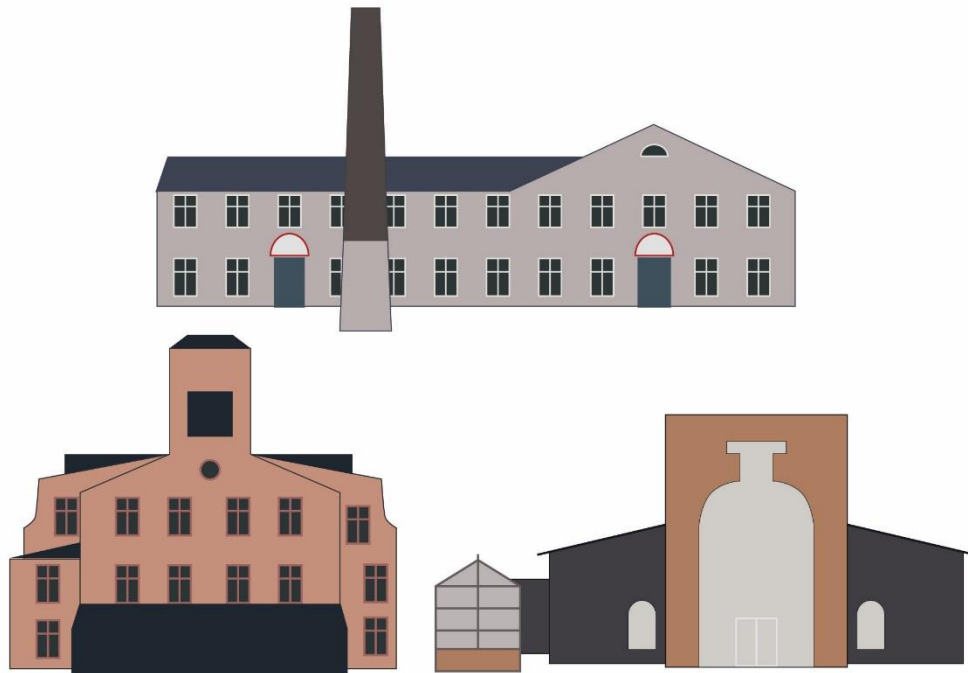




DEPARTMENT OF CONSERVATION

HERITAGE AS A FOUNDATION AND RESOURCE IN PLACE-MAKING PROCESSES

Experiences on adaptive reuse and collaborative approaches
from three industrial villages in Västra Götaland, Sweden



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Degree project for Master of Science with a major in Conservation
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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to explore the shifting collaborative approaches and uses of heritage and its impact on place-making processes in three industrial villages in Västra Götaland, a county in west of Sweden. In Sweden there is a number of industrial villages (bruksorter) where the industry has moved but their buildings remain. A method to develop these places is place-making initiatives through adaptive reuse of the industrial sites. Place-making is a key concept and tool in urban planning and development which can be used to increase sustainability. This study combines a theoretical framework on heritage-led development and adaptive reuse with place-making and collaborative approaches to planning. It explores place-making initiatives and how key stakeholders experience the process, commitment, and collaboration. Through interviews and document analysis, the results show three industrial villages all using heritage as a vital part of the place-making process. Both tangible and intangible features of the industrial heritage is activated to achieve positive developments at each site. Heritage is approached both as a medium for development and as a testimony of the past, although with more emphasis on the former among the respondents. Further, the cases all have slightly different methods for place-making however all with collaborative features. The results underline the importance of strong collaboration and consensus-building between different key stakeholders. Moreover, individual stakeholders' commitment, as well as funding, seem to impact the place-making process immensely. Hence, this thesis shows how both heritage and stakeholder collaboration impact the place-making process, and how the use of heritage is essential to reach sustainable development.

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Contents

1	Introduction	7
1.1	Background	7
1.2	Research problem.....	7
1.2.1	<i>Definitions</i>	9
1.3	Research aims and questions.....	10
1.3.1	<i>Delimitation</i>	10
2	Literature review	11
2.1	Heritage-led place-making	11
2.1.1	<i>Place-making: Concept and development</i>	12
2.1.2	<i>Adaptive reuse</i>	13
2.1.3	<i>Community-involvement and governance</i>	14
2.1.4	<i>Place-making in Västra Götaland</i>	15
2.2	Place-making in rural settings.....	15
2.2.1	<i>Urban-rural continuum</i>	16
2.2.2	<i>Cities as driver for economy and urban norm</i>	16
2.2.3	<i>Rural development</i>	17
2.3	Contribution and development in this thesis	17
3	Theoretical framework	19
3.1	Cultural heritage: concept and management	19
3.1.1	<i>Heritage as resource and heritage-led regeneration</i>	20
3.1.2	<i>Adaptive reuse of industrial heritage and its disputes</i>	21
3.2	Place-making: concept and understanding.....	22
3.2.1	<i>Place-making approaches and stakeholder collaboration</i>	23
4	Methodology	25
4.1	Type of research.....	25
4.1.1	<i>Case studies</i>	25
4.2	Collection of data	26
4.2.1	<i>Semi structured interviews</i>	26
4.2.2	<i>Written sources</i>	27
4.2.3	<i>Site visits and observation</i>	29
4.3	Data analysis	29
5	The cases: Three industrial villages and where they are now	30
5.1	Rydal	30
5.2	Glaset Hus in Limmared.....	33
5.3	Nääs Fabriker in Tollered.....	36
6	Results: Presentation of collected data.....	39
6.1	Regional thoughts on place-making processes.....	39
6.1.1	<i>Regional place-making support</i>	39
6.1.2	<i>The use of heritage in place-making processes</i>	40
6.1.3	<i>Opportunities and limitations</i>	41
6.2	Rydal.....	41
6.2.1	<i>Place-making process</i>	41
6.2.2	<i>Use of heritage</i>	44
6.2.3	<i>Collaborations</i>	47

6.3	Glaset Hus	49
6.3.1	<i>Place-making process</i>	49
6.3.2	<i>Use of heritage</i>	51
6.3.3	<i>Collaborations</i>	53
6.4	Näås Fabriker	54
6.4.1	<i>Place-making process</i>	54
6.4.2	<i>Use of heritage</i>	55
6.4.3	<i>Collaborations</i>	58
7	Discussion: a constant shifting balance of perspectives	60
7.1	Heritage as significant in place-making processes.....	60
7.2	Clashes in the perspectives on use of heritage	61
7.3	Varying approaches: from bottom-up to top-down place-making	63
7.4	Non-straight development and need for consensus	64
8	Conclusion.....	66
	Svensk sammanfattning.....	67
	Tables and figures.....	70
	References	71

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The industrial epoch of the last two centuries has significantly impacted our cultural landscape. The industrial sites with all associated structures are space-consuming and have evidently transformed our geographical distribution (Bergeron, 2016). This epoch has also transformed and shaped our society. In Sweden, industrial companies constructed new villages and towns around the main factory, and inevitably affected the whole community. These industrial villages (bruksorter) are still traceable all around Sweden.

However, with the de-industrialisation of society, the industrial society's heritage is suddenly of attention, by many at first glance considered a burden. This is nevertheless important to preserve and handle (Bergeron, 2016). Since the end of the last century, the increasing interest in former industrial buildings is noticeable among both real estate developers, urban planners, and within the conservation field. Since the early 1990s, a shift in the approach to industrial site transformation can be noticed, as old factories started to be considered as opportunities instead of obstacles (Preite, 2016). But whilst industrial sites in urban areas usually have high land value and high interest for regeneration from real estate developers and planners, the reality in smaller towns and villages is different. In small villages, old industrial sites can rather be regarded as a problem by local authorities, as the usually huge premises need restoration and tenants (Willim, 2008, pp. 94-95). There are many examples around Sweden where the major factory has been left in decay and the former employer has left, leaving the associated industrial village behind (ibid.).

A method to develop these places is place-making initiatives through adaptive reuse of the industrial sites. Place-making is a key concept and tool in planning and development which can be used to increase sustainability in line with e.g., the New Urban Agenda, as well as help rural and semi-rural communities to grow. This thesis is going to explore three old industrial villages, all with origin in one dominating company, and their process of going from decreasing population to tourist and cultural destination through place-making initiatives at the site. In all three places, the industrial heritage has in different ways been activated and reused for new purposes. Both tangible and intangible inheritances from the industrial traditions are raised, with different strategies in each case.

1.2 Research problem

Given the industrial heritage's challenges and needs, the use and reuse of these sites through place-making initiatives will be further developed here. In line with e.g., UNESCO (2011), the use of heritage in planning and development will now more deeply be presented to underline the intention of this thesis.

Modern urban planning is facing great challenges with an increased need for sustainable solutions (United Nations, 2017), as well as an increased market-driven commodification and homogenisation of the urban space (Bandarin & Oers, 2012, pp. 96-97; Taşan-Kok, 2012). A neoliberal approach to development and planning has created changing demands to local development, where market-driven public-private partnerships produce public service. In addition,

privatisation and increased competition between regions and municipalities have further aggravated the difficulties in controlling local development (Björling & Fredriksson, 2018). This risk creating places detached from local history and heritage where the strive for economic profit overcomes place development based on local characteristics, and hence reduces a local sense of place and communities' place attachment (UNESCO, 2011).

Cultural heritage forms a vital foundation of a local sense of place, helping to construct feelings of identity, belonging, and a meaningful present. Heritage helps communities and groups to express a common identity and belonging, and a place has a representational power to give a physical reality to this expression (Smith, 2006, pp. 75-76). A sense of place includes both physical factors and intangible perceptions and values. A location that is felt to have a strong sense of place is more likely to also contain an experienced and enjoyed identity and character (Parker & Doak, 2012, pp. 163-165).

A place development based on local heritage can serve as a foundation for sustainable development. Whilst a decreased industrial sector leaves plenty of unused buildings in need of new tenants, several studies confirm the environmental benefits of reusing constructions (Historic England, 2020; Preservation Green Lab, 2011). Moreover, cultural heritage plays an important role in sustainable development and its social, economic, and environmental dimensions. This is emphasised in The New Urban Agenda, adopted by the UN in 2016. The agenda represents a shared vision of sustainable development and acknowledges culture and cultural diversity as important contributors to achieving this. By adopting the agenda (which Sweden has), one commits to include culture as a priority component in urban planning, have a sustainable leveraging of heritage, as well as recognise heritage as an asset in sustainable development, and stimulate participation. Heritage should be a resource among others in sustainable urban economies and urban development (United Nations, 2017).

But whilst the challenges of reusing industrial heritage in urban areas are marked by development pressure, a high level of exploitation, and demand for competitive attractiveness (Preite, 2016; Friedmann, 2010; Taşan-Kok, 2012), challenges in smaller towns or villages are often connected to low levels of service and planning. Overall, the development between and within regions in Sweden is today characterised by increasing inequalities in terms of income, education, work prospects, and welfare service, further indicators point to a new kind of regional exclusion (Björling & Fredriksson, 2018).

To overcome a declining population and simultaneously find a new purpose and reuse for the remaining industrial sites a place-making initiative to develop the villages can help communities to grow and at the same time safeguard valuable cultural heritage. Place-making spans from fluid bottom-up initiatives to planned top-down regeneration with shifting spatial changes (Lew, 2017). For people working with urban planning or development issues, both as a local authority, private company, and voluntary at the site, there is accordingly a range of attitudes and methods on how to approach place-making and the industrial heritage in industrial villages. When addressing heritage, UNESCO declares an integrated approach in the general urban development and gives stakeholders responsibilities regarding cooperation and practice to give the best management, protection, and integration of contemporary use in heritage sites (UNESCO, 2011). Hence, to develop empirical understandings, this thesis intends to immerse into stakeholders' commitments, activities, and perspectives on place-making processes and how the industrial heritage and the collaborative features have impacted the places' development.

For instance Franklin and Marsden (2015) emphasise the need for more research on how public, voluntary, and private sectors collaborate and work together in sustainable place-making strategies. And Akbar and Edelenbos (2021) maintain the positive outcomes of collaborative place-making processes although highlight a lack of empirical studies. Consequently, there is a need for further research on this issue. In addition, plenty of contemporary research focuses on place-making and place development in urban areas, see e.g., (Boeri, et al., 2018; Friedmann, 2010; Ripp, et al., 2019; Fabi, et al., 2021). However, a less extensive focus is on place-making initiatives in rural or semi-rural areas, especially with heritage as a base (Björling & Ohlén, 2018; Zhou, et al., 2021). The focus of this thesis is therefore to explore how place-making processes in small villages activate, use, and develop the industrial heritage, how key stakeholders work, collaborate, and experience the process, and what difficulties concerning heritage and collaboration impact place-making processes. The intention is to develop the knowledge of how heritage can serve as a resource in a place-making process to expand the understanding in future work within the conservation and planning field, and hence help preserve and develop industrial heritage as well as being a tool for sustainable planning.

1.2.1 Definitions

Place-making is here defined as a continuous process of using and developing a place and its spatial and mental entities. It is similarly understood as the Swedish word *platsutveckling* (literal translation: place development). Place-making is here referring to the renewed use of facilities and limited areas within villages, with various public uses. The spatial change involves one or a few buildings with their indoor and outdoor environments. Hence, the spatial change is within a limited area, but by reusing and renewing a place, the place-making process can impact a whole village both spatially and mentally. So, whilst place-making often is referred to as uplifting qualities in outdoor public places, place-making is here understood in a broader sense.

Place-making is further understood in relation to the reuse of tangible and intangible industrial heritage. Heritage forms and impacts the spatial and mental understanding of the places. As Jeleński (2018) states, place-making without local anchor risk to form places detached from local identity. Thus, local heritage forms a vital foundation in the place's development.

The word *process* is used as it involves the bigger development of the sites, beyond specific place-making *projects* done in cooperation with for instance the region. All studied processes have clear starting points in the establishing or reusing of a location, where the place image and the physical environment are reinvented and negotiated. This is done both locally within the community and through official methods such as urban planning, politics, etc. Place-making is not understood as a synonym for place-marketing or similar connotations.

Heritage is in this thesis connected to the tangible and intangible industrial cultural heritage such as buildings, craftsmanship, materials, practices, traditions, etc. Hence, although the word heritage alone will be used hereafter, the thesis only focuses on the industrial cultural heritage and does not handle other types of heritage.

The use and understanding of these concepts will be further developed in chapter 3.

All photos and images are the author's, unless otherwise stated.

1.3 Research aims and questions

This thesis aims to explore the shifting collaborative approaches and uses of heritage and its impact on place-making processes. The overall goal is to further the understanding of complexity regarding heritage-led place-making. Three research questions will help to explore this aim:

- How has the place-making process developed over time in the studied cases?
- How has the (tangible and intangible) industrial heritage been used and activated by the stakeholders in the place-making process?
- How have the stakeholders collaborated in the place-making process?

1.3.1 Delimitation

This thesis focuses on *the use of heritage* in local place-making, and *collaboration between different key stakeholders* in these processes, such as local associations, local companies, property owners, municipalities, and the region. The thesis does not focus on the local inhabitants and how they perceive the use of heritage or the place-making process. Nor is it a study regarding conservation of heritage values and consequently does it not focus on whether the uplifted industrial heritage has important heritage values and how these are handled and preserved. However, both themes are lightly touched upon.

The importance of involving community groups in place-making is raised by several authors (see for instance section 2.1.3 and 3.2.1). This is recognised and rethought for this thesis. But due to both time limits and an intention to study other sorts of stakeholder involvement, the thesis does not involve the communities above the respondents from a couple of local association. As mentioned in section 2.3, the research on community involvement is extensive and thus this thesis instead wishes to focus on the key stakeholders who manage and drive the process. However, a wider focus on the community as a central part of the development would give a deeper understanding of the complexities regarding place-making. There is always a risk to miss important voices and viewpoints.

The choice of cases and selection of sources of information are developed in chapter 4, *Methodology*.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter gives a quick overview of previous research regarding the use of heritage in urban development, heritage-led place-making, and place-making in rural settings. The reviewed studies all give a contextual understanding for this thesis. The chapter ends with a quick discussion on the contribution of this thesis.

2.1 Heritage-led place-making

In urban planning and urban transformation, a common approach to new development is *tabula rasa*, which starts by viewing an area as an empty space and hence clearing out all existing structures (Dahl, 2020, p. 111). Planning and design projects can then work according to urban models that are idealistic and abstract without consideration of existing conditions. Dahl contends that modern planning approaches and frameworks give an advantage to *tabula rasa* models. Nevertheless, the planning and design task today is rather to rebuild or renew urban space which imposes other types of planning methods.

Hence, an answer to this problem is heritage-based place-making. The research on this subject is extensive, ranging from studies focusing on the material reuse of existing structures (Oevermann & Mieg, 2015; Plevoets & Van Cleempoel, 2019), on the planning, management, and regional development (Ripp, et al., 2019; Fabi, et al., 2021; Boeri, et al., 2018; Gustafsson, 2019) to community involvement and everyday heritage (Giombini, 2020; Mosler, 2019; Friedmann, 2010; Jeleński, 2018; Gravagnuolo, et al., 2021).

Culture is significant in sustainable development and by many argued to stand as the fourth ‘pillar’ of sustainable development, alongside the social, ecological, and economic dimensions. Heritage contributes to society’s wellbeing and a sustainable future (Dogruyol, et al., 2018). For instance, the environmental impact of using and reusing already existing structures to not waste the resources used for construction are better than tearing down and restarting (McCallum, 2007). Furthermore, UNESCO declares that heritage can, if dealt with properly, act as a catalyst for socio-economic development through commercial use, tourism, and property values. It generates much higher returns than areas without historic significance (UNESCO, 2013).

Reusing heritage as a catalyst for urban development has been increasingly common in the last decades, using mainly but not exclusively material heritage as a regeneration tool in planning. The benefit of heritage in urban development boosts the economy and helps communities’ sense of place and pride. It is not only listed buildings holding heritage values that are reused. A range of buildings and structures are reused for ecological, social, and pragmatic reasons (Plevoets & Van Cleempoel, 2019, p. 56). There are several ways of reusing sites in heritage-led development, including reusing and developing sites for new housing, reusing sites for urban parks in for instance brownfields, and user-led spontaneous reuse driven by local communities (Plevoets & Van Cleempoel, 2019, pp. 57-71). McCallum (2007) draws conclusions based on Historic England’s experience of heritage-led regeneration projects, and shows some universal lessons that must be addressed (*ibid.*, p.44):

- A strong vision for the future
- A respect for local residents and businesses
- A tangible link to the past

- An understanding of the area
- A respect for what already exists
- A record of the area before work starts
- An integrated sustainable approach
- Achieving the right pace
- The highest quality design and materials
- Early discussions between the community, the local authority, and other interested parties

Fouseki et al. (2020) point to the passive role heritage is given in the Sustainable Development Goals, emphasising heritage-led regeneration as an initiative giving heritage a driving position in reaching sustainable solutions in declining areas. However, these regeneration schemes risk serving as a ground to revitalise areas excluding people or create non-resilient cities (Fouseki, et al., 2020). Heritage-led regeneration risks, like other urban regeneration schemes, starting gentrification processes. Even when done through bottom-up initiatives it unintentionally can become a driving force for a long-time gentrification process, often because the ‘creative class’ initiate and drive user-led regeneration (Plevoets & Van Cleempoel, 2019, pp. 74-75)

To reach sustainability in heritage-led regeneration projects a partnership approach including multiple stakeholders of public, private, and community sectors is vital for success. Stakeholders sharing the same vision and a thorough consensus in decision-making create a more sustainable outcome (Dogruyol, et al., 2018). Lack of communication and local knowledge are the main challenges to reach sustainability which further affect the planning process negatively. Communication problems can be solved by putting stakeholders at centre of the process. Moreover, a key is consensus-building through participation in all phases of heritage-led regeneration projects (Dogruyol, et al., 2018).

