April, 2010 - May, 2011)

Jackson, M. (2005). The Space of Appearances. In *Existential Anthropology. Event, Exigencies and Effects*. London: Berghans. pp. 15 - 33.

Jacobs, J. (1992). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books.

Jacobs, J. (2010). The Death and Life of Great American Cities. In Orum, A. M. & Neal Z. P. (Eds.). *Common Ground?: Readings and Reflections on Public Space. Metropolis and Modern Life*. New York: Routledge. pp. 18-31.

Kapri, S. & Nilsson, K. (2010). *Planteringen Studies / Planteringen Projektet*. Internal report, H+ project.

Kusenbach, M. (2003). *Street Phenomenology: The Go-along as Ethnographic Research Tool*. Ethnography 4(3). London: Sage. Pp. 455-485

Latour, B. (1999). "Circulating Reference." In *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. pp. 24-79.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. (D. Nicholson-Smith, Trans). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Lefebvre, H. and Régulier, C. (2004). The Rhythmanalytical Project. In *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*. (S. Elden & G. Moore, Trans). New York:Continuum. pp. 73-83.

Lee, J. & Ingold, T. (2006). Fieldwork on Foot: Perceiving, Routing, Socializing. In *Locating the Field. Space, Place and Context in Anthropology*. Berg Publishers. pp. 67-85.

Lynch, K. (1960). *The Image of the City*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Merleau-Ponty, M.(2002). *Phenomenology of Perception*. (C. Smith Trans.) Phénoménologie de la perception (original title). London: Routledge.

Nilsson, K. Presentation av Fördjupad Översiktplan 27 april 2011 på SHIP, Sammandrag. http://hplus.helsingborg.se/

Noema Research and Planning, ltd. http://www.Noema.co.uk/

O'Dell, T. & Billing, P. (Eds.) (2005). *Expereiencescapes: Tourism, Culture, and Economy*. Denmark: Copenhagen Business School Press.

Pink, S. (2008a). *Sense and Sustainability: The Case of the Slow City Movement*. Local Environment, 13(2), pp.95-106.

Pink, S. (2008b). *An Urban Tour: The Sensory Sociality of Ethnographic Placemaking*. Ethnography 9(2). Los Angeles: Sage. pp. 175-196.

Pink, S. (2009). *Doing Sensory Ethnography*. London: Sage.

Pink, S. (2011). *Sensory Digital Photography: Re-thinking 'Moving' and the Image*. Visual Studies, 26(1), pp.4 - 13

Pred, A. (2000). *Even in Sweden: Racisms, Racialized Spaces, and the Popular Geographical Imagination*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Reiter, S. and De Herde, A. (2003). *Qualitative and Quantitative Criteria for Comfortable Urban Public Spaces*. Antwerpen: A. A. Balkema, ORBI (Open Repository and Bibliography).

Räthzel, N. (2010). Creating Spaces of Fear and Spaces of Safety. Young Natives and Migrants in Metropolitan Neighbourhoods. In Arvaston, G. & Butler, T. (Eds). *Multicultures and Cities*. Museum Tusculanum Press: University of Copenhagen. pp. 141-157.

Sherfey, P. and Hyler, S. (2010). *A Qualitative Study of Public Space in Helsingborg's Stadskärnan*. Internal report for Helsingborgs stad and the H+ project.

Sherfey, P. and Hyler, S. (2010). *H+ From the Ground Up: A Strategy Plan for Public Participation*. Internal report for Helsingborgs stad and the H+ project.

Simmel, G. (2002). The Metropolis and Mental Life. In, *The urban sociology reader*. 5(1903). Routledge. pp. 23–31

Sköldqvist, N. (2011, February 4). H+ är inte bara ett byggprojekt. *Helsingborgs Dagblad*. Retrieved from http://hd.se/helsingborg/2011/02/04/h-ar-inte-bara-ett-byggprojekt/

Sunderland, P. & Denny, R. (2007). *Doing Anthropology in Consumer Research*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, Inc.

Thrift, N. (2002). *Intensities of Feeling: Towards a Spatial Politics of Affect*. Geografiska Annaler 86(B):1.