There is a span of different values and objectives dealt with in heritage-led development among different stakeholders. For instance, the heritage planning field has difficulties changing focus from traditional monument conservation to the current understanding of heritage and its processes (Fredholm, 2017). Challenges regarding internal conflicting viewpoints within the conservation field on how to address heritage conservation lead to various approaches on how to handle heritage. Moreover, place development face problems on how to combine ambitious ideas with practical realities. There is a difficulty in sustaining development over time due to e.g., rising conflicts, stakeholders leaving, etc. (Fredholm, 2017). Fredholm argues that each planning process is unique and context-based, and hence there is a need to continuously adapt the planning solutions in line with new problems on the way. Consequently, heritage planning needs to move away from a supply-driven perspective toward a demand-driven perspective, working towards a relationship-building process reinvented frequently (Fredholm, 2017). Another perspective at heritage-led development from a demand and supply perspective is given by Gustafsson (2019). He suggests a totally new paradigm in the conservation field due to the extended focus on participatory approaches, cultural activities, and public decision-making. Thus, he argues for a shift from supply-driven planning to demand-driven heritage-led development where cultural heritage is perceived as an infrastructure innovation and investment.

2.1.1 Place-making: Concept and development

Place-making is a broad term spanning from an organic bottom-up process based on local traditions and social practices to a planned top-down approach seeking to influence people’s everyday-life and a place’s image (Lew, 2017). Others define place-making as a concept of development aiming to create places in line with local communities and cultures where people want to stay, visit, and

live. This is a human-centred approach that wishes to promote health and well-being, originating from the ideas of Jane Jacobs among others (Jeleński, 2018; Samir, et al., 2019). Place-making is a continuous process constantly reevaluated among the participants with efforts of improving the place's experienced sense of place and attractiveness. Nevertheless, there is a great danger in treating place-making as a routine with a generalised one-size-fits-all approach. Place-making with general design elements and a lack of local characteristics can rather form places with an absence of local identity (Jeleński, 2018).

Place-making as a concept evolved in the 1970s and has become a common term in e.g., geography and urban studies (Sofield, et al., 2017). It initially meant spatial changes to improve the quality of urban life but has through time shifted to focus more on communities' own capacities (Sofield, et al., 2017; Akbar & Edelenbos, 2021).

Whilst many initiatives are made to improve the places for communities, e.g. John Friedmann describes how some place-making initiatives are done to brand cities or places in global competition (Friedmann, 2010). Place-making and place-branding are by many similarly understood although place-branding mainly deals with image (Porter, 2015) and place-making more often deals with spatial change. Yet, this perspective must be addressed, as place-making and place-branding, just as heritage, can be used in a neoliberal economy for increasing financial return and competitiveness. Porter sees branding as communication based on the logic of capitalism and aims for consumption. Place-branding does this by applying branding to geographically defined areas. However not as in letting a landscape image be used to sell other products, but rather where the place is the product itself and can be managed or designed to fit the brand (Porter, 2015, pp. 7-8).

Fredholm and Olsson (2018) argue that place branding and heritage management have much in common, both viewing the built environment and its associated heritage as a resource for the community and for attracting visitors and investments. Though, they see place branding similarly to place-making in this thesis. Both place branding and heritage management deal with the image of a place and representation of the past. They argue that both approaches are special forms of local and regional planning. Place branding is here understood as image-making, with the aim to build a shared identity and used as a communication tool about the place's needs. It can be used to address an internal market to promote pride or a sense of belonging. Heritage management is, with the shift from safeguarding material objects, today a values-based approach concerned with building places and using tangible and intangible heritage as a resource for the present. But with a risk of the commodification of place and conflicting interests between visitors and community. Here, heritage management can similarly to place-branding take a demand or supply perspective, where the expert-led view of management is supply-driven and the values-based approach with laymen's perspective is demand-driven. Both visitors and residents are important cocreators of heritage which needs to be considered in planning (Fredholm & Olsson, 2018)

2.1.2 Adaptive reuse

A quite common way of implementing heritage-led place-making is through adaptive reuse of existing buildings at the site. Adaptive reuse as a field has been of growing interest, leading to several books and research articles on the subject (Plevoets & Van Cleempoel, 2019; Oevermann & Mieg, 2015; Fabi, et al., 2021; Willim, 2008; Douet, 2016; Xie, 2015), out of many especially interested in the adaptive reuse of industrial sites.

So, whilst adaptive reuse as a concept and method will be further developed in the next chapter, some studies that have investigated heritage-led development and adaptive reuse will briefly be reviewed here.

Adaptive reuse is not at all a new way to approach built structures. Yet historically the reuse has rather been out of practical reason than the wish for heritage protection. Adaptive reuse as we know it today was outlined in the 1970s (Plevoets & Van Cleempoel, 2019, pp. 7, 15). The core objective of adaptive reuse is the change of function. Yet, the alterations can span from minor interior changes to larger structure changes (ibid. p. 23). According to Plevoets and Van Cleempoel, there are basically two ways of approaching the existing building stock, viewing it as either monuments or palimpsests. The first one implies a restoration back to an original expression and hence new functions must adapt to this. The second one emphasises all layers from different periods and lets all narratives be traceable. It has thus a different way of dealing with heritage values and approaches buildings with a range of strategies and levels of safeguarding of historical layers. Both approaches claim to be more authentic (Plevoets & Van Cleempoel, 2019, pp. 28-29).

Xie (2015) has examined the adaptive reuse of industrial sites in relation to tourism, founding that adaptive reuse of former industrial sites is successful in attracting tourists. He further contends the positive impacts adaptive reuse can have on communities whose identity has been weakened by depopulation. There are compelling economic gains to be collected from heritage in the tourism sector. And even though the tourism sector cannot replace the earlier manufacture-based economy, authentic preservation of industrial heritage has proven to be an anchor and catalyst for further development (Xie, 2015, pp. 206-207). In the modern tourism industry, it is accepted to redo sites for a more pleasing and beautiful appearance, hence risk to overwrite original heritage. Xie here applies Heidegger's view of home to understand authenticity, claiming that local communities and tourists may have a divergent understanding of what is desirable and authentic of industrial sites (ibid., p. 208).

There is a huge risk with regeneration projects based on former industrial sites, that a commercial and aesthetical focus will diminish the complexity of heritage sites, turning places into 'frozen' pictures of the past used to attract visitors. The aestheticization further risks starting gentrification processes excluding different groups as well as the working-class history of the site (Xie, 2015, p. 213). Yet, Xie argues that the positive impact of tourism outweighs the negative risks, letting industrial sites become living heritage. Tourism can be a support to link the past, present, and future of the site, supporting the industrial works of the past and revitalising tangible and intangible heritage. Hence, living industrial heritage can form an effective learning experience, and tourism can promote local living environments and economies (Xie, 2015, pp. 214-215).

2.1.3 Community-involvement and governance

The involvement of communities in place-making processes is stressed as something crucial by several studies (Dogruyol, et al., 2018; Alexander & Hamilton, 2015). For instance, in Akbar and Edelenbo's literature review of place-making, 43% of the reviewed studies had examined a bottom-up approach to place-making, whereas only 12% had focused on a top-down approach and 17% on a collaborative approach to place-making (Akbar & Edelenbos, 2021). Hence, out of their reviewed studies, one can conclude a greater focus on different levels of community-driven place-making initiatives in previous research.

Further, research shows how organic community-led place-making enhances sustainability and resilience (Sofield, et al., 2017). As the place-making through tourism originates from a community and continuously is adapted by the community, the process is maintained over a long period and

contributes to sustainable places (ibid.). Building a heritage community can stimulate both circular adaptive reuse of cultural heritage and community bonds (Gravagnuolo, et al., 2021). The capacity of collaboration, synergies, and symbioses building as a ‘soft’ element can determine the success of circular models and adaptive reuse.

There are however different contextual power structures in heritage governance and participation. Four types of governance are identified by Sokka et al. (2021), (1) governmental, (2) corporatist, (3) service-led, and (4) co-creative. These range from state-governed to civil-society and professionally dominated to citizen-based. The more involvement of communities the better the outcomes in terms of participation, resource allocation, transparency, and strengthening groups (Sokka, et al., 2021). The level of community-involvement in heritage governance is also highlighted by Kalman (2014, pp. 195-196). He contends that public consulting should be done throughout the heritage planning process, through public meetings, workshops, interviews, focus groups, etc. There are different stakeholder groups, both people with no formal affiliation, and those in for instance local businesses, property owners, associations, societies, or education and tourism sector (ibid.).

2.1.4 Place-making in Västra Götaland

There are already some studies investigating place-making in Västra Götaland. For instance, Björling and Ohlén (2018) have done a research overview focusing on partly place-making, and partly methods and experiences drawn from place-making projects done in the region.

The county council Region Västra Götaland (VGR) has worked with different methods in place development such as Kultursystem (culture system), BID, Leader, Cultural Planning, and IOP (further discussed in the result chapter). Lessons learned from the practical work with place-making projects in the region are the need for cross-sectoral collaboration, the need for collaboration on several levels (state, region, municipality, place), the need for process support, the need for connection between place development and spatial planning, the need for method evolution, and the need for collaboration with academia (Björling & Ohlén, 2018, pp. 61-63). According to the research overview, there so far have not been many research projects following place-making projects in Sweden, something that would enrich both the academy and officials (ibid. p.63).

Staats (2022) has examined VGR’s place-making process in Uddebo, Västra Götaland. The results show a gap between VGR’s vision-based place-making support and the organic bottom-up development at the site. She argues for a shift in the planning approach, from a structuralist method to a post-structuralist mindset in complex and uncertain planning situations to respond to contexts of a high level of self-organisation (Staats, 2022).

2.2 Place-making in rural settings

To get a better contextual understanding of place-making in industrial villages, the impacts of rural settings must be handled and understood.

In both academic research as well as in official planning strategies, place-making and similar processes such as regeneration or place development are gradually turning synonymously with urban development, with an increasing focus on cities and city-regions (Björling & Ohlén, 2018, p. 39). Place-making has often been studied in urban settings, and less focus has been put on place-making processes in more rural settings (Zhou, et al., 2021). In urban places, place-making and regeneration are often influenced by high land value, design interventions, and a high level of

official planning. Hence, place-making or development processes in villages or towns considered to be more rural must be studied in a different position than place-making in urban contexts.

2.2.1 Urban-rural continuum

What is rural and what is urban is not always clearly defined, as there are not just two types of locations. Often, one can approach it as a rural-urban continuum, a concept that acknowledges that there are no definite sharp divisions, rather it is a long range from highly urban to very rural (Castree, et al., 2013). The dichotomy between urban and rural is no longer a current understanding, but urban and rural are still functioning as an understanding regarding power and resource distribution (Björling & Fredriksson, 2018, p. 35). To overcome the rural-urban dichotomy, efforts to nuance the settings have been made by e.g. Qviström (2013). He discusses the concepts of peri-urban areas, usually considered as areas within the ‘urban shadow’ in commuting distance from cities or the areas just outside the suburbs. The development here can, just as areas within cities, be affected by economic expectations and land speculation, although this is mostly seen in the closest zone to cities. Another concept is rurban, urban fringes (Björling & Fredriksson, 2018, p. 19), and semi-rural, used by e.g., Abrahamsson and Hagberg (2018). The studied cases in this thesis are located in one of Sweden’s most densely populated regions. Nevertheless, there are interregional differences and a continuum within administrative borders. Therefore, rural and rurality is essential to highlight as there can be rural challenges even though the municipality or region is relatively dense. According to the EU, rural areas are defined as places with less than 5 000 inhabitants (Eurostat, n.d.), and in Sweden, one definition of rural areas is places with less than 3 000 inhabitants (Tillväxtverket, 2021). Thus, the word rural and semi-rural is in this thesis used to acknowledge challenges for villages or smaller towns compared to larger urban areas.

2.2.2 Cities as driver for economy and urban norm

There are in many ways important to acknowledge how urban areas and urbanity are considered the norm or in different ways associated with more positive connotations. Urban areas are considered to be the central place, with association to words such as developed, modern, or metropole, whereas rural areas are considered periphery, associated with words such as undeveloped, satellite, or traditional (Tillväxtverket, 2020, p. 42). The concept of core-periphery describes the functional relationship between urban and rural areas and how the distance creates considerable differences in service, transport, communications, and resource distributions (ibid.). This also acknowledges how urban areas become centre of economic development.

The focus on cities as drivers for economic development has increased with globalisation, and today we shape and organise our economies in large urban areas. These large cities are hence sites for economic activity, and the sense that a modern economy is an urban economy is confirmed by both institutes and academic studies (Freshwater, 2016). But without showing the importance of rural areas and their contribution, the risk is that lack of investment will lead to neglect and marginalisation, and the idea of urban areas as a driver of the economy will inevitably be true (Freshwater, 2016). Freshwater argues that some vital attributes drive the modern economy: networks, agglomeration, innovation, and openness. Our post-modern economy is also mostly based in the service sector with a core of well-educated and well-paid employees, surrounded by less-educated workers. All these attributes are commonly associated with urban areas. This is nevertheless not predestined, and there are several examples of rural activities prospering in the modern economy. The idea of rural areas being synonymous with decline is not true. But there are challenges. For example, the absence of agglomeration can be tricky and make rural development processes different (Freshwater, 2016). The service economy is more dependent and focused on being close to customers and suppliers, than the traditional industrial economy. Hence this adds to

the concentration of people and economy in urban areas (Tillväxtverket, 2020, p. 46). And a changing system of consumption and production creates economic stagnation and degradation for smaller villages and towns, where the local supply of e.g., commerce tends to close. This coincides with a new neoliberal public management affecting local services such as schools, public transport, and health care (Björling & Ohlén, 2018, p. 40).

2.2.3 Rural development

Rural places are very active in shaping their own identity and experience changes and a range of trajectories just like urban places. However, some wider meta-narratives can help the understanding of the wider transformation trends. According to Shucksmith and Brown, these narratives are (1) an agri-centric narrative, (2) an urban-rural access narrative, (3) a competitive economy narrative, (4) a place left behind narrative, (5) an amenity-based economy narrative, and (6) a narrative of society-nature interrelationships. These narratives all raise concerns regarding power, governance, and agency steering your development (Shucksmith & Brown, 2016, pp. 33-37).

In rural development studies, an increased focus has been on endogenous bottom-up development and the importance of cultural components. Both stress the importance of local knowledge and characteristic with community capacity (Csurgo & Megyesi, 2016). Local communities can internally protect their social and economic development by strategic use of culture and cultural heritage (Csurgo & Megyesi, 2016). In the last decades, a stronger focus on culture in regional development strategies can be noticed, used to increase attractiveness and competitiveness. In the Nordic countries, a more market-oriented view has encompassed cultural policies, to incorporate these into a wider regional development framework (Ilmonen, 2009). Lysgård (2016) argues that rural places on the other hand put more emphasis on traditions, heritage, participation, and community practices in cultural policies and structures, than the neoliberal consumer-based cultural policies of attractiveness, place-marketing, and creative industries more common in urban culture-led strategies.

2.3 Contribution and development in this thesis

As seen in this literature review, there are several studies that in diverse ways examine heritage-led place-making. This thesis aims to combine literature on heritage-led development and adaptive reuse with literature on place-making and stakeholder collaboration to unpack the complexity of different planning and maintenance issues in heritage-led place-making.

There is quite extensive literature on community participation in place-making processes, and how this enhances long-term sustainable development. Yet, out of the reviewed studies here, less research on the collaboration between key stakeholders who lead and manage the process in place-making has been done.

This literature review has also examined rurality and rural challenges to give a contextual understanding of the studied cases. There are few studies developing place-making in a rural context. But as place-making in rural contexts reveals other challenges than in urban contexts, there is a need to develop this understanding.

The theoretical framework presented in the next chapter will continue the investigation of the relationship between place-making processes and the use of heritage to explore the role of heritage in place-making processes. The theoretical framework will focus on heritage-led regeneration and

adaptive reuse, and the different methods and discourses regarding conservation and development. Furthermore, three place-making approaches and stakeholder collaboration will be examined to better understand the challenges and obstacles regarding collaboration and consensus-building.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, the theoretical framework used to analyse and discuss the collected data are presented. The chapter is divided into two main themes. The first theme includes cultural heritage with heritage-led regeneration, heritage as a resource in development, and adaptive reuse. The second theme focuses on place-making and its associated methods and approaches.

3.1 Cultural heritage: concept and management

To answer how heritage has been used and activated in the place-making process, we must dig deeper into the concept of heritage, heritage as a resource, and adaptive reuse.

The general understanding of heritage has shifted during the last 50 years, from emphasising physical fabrics and tangible, mostly outstanding historic places, to focusing on social and intangible aspects, and representative places (Kalman, 2014, pp. 21-22). Whilst a traditional view of heritage management is that it deals with the past, e.g., Harrison (2015) constitutes that heritage is a practice engaged in designing the future. It is a present material and discursively remake of ourselves and the world by engaging with the traces of the past, in a dialogue between people, communities, practices, and places. Harrison argues that heritage consequently is a form of futurology (Harrison, 2015). Wells and Stiefel (2019) contend the same idea, stating that heritage is not in the past, but the present. Practice must then address the present and future, leaving the focus on historical facts in favour of contemporary meanings and values (Wells & Stiefel, 2019). Smith (2006) takes it even further, stating that there is no such thing as heritage, and that all heritage is a social construct and a discourse that affects our perception of what is considered heritage.

Kalman argues that the idea of heritage being about the future and highly intangible must be addressed but contrasts with practical heritage planning, a field that rather is a highly politicised and pragmatic activity dealing with mostly tangible properties. And whilst objects once were conserved due to cultural values, heritage conservation and planning today mostly deal with instrumental benefits for social and economic outcomes (Kalman, 2014, p. 26). Cultural heritage is perceived as a driving force for social, environmental, and economic change, working as an attraction for people and investment and as a production factor (Gustafsson, 2019). This trend is according to Kalman visible in several official documents in the UK, and he cites Strange and Whitney's four themes that can be seen as following this trend: (1) conservation-led regeneration, (2) conservation and sustainability, (3) conservation and the planning process, and (4) the governance of conservation (Kalman, 2014).

The approach to heritage in urban and regional planning has shifted in the last century. Janssen et al. (2017) describe three different approaches, heritage as a spatial sector, factor, and vector, and how these today complement each other in modern planning, rather than being separate paradigms. The traditional approach to heritage conservation (sector) views heritage as something tangible with intrinsic value in need of safeguard and protection from modern society. It often focuses on single monuments and buildings, and values authenticity. In the 1970s, the heritage approach became more flexible with a larger emphasis on landscape and place. The city was seen as a social structure and urban development projects became more market-driven, focused on using and developing heritage for present use. Hence, 'heritage as factor' views heritage as a part of the spatial revitalisation and a way to increase attractiveness. The last shift, 'heritage as vector',

emphasise intangible aspects of spatial developments and sees heritage as a narrative. The focus is on residents' involvement and their experience, trying to capture the social layers of heritage. Janssen et al. argue that none of the approaches should be highlighted over the others. The complexity of heritage and planning needs all approaches (Janssen, et al., 2017).

“The main difference lies in how they frame heritage issues and, subsequently, interpret the relationship between heritage and development. Whereas the heritage as sector approach tries to protect heritage from spatial development, the heritage as vector approach, on the other hand, sees heritage as product of a social process and uses it as a place-making tool.” (Janssen, et al., 2017, p. 1666)

In this thesis, heritage is understood as our present understanding and aim of saving historical traces for ourselves and the future. It is handled quite practically in how both tangible and intangible remnants are valued and addressed by present actors and strategic visions. Consequently, although the understanding of heritage as an intangible discursive concept is valid and utterly important (Smith, 2006), it is not a focal point in this thesis. Only the highlighted industrial heritage and its use are of attention.

3.1.1 Heritage as resource and heritage-led regeneration

In 2011, UNESCO released new recommendations for historic urban landscapes, known as the HUL recommendations (2011). It acknowledges heritage as a vital asset for humanity. However, the rapid and uncontrolled development in especially urban areas risks fragmenting local heritage and impacts communities. Hence, to help protect heritage, conservation and management must be incorporated into wider development processes and urban planning. A landscape approach could help maintain local identities. The recommendations also acknowledge heritage as a *sine qua non* for sustainable development as preserving existing resources is vital to reach a sustainable future. Due to new global challenges, such as mass tourism, market liberalisation, heritage exploitation, and climate change, there is a need for new, updated recommendations for historic areas (UNESCO, 2011)

UNESCO takes upon a wide definition of historic urban landscapes, including all layers of cultural and natural values, and sees both the built environment, the open spaces, the infrastructures, as well as immaterial attributes such as social and cultural practices, and economic processes as part of the understanding. This approach provides a basis for an overall sustainable development framework and integrates conservation into economic and social development (UNESCO, 2011). The HUL recommendation reflects the wider development in heritage philosophy during the last decades. It emphasises a bottom-up approach to heritage management, with a social, open, and democratic toolkit (Bandarin, 2019).

Fouseki et al. (2020) present the concept of ‘deep cities’ asserting that heritage is not just a victim of change but rather an active component and driver of sustainable development. Instead of focusing conservation on protecting whole districts and environment, one should acknowledge that our historical traces are in constant transformation with fragments of various periods. Heritage management is a future-oriented practice, and it is critical to have a trans-temporal approach toward the integration of the past, present, and future in sustainable cities. The responsibilities of heritage managers, planners, and researchers are to make the historic traces available and activate them as a resource in our present society and urban planning (Fouseki, et al., 2020, pp. 5-9).

To integrate and use heritage in urban development processes, the concept of heritage-led regeneration is used to describe regeneration schemes that include and base the development on

local heritage. Modern regeneration projects aim to achieve economic boosts, revitalise depressed urban areas, and create new jobs and a vibrant atmosphere to prompt innovation and creativity (Preite, 2016). There is a spectrum of different types of heritage-led development, where there are on the one hand comprehensive schemes with heritage as a catalyst, in the middle where heritage is used as a major component, or on the other end where heritage mainly is used as a token (McCallum, 2007). However, according to McCallum this is not a valid term if the scheme would happen anyway.

A common heritage-led regeneration is a transformation of old industrial sites, that in the first phase offer little attraction for property investment. Regeneration of industrial sites has nevertheless shown to be profitable and created value a replacement building never would generate (Preite, 2016). Most commonly, heritage-led development includes the adaptive reuse of existing buildings, something that will be further developed in the next section.

3.1.2 Adaptive reuse of industrial heritage and its disputes

The emphasis on heritage as a resource for sustainable development and urban regeneration is highly visible in the adaptive reuse approach. In adaptive reuse, the existing building stock is considered a resource of materials, narratives, and meaning that new complements must manage. Plevoets and Van Cleempoel maintain that regeneration through heritage is not only done by reusing buildings, but also implemented through reactivation and preservation of intangible heritage such as local narratives, craftsmanship, and traditions (Plevoets & Van Cleempoel, 2019, p. 56).

Whilst there are many examples of industrial buildings that have been reused as museums of themselves, more often the buildings are given other functions. The conservation field must then rearrange its purpose, as the conservation is not the end in itself. Rather, conservation work is one of several aspects of a multi-task system of intervention programmes and must orient between economic interest and the protection of historical values (Preite, 2016). The reuse of industrial sites without strict building regulations or security norms can offer better conditions for start-ups or businesses in the cultural and creative sector than in traditional buildings, with the possibility of short-term use and a low level of investment. But without cautious conservation work, adaptive reuse projects may end up in facadism or excessive regeneration with fading character and rising real estate values. (Preite, 2016). A challenge in adaptive reuse projects is to keep the interventions at a suitable level to hamper a “too good and beautiful” outcome. If renovation schemes change too much of the original character, the attractiveness of the site risk be reduced. The challenge for planners and conservation workers is thus to plan at a suitable level, focusing both on conservation and on being proactive in finding new purposes (Gustafsson, 2019).

Reusing sites range from strict protection of historical objects to major changes in use and fabric. Oevermann and Mieg (2015) contend that there is a fundamental conflict between conservation and change when reusing sites. This deals with the challenge of authenticity and heritage in contrast to accommodating buildings to present use as well as permitting architectural interventions. They argue that there are three major discourses within the adaptive reuse approach to industrial heritage: *heritage conservation*, *urban development*, and *architectural production* (Oevermann & Mieg, 2015, p. 12). These discourses represent different approaches and values in the reuse process, and hence the intervention approach determines how the industrial site and the heritage are managed and developed. For instance, all three approaches value character, accessibility, and reuse of the place. However, where the conservation approach highlights authenticity, integrity, and heritage values, the architectural production highlights design and aesthetics, and the urban development

approach emphasises development, environmental and economic value, and vision. Both urban development and conservation emphasise a bottom-up approach.

The discourses also differ in core objectives: conservation approach to preserve, urban development to create livable cities, and architectural production to convert existing forms into new architectural expressions (Oevermann & Mieg, 2015, p. 17). To overcome the conflicts between the discourses, Oevermann and Mieg argue for assimilation of discourses through sub discourses, and in addition bridging the values by focusing on shared common values such as reuse, accessibility, or character (2015, pp. 21-24).

There are challenges regarding adaptive reuse and financial sustainability (Rossitti, et al., 2021). Often due to excessive cost of investment and management and lack of public resources. This often tends to make private investors choose projects with higher financial returns and security (ibid.).

The risks of adaptive reuse and heritage-led regeneration are several. McCallum (2007) raises several risks with heritage-led regeneration e.g., lack of acknowledging the different understanding of what is valuable within communities, property-owners' inability to see potential and change, buildings that are not financially viable to reuse, the lack of resources from the conservation sector to protect a growing amount of heritage, and the focus on single buildings with lack of comprehensive development within areas leading to disrepair after a few years. Another issue is accelerating real estate value and consequently gentrification when doing large-scale regeneration projects (Preite, 2016).

Willim discusses in his book *Industrial Cool* the aestheticization of the industrial heritage, as the time from the dirty and tough industrial epoch slowly are expanding. This is done by a historicization of the old factories as a resource for the future (Willim, 2008, pp. 4-5). Something 'cool' implies a fashionable or aesthetic approach with a sense of distance (p. 22). Hence the distance coming with the post-industrial society is vital for an aestheticization to realise. These reused factories can then be part of a new 'brandscape', used to market cities and places in larger competitive globalisation. The 'dirty' industrial aesthetics have also become a resource for artists, designers, and branders (Willim, 2008, pp. 123-124).

3.2 Place-making: concept and understanding

Place-making may be defined as a process of increasing local place identity through both community involvement and place-specific design. This involves the management and planning of public spaces that emphasise the local, cultural, and social significance to communities (Porter, 2015, p. 17). Place-making focuses on the process rather than the outcome and deals with the activity of integrating different viewpoints in the urban transformation in both spatial aspects but also social processes (Akbar & Edelenbos, 2021) There has been a shift within the concept of place-making since the 1960s, particularly observed in the 90s. From being a concept mainly focused on spatial transformation and place production, place-making today focuses on the everyday relational ongoing process within communities. The role of the urban planner has hence shifted from building places to supporting communities' "institutional capacities" (Akbar & Edelenbos, 2021, p. 2)

This thesis departs from the understanding of place-making as an ongoing process involving both community development and place-specific design (Akbar & Edelenbos, 2021) though with an apparent 'before'. In the studied cases, the 'before' departs from the industrial epoch and a sense of decrease and discontent within the villages. The place-making represents the start of adaptive

reuse and heritage-led development characterised by several evident place-making initiatives done at the place.

To better understand the place-making process, the next section will explore different approaches to place-making and collaboration between different actors. Thus, this will expand the understanding of how this affects the place-making process and the use of heritage.

3.2.1 Place-making approaches and stakeholder collaboration

Both Lew (2017), and Akbar and Edelenbos (2021) identify three approaches to place-making, also adopted by e.g., Zhou et al. (2021), that are organic (bottom-up), planned (top-down), and collaborative place-making. Organic place-making involves a bottom-up approach led by local communities who wish to manage their own environment, often with slow change and low economic capacity. The planned, or top-down approach to place-making is led by e.g., governments or private investors with high economic capacity and efficiency. The collaborative place-making includes multiple layers of management and stakeholders with local involvement, but with a higher capacity than the strict organic approach (Lew, 2017; Akbar & Edelenbos, 2021). The collaborative approach tends to be either more planned or organic, depending on the level of community involvement. Most places fall somewhere in the continuum between top-down and bottom-up approaches. Yet, the more successful a place-making is, the more external interest it gets leading to larger economic capacity and thus top-down planning (Lew, 2017).

In Akbar and Edelenbos' literature review of place-making, they found that most investigated studies focused on bottom-up approaches. This supports the idea that place-making can be done without the involvement of policymakers or a formal plan. And according to some studies, the lack of local involvement can have an adverse impact on the community even though the economic or spatial values are increased (Akbar & Edelenbos, 2021). For collaborative place-making processes on the other hand, only a few empirical studies show how it can be implemented. Although there are several challenges with that method, the reviewed studies showed a better outcome than the strict bottom-up or top-down place-making processes (Akbar & Edelenbos, 2021). The collaborative place-making was better at striking a balance between tangible and intangible aspects. In addition, this approach was shown to increase confidence in place, help to create sustainable community-based tourism destinations, and increase economic growth. The key lies in a strong vision and champions within the community as well as the support and involvement of local authorities collaborating with the community and NGOs (Akbar & Edelenbos, 2021). The role of different stakeholders can never be completely equal (*ibid.*)

This picture is confirmed by Franklin and Marsden (2015). They discuss the importance of collaboration and interactivity between the public sector and community groups in sustainable place-making. Although communities' ability to protect their freedom remains important, there are nevertheless several mutual benefits from collaborating with public authorities. For instance, cooperation with the public sector can help to get innovative strategies with a better understanding of the complexity of spatial geographies, better access to different kinds of knowledge, as well as social networks for knowledge exchange. There is a challenge from professionals to see the value of incorporating local 'lay' knowledge that must be addressed and dealt with. The local government must play a facilitating role in addition to the usual regulatory role (Franklin & Marsden, 2015). One major cause for the disconnection between communities and professionals is the separation of networks. This is evident in both ways, community members not knowing whom to contact, and local government members not knowing what local groups and actions exist. One way of overcoming the disconnection is by letting an outsider official work closely with the community

during the process. Hence this person can be accepted both by the authorities as well as within the community, by retaining some sort of neutrality and by not being too closely aligned with neither the local community nor the government (Franklin & Marsden, 2015).

Healey (2006) argues that collaborative planning and letting communities focus on their management of shared space have substantial effects on not only communities but whole regions and states. Collaborative planning focus on a win-win situation made possible through discussion between different groups. Healey stresses the need for consensus in collaborative planning, with inclusive and rich processes of strategy-making (Healey, 2006, pp. 278-279). In neo-liberal planning, spatial and social conflicts are addressed by turning them into judgment criteria with targets and principles. In theory, this is transparent and efficient, however, does not automatically reduce the number of conflict areas. Healey instead emphasises collaborative discussions and consensus-building, where people together come and learn about different points of view and reflect on their own. It also builds coherence by addressing the issues collectively (Healey, 2006, p. 33). She stresses the challenges in maintaining consensus over time, as circumstances, stakeholders, or fractures shift. The institutional design then plays a vital role, and agreements, as well as disagreements, must be recorded and decided on how these will be addressed throughout the process. The outlined strategies must regularly be reviewed to see whether they still make sense (Healey, 2006, pp. 279-281).

Lochrie (2016) examines stakeholder collaboration in heritage management and argues for a combination of stewardship theory and stakeholder theory. Stewardship theory handles the motivations and commitments of stakeholders putting the overall goal in front of personal interests. Stakeholder theory looks at organisational matters to increase cooperation but also points to the need of looking beyond organisations to external environments and involve all impacted groups. Lochrie suggests a combination of both theories in heritage management, a 'heritage custodian theory'. This by focusing on creating collectively minded stewards engaging sincerely in development. As the different groups have different interests in the development of places, conflicts are somehow unavoidable. Therefore, stewardship behaviours through e.g., personal responsibility and empowerment can help form coherence, trust, and communication, leading to better involvement and long-term engagement. To gain stakeholder support organisations can for instance give more involvement in decision-making, avoid relationships based on self-interests, offer support and generosity towards different stakeholders, create awareness and include stakeholders into organisational communities in transparency, and focus on representation to legitimise stakeholder interests (Lochrie, 2016).

These approaches will be discussed with the results, however mostly focusing on the collaborative aspects of place-making and the different stakeholders' views on their and others' roles. This is to better understand the impact stakeholder collaboration has on the overall development and hence the use of heritage.

4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Type of research

The intention is to study heritage-based place-making by examining the place-making process and use of heritage in three different cases. The research approach is mainly qualitative as it enables a deeper understanding of how and why people or events behave in certain ways. As both heritage and place-making are complex, looking deeply into a few examples can help understand and ultimately generalise in similar settings.

As the study is based on interpretations of oral and written messages, the study works in a hermeneutic tradition of approaching collected data. Hermeneutics, or the art of interpreting, deals with finding meanings in texts or pictures, and is based on understanding the writer's or creator's ideas or intentions. Analysing written texts and pictures is always subjective and hence always influenced by the reader and his or her presumptions (Walliman, 2018, p. 160). Of course, this is the case in this thesis as well, as all interpretations are affected by earlier knowledge.

4.1.1 Case studies

Case studies is a method in which you gain knowledge of something by looking deeply into one or a few examples. Sometimes this can give a better understanding of the whole than through brief knowledge in a large number of examples (Gerring, 2006).

There are several ways of choosing a case, most commonly to either choose a representative case standing as a sample, a unique case that differs from others, or as in this thesis, several cases to enable comparison between them. When comparing several cases, it is possible to study how and why e.g., social actions differ across space (Herbert, 2009, p. 77). In this thesis, three cases were chosen to give several examples of complex processes and hence expand the understanding. Due to limited time the study was restricted to three cases. All cases were chosen within Västra Götaland, a county in west of Sweden, and with a maximum of two hours commuting from Gothenburg.

Table 1. Case studies

Case	Industrial village and municipality
Rydal (the old spinning mill)	Rydal, Mark municipality
Glaset's Hus	Limmared, Tranemo municipality
Nääs Fabriker	Tollered, Lerum municipality

The cases were chosen due to their similarities and differences between them. All studied cases in this thesis are examples of typical former industrial villages in Sweden where one large company dominated and developed the village, and all villages are still marked by their industrial heritage. However, as they represent unusual development in the investment and reuse of the industrial history as a tourist destination, they are somehow deviant from other similar industrial towns looking at a larger context. Deviant cases show unusual values contrasted to other similar examples (Gerring, 2006, pp. 89, 106). Table 1 present the chosen cases, all further developed in chapter 5.

In all cases, the development has been ongoing for several years, and in all three, the industrial heritage is used in the place-making process and the marketing to visitors. There are yet some crucial differences between the cases. In Rydal, the textile factory was closed in 2004, leaving the village with large former industrial buildings to use and reuse. Today the premises include for

instance a museum and an association both focusing on the textile tradition. In Limmared, the glass factory is still in production and the industrial area has expanded with modern facilities. The heritage used in Glasets Hus is hence mainly focused on the craftsmanship of glass production. In Nääs Fabriker, the factory has closed leaving premises empty similar to Rydal. Today the buildings are used for a hotel, conference, restaurants, and shops, with a less explicit connection to the intangible textile heritage.

By looking at three cases, similarities and differences can be studied, hence demonstrating both resembling correlations but also the complexity of time and place and the challenges of planning, use of heritage, and place-making. Although several cases open up for comparison, the research is not a strict comparative study. It is rather a possibility to gain a better understanding of the complexity of heritage and place-making and the influence of different geographical and organisational circumstances.

4.2 Collection of data

The research is based on both primary and secondary data, with a concentration on primary data. The large part is collected through semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders involved in the place-making process. In addition, documents, articles, and other written sources function as a complement to the interviews to give an overall understanding of the cases.

The data has been collected throughout the whole process. All interviews were conducted between March and June 2022.

4.2.1 Semi structured interviews

The research data is mainly collected through semi-structured interviews. All interviews were conducted in a conversational form, however with base on premade questions. Interviews are a particularly good data collection method when doing qualitative research as you get a deeper understanding of individual opinions and different positions (Walliman, 2018). The interviews have given a more in-depth understanding of each case than a survey would. Although a qualitative approach with interviews is harder to compare and generalise, the method gives a better knowledge of the key stakeholders' ideas, experiences, and interpretations.

The respondents were selected either by contacting the associations/municipalities/companies or by advice from other interviewees. The aim was to catch the key stakeholders in the place-making process. In total 11 interviews were conducted, and all persons that were asked participated. There were at least two interviews per case and in addition two interviews of regional officials working with place development. The interviewees were informed about the thesis' purpose and consulted regarding confidentiality and anonymity. Two of the interviews were conducted in pairs. The interviews took about one hour and were recorded.

Although the interviews were based on premade questions, they all became unique conversations that altered and were modified in the meantime. Each interview was centred around two themes: the process of developing the place, and the use of heritage and the built environment.

Table 2. Conducted interviews

Interviewees	Case	Date	Position
Respondent 1	Rydal	16-03-22	Museum/municipality
Respondent 2	Rydal	31-03-22	Local association
Respondent 3	Rydal	24-05-22	Property owner
Respondent 4	Glaset Hus	06-04-22	Local association
Respondent 5	Glaset Hus	12-05-22	Municipality
Respondent 6	Näås Fabriker	25-04-22	Local business and property owner
Respondent 7	Näås Fabriker	25-04-22	Local business and property owner
Respondent 8	Näås Fabriker	03-06-22	Municipality
Respondent 9	Näås Fabriker	03-06-22	Municipality
Respondent 10	-	03-05-22	Regional official
Respondent 11	-	06-05-22	Regional official

Table 3. General interview questions

Place-making process	Use of heritage and image
<i>How has the process in developing the place looked like?</i>	<i>How has the industrial heritage been used?</i>
<i>How have you/your organisation been active in the place's development?</i>	<i>Has there been alterations or changes in the buildings?</i>
<i>What difficulties or challenges have you/your organisation experienced?</i>	<i>How have the cultural environmental values been handled?</i>
<i>What factors has been crucial in the place-making?</i>	<i>Has there been any conflicting views on how to use the heritage/buildings?</i>
<i>How have you/your organisation collaborated with other stakeholders or actors?</i>	<i>Has the industrial heritage been vital in the place-making process?</i>
<i>Has the local inhabitants been involved in the process?</i>	<i>Has there been any challenges regarding the use of heritage?</i>
<i>How do you/your organisation market the place?</i>	
<i>How has the village's image and/or identity changed during the last years?</i>	

All interviews were conducted in Swedish and hence the questions here are roughly translated. The questions were altered and changed depending on the respondent and their position.