Whyte, W. (2010). The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces. In Orum, A. M. & Neal Z. P. (Eds.). *Common Ground?: Readings and Reflections on Public Space*. *Metropolis and Modern Life*. New York: Routledge. pp. 32-39.
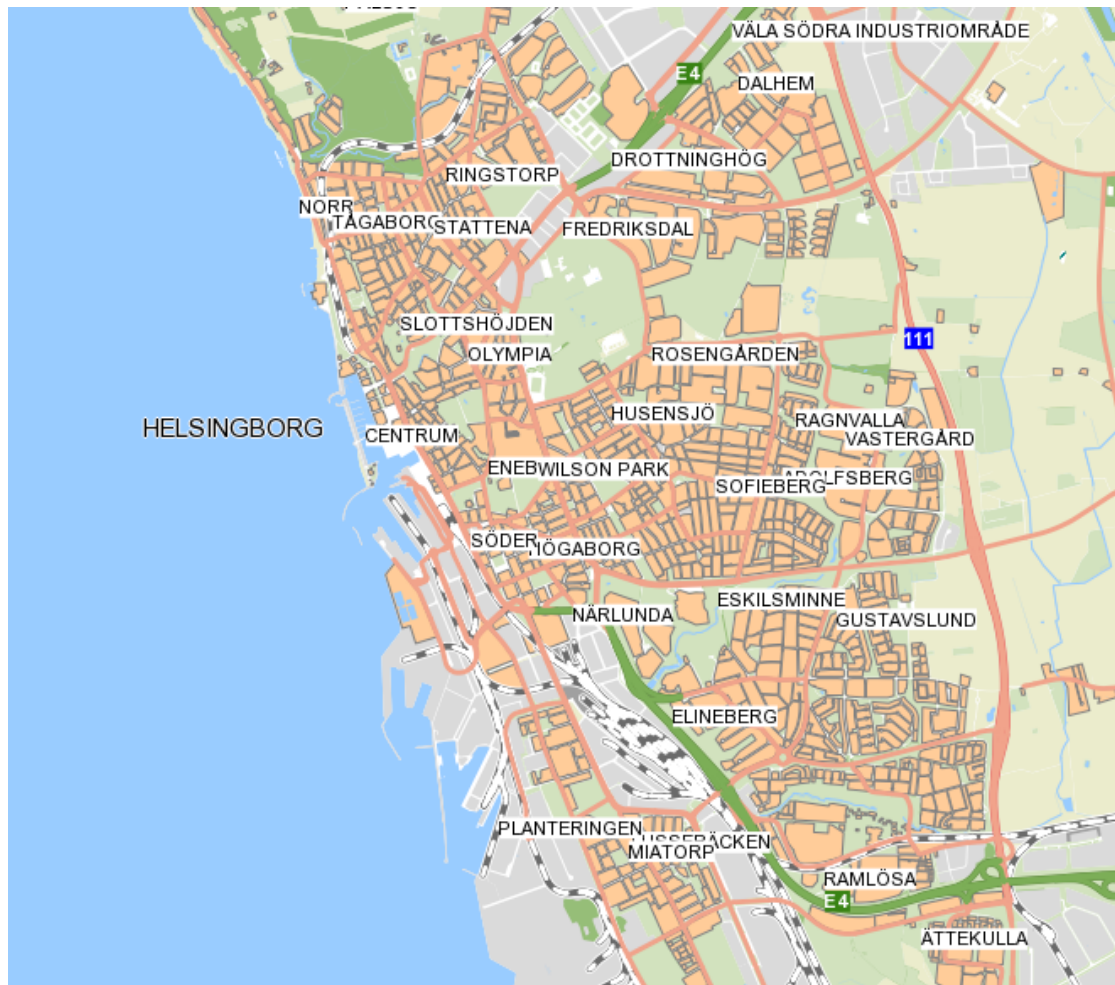
Appendix

Figure 11. Overview map of the city of Helsingborg.