4.2.2 Written sources

In addition to the interviews, written sources such as strategic documents, books, internet websites, planning documents, newspaper articles, etc. have been studied. Written sources give a 'snapshot' of the time in which they were written, hence giving information about the process and ideas through time.

For each case, a document analysis of available planning documents, municipal strategies, master plans, and place-development strategies has been examined. In addition, websites and other marketing media of each place have given an overview of how and what heritage has been lifted and promoted.

Table 4. Written sources

Name	Case	Type of document
<i>Rydal Design Center 2009-2011</i>	Rydal	Report
<i>Översiktsplan för Marks kommun</i>	Rydal	Municipal comprehensive plan
<i>Attraktivitetsplan Marks kommun</i>	Rydal	Municipal strategy
<i>Slutrapport för projektet: Gränslandet Kreativ verkstad</i>	Rydal	Report
<i>weavingcenter.se</i>	Rydal	Website
<i>Kulturstrategi Tranemo kommun</i>	Glaset Hus	Municipal strategy
<i>Översiktsplan Tranemo kommun</i>	Glaset Hus	Municipal comprehensive plan
<i>Limmared 2015 förstudierapport</i>	Glaset Hus	Report
<i>Lokal plan för Limmared</i>	Glaset Hus	Report
<i>Stadgar för den ideella förningen Kultur 1740</i>	Glaset Hus	Association by-law
<i>glasetshuslimmared.se</i>	Glaset Hus	Website
<i>Översiktsplan för Lerums kommun : Granskningshandling 2022-01-26</i>	Nääs Fabriker	Municipal comprehensive plan
<i>Rapport Leaderprojekt</i>	Nääs Fabriker	Report
<i>Naasfabriker.se</i>	Nääs Fabriker	Website
<i>Riksintressen för kulturmiljövården Västra Götalands län</i>	Rydal and Nääs Fabriker	National interests for cultural heritage in Västra Götaland
<i>Kulturmiljö 2030 ett framåtriktat kulturmiljöarbete i Västra Götaland 2020–2030</i>	All	Regional strategic document
<i>Kulturstrategi Västra Götaland - och regional kulturplan 2020-2023</i>	All	Regional strategic document

Secondary data

For Rydal, the book *Speglingar av livet i ett textilsamhälle i Sverige - Rydal* has been a major source for background information and understanding about Rydal and its development. It was written in 2005 in connection with the 20th anniversary of the museum (Rydals Museum, 2005).

For Glaset Hus, the report *Från en avkrok till ett prioriterat turistmål* by Margareta Carlén (Carlén, 2015) studies the development in Limmared focusing on how a small rural community can turn from being a ‘backwater’ to a prioritised site for tourism. The report focuses on the rural context as well as the process concerning stakeholders and volunteers. The report does not explore the use of heritage. The report has helped give a deeper understanding of the development as well as confirmed much of the collected data for this thesis.

For Nääs Fabriker the book *Historien om Nääs företagscenter : En nedlagd fabrik återanvänd* has been used as a thorough source for background information about the evolvement of Nääs Fabriker after the closure of the factories. The book is written by the people involved at the beginning of the process and is hence also analysed similarly to the interviews conducted above. Although the information is not collected for this thesis, the perspectives given in the book have been important for the data collection.

4.2.3 Site visits and observation

All three case studies included site visits. These were done in connection to the interviews. The site visits were both done within the buildings guided by the interviewees and alone, and outside in the area alone. Before doing the site visits, maps, websites, and some local history had been examined. In addition, visits to the museums and local restaurants were made to experience the places as a visitor. The overall experience of each place is included in the interpretation.

Table 5. Dates for site visits

Case	Dates for site visit
Rydal	27-02-22 and 16-03-22
Glaset Hus	06-04-22
Nääs Fabriker	25-04-22

On 24 March, there was a workshop in Rydal that was held within the EU-project BeCULTOUR, which is part of the research project Horizon 2020. The project aims to “co-create and test sustainable human-centred innovations for circular cultural tourism through collaborative innovation networks/methodologies and improved investments strategies” (BeCULTOUR, n.d.). The workshop helped to get a quick overview of the village and the ongoing activities, talk to local actors, inhabitants, and municipality representatives, as well as access the already made analysis of the village and its possibilities and struggles. During the workshop, all participants brainstormed on how to develop the village further with both inhabitants and visitors in mind. Representatives from the region, the university and the municipality, inhabitants and people working in Rydal, and the real estate company, among others participated. The participation was not made as a participant observation as the theme for the workshop or people’s behaviours aren’t the focus of this research. Rather it helped to gain knowledge and understanding.

4.3 Data analysis

To handle and analyse the collected data, the data were divided and analysed for patterns and themes. All interviews were to begin with roughly transcribed for a better overview. The analysis has a qualitative approach mainly focusing on finding themes and meanings, and how these relate to each other (Russel, 2018, p. 354). As the data collection focused on some general themes, these followed into the analysis. However, as the written and oral texts were coded, new themes and subthemes emerged depending on the findings (ibid. p.460). When analysing the data, the focus has been on the different stakeholders’ experiences and thoughts, as well as finding thematic similarities, patterns, and differences between the cases and associated documents, interviews, and observations.

The analysed themes are the place-making process and its methods, the use of tangible and intangible industrial heritage, and collaborations between stakeholders during the process.

5 THE CASES: THREE INDUSTRIAL VILLAGES AND WHERE THEY ARE NOW

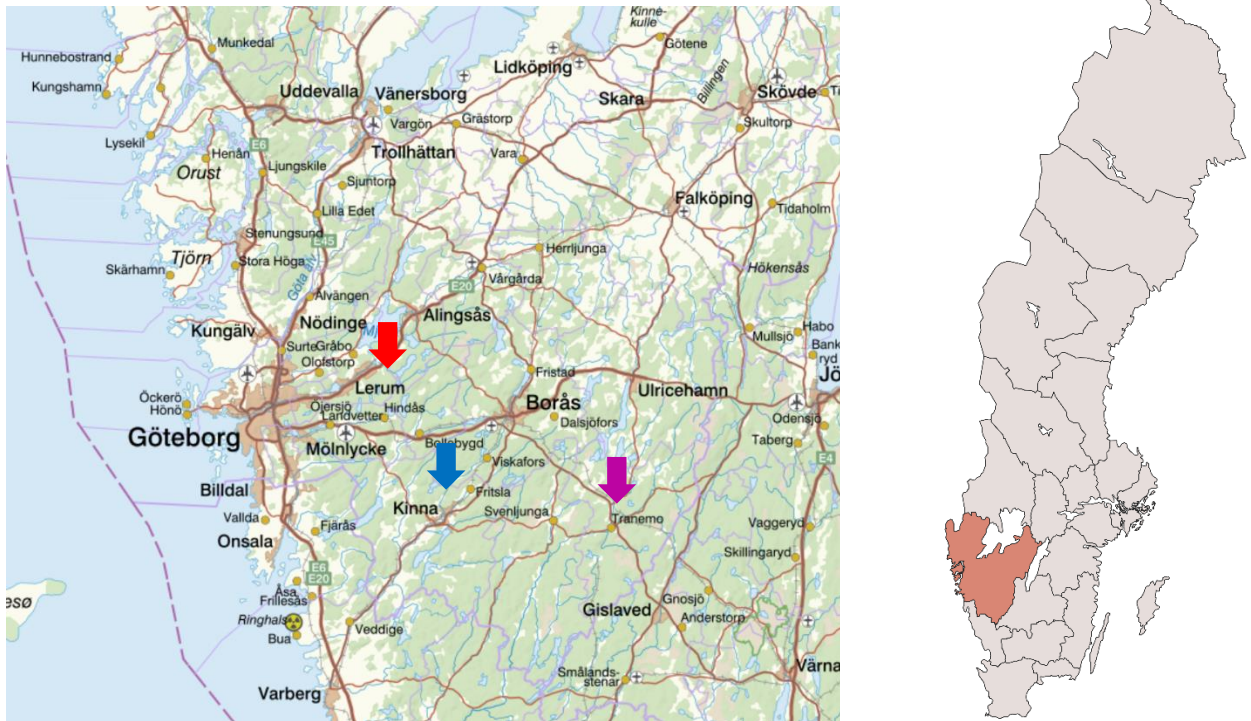


Figure 1. Västra Götaland and the locations of Näs Fabriker (red), Rydal (blue), and Glasets Hus (purple). Left map: (Lantmäteriet, n.d.)

5.1 Rydal

Rydal is a village in Mark's municipality, situated along the river Viskan between Kinna and Borås. The tradition of textile production and trading has a long history in Mark and the nearby region with putting-out systems, home-based weaving, and eventually textile factories (Rydals Museum, 2005, p. 21).

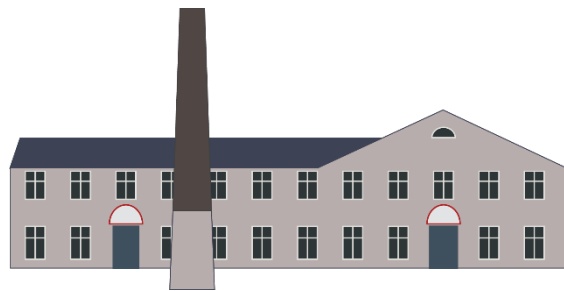


Figure 2. Rydal's old spinning mill

The old spinning mill was built in 1853 by Sven Eriksson. Around the spinning mill, Rydal's village developed with e.g., workers' housing, a house for the managing director, a school, and stores. Gradually small self-owned houses and villas were built on the opposite bank of Viskan and the factory was expanded with a second manufacturing building for plying in 1937 (Rydals Museum, 2005, pp. 63, 70). Rydal is regarded as the birthplace of the textile industry, and the village is Sweden's first industrial village with its large production running already in the 1850s.

This thesis focuses on the old spinning mill in Rydal, and how the spinning mill has been reused and developed after the production ended. However, throughout the result and discussion sections, the word Rydal is used.

The old parts of the village are considered a national interest, due to the well-preserved buildings marked by its industrial community and heritage (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 2018). In addition, the old spinning mill, the managing director's house, and the power station are all listed buildings (Swedish: byggnadsminne (3 kap. KML)) due to their high heritage value.

The closure of the textile factory in Rydal came in several steps. Already in 1967, there was a huge crisis, leading to terminations. In 1984 eight employees bought the company and continued to run the production. They felt great willingness and pride in the factory and the production. But during the 1990s there was a continued crisis and in 2004 the decreased demand and production forced the company to close down business (Rydals Museum, 2005, pp. 195-196).

Today, the old factory includes a museum showing the history of the community as well as the local textile heritage, a conference facility, an atelier open to renting, a handicraft shop, premises for International Weaving Center, and a newly established company that now inhabits a major part of the building. The 1930s factory next door inhabits several small businesses, such as artists' workshops and a recycle carpenter. In addition, several actors use the premises for art, exhibitions, courses, and a contemporary circus. On the opposite side of the road, the old managing director's house is today a restaurant.



Figure 3. Map of Rydal.

Rydal's old spinning mill is situated close to the river Viskan in central Rydal. Map: (Lantmäteriet, n.d.)



*Figure 4. Workers outside the mill 1903.
It is unknown whether all were employed at the factory (Rydals Museum, 2019; Rydals Museum, 2005, p. 28).*



Figure 5. The old spinning mill in Rydal today

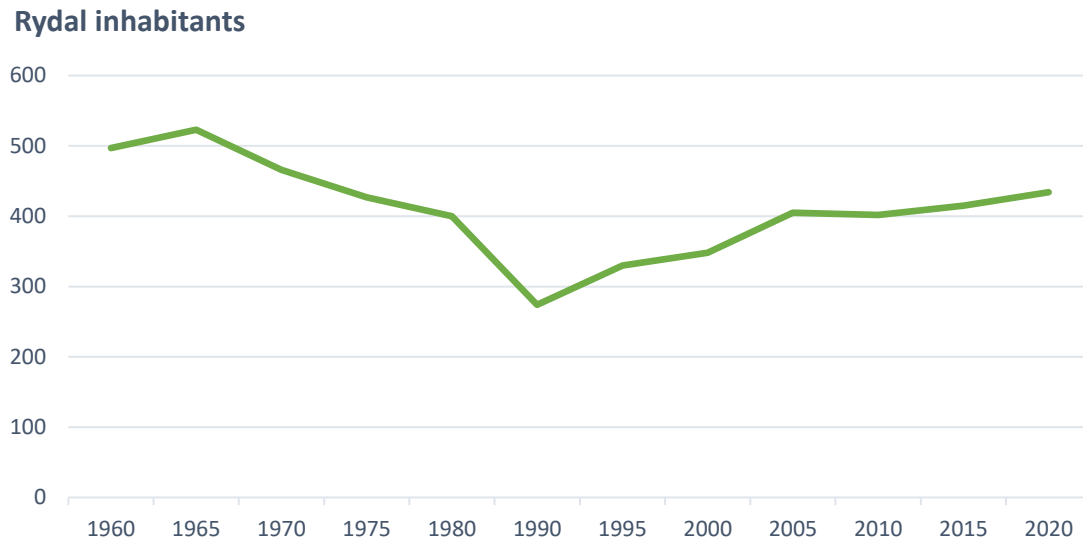


Figure 6. Inhabitants in Rydal between 1960 and 2020
 Source: (SCB, 2009; SCB, 2010; SCB, 2021).

5.2 Glasets Hus in Limmared

Glasets Hus is situated in Limmared, a village with approximately 1 500 inhabitants, in Tranemo Municipality. At the centre of Limmared is the glasswork, which was originally founded in 1740. Today it is the oldest still operating glasswork in Sweden. The production of glass started with Gustaf Ruthensparre who bought the manor in the early 18th century. And ever since, there has been a production of glassware, window glass, bottles, and ornamental glass at the factory. The factory is today owned by an international company called Ardagh Group, which is one of the biggest employers in the municipality. They produce millions of glass products annually (Glasets Hus, n.d.).

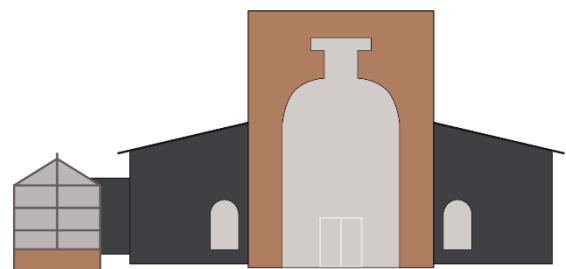


Figure 7. Glasets Hus

Limmared is a typical Swedish industrial village where one major company dominated the whole village. The factory owned all land, agriculture, houses, and the sawmill (Limmareds Glasmuseum, 2022). Limmared also differs from many other old industrial villages in Sweden as the major company and employer still runs its production. Nevertheless, there has been a clear shift in the village and the experience of decline coincided with the municipal reform in the 1960s. Limmared was joined with Tranemo in 1967 and slowly both the service and population decreased in the village. Before the municipal reform, the village was vivid and an important regional centre.

The focus of this thesis, Glasets Hus, was opened in 2012. It is a facility dedicated to glass and glass production. The building includes a museum, restaurant, exhibition hall, glasswork, and conference facility. Behind Glasets Hus, there is a major park containing a playground, sports ground, and a skate park. Glasets Hus is run by the association Kultur 1740 and the property is owned by the municipality.

Besides Glasets Hus, Limmared is today famous for its many second-hand and antiquity shops attracting visitors from all over the region.



Figure 8. Map of Glasetts Hus, situated in central Limmared.
Map: (Lantmäteriet, n.d.)



Figure 9. Workers outside the glasswork
(Limmareds Hembygdsförening, 2019)



Figure 10. Glaset Hus

Limmared inhabitants

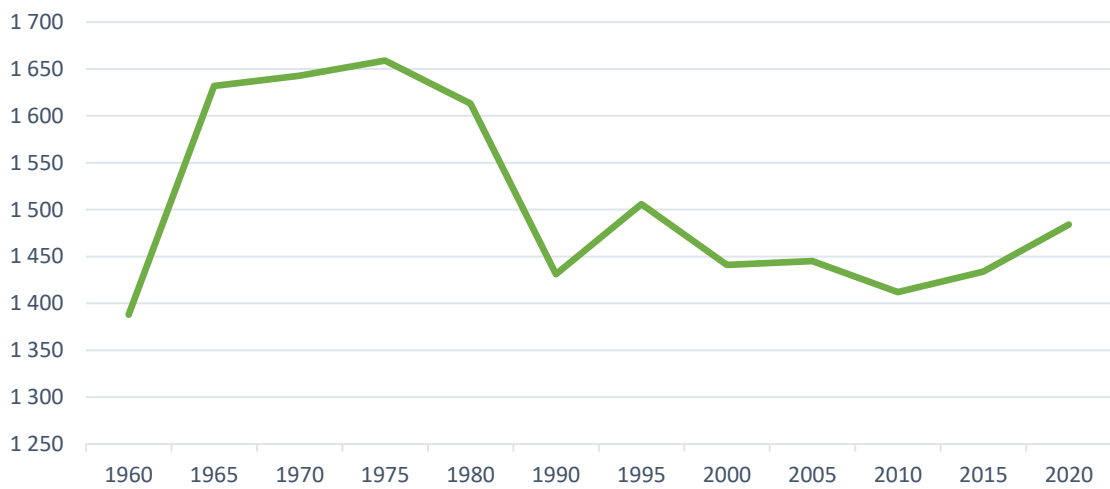


Figure 11. Inhabitants in Limmared between 1960 and 2020
Source: (SCB, 2009; SCB, 2010; SCB, 2021).

5.3 Nääs Fabriker in Tollerred

Nääs Fabriker is an old cotton spinning mill situated by the lake Sävelången between Lerum and Alingsås. The factory was founded in 1833 by Peter Wilhelm Berg and his son Johan Theodor Berg, and expanded with several buildings during the 1800s. Slowly the industrial village Tollerred developed. But out of the 230 employees at the end of the century, only a third lived in the village (Birgersson, et al., 1988, pp. 15-16). In the 1950s and 1960s, there were about 450-500 employees, but after a huge downsizing in the 1970s the factory was closed in 1981 (ibid., p. 19).

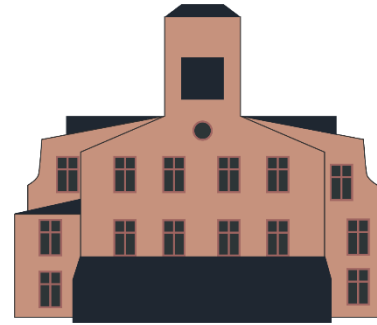


Figure 12. Nääs Fabriker

There are several buildings, all with different functions, including a dyehouse, laundry, and warehouse. The factories are huge and dimensioned for production with position and attribute to maximise daylight. The typical materials such as red bricks are utilised all through, creating a uniform look (Birgersson, et al., 1988, p. 5).

The process of reusing Nääs Fabriker started already in late 1970s. The project wished to try a new reuse approach of old industrial buildings, somewhere in between the organised planned saving of monuments, and non-planned continuous use until the premises become old-fashioned and empty. With inspiration from the UK, the idea was a reuse based on local conditions and involvement. A planned reuse yet with small resources (Birgersson, et al., 1988, pp. 9-10).

When the factory closed, Tollerred ended up in a crisis, with aging inhabitants and closing shops. The village suddenly faced similar problems as sparsely populated areas did in northern Sweden. Bo Öhrström, then employed at Lerum municipality, saw huge possibilities with the old premises but was confounded by the lack of initiatives. Few people saw the opportunities, and instead the discussions focused on the obstacles. He contacted Chalmers university for help, and within the municipality a new strategy was formed to turn the development. The old factories came at the centre of new local development, intending to create a new space for collaboration between small businesses and innovation (Birgersson, et al., 1988, pp. 29-30). The reuse of Nääs Fabriker became a cautious rebuilding but with a focus on the premises' prerequisites with aim of creating new use rather than a renewal (ibid., p. 35). Hence, to create this in-between reuse, a collaboration between different actors, a step-by-step approach to refurbishment, and a flexible usage of resources and values were required to create a business-friendly environment (Birgersson, et al., 1988, p. 37).

The rebuilding and leasing came in several steps. The idea was to look at the reuse as a process rather than as a result, and the premises were rebuilt as new tenants moved in. Consequently, there were never any huge financial risks as the refurbishment was made step-by-step in collaboration with the tenants. The thought was a never finished factory marked by its tenants. In 1987 (the year when the report was written), Nääs Fabriker was a business centre with about 65 tenants (Birgersson, et al., 1988, pp. 43-46).

However, since then, Nääs Fabriker has changed and is today owned by the Gothenburg-based property owner Ernst Rosén. Today, the factories include among others a hotel, conference, shops, baths, offices, restaurants, café, brewery, and a bakery. They organise conferences, markets, lectures, and beer tastings among other things (Nääs Fabriker, n.d.). The factories are included in a bigger area of national interest due to the high cultural values. The industrial environment with one of Sweden's oldest mechanical spinning mills shows the early industrial development in Sweden (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 2018).



Figure 13. Map of Nääs Fabriker.
 The factories are situated close to the lake Sävelängan. Tollerred is situated across the highway. Map:
 (Lantmäteriet, n.d.)



Figure 14. Employees outside the factories, 1933
 (Alingsås Museum, 2021)



Figure 15. Nääs Fabriker today

Tollered inhabitants

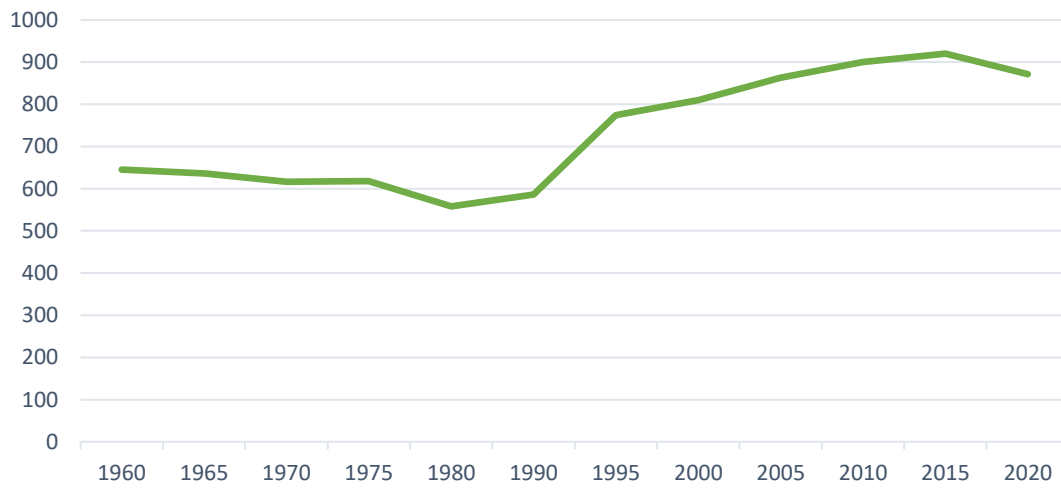


Figure 16. Inhabitants in Tollered between 1960 and 2020

Source: (SCB, 2009; SCB, 2010; SCB, 2021).

6 RESULTS: PRESENTATION OF COLLECTED DATA

In this chapter, the results of the collected data are presented. The data is based on interviews with eleven key stakeholders who in different ways have worked with place-making initiatives and the ongoing development processes at the three studied places. Moreover, the relevant content from official documents, websites, and reports concerning place-making and spatial development is presented. The chapter starts with presenting data concerning general ideas, experiences, and strategies of place-making initiatives in Västra Götaland, the county in which all three studied cases are situated, followed by a presentation of the place-specific data presented for each case.

6.1 Regional thoughts on place-making processes

In the county council Region Västra Götaland (VGR), there is a variety of ongoing efforts combining heritage and place-making work. For instance, in the politically adopted strategic document *Kulturstrategi och regional kulturplan 2020-2023* for VGR, both heritage and place-making are addressed as priority areas. The strategy contents that “*cultural heritage creates identity and uniqueness which gives attractive living environments and tourist destinations with importance for the tourism industry and place development*” (Västra Götalandsregionen, 2019, p. 32). Further, it maintains that culture, in its wider sense, is a driving force for local development and creates synergies for a sustainable society. Culture is not only relevant for democracy and artistic freedom, but also has the potential to support economic development both locally and regionally and help to strengthen VGR as a cultural region to attract businesses and tourists which gain place development (Västra Götalandsregionen, 2019, pp. 15-16).

6.1.1 Regional place-making support

Region Västra Götaland mainly assists place-making and sustainable development in two ways. An association, community, or municipality can apply for financial support to act as a process manager to initiate and manage local development projects, alternatively, VGR can serve as a coach or process support assisting the process. One of the regional officials working with regional place-making support, Respondent 10, describes how VGR representatives have noticed a disappointment from some who managed the process by themselves, due to a lack of dialog and collaboration between them and the region. Hence, the process support aims to assist communities or associations to finalise the project as it is hard to pursue place-making without earlier experience, nor is it easy to take the lead of your neighbours. The process manager often needs someone from outside with other perspectives (Respondent 10, 2022).

When implementing place-making ideas and strategies, the region usually focuses on small places, usually in rural areas. If the place is too big or is based on administrative borders (such as entire municipalities), the risk is a shortage of sense of place or belonging among the inhabitants. Usually, communities or associations at the places apply for support. Local initiatives give better prospects for successful projects, than municipally driven initiatives. However, VGR usually asks the municipality to participate as the associations and the municipality need to collaborate locally (Respondent 10, 2022). Quite many of the concerns raised in dialogues with communities are a municipal matter, and thus need to be overseen by the municipal representatives. Respondent 10 underlines the importance of the whole community taking part in dialogues and workshops, but additionally raises that it's not possible to control who is participating. It is important that the dialogue on place development doesn't replace other dialogues the municipality has with its

citizens (Respondent 10, 2022). Locally there must be a group of people steering the project, and it is a challenge to know whose voices are being represented. Nevertheless, it is crucial to involve those with a capacity to influence the development, e.g., civil associations, local businesses, property owners, or the municipality (Respondent 10, 2022).

The official at the subregion of Borås¹, respondent 11, also contends the importance of place-making based in the local community. You cannot come from outside and develop a place. Although a community might need professional help, the initiative and commitment must come from inside a community (Respondent 11, 2022). They offer help to places that municipalities around the subregion have lifted. Respondent 11 maintains that there are challenges regarding external help for locally led place-making initiatives. Partly as it is only those who contact the region that get help, partly as not all local actors know whom to contact within the public organisation. It can lead to frustration among local actors when trying to communicate with the region or the municipality but does not reach the right public officials. Places that understand the official organisations automatically have benefits (Respondent 11, 2022).

Both VGR and the Subregion of Borås have been involved in the place-making development projects in two of the cases, Rydal and Limmared.

6.1.2 The use of heritage in place-making processes

In VGR's strategic report *Kulturmiljö 2030* cultural heritage values are emphasised as a resource for development in society and should be handled with equal importance as other societal interests in both comprehensive and detailed planning (Västra Götalandsregionen, n.d., p. 8). Cultural heritage is also considered a resource for local place development as well as for sustainable development (ibid. p.9-10).

The regional official at VGR emphasises how place-making based on cultural heritage can be understood in two ways. First, if one understands cultural heritage in a wide sense, as the place's preconditions, then all place-making is based on heritage and identity. Second, if one understands cultural heritage in a narrower sense, i.e., as heritage values, it influences all the same. Thus, both ways of understanding and approaching cultural heritage in place-making contexts matter significantly for the place's development, according to respondent 10. The official contends that it's often the mental understanding of who you are that limits your thoughts on what is possible. This mental barrier is evident in many industrial villages, where the self-image as abandoned can obstruct the development (Respondent 10, 2022).

Respondent 10 also maintains that it is strikingly often the catalyst for place-making is a cultural environment or an individual empty building. The environment often has a distinct character in need of new use, though not always acknowledged as a heritage site. Accordingly, especially industrial sites then suit the purpose as the premises are big and in need of tenants. For the community, a huge premise gives enormous possibilities that are not possible in smaller buildings (Respondent 10, 2022).

There are seldom conflicts between conservation strategies and development ideas at the site, according to the experience of respondent 10. However, there are examples where place-making processes have been disrupted by e.g., the County Administrative Board because of protective regulations of listed buildings or an area surrounding the building. This sometimes inhibits the

¹ Västra Götaland consist of four 'subregions' or sub-regional local authority associations, of which the subregion of Borås (Boråsregionen) is part, and consists of eight municipalities including both Mark and Tranemo.

possibility to reuse the buildings and hence the ideas for local development. The interviewed regional official maintains that the conservation sector sometimes has difficulty working with development matters. Further, development is a charged word and by many associated with exploitation, which is connected to new constructions for external users, potentially diminishing the expressions of cultural heritage value at the site (Respondent 10, 2022).

6.1.3 Opportunities and limitations

The rural context carries many positive possibilities in place-making. Often the whole community participates in the local development and are happy about the initiatives. Further, there is an evident wish to help from local inhabitants, an advantage for the place-making process (Respondent 11, 2022).

There are also several challenges regarding place-making and rural development. According to Respondent 10, the biggest challenge in place-making is to continuously maintain the development process, particularly following the end of funding and process support. VGR, therefore, emphasise *organisation* in their support to give the best prospects for continuous work. The place-making is always very dependent on single individuals to push the process forward, something that is hard to evade. The challenge is to create a group of people big enough to survive even if one of them disappears (Respondent 10, 2022).

One of the founders of *International Weaving Center* in Rydal, respondent 2 (see next section) has throughout their career worked with several place-making projects. Respondent 2 shares the view that one of the greatest challenges for a successful implementation of these initiatives is the dependence on individuals and their continuous commitment. There have been several cases where key persons have been replaced, which consequently has changed the route of the process, especially if someone with responsibilities such as budget etc. leaves. Vital aspects to support are locally based stakeholders, strong collaborations, and a mutual vision. The vision must be clear and maintained throughout the process, even if the project initiatives at times run poorly. *“Place-making processes are never going from a to b. It always goes up and down”* (Respondent 2, 2022).

Some challenges of rural place-making processes are the difficulty of getting financial support outside larger urban areas, as well as the lack of consistent and functioning communications or commuting possibilities. There are also challenges regarding rural development within the municipality because of more practical budget-centred reasons. In such cases, regional finances can be a supplement in helping smaller municipalities to do place-making projects outside the main town. The official at the Subregion of Borås maintains that communities in smaller villages outside the main town almost always experience themselves as “forgotten” by the municipality (Respondent 11, 2022).

6.2 Rydal

6.2.1 Place-making process

The studied place-making process in Rydal is the ongoing work on reusing the old mill as well as the attempts to create space for different businesses, activities, and visitors in the premises. The place-making process has been ongoing with varied intensity ever since the first start of reusing parts of the old factory and associated buildings and adapting them to new uses in the 1980s. Since then, the focus on how to develop the place and what to use the facilities for has shifted. Different stakeholders have made attempts and supported projects to develop the site.

To preserve the factory and the memory of the textile production, some of the former factory employees, who at the time served as local politicians, proposed for a museum at the site in the 1980s (Respondent 1, 2022). Between the 1980s and early 2000s, the established museum and the still running textile production shared premises. Around 2004, the last manufacturing ended, and Mark municipality then bought the old mill through their real estate company MFAB (Marks Fastighet AB). The museum rents a large part of the property and has been and is still a central nave in the development of Rydal. Respondent 1, employed at the museum, has seen the ongoing processes of reusing and developing the site and the whole village. For them, their focus on the public activities using culture, art, and heritage to develop the village is central (Respondent 1, 2022).

Since 2004, the place-making process and reuse of the old mill has shifted and have had several tenants and uses of the mill. MFAB is the one setting the conditions and is the driving force in the development of the place and the premises. The chairman of MFAB, respondent 3, describes how the use of the facilities has not been without difficulties since the municipality bought the site almost 20 years ago. There were plans to close down the real estate company and sell the facilities. However, due to severe oil contaminations at the north end of the estate, the property has been unsalable. Until recently, the municipality hence made little effort in trying to develop the site. But in 2021, the conditions changed:

“Last year the municipal assembly decided to stop stifling us. And it somehow became the first step to restart and work in a completely new way. Before it was basically just to keep it alive. One can say that it has been a rebirth 2021 in that context” (Respondent 3, 2022).



Figure 17. The northeast façade of the old spinning mill.

MFAB have not really had a strategic plan on what kind of tenants or businesses they wish to attract. In recent years, they have launched the concept of Rydal's Business Center to show the wide area of use and to attract various kinds of tenants. Today there is a wide range of tenants even though the museum and conference occupy the largest part of the facility.

There have been several projects in the premises focusing on textile heritage and crafting. Between 2009 and 2011, there were attempts to create space for small textile businesses and residences for artists in Rydal through the project *Design med Omtanke* (Design with care) and *Rydal Design Center*. The museum employee describes how the idea was to build a learning place and exhibition space for textile design. Rydal was to be the centre for entrepreneurs, creators, scientists, businesses, artists, and innovators (Rydal Design Center, 2011). The project thus aimed for place development based on the textile heritage. In the local newspaper *Hallands Nyheter* 2007, the project manager describes how Rydal with its old factories is a treasure. Nowhere nearby is there such a preserved industrial village. He also contends that the idea is to create uses that are sustainable for a long time (Johansson, 2007). To develop Rydal, inhabitants in the village and the whole municipality were invited to participate, and the work continued with focus groups with different themes (Nilsson, 2011, p. 178). Yet, the project ended after only three years when the funding ended. There were many good ideas and attempts that were put in archives (Respondent 1, 2022).

The chairman of MFAB describes how the attempts with small textile businesses did not work, much due to the challenges in getting the business to financially sustain. Respondent 3 holds that the project possibly would have been more successful with a project manager having a strategic and systematic view of the facilities. The chairman also maintains how it maybe could be more successful today, in the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic (Respondent 3, 2022).

One of the tenants today is *International Weaving Center Sjuhärad* (IWC), a key stakeholder in Rydal's development focusing on the long history of textile heritage. Respondent 2 is one of the founders of the association and has a long experience of working with regional development and textile heritage in Sjuhärad, as well as place-making processes in other villages and towns. Before starting IWC, respondent 2 worked on a Leader-project in collaboration with the museum in Rydal. When the Leader-project ended in 2015, the involved people discussed creating a platform for the textile heritage in the Sjuhärad region, which turned into the association International Weaving Center. They started renting the premises in Rydal about 1,5 years ago but used the conference already in 2017/18 for meetings and cafés (Respondent 2, 2022). On their website, they describe their vision of creating a destination with activities such as workshops, seminars, and try-out meetings with different development projects in collaboration with universities and corporations (Internationellt Vävcenter Sjuhärad, n.d.).

The association has worked with concepts such as "weaving atelier" and "meeting-point" to create spaces for discussion and exchange. Today they have weaving cafés, courses, and workshops, all usually fully booked (Respondent 2, 2022). The events have continuously gone well after the COVID-19 pandemic. The association wants to help Rydal to be an exciting creative meeting-point, perhaps start 'micro factories' or develop the use of their atelier. They also wish to collaborate with the restaurant in the managers director's house, the museum, and the conference. Now, they participate in the BeCULTOUR project as well as in collaborations with nearby associations in other villages and towns (Respondent 2, 2022).

Overall, in Rydal there are several ongoing projects focusing on art, culture, and heritage. For instance, there is an annual contemporary circus festival (*Nycirkusfestival Rydal*) with both

international and regional artists who collaborates with the museum and uses the premises and other sites around Rydal (Marks kommun, 2022). The festival has chosen Rydal for its buildings and cultural environment, and everything is locally based and associated. Further, the International Weaving Center, Rydal's Museum, and Nycirkusfestival Rydal collaborates within the project *Art Center Sjuhärad* with Boy konsthall in Bollebygd, and Drömfabriken in Uddebo.

Rydal is at the moment part of an EU project called BeCULTOUR studying cultural tourism as part of place development (Marks kommun, 2022). BeCULTOUR is an 'official' place-making project in collaboration with VGR. The project hosted a workshop in which several local actors, municipal employees, local inhabitants, and regional officials participated in. One of the themes of the day was how to develop Rydal in the future. During the workshop there were numerous ideas about how to develop the focus on art and crafting in Rydal, and particularly textile and ceramics were lifted as local craft traditions. Some suggested developing a cultural centre, residence for artists, courses etc. Many suggested an increased focus on nature and the possibility to hike and using the forest and Viskan for recreation. Several of the participants raised the need for more bus services, cycle lanes, the possibility of a supermarket etc. Especially cycle lanes towards Kinna were highlighted as particularly important for the village's future. The need for more public transport and other kinds of transport communications are also raised by several of the interviewees as vital for the continuous development of Rydal.

6.2.2 Use of heritage

In Rydal, both tangible and intangible industrial heritage are used and activated in the place-making process.

The textile heritage is a pervasive theme throughout the place-making process as well as within the old spinning mill and its use. The museum focuses its exhibitions on the textile heritage of Rydal and the municipality. By showing the spinning machines, the production phases, as well as the working conditions, they highlight various aspects of the local industrial history (Respondent 1, 2022). Several of the tenants focus on textile and handicrafts as well, e.g., the International Weaving Center and the handicraft shop.

The tangible and intangible industrial heritage of textile and handicrafts is hence used by several stakeholders. For instance, International Weaving Center aims to "build a platform for weaving and textile heritage" (Respondent 2, 2022) in the Sjuhärad region, and to pass on and develop the art and handicraft of weaving (Internationellt Vävcenter Sjuhärad, n.d.). At the moment, they are part of a Leader-project called *Vävkultur* (weaving culture) with the intention to raise the unique heritage and traditions in Sjuhärad, develop the craft, as well as strengthen both the association and the community in Rydal (Leader Sjuhärad, 2019).

Besides the machinery and spaces associated with handicraft, the preservation and reuse of the old mill is a clear use of tangible heritage. The exterior of the old mill is legally protected both as a listed building and as a national interest for cultural heritage, but within the premises, there have been quite many modifications throughout the years. Especially when establishing the conference hall in the 1990s, many alterations were made:

"Then they removed the industrial character. It lost its identity completely. [...] in our exhibition halls there haven't been much done. We have been fighting to keep the roofs and the pillars. But in the other premises that are for rent, they have made massive changes. It is hard to feel that you are in an industrial building". (Respondent 1, 2022)

For instance, an architect added anthroposophical colours that had not been there before the establishment of the conference hall (Respondent 1, 2022).

Alterations have been done several times throughout the years, and today there are ongoing adaptations for a new tenant. MFAB continuously adapts the interior for new uses, for instance by building new inner walls or adapting the premises for modern standards (Respondent 3, 2022). The museum has an interest in the preservation of the environment, and hence keeps an eye on changes. The last discussion was when the new tenant needed new bigger ventilation in the facade, which after discussions instead ended up replacing one of the windows to save the facade (Respondent 1, 2022).