Downloaded May 16, 2011, from: <http://www.helsingborg.se/Medborgare/Kommun-och-politik/karta-helsingborg/>. My fieldwork took place in the neighborhoods of Centrum, Söder, Närlunda, and Planteringen. March 2010-May 2011.
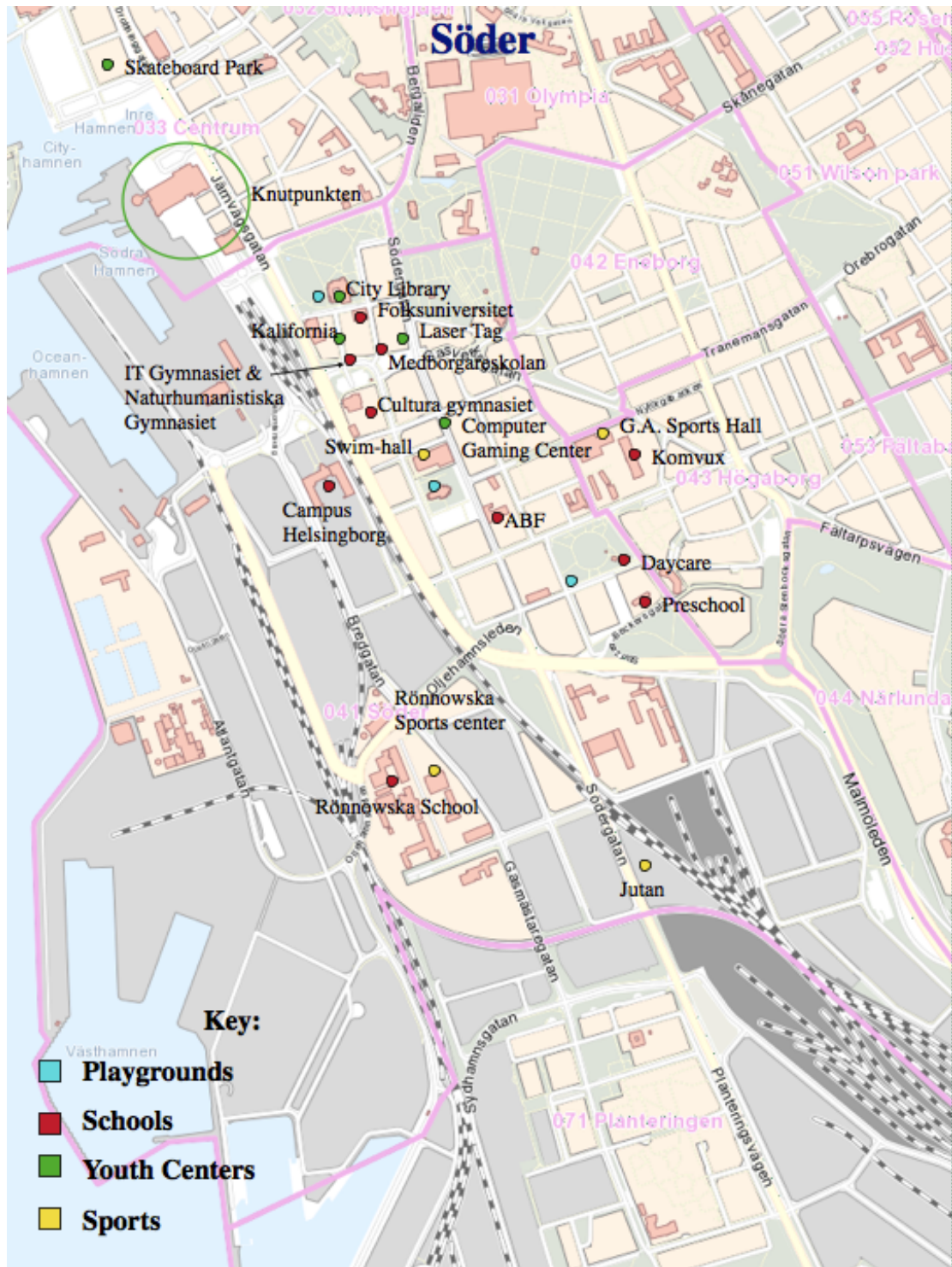
Figure 12. Cultural resource map of Söder.

Created by Samantha Hyler and Paul Sherfey, June 2010.

Figure 13. Cultural resource map of Söder.

Created by Samantha Hyler and Paul Sherfey, June 2010.