There are challenges regarding reuse. The spinning mill has been rebuilt and expanded several times, leading to surprises and specific adaptations for MFAB today. When changing the exterior, MFAB communicates with the County Administrative Board or the municipality. The collaboration and understanding work well according to the chairman. And even though the mill has unique challenges, the protection standards are not regarded as a problem for MFAB, rather the heritage values are seen as an asset. For instance, the newly established tenant, a research company, renting a large part of the of spinning mill chose Rydal due to the unique characteristics of the place:

“The new tenants, the research company, when they decided to be at Rydal it was because of this type of building, and where you have to improvise on how to find solutions” (Respondent 3, 2022).



Figure 18. Spinning machines exhibited at Rydal's Museum.

In the 1990s the spinning machines were threatened to be discarded, so the museum kept them for continued display

Although there is an absence of strategic plans for Rydal and the use of heritage in the municipality, there is a *Municipal plan for attractiveness* from 2015, lifting heritage as something vital in attraction. The positive image of Mark is described as the amazing nature, the cultural history, the corporate culture, and all people living and working (Marks kommun, 2015a). They express a wish to develop the textile- and design sector connected to a strong place brand. To develop the plan, place branding assignments with municipal officials were made. Several aspects of Mark that are highly connected to Rydal were raised, such as Rydal's museum, the long textile history and culture, the textile crafts, the many local artists, the possibility to develop the cultural heritage, etc (Marks kommun, 2015b).

While the environment is considered beautiful and has high heritage values, several of the respondents raise the importance of seeing the place through different lenses. Whilst it is the nice and aesthetically beautiful heritage we wish to preserve, there is a dark side to it, which can be seen in Rydal:

“And then we look at the lovely brick factories and beautiful Rydal, oh how fantastic and aesthetically pleasing and then we forget that an employer killed an eleven-year-old there in the 19th century because he thought he worked too slowly. It is a risk with that exotification of cultural heritage” (Respondent 11, 2022).

There have also been discussions with the local ‘byalag’ (the village association) on how to use Rydal without destroying it, and the importance of seeing the place as a living village and not a museum. “*It is their living place, we have to create those conditions for our visitors as well, [...] people live here, so there must be a respect for that*” (Respondent 1, 2022).



Figure 19. The old spinning mill to the right and the ‘new’ factory in front.



Figure 20. The managing director's house, today a restaurant.

6.2.3 Collaborations

When asking about the collaboration and shared vision with the municipality in general, all respondents raise the difficulties and lack of investment in Rydal from the rest of the municipality organisation and the politicians.

According to the museum employee, there is sometimes an absence of collaboration between the museum and the rest of the municipal organisation. There is no active planning in Rydal of which respondent 1 is aware. About ten years ago, the municipality had an employee working with cultural planning, however, Rydal was never used as a location for that. The museum employee suggests that due to them having their office in Rydal, they miss the everyday talk in the municipal building which otherwise help to establish relationships and collaboration. Another reason might be Rydal's geographical location in the north of the municipality. Respondent 1 describes the conflict between them being a creative organ and the municipality as an administrative organisation. The municipality lack understanding of what they do and their possibilities. They even have trouble marketing the importance of the museum to the local committee, although there are no other places in competition with Rydal within the municipality, and the museum is one of their most important destinations (Respondent 1, 2022).

Respondent 2 describes how there have been attempts in developing Rydal, yet the development tends to get stuck:

“It never lifted in Rydal, it is fascinating. Why are there blockages? I think the potential is enormous. It is a deadlock in Rydal or Mark's municipality”
(Respondent 2, 2022)

Respondent 2 has especially seen this during the last ten years, and how the municipality has become increasingly rejective. Somehow, Mark has gone from promoting the textile heritage work to neglecting it, in an opposite direction compared to its neighbour Borås. Respondent 2 describes

how one of the former Municipal Chief Executive denied them help when they presented ideas for Rydal's development, as they were not allowed to precede the queue and a potato storage in another village was next in line to be marketed. "*She wanted ownership of all projects, which killed all enthusiasm*" (Respondent 2, 2022). Overall, it is easier to establish relationships and cooperation with other local stakeholders in Rydal, than collaborate with Mark municipality. Some aftermaths of earlier officials are still affecting the work, and the local committee is somewhat difficult (Respondent 2, 2022).

The lack of investment in Rydal is also described by MFAB. For instance, there are already adopted detailed development plans for new houses but for some reason not built yet. A reason could be the absence of local politicians from Rydal; hence no one is an 'ambassador' in the municipal assembly (Respondent 3, 2022).

The museum employee describes how it locally sometimes can be difficult to create a shared image of the future and the possibilities of the place. Local inhabitants and former employees at the factory are keen to protect the industrial heritage and care about the development, however, sometimes with trouble seeing what to use the facilities for, and how the buildings can be reused and developed for something creative or innovative. It is hard to connect the word reuse to reality. For many locals, this is still the old workplace. Respondent 1 experiences this among the municipal politicians in general as well. Many have their origins in the textile industry. And although there are many innovative businesses around Mark, they do not think in terms of transformation and reuse.

There are different views on how the place should develop and be used in the future, and all respondents raise the somehow conflicting views on what to focus on in the continued development. The museum employee contends that the museum and MFAB do not always share thoughts on the use of the buildings. There is an ongoing discussion on what kind of actors or businesses there should be. At the moment, respondent 1 experiences a large focus from the property owner on getting the rent paid, rather than having public or creative activities. Consequently, as the new company establish themselves in the building, the museum and other actors' aim of being an open and public space are threatened as the new company intends to have a very sealed business (Respondent 1, 2022). This experience is confirmed by the founder of International Weaving Center, who also discuss the difficulties in sharing the same vision for a place. Respondent 2 experiences a lack of understanding of the uniqueness of Rydal, instead the focus is on income (Respondent 2, 2022).

MFAB on the other hand describes how the income from the premises enables the restoration work, keeping the building in decent shape. For many years they have had trouble renting out the premises and with the new tenant, it economically sustains. They also think that the new company goes well with Rydal's history of innovation, and hope for a nice, continued collaboration and respect for the tenant's need for closeness. The focus on creative activities is more difficult economically as businesses focusing on visitors tend to be very season-dependent (Respondent 3, 2022).

6.3 Glasets Hus

6.3.1 Place-making process

The investigated place-making process in Limmared is the development and management of Glasets Hus. Compared to Rydal, the place-making process of Glasets Hus has not been ongoing for very long. The process of developing Glasets Hus started around 2010, after many years of increasing discontent about Limmared and the declining village among the inhabitants. According to respondent 4, the initiator and manager of Glasets Hus, and former CEO at the glass factory, this started with the municipal reform in the 1970s and had been ongoing since. This image is validated by two reports created within a Leader-project 2009/2010, a project that marks the starting point for Glasets Hus. In a SWOT-analysis made in the report *Lokal plan för Limmared* around 2009, the identified weaknesses and threats for Limmared's future were the declining centre, young people moving away, no construction of new houses or flats, the difficulty to engage people locally and the risk if the glass factory would close (Limmareds byalag, n.d.). The best parts were in the report described as the closeness to nature and historical attractions, closeness to cities such as Borås and Göteborg, the still running glass factory and the [former] glass museum (Limmareds byalag, n.d.). The second report, a pilot study on how to develop Limmared raised a then negative and discontent tendency among the inhabitants, a notion that it was better before, and competitive thinking towards especially Tranemo (Styrgruppen för Limmared 2015, n.d.).

Within the Leader-project, the manager of Glasets Hus was asked to produce ideas, and thus formed a group of people who for six months worked with this. Respondent 4 was determined to create something unusual and outstanding, not just another garden or bridge. It was obvious to build something upon the glass heritage, accordingly the result was to create a house dedicated to glass, 'Glasets Hus', with museum and glasswork (Respondent 4, 2022). The manager most likely is the most central stakeholder in the development and management of Glasets Hus.

The pilot study describes the aim of creating a 'glass centre' (further developed in the next section). Furthermore, the aim was to improve the outdoor environment with a new travelling centre in Limmared, something that many inhabitants wished for, as well as creating a strategy for Limmared's brand, and hence how to market Limmared both internally and externally. The idea was to strengthen the whole municipality by creating a place for all communities to use. Internally the intention was to rebrand the image of the village to break the community's negative image of Limmared (Styrgruppen för Limmared 2015, n.d.).

To finance the project, the manager of Glasets Hus contacted the executive sub-committee at the municipality and asked for 20 million SEK. The committee was shocked but did not reject. And after lengthy discussions between the municipality and the project group they agreed to give the money. The house was built at municipally owned land next to the railway. There was already a detailed-development plan permitting the building which facilitated the project. Glasets Hus is today owned by the municipality with the association *Kultur 1740* as tenants (Respondent 4, 2022).

To build Glasets Hus the project group invited locals for a first meeting. They created an invitation with the sketched house asking if people wished to help, and they hoped for about 30 people to show up. But when they arrived at the meeting, there were more than 600 people present. The participants signed up with names, their competences, and potential number of working hours. And in the end of the night, they had more than 3 000 volunteer hours. In total, the construction cost landed at 19 million SEK, however with a value of 30 million SEK. And in total there were 15 000 volunteer hours with up to 20-30 people working during weekends. Many local companies helped without profit (Respondent 4, 2022). Today, they have more than 100 000 visitors per year.



Figure 21. The 'glass park', built in 2019.

One of the biggest challenges is the continued management of Glasetts Hus. The manager is running it voluntarily, which conceivably is a key to success as all volunteers see the manager's commitment and work. But what happens when the manager leaves? Is it possible to continuously have volunteers helping in the everyday management? The manager describes an important change to this a few years ago when several of the younger inhabitants signed up to help. They had together discussed all the advantages Glasetts Hus gave them in both a community, a meeting-place, something to be proud of, and a rising value of the town. And when seeing this, they wished to give something back. This led to both numerous new volunteers, and a new park behind the house intended for especially children. Today Glasetts Hus in total have about 140 volunteers and 12 employees. As there are so many volunteers, many of them only work a few hours a year. According to the manager, this is one of the secrets and the curse in running an association. The more people you are, the easier it is to attract new people. But the risk is that a rather a small group of people are doing everything until they cannot manage anymore (Respondent 4, 2022).

The municipal employee, respondent 5, confirms this challenge. The employee describes the difficulty in creating an organisation strong enough without the manager. Many of the key persons in the association are older. To create a sustainable management there are discussions to employ a manager in the future. But Glasetts Hus must have a functioning organisation as the municipality does not have the fundings or resources to run Glasetts Hus themselves.

Respondent 4 describes the difficulties in running a place with so many volunteers. Respondent 4 experiences the time as executive manager at the glass factory as easier even though there were considerably more employees. But employees are obliged to do their job. With volunteers on the other hand, you cannot demand anyone to work as people do it without payment. Then as a

manager, you must use other instruments in the leadership. They highlight the community and the positive outcome of being part of Glasets Hus. For instance, in November there will be a huge volunteer party.

When people ask how to copy Limmared, the manager highlights two vital aspects. First, there must be incitement locally to participate. In Limmared, a driving force was the desire for revenge. People remembered the glory days and wished to change the current image of a village in decay. Second, there must be a locally based person who create the incitement and carry it through. This cannot be done by an outsider. In old industrial villages, there are usually suitable people knowing the place and its inhabitants (Respondent 4, 2022).

6.3.2 Use of heritage

Glasets Hus has a clear connection to Limmared's heritage as a glass town. The whole building activates both intangible and tangible aspects of this, something that has been vital since start. The pilot study from the project's beginning describes the main proposal for a new development, to build a museum or centre for glass and craftsmanship to engage and raise the whole municipality. The aim was to create a positive development and brand with the glass in focus. The idea had the proud tradition of glass works and unique collection of modern glass in focus, accordingly "*a centre for industrial history, art and cultural heritage*" (Styrgruppen för Limmared 2015, n.d., p. 3). The building was planned to include a permanent use with industrial history, glass craft, glass art, and other types of handcrafts, and with a complement of an exhibition hall, conference, shop, and restaurant. Role models were *Nordiska akvarellmuseet* and *Pukeberg Kultur och Design* (Styrgruppen för Limmared 2015, n.d.).



Figure 22. The glass museum.



Figure 23. Limmared's glasswork in the 1960s.

The shape of a bottle used for the entrance of Glasets Hus (see figure 8) is traceable as a symbol used at the glasswork, both in the old silo and the sign (Glasets Hus, n.d.).

In the report made by the byalag, the wish for a museum and glasswork are evident in their vision 20 years ahead. The hope is for instance a living and centre, a working glass museum, and a better outdoor environment (Limmareds byalag, n.d.). Both reports based their material on workshops and meetings with local inhabitants and businesses (Limmareds byalag, n.d.; Stygruppen för Limmared 2015, n.d.).

The place-making process' founding in heritage is also evident for respondent 5, employed at Tranemo municipality. Respondent 5 contends how the very idea of developing the town through Glasets Hus was based on heritage and the maintenance of the glass collection that should be exhibited for visitors.

“So it is undeniably that [the industrial heritage] which has been kept and which has developed Limmared to what it is today. It is a very good example” (Respondent 5, 2022).

Glasets Hus is thought through in every detail to grip the spirit of a glass factory with traditional craftsmanship, visible pipes and electricity, and names that remind visitors on renowned people in Limmared. The entrance is formed as a huge bottle which is traceable in the glass factory as well (see figure 23). Everything retells and reminds of local history and heritage. People in Limmared have both stories of relatives working at the factory for generations, as well as documentation and pictures. So, to create the environment was not difficult, rather it was hard to incorporate it all:

“And there are very much documentation. All inhabitants in Limmared have [stories], grandpa has worked there, and everyone has been there as kids, and they have heard all the stories. There was so much documentation to create the

environment of. It was no challenge, but rather hard to incorporate it all” (Respondent 4, 2022).

According to the manager of Glaset Hus, it was never an option to use one of the existing buildings to contain Glaset Hus. As the factory is still running, there are not obvious old industrial premises to use. Although there are some other buildings with a long history connected to the glass production, the manager contends that it would not stand out as much as they wished to, and it wouldn't have met the purpose to develop the community. The intention to preserve the industrial heritage would still have been fulfilled (Respondent 4, 2022).

Above all, it is the glasswork and museum that preserve the glass heritage. In the glasswork, 1-2 glass blowers work 6-7 days a week. Many of them are artist from the region, but sometimes they invite foreign glass blowers as well. As a visitor, you can watch them work or try to blow something yourself. The glasswork is connected to the museum and become part of the exhibition. They also have a small shop with made glasses (Respondent 4, 2022).

6.3.3 Collaborations

Respondent 5 describes how the municipal officials initially were not prepared for the project. The communication during the construction phase was mainly between the association and the politicians. But in the last years, better communication and collaboration have developed between officials and the association (Respondent 5, 2022).

When respondent 5 started as the manager of the culture department at Tranemo municipality, the department rethought their wishes and pride in Glaset Hus. They realised the need for some kind of agreement to continuously run Glaset Hus sustainably, otherwise, the glasswork and exhibition hall were threatened. The municipality and the association then created an agreement called IOP [idéuret offentlig partnerskap], a deal for collaboration between the public sector and associations with non-profit social purposes. The idea is to keep a distance between the two parts however with a shared vision and complete transparency in the running of the cultural centre. The municipal official maintains the collaboration aspect of a three-way partnership between the public, private, and civil society. The municipality contributes with funding, but the association decides how it ought to be used. That is part of the agreement, that the municipality does not interfere or push the management (Respondent 5, 2022).

The municipal employee maintains the democratic aspects of Glaset Hus, how the whole idea and process is a good representation of a functioning democracy and involvement of the civil society. According to the official, the whole municipal organisation should adjust for more collaboration with the inhabitants. Place-making cannot be done without the inhabitants, especially not in smaller villages. Respondent 5 maintains how place-making above all is relationships (Respondent 5, 2022).

In the municipal *culture strategy*, place-making (*platsutveckling*) is raised as one of five strategic areas to prioritise. It contends that “*culture gives a base to develop attractive meeting-points, inspiring public environment and to clarify Tranemo municipality's character and history*” (Tranemo kommun, 2017, p. 6). The aim is also to strengthen the civil society and the dialogue between them and the municipality. Today, the municipality tries to have close collaboration with the inhabitants, and for the municipal employee, the involvement of the civil society is at the highest priority. Although when Glaset Hus was planned, the dialogue was held by and within the community, without the involvement of the municipality (Respondent 5, 2022).

The manager of Glasetts Hus describes the differences between the corporate world and the municipal organisation. As the former CEO, respondent 4 is used to the industrial reality of competition and being listed on the stock market. The municipal organisation is slow, and it is hard to even get an answer to emails. The construction phase was done very independently from the municipality. The crucial part in the building process was the collaboration in Limmared. Although they had to fulfil all requirements as the building is municipally owned (Respondent 4, 2022). The municipal employee however contends that the municipality has been quite involved:

“Yes the municipality has [been involved in the development of Limmared]. If you ask the association, they think that they have done it without involvement from the municipality. It is just that the municipality has built the house with taxpayer’s money, and it is the municipality that pays for the agreement. What we have agreed that we are going to do, that is primarily money” (Respondent 5, 2022).

Still, the municipality feels gratitude towards the association for running the place, as they do not have the resources themselves.

6.4 Nääs Fabriker

6.4.1 Place-making process

The place-making process of Nääs Fabriker has been ongoing ever since the closure of the industrial manufacture in late the 1970s, and similar to Rydal, the reuse of the industrial site has aimed to transform the place from abandoned to thriving. But unlike Rydal and Glasetts Hus, the development over the last 30 years has mainly been affected by one private company. As already discussed in chapter 5, the early process of reusing the premises took place in the 1980s, with the involvement of both the municipality, Chalmers university, and local companies and inhabitants. The attempts were moderate and slow, focusing on informal and creative gradual changes as the facility was developed and new tenants joined.

One of the interviewed employees at Lerum municipality, respondent 9, describes the first years after the factory closed and the municipality decided to buy the facilities. Nääs Fabriker had been a huge employer, and the closure was undoubtedly sad for Tollerod and the whole municipality. After the closure, there were two main views within the municipality on what to do with the buildings. One side wished to save and preserve the factories, and one side expressed “*we can’t invest taxes on bricks*” (Respondent 9, 2022). Nevertheless, the preserving side triumphed leading to the municipality buying the factories without any clear plan on how to use them. The old estate is huge and there were some difficult years when they tried to solve appropriate use and funding. Among others, an education centre was established (Respondent 9, 2022). This is also described in the report from the 1980s (Birgersson, et al., 1988). The place was then called *Nääs Fabriker företagscenter* (business centre). From the beginning, the focus was on business development, and the aim for Nääs Fabriker was a “*centre for small industries, crafting, and education*” with a variety of tenants with small businesses or creative activities (ibid. p.126-127).

Nääs Fabriker was nevertheless bought by Ernst Rosén in the 1990s, a real estate company in Gothenburg that today is the most central stakeholder in the development of the area through its affiliate company Nääs Fabriker. The selling was most welcomed by the municipality, (Respondent 9, 2022). Respondent 6, the CEO at Nääs Fabriker, describes how the owner of Ernst Rosén went around the area in his car, and immediately fell for the old mill and the whole environment. Respondent 6 contends that the premises were in decay and very little had been done. They bought



Figure 24. Nääs Fabriker contains several buildings all related to the earlier textile production.

it quite cheap, however, it was not easy to run the place at first. As the place is a bit aside, it was hard to figure out how to attract visitors. And the first years they wondered whether the decision to buy the place was right (Respondent 6, 2022).

Since then, the number of visitors has slowly increased. Around 2012, a restart and massive development of the site began, as the property owner decided to increase the income. The company then rethought the target for Nääs Fabriker, with both the hotel, the office tenants, the shops, and the whole environment. In 2017 the renewal finalised and hence the present concept has only been running for about five years. In the last five years, the facility has lifted and become successful. Today, the hotel with its restaurant and conference is the biggest business. But there are also shops, cafes, and events. To run a place like this, there must be more than only a hotel (Respondent 6, 2022; Respondent 7, 2022).

The business developer at Lerum municipality describes how they today can ‘harvest’ the successful work that has been done in recent years, with enormous investments and development work. Nääs Fabriker is today one of the biggest tourist attractions in the municipality and has a brand bigger than the municipality’s own (Respondent 9, 2022).

6.4.2 Use of heritage

As the old factories are the founding of the whole facility, the tangible industrial heritage is central to the place-making process. The whole environment with the old buildings is the main attraction of the place. The CEO at Nääs Fabriker maintains that the cultural heritage is the driving force for the facility, and they cherish this highly. They have an actual history to raise and highlight:

Respondent 6: “we cherish our cultural heritage very well, one can conclude.”

Respondent 7: “That’s the carrot I think, in the whole area.”

Respondent 6: “That’s the wonderful thing about this place. It is, you know when they are creating other places or, now all hotel companies are calling their hotels a ‘destination’. [...] But then they hire a company that creates a story, plain storytelling. But we don’t have to do that. We have a real story. We just need to raise our history with the workers here, the heritage, and how they lived.”

To build up the place, they had interviews with older people who remembered the mill and relatives of the former owner and constructor of the mill. They have also collected photographs, some on display all around the area (Respondent 6, 2022) The intangible aspects of the textile heritage can be traced in several tenants focusing on textile, craft, and fashion. There are old machines and industrial tools around the premises. And each building has its original name, e.g., *Nedre Fabriken* (lower factory) or *Färgeriet* (dye-house). There is an awareness of these qualities in the company (Respondent 6, 2022).

A similar perspective is shared by the business developer at the municipality. From a tourism perspective, the cultural environment is a kind of goldmine as you do not have to invent anything. The attraction is there already. Their job is to create a living area, and it is far more easy if there already is something to build upon, a history, and involved people (Respondent 9, 2022).

And the municipality continuously aims to focus on the culture and heritage in the area. In the soon-to-be-adopted comprehensive plan for Lerum municipality, Nääs Fabriker is part of an area called *active cultural development* (aktiv kulturutveckling). The municipality aims here for careful development focusing on culture and nature experience, tourism, and local businesses (Lerums kommun, 2022). Both Nääs Fabriker and Tollerød are raised as having high heritage values and should be developed carefully with respect to the character and cultural environment.



Figure 25. All over the Nääs Fabriker small signs retell the place’s history.



Figure 26. Old workers' houses in Tollerød

There are several challenges when using old buildings. Respondent 7, the property manager, describes how they continuously discover problems and earlier construction errors. The biggest challenge is to keep the buildings functional and operational, especially the energy and heating are an issue. Overall, old brick constructions are demanding. But there is also a charm about it, and the historic buildings are such a vital part of the experience (Respondent 7, 2022).

However, the development and conservation of the site are not without conflicts. The conservation expert at Lerum municipality, respondent 8, describes the difficulties regarding Nääs Fabriker and the Swedish Planning and Building Act (PBL). According to respondent 8, the municipality has not done its job throughout the years in creating coherent material regarding heritage values at the site. There are no detailed development plan or area regulation to help the municipal officials to reassure the handling of cultural values when doing alterations at the place. Both municipal employees contend that this might be due to the municipality being so pleased about someone taking care of the buildings, hence no planning or evaluation was made at the beginning of the process. And it is quite hard to come now, declaring the need for more research material or a new detailed development plan. The conservation expert describes how the officials early in the process asked for a more thorough examination of heritage values. And the County Administrative Board has commented regarding heritage values once, stating the need for more cultural environment analysis. But for some reason, this never happened. The municipal official further contends that this is the municipality's own mistake, and that you cannot blame Nääs Fabriker. In general, it is obvious that they value their environment highly, compared to some other property owners in the municipality (Respondent 8, 2022).

As heritage does sell, being stricter regarding heritage values from the beginning would probably not have been a trouble if one would emphasise its economic values, according to the conservation

expert. But as the municipality has been so loose about it, the authentic material heritage has disappeared in many buildings.

Tollered is alone an important cultural environment and of national interest. At least out of experience from the municipal employees, one of which lives in Tollered, the inhabitants in Tollered are in general quite keen on their heritage, cherishing their unique history. This is evident in other development projects in the village, where people in dialogues with the municipality have expressed a wish to attune new houses to the environment. But whilst the village and Nääs Fabriker are part of the same area and have the same regulations due to the national interest (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 2018), it is still much harder to do changes regarding heritage values in the village compared to Nääs Fabriker, according to the conservation expert. When trying to rebuild houses in Tollered, there are usually requirements for a detailed development plan, something Nääs Fabriker evades. This is due to the earlier mentioned lack of cultural environment material (Respondent 8, 2022).

6.4.3 Collaborations

Overall, since Ernst Rosén bought the facilities, the municipality is not very involved in the development, according to Nääs Fabriker. When alterations are to be made, they must get permission and involve conservation specialists. And Nääs Fabriker experiences some of them as quite zealous. However, both respondents describe that they do not want to build a theme park, rather they appreciate the environment highly. And according to them, there is no conflict with the municipality, rather the municipality seems happy with the work they do and sees the development as something positive. Nääs Fabriker is a big employer in the area, and they have a considerable number of guests who visit and spend money in the municipality. It is something for the municipality to be satisfied with.

The municipal employees are also pleased with the collaboration; though, as Nääs Fabriker is a private company, they cannot highlight Nääs Fabriker over other similar destinations. The municipality contends that it would not be possible to run the place as a municipal facility (Respondent 9, 2022).

Further, Nääs Fabriker is part of a bigger destination area with several other places around Sävelången. By creating a bigger area of development, the municipality does not support one single destination. The municipality has tried both Leader and BID (Business improvement district) as development processes for local places. According to their experience, one must work hard for survival at the beginning of the process, enabling the different actors to collaborate. Both the inhabitants, the local business, and not least the property owners are important stakeholders. The municipality can help yet not steer the development. There is no template, and the municipality can only encourage the stakeholders to cooperate with each other (Respondent 9, 2022).

The manager at Nääs Fabriker confirms the development projects around Sävelången and other destinations in the nearby area. But according to the CEO, collaboration is not always easy, due to big differences between the places and how they are managed. For instance, there is a substantial difference in the management of Nääs Fabriker and Nääs Slott (the nearby castle and founder of the factories). Although Nääs Slott aims to be a destination they are still far behind, according to the respondents at Nääs Fabriker. There is no money to invest. This is also evident in a collaboration project both Nääs Fabriker and Nääs Slott are involved with together with some other places in the nearby area. The idea is to collaborate as one destination. However, the CEO highlights the conflict between them being commercial and private-owned, and the rest having more public responsibilities. This was for instance evident in the management of a reconstructed

steamboat. Respondent 6 describes how the others reckon that Nääs Fabriker could buy the boat. But as Nääs Fabriker does not need the boat and must think of the financial return to the owners, they aren't interested. They cannot do charity. Overall, collaboration projects such as these, including a Leader-project made a few years ago, are hard to maintain after the project has ended.

“I believe, from the Leader-projects I've been involved in, that you think too grand. Partly it is the degree of maturity of the different actors. And then one tries too much and thinks too big, so when the funding ends, one doesn't manage to keep pushing it forward. It needs to within the project be a business that manages itself. A profit otherwise it won't work.” (Respondent 6, 2022).

There are also collaborations between Nääs Fabriker and Tollered. There are many local associations and an active 'byalag', all important for the local development. One of the municipal employees lives in Tollered and describes how many inhabitants are very happy about Nääs Fabriker and see the positive benefits of tourism regarding for instance service in the village. This experience has increased over the last few years, thanks to both the byalag and better collaboration with Nääs Fabriker, as the company sees the benefits of involving the local community. This is related to the facility's openness and accessibility to the locals (Respondent 9, 2022).

Tollered has, like many other villages in the municipality, their own strong identity. The old municipal division is still present. Historically there has been an experience of being a victim and backwater to the main town of Lerum. This has now shifted and the local byalag has played a key role in changing this experience. The municipal employee describes how the fact that others visit Tollered and Nääs Fabriker, defining the area as wonderful, has helped inhabitants to see the village with pride (Respondent 9, 2022).



Figure 27. The local bakery and brewery Bröd och Malt

7 DISCUSSION: A CONSTANT SHIFTING BALANCE OF PERSPECTIVES

In this chapter, the earlier presented data will be analysed and discussed to explore how the use of heritage and collaborative approaches have impacted the place-making processes. The chapter is divided into four sections, starting with the significance of heritage and the clashing perspectives, leading to a discussion on different approaches to place-making and accordingly the need for collaboration and consensus-building.

7.1 Heritage as significant in place-making processes

The industrial heritage is by all respondents recognised as a big or even vital part of the place-making process. Although some reflect on whether all people would share this view, none of the asked stakeholders diminish the impact heritage has on the development of the place, evident from companies, property owners, municipal and regional officials, and local associations. However, they put different emphasise on how heritage affects the outcomes, and why it is important.

All cases show good examples of integrating heritage into the wider planning and development of local places, as highlighted by the HUL-recommendation, adopted by UNESCO in 2011 (UNESCO, 2011). UNESCO takes a wider viewpoint on heritage and includes not only material expressions, but also human activities such as cultural, social, and economic factors. This view on heritage is evident among the stakeholders interviewed for this thesis as well. For instance, several respondents highlight social and cultural practices of the places equally to the built environment, such as the local heritage of crafting, names, traditions, or the spirit of the village.

Heritage is also lifted in several of the analysed documents, from regional and municipal plans to local strategies. Many of the texts highlight heritage as a medium for development, attractiveness, and uniqueness. For instance, VGR's culture strategy emphasises the impact heritage has on the tourism industry and place development, implying the economic benefits of culture both locally and regionally. The instrumental use of heritage in place-making underlines a notion of heritage as a resource in sustainable development, raised by e.g., UNESCO, and Fouseki et al. (2020). Kalman (2014) describes how heritage planning has become increasingly pragmatic with more emphasis on utilitarian and instrumental benefits of heritage rather than on conservation due to cultural values. Further, this resource view highlights the notion that heritage can boost economic development, create new jobs, and an atmosphere for innovation and creativity. Hence even though heritage-led place-making implies higher costs and uncertainty, it is evident how the use of heritage is vital for the place's value, confirming that heritage-led regeneration adds value that replacement structures cannot create (Preite, 2016).

Janssen et al. (2017) describe the evolving approach to heritage in planning, emphasising the sector, factor, and vector approach. Arguably, all three approaches affect the place-making process and view on heritage in the studied cases. The sector approach, highlighting the monuments and authentic materials, is evident in Rydal as a listed building, with discussions on how to reuse the spinning mill without destroying the historical values, and in Nääs Fabriker and the absence of valid conservation analysis in the protection of material heritage. The factor approach is noticeable in the focus on attractiveness, using heritage as a part of a wider landscape and development process. In Nääs Fabriker, heritage is outspokenly recognised as an asset for profit and tourism.

The last approach, vector, emphasises a bottom-up approach and intangible heritage, evident in Limmared and the civil society's hard work in using their heritage to develop Glasets Hus. As well as in Rydal, where the emphasis on textile and crafting continuously evolves even though there have been financial difficulties. As Janssen et al. stress, none of the approaches are better than the other, and all approaches need to exist simultaneously which is evident in the cases as well.

7.2 Clashes in the perspectives on use of heritage

Looking at the three cases, one can see several uses of industrial heritage and how this is dealt with both locally and within the municipality. All three places are examples of heritage-led place-making with an adaptive reuse approach to their heritage, however, with different outcomes. Whilst Nääs Fabriker and Rydal both reuse the old factories, Glasets Hus is a newly built house nevertheless with explicit connections to both tangible and intangible industrial inheritance. As Plevoets and van Cleempoel (2019) maintains, intangible heritage can to the same extent as tangible heritage be used in adaptive reuse projects. The construction of Glasets Hus evidently materialises the glass heritage's tangible qualities in the architecture, interiors, and the exhibited glass and glasswork. Similarly, intangible qualities of the industrial epoch are highlighted in both Rydal and Nääs Fabriker, with emphasis on crafting, traditions, names, and stories.

An interesting view on the cases' approach to heritage and development is to reflect on the cases concerning Oevermann and Mieg's (2015) discussion on clashing discourses in adaptive reuse. When applying the discourses' core values to the cases, one can see an apparent emphasis on the core values of urban development discourse, such as environmental and economic value, vision, image, and development. There is an aim from the stakeholders to use and develop the sites to create a better living environment and increase the economic value. The core values of conservation discourse are evident as well, such as the material cultural values of the buildings, and their authentic expression. The architectural values of design and aesthetics are less highlighted by the respondents, although the places' architectural expression is a central aspect of the places' attraction. The three discourses' shared values of character and reuse are arguably the fundament of the studied place-making processes, confirming Oevermann and Mieg's view of these being central.

Oevermann and Mieg further highlight sub-discourses connected to the reuse of industrial sites, where for instance both conservation and urban development unite in heritage-led development, but with slightly different objectives. This is conceivably the most evident clash in the studied cases. Whilst the objective of conservation of industrial sites emphasises conservation of the environment as a testimony of the past, the objective of urban development of industrial sites emphasises the use of heritage, culture, and creative industries for development (Oevermann & Mieg, 2015, pp. 18-20). Even though the core objective of protecting the industrial sites' tangible and intangible heritage as testimony is evident in for instance the museum of Rydal, or in the exhibition of the collected glass in Glasets Hus, most stakeholders rather emphasise how these sites can be used as a resource for creative industries to raise attractiveness, environmental and economic value, and community benefits. For instance, in both reports of Glasets Hus, the glass heritage is lifted and valued as something important to preserve, yet with the purpose to raise the community and creating a positive development and brand. In Nääs Fabriker, the company cherishes and highlights its heritage and environment, but with prospects of increasing attractiveness and thus profit. Further, the economic gain from the sites has steered the management of heritage values. For instance, the official at Lerum municipality describes how the municipality historically has

been very pleased about someone using and developing the buildings, consequently neglecting the work of protecting the heritage values.

The use of industrial sites in a creative economy and to increase attractiveness can be examined with what Willim refers to as 'industrial cool' (Willim, 2008). Willim describes the need for time and mental distance for an aestheticization to be realised. Both in Rydal and Nääs Fabriker, the view on whether to reuse the factories or not has shifted throughout the years, as many inhabitants in the villages have had trouble seeing the possibilities of a new use of the factories, still seeing them as old working places or as a symbol of decrease and discontent. Further, heritage is a selling point for the places and is used as a benefit and attraction. It is noticeable how all places use their industrial heritage as what Willim calls a 'brandscape' to market each village. For instance, one employee at Lerum municipality describes how Nääs Fabriker's brand is bigger than the municipality's.

Without going deeply into the tourism perspective, one can conclude that all places aim at visitors. Willim describes how industrial sites attract tourists by being sublime, exciting, and recreational places as monuments of past times. Further, Zhou et al. (2021) maintain that tourism has become a major force in rural place-making and rural revitalisation. One of the regional officials highlights how the tourist aim can be due to our profit-seeking society, as it is easier to argue for place-making initiatives through heritage if one also receives money. And the rural location evidently has affected the studied processes, mostly in the willingness to invest in the place's development and the property value. Tourism appears nevertheless to have affected the communities positively in all cases, helping to revitalise both declining sites and traditional crafting.

The financial aspect of adaptive reuse consequently reveals yet another clash in the use of heritage. For instance, in Rydal the conflict on how to use the old spinning mill and how to make it economically sustainable is at centre. Similarly, Nääs Fabriker is profitable today however has had financial challenges throughout the years. Rossitti et al. (2021) describe how many property owners hesitate about reuse projects due to financial uncertainty, and there are many risks in the investments in older industrial sites. When reusing industrial sites, it is particularly apparent that contaminations affect the development. The contamination in Rydal has seemingly affected the reuse of the site. The chairman describes how this makes the property unsalable as a new property owner would be financially responsible for cleansing, making the estate absurdly expensive. Local politicians have hence historically been less content about owning the factory, which has somehow stagnated the place-making process of reusing the site for new purposes.

Approaching heritage as a resource to develop sustainable places is in line with the idea that heritage is an active agent in transformation (Fouseki, et al., 2020) and with the idea that heritage is about designing the future (Harrison, 2015). Fouseki et al. state that heritage is not a victim of change, and rather one must abandon the traditional notion of protecting authentic heritage. Seeing this in relation to Oevermann and Mieg's discourses, the emphasis on heritage as a resource for change comes close to the urban planning discourse's core values and objectives. A resource focus goes in line with sustainable development and gives a better foundation to both sense of place and liveable cities, especially if compared to the tabula rasa method raised by Dahl (2020). Yet, some awareness and discussion on what values one risks losing when leaving the authenticity claim should help to strike a balance between conservation and transformation, as all perspectives are needed.

7.3 Varying approaches: from bottom-up to top-down place-making

It is important to underline what for instance Preite (2016) or Kalman (2014) are stressing, that conservation today is just one of several fields in a multi-task system of intervention programmes, and that the conservation aims must orient between economic interest, regeneration programmes and safeguarding of historical values. Thus, to gain a better understanding of heritage-led place-making processes, it is important to discuss the methods and difficulties in the place-making process besides the use of heritage, as this affects the overall development.

The HUL-recommendation advocates a bottom-up approach to the use of heritage in urban development, something underlined by several authors including e.g. Akbar and Edelenbos (2021) and Sofield et al. (2017). However, as Lew (2017) or Healey (2006) highlight, a collaborative approach to place-making with multiple stakeholder involvement gives a higher capacity in place-making than strict bottom-up approaches. Furthermore, several studies show a better outcome of collaborative planning than strict bottom-up or top-down processes. A collaborative approach further has appeared to be better at striking a balance between tangible and intangible aspects (Akbar & Edelenbos, 2021).

Looking at the studied cases, all three place-making processes have collaborative features. This is for instance evident in Glasets Hus, where the civil society, the local companies, and the municipality all have collaborated both economically and spatially with the local development. Although the process started as bottom-up place-making where the local community (through an association) took their development into their own hands, the involvement of the municipality and private companies were essential, particularly financially.

Näås Fabriker on the other hand takes a more top-down place-making approach with high economic capacity. This has nevertheless shifted throughout the years. At first, when Näås Fabriker was municipally owned, the place-making attempts had a more collaborative style focusing on small step-by-step interventions in cooperation with tenants and stakeholders. The shift from bottom-up to top-down place-making is not unusual, as successful place-making tends to attract investors and external interest, as highlighted by e.g., Lew (2017). Although there still are many smaller companies working at Näås fabriker, the development of the place is today managed by one company steering the overall development.

In Rydal, one of the biggest challenges is the collaboration with the municipality. Whilst the wish for a more extensive development exists among both local businesses, the museum, associations, and inhabitants, they experience a lack of involvement from the municipality. And where Glasets Hus managed to involve the whole community to take matters into their own hands, Rydal still has trouble rising, something experienced by several of the respondents.