Figure 14. Cultural resource map of Söder.

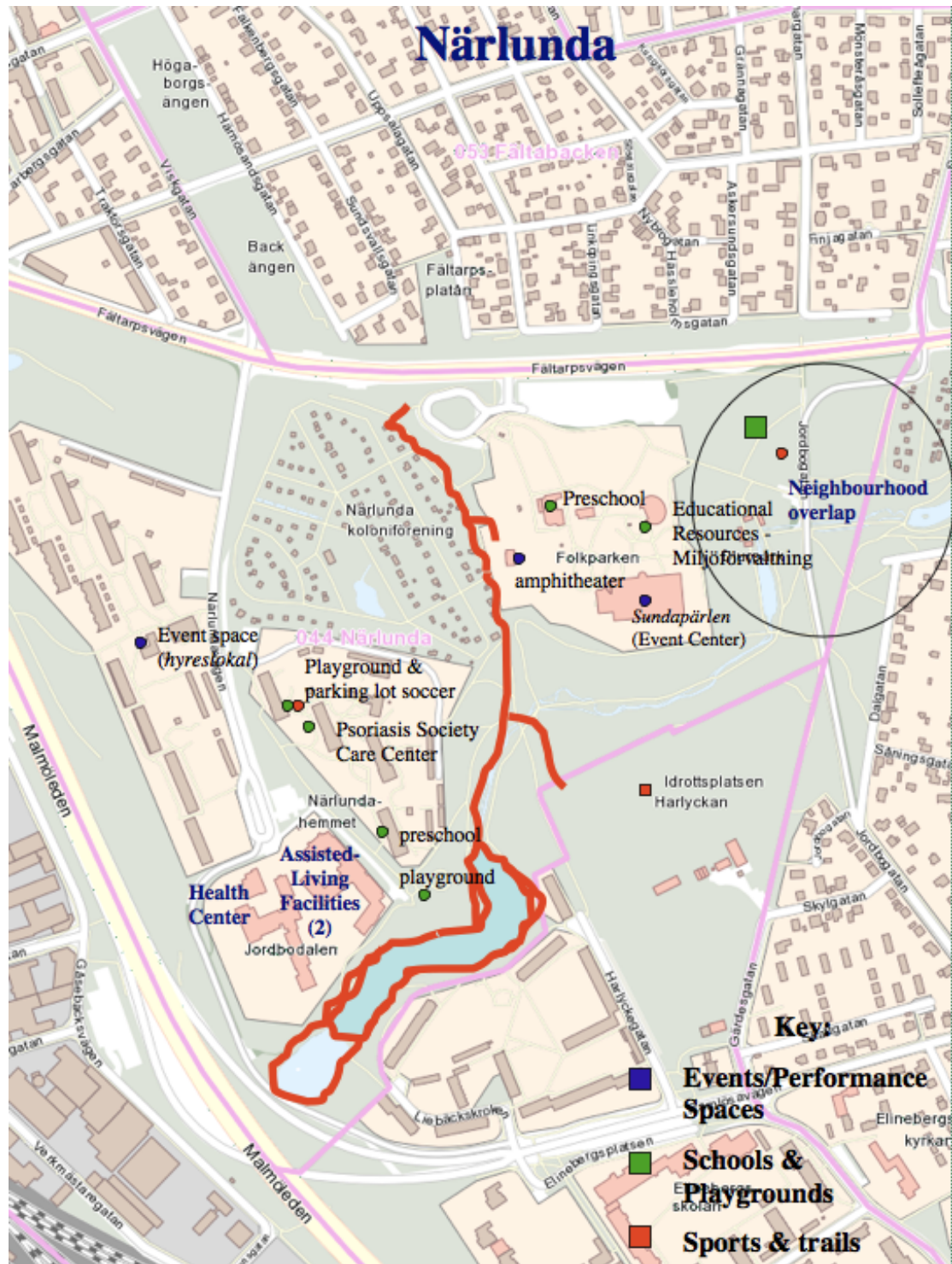**Created by Samantha Hyler and Paul Sherfey, June 2010.**

Figure 15. Cultural resource map of Närlunda.

Created by Samantha Hyler and Paul Sherfey, June 2010.