Thus, although there are evident collaborative features in the studied cases, there are problems concerning e.g., communication and vision. For instance, one of the regional officials describes the challenge for local communities to know whom to contact. Similarly, the manager of Glasets Hus describes his somewhat frustration with the municipal organisation for being slow and inaccessible. As Franklin and Marsden highlight, this is one of the major reasons for the disconnection between communities and professionals, the separation of networks. Several of the respondents highlight the importance of both being accessible working together with the community, helping with the public organisation structures and knowing where to ask, as well as having a better understanding of the local knowledge and structures. For instance the employee at Tranemo municipality,

respondent 5, highlights that the municipal organisation and its officials are not adapted for collaboration with the inhabitants, something that must change according to the employee. This is in line with what Friedmann argues, place-making can only be done by the inhabitants, and it is the planners' job to engage and establish relations (Friedmann, 2010).

Franklin and Marsden (2015) further highlight how one can overcome the problem of disconnection, by letting an outside professional work closely with the community during the place-making process. VGR's place-making support is arguably a response to this. Their role as process support can help communities to steer the development process and increase communication. VGR's experiences of disappointment from communities that only received funding further underline the challenge of collaboration and separate networks.

Nääs Fabriker describes how they always need to increase the returns for their owners and highlights that they cannot do charity work even though they acknowledge and appreciate the efforts made. The commercial focus of both heritage and place-making processes is highlighted by several studies including Lew (2017), Xie (2015), Willim (2008), and Porter (2015), underlining how a commercial focus on heritage engages with image and brand and risk to diminish complexities, showing a 'frozen' image to attract visitors and investment. However, as several of the respondents highlight, due to a private company buying and developing the site, the buildings are in use and continuously developed. Nääs Fabriker has economic muscles and does not have the same issues regarding funding as both Glaset Hus and Rydal struggle with. Thus, a commercial focus utilising heritage is not negative as such, it can even be a positive force as it enables the protection and development of important local heritage when no public funding is available.

7.4 Non-straight development and need for consensus

The above discussion of bottom-up, collaborative, and top-down approaches to place-making shows the uneven and constantly shifting reality of place-making processes. This is especially evident in Rydal. Looking at the process ten years ago, an aspiring optimism is observed in the work with Rydal Design Center and the *Design med omtanke*-project. However, today the efforts made ten years ago are in archives and even though new attempts are made, there is an experience of difficulty to get a shared vision and recognition from the municipality and property owner.

Several respondents have made similar observations in some of the explicit place-making projects done, such as the Leader-projects or the place-making support run by the region. One of the regional officials highlights the difficulty of continuously pursuing place-making initiatives over time, especially when the first phase and financial support have ended. Often the place-making depends on a few vital individuals pursuing the process. There is usually a critical mass of people needed.

Both seen in the collected data as well as highlighted by several of the respondents is the need for a shared vision among the stakeholders. Healey (2006) highlights the need for consensus-building in collaborative planning to build a strong and shared strategy for future development. Similarly, Akbar and Edelenbos argue that the key to successful place-making is a strong vision and champions within the community in close collaboration with local authorities and NGOs (Akbar & Edelenbos, 2021). In Glaset Hus, there have been a clear vision and consensus between both key stakeholders, civil society, local companies, politicians, and eventually officials at the municipality. The prosperity to change the downward spiral gathered the community, and much

due to the manager of Glaset Hus, they succeeded in assembling key stakeholders to finalise the construction.

A lack of consensus is perhaps one of the main reasons why Rydal has problems rising. The respondents describe an absence of political willingness in developing Rydal and difficulty in sharing a coherent view of what to strategically develop. There seems to be a great willingness and shared thought locally, but with a lack of ability to impact the development.

Healey (2006) discusses the difficulties in keeping consensus with changing conditions, stakeholders, and circumstances. A similar notion is shared by several respondents, some highlighting the dependence on individual key stakeholders in the process, others on the impact of external factors such as capital or regional planning issues such as public transport. The dependence on a few individuals in place-making processes seems to be a problem hard to solve. Healey emphasises strong and well-established agreements, which is done in for example Glaset Hus and the IOP agreement between the association and the municipality. The respondents still stress the future difficulties in running Glaset Hus if the manager leaves. The regional official working with place-making support highlights how they nowadays put more weight on organisational matters to overcome the issues of a standstill when VGR or key stakeholders leave.

Staats (2022) discusses the need for a less linear goal-oriented planning approach. She shows how VGR's place-making support aims for a vision-based place-making that is not always in line with local development. However, as seen in the results here, although the support from VGR is based on an ending project which does not follow the whole continuous process, a lack of shared understanding of future development among the stakeholders in the process can rather result in conflicting fallouts which risk accentuating distrust between different stakeholders. Nonetheless, it is important to keep the future open and continuously adapt the planning and solutions along the way, as highlighted by Fredholm (2017), and acknowledge that a place-making process never ends. A 'final' outcome is thus nothing to strive for as it undoubtedly will change on the way.

The uneven development and consensus-building moreover affect the use and reuse of heritage, as the need for consensus regarding place-making directly impacts how the key stakeholders and hence the place-making process manages and activates heritage. Concerning what Lochrie (2016) calls 'heritage custodian theory', an increased focus on personal involvement and coherence gives better prospects for long-term involvement. This further confirms how single individuals can form and drive place-making and use of heritage yet making the process vulnerable and elusive. All studied cases show proof of engaged stakeholders aiming for the best outcome, though sometimes with different views on what that is.

Conservation and adaptive reuse cannot be regarded as separate themes when dealing with conservation issues in place-making processes. As seen in this thesis, both external and internal factors are influencing this. External factors such as funding, investments, and municipal and regional planning, and internal factors such as property owners, municipal collaboration, strong local driving individuals, shared vision, etc. all affect the overall development. Whilst the use of heritage is significant in the place-making process, it is part of a larger complex situation influenced by bigger trends and developments.

8 CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis has been to explore the shifting collaborative approaches and uses of heritage and its impact on place-making processes. The results show how the tangible and intangible industrial heritage has been vital within the studied place-making processes, and how the wish to safeguard and develop local buildings and traditions has driven the outcome. Both tangible and intangible qualities seem to be of equal importance however with various emphasis in different places. Just like place-making is an ongoing process having its ups and downs, the use of heritage is an ongoing process where it is both a foundation, catalyst, and resource for development.

The results further show different levels of collaborative planning involving stakeholders such as local associations, local businesses, property owners, the municipality, and the region. These all play a vital role in forming places and their use. Still, they have different roles, some driving and other supporting. To create the best opportunities for successful place-making with its ups and downs, there is a need for consensus-building between stakeholders, both regarding the use of the place and financial matters. Without this, the development risk stagnating.

Looking at the places, it is evident how the industrial tangible and intangible heritage has been crucial in the decision to reuse the sites and for what purpose. It is decisive in what kind of activities are formed. But in the ongoing place-making process, the use of heritage becomes one of many essential factors steering the development. Rather the consensus among key stakeholders and practical issues such as funding or leading individuals seem to have a greater impact on the outcome.

Furthermore, there evidently is a somewhat conflicting viewpoint between development and conservation. Though the core values of urban development seem to have a bigger impact on the place-making process explored in this thesis. Heritage is perceived as a resource and instrument in place-making to create vivid and creative areas for both communities and visitors, which further confirms the idea that heritage is an active component in designing the future. Heritage is a dynamic and effective resource that ought to be used in sustainable development, utterly important and non-replaceable. This thesis shows how rural industrial villages can turn the local development by using adaptive reuse of industrial heritage to strengthen both the local economy and the environment. Nevertheless, a continuous discussion on how the conservation field should approach this matter without losing the awareness of safeguarding important industrial heritage would be decisive.

SVENSK SAMMANFATTNING

Denna masteruppsats studerar platsutveckling i tre bruksorter i Västra Götaland, och hur kulturarv samt nyckelaktörers samarbete påverkar platsutvecklingen.

Industrisamhället har haft en omfattande påverkan på vårt moderna landskap. Runtom i Sverige finns det många bruksorter som tidigare dominerats av en ensam industri, och som idag står med stora industribyggnader och ett kulturarv att hantera. Där motsvarande industritomter i större städer ofta har höga markvärden och ett högt exploateringsstryck, är verkligheten i mindre orter en annan.

Vår moderna samhällsplanering står inför stora utmaningar gällande behovet av nya hållbara lösningar samt av en ökad marknadsorientering och homogenisering av stadsrummet. Det sistnämnda riskerar att skapa platser utan anknytning till lokal identitet eller historia. En metod för att lösa dessa utmaningar är kulturarvsledd platsutveckling. Kulturarvet är grundläggande för människors upplevelse av tillhörighet och meningsfullhet. Både immateriellt och materiellt kulturarv kan hjälpa grupper att tillsammans skapa en gemensam plats- och grupptillhörighet. Att utveckla platser genom dess kulturarv skapar även en bättre grund för en hållbar utveckling eftersom det är en viktig faktor gällande både social, ekologisk och ekonomisk hållbarhet, något som lyfts av flertalet studier och av exempelvis UNESCO.

Denna uppsats fokuserar på platsutveckling i tre bruksorter som alla har upplevt nedåtgående trender gällande service och befolkningsutveckling och som har utvecklat platser genom återbruk av det gemensamma materiella och immateriella industriarvet. Uppsatsen syftar till att studera samarbeten mellan nyckelaktörer och användningen av det lokala kulturarvet och hur det har påverkat platsutvecklingen. Målet är att fördjupa förståelsen av komplexiteten i kulturarvsledd platsutveckling. Syftet studeras genom tre frågor:

- Hur har platsutvecklingsprocessen utvecklats över tid i de studerade fallen?
- Hur har det (materiella och immateriella) kulturarvet aktiverats och använts av nyckelaktörerna i platsutvecklingsprocessen?
- Hur har nyckelaktörerna samarbetat i platsutvecklingsprocessen?

Uppsatsen kombinerar ett teoretiskt ramverk om kulturarv, kulturarvsledd platsutveckling och adaptive reuse (anpassad återanvändning) med teorier om platsutvecklingsmetoder och aktörers samarbete i planering och utveckling. Uppsatsen har ett mer pragmatiskt angreppssätt mot kulturarv, där kulturarvet studeras som en resurs att använda i stadsutveckling. Detta diskuteras utifrån tre diskursiva synsätt på återbruk av kulturarv: stadsutveckling, kulturvård och arkitektur. Gällande platsutvecklingsmetoder diskuteras tre övergripande metoder: bottom-up (nerifrån och upp), top-down (uppifrån och ner) samt kollaborativ platsutveckling. Det sistnämnda involverar en större bredd av olika aktörer med en större grund i lokala drivkrafter än en top-down metod, och en större resurskapacitet än en bottom-up metod. Tidigare forskning har visat positiva fördelar av kollaborativ planering.

Uppsatsen baseras på tre fall, alla mindre bruksorter i Västra Götaland. Fallstudier är en passande metod för att öka förståelsen genom att fördjupa sig i några få exempel vilket kan ge en bättre insikt än ytlig undersökning av många exempel. Då det är nyckelaktörers arbete och samarbete som är av intresse, baseras uppsatsen främst på intervjuer med olika aktörer i de studerade fallen. Dessutom har olika dokument så som planeringsunderlag, rapporter och dylikt studerats. Alla platser har besökts.

Fallstudierna är Rydals gamla spinneri i Marks kommun, Glasets Hus i Limmared, Tranemo kommun och Nääs Fabriker i Tollered, Lerums kommun. Fallen har många gemensamma nämnare men också stora olikheter. I Rydal och Nääs Fabriker har de gamla industribyggnaderna återbrukats och används idag för ny verksamhet. I Limmared är bruket däremot fortfarande i gång och Glasets Hus är nybyggt men med tydlig återknytning till ortens glastradition genom en ny glashytta och museum. Rydal och Glasets Hus är båda kommunägda medan Nääs Fabriker ägs och drivs av ett privat företag. Alla tre utgör besöksmål och har publik verksamhet.

Rydals gamla spinneri är den äldre av två gamla fabriker i Rydal. Hela orten bär tydlig prägel från textilindustrin och är idag riksintresse för kulturmiljövård. Miljön runt bruket inkluderar bland annat en direktörsvilla och arbetarbostäder. Platsutvecklingsprocessen startade i och med att fabriken trappade ner sin verksamhet, och de äldre arbetarna som också var lokala politiker önskade uppföra ett museum över ortens textilarv. Museet och den kvarvarande produktionen samkörde i byggnaden i ytterligare några år innan all produktion lades ner 2004. Marks kommun köpte då byggnaden genom ett kommunalt fastighetsbolag och har ägt den sedan dess. Det har funnits flera initiativ och aktörer genom åren som på olika sätt har sysslat med textil. Under några år försökte man till exempel satsa på hållbar textil och design. Idag huserar föreningen Internationellt Vävcenter Sjuhärad i en av lokalerna och håller kurser och föredrag med fokus på vävning och textil. Utvecklingen har dock inte varit utan svårigheter, och Marks kommun har haft en önskan om att sälja lokalerna. Dock utan framgång på grund av höga föroreningshalter i marken. De lokala aktörerna upplever en brist på samarbetsvilja från Marks kommun och idag finns det delade meningar om vad fastigheten ska användas för.

Glasets Hus började som ett Leader-projekt för att vända den nedåtgående trenden i Limmared, en bruksort som har upplevt minskad service och ökat missnöje. Projektledaren för Glasets Hus lyckades tillsammans med en arbetsgrupp och andra lokala aktörer att skapa och bygga Glasets Hus genom ett stort lokalt engagemang, många volontärtimmar och ekonomisk hjälp från Tranemo kommun. Glasets Hus är en byggnad som både fungerar som gemensamhetslokal och som en hyllning till den lokala glastraditionen med en nybyggd hytta, museum, restaurang och utställningslokal. Arkitektoniskt bär huset kopplingar till glasbruket och glastillverkningen. Idag är det 140 volontärer som tillsammans driver Glasets Hus genom en förening. Projektledaren för Glasets Hus arbetar också helt ideellt. Det innebär dock stora utmaningar inför framtiden hur Glasets Hus fortsatt ska kunna drivas hållbart. Tranemo kommun äger byggnaden och hjälper Glasets Hus genom finansiering, men är dock noggranna att inte lägga sig i föreningens arbete.

Nääs Fabriker var fram till sent 1970-tal en textilfabrik som efter nedläggandet köptes av Lerums kommun. Genom att testa ett nytt tillvägagångssätt för återanvändning lyckades man i cirka tio år långsamt renovera byggnaden i samarbete med hyresgäster och Chalmers tekniska högskola. På 1990-talet köptes fabriker av fastighetsbolaget Ernst Rosén som har ägt fastigheten sedan dess. Lerums kommun var mycket nöjda över försäljningen som efter några utmanande år har blivit en välbesökt destination. Nääs Fabriker som företag driver idag fastigheten som hotell, restaurang och med butiker. De värdesätter kulturarvet mycket högt eftersom det är den historiska kopplingen som är en av de grundläggande attraktionskrafterna med platsen. Platsen ingår i ett större område av riksintresse för kulturmiljövården. Lerums kommun beskriver hur man historiskt värdesatt den nya användningen av Nääs Fabriker till den grad att man negligerat behovet av antikvariska utredningar och detaljplanekrav. Det innebär idag svårigheter att säkerställa skyddandet av kulturmiljövårderna.

Alla tre fall har en tydlig användning av platsens kulturarv i platsutvecklingsprocessen. Det är tydliga exempel på *adaptive reuse*, där man återbrukat miljöerna och gett dem nya användningar. Båda materiella och immateriella kulturarv har använts genom exempelvis byggnader, föremål,

hantverk, kunskap, traditioner, och berättelser. Fallen vittnar om en användning av kulturarv som resurs i platsutvecklingsprocesserna, där kulturarvet beskrivs i ordalag så som attraktivitet och utveckling. Mindre fokus tycks ligga på bevarandet av kulturarvet för dess historiska autenticitet. Att använda kulturarv som en resurs i platsutveckling går i linje med exempelvis HUL-rekommendationerna framtagna av UNESCO. Kulturarv är inget offer för förändringen utan snarare en grundläggande förutsättning och ofta katalysator i samhällsutvecklingen. Här finns det dock risker att viktiga värden går förlorade eller att en tillrättalagd bild av historian raderar ut dess komplexitet.

Kulturarv är dock bara en av många faktorer som styr platsutveckling. Fallen visar på olika angreppssätt till platsutveckling med olika grader av kollaborativ planering, där Glasets Hus är mer bottom-up och Nääs Fabriker mer top-down. Fallen visar hur enskilda nyckelaktörer kan spela en avgörande roll i att driva en platsutvecklingsprocess, något som gör platsutvecklingen sårbar. Dessa aktörer kan vara både ideella på platsen, fastighetsägare och enskilda politiker eller tjänstemän. Dessutom tycks samarbetet, kommunikationen och konsensusen mellan aktörerna spela en avgörande roll. En tydlig gemensam vision med en tydlig organisation underlättar arbetet. Därutöver är faktorer så som ekonomisk finansiering och övergripande kommunal och regional planering väsentlig.

Kulturarvsdriven platsutveckling är en metod som kan skapa hållbara platser för det lokala samhället och för en plats fortsatta användning. Kulturarv tycks vara en avgörande faktor gällande initiativ och val av verksamhet. Däremot spelar samarbete och konsensus mellan aktörer en större roll i den fortsatta processen vilket påverkar utfallet. Kulturarv blir då bara en av många faktorer som styr utvecklingen. Kulturarvet är en dynamisk resurs för hållbar platsutveckling och en aktiv komponent i stadsplaneringen, och kan hjälpa mindre orter på landsbygden att få en ny användning av sitt kulturarv.

TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1. Case studies.....	25
Table 2. Conducted interviews.....	27
Table 3. General interview questions.....	27
Table 4. Written sources.....	28
Table 5. Dates for site visits.....	29
Figure 1. Västra Götaland and the locations of Nääs Fabriker (red), Rydal (blue), and Glasets Hus (purple).....	30
Figure 2. Rydal’s old spinning mill.....	30
Figure 3. Map of Rydal.....	31
Figure 4. Workers outside the mill 1903.....	32
Figure 5. The old spinning mill in Rydal today.....	32
Figure 6. Inhabitants in Rydal between 1960 and 2020.....	33
Figure 7. Glasets Hus.....	33
Figure 8. Map of Glasets Hus, situated in central Limmared.....	34
Figure 9. Workers outside the glasswork.....	34
Figure 10. Glasets Hus.....	35
Figure 11. Inhabitants in Limmared between 1960 and 2020.....	35
Figure 12. Nääs Fabriker.....	36
Figure 13. Map of Nääs Fabriker.....	37
Figure 14. Employees outside the factories, 1933.....	37
Figure 15. Nääs Fabriker today.....	38
Figure 16. Inhabitants in Tollerred between 1960 and 2020.....	38
Figure 17. The northeast façade of the old spinning mill.....	42
Figure 18. Spinning machines exhibited at Rydal’s Museum.....	45
Figure 19. The old spinning mill to the right and the ‘new’ factory in front.....	46
Figure 20. The managing director’s house, today a restaurant.....	47
Figure 21. The ‘glass park’, built in 2019.....	50
Figure 22. The glass museum.....	51
Figure 23. Limmared’s glasswork in the 1960s.....	52
Figure 24. Nääs Fabriker contains several buildings all related to the earlier textile production.....	55
Figure 25. All over the Nääs Fabriker small signs retell the place’s history.....	56
Figure 26. Old workers’ houses in Tollerred.....	57
Figure 27. The local bakery and brewery Bröd och Malt.....	59

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