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SOCIAL HERITAGE AS LEVERAGE:
*Recognising the Social Dimension of Heritage
in Sustainable Urban Development*

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Abstract

In 2015, numerous countries committed to supporting the United Nations' Agenda 2030, which aims to address global challenges such as urban growth and climate change through the Sustainable Cities and Communities goal (SDG11). During this time, experts in heritage and urban development began emphasizing the significant role that cultural heritage plays in sustainable urban development. However, the urban planning field recognizes that the three pillars of sustainability – economic, environmental, and social – are not always equally considered, with the social dimension often overlooked in urban (re)development processes. This thesis argues that a similar issue is occurring with the social aspect of cultural heritage. As cities inevitably evolve, it is the responsibility of urban developers to ensure the well-being of citizens, including their sense of connection to both their current and future environments. This thesis introduces the concept of social heritage, which refers to citizens' socio-intangible relationship with the built environment and its heritage, as a significant aspect to consider in (re)development processes. Social heritage can act as a bridge between the familiar and unfamiliar while also reinforcing citizens' rightful position in urban development. To investigate this theory, the thesis examines the public preservation debate surrounding the swimming facility Valhallabadet in central Gothenburg as a case study, utilizing content analysis and interviews to present insight into stakeholders' roles and perspectives on social heritage in (re)development processes. In conclusion, by prioritizing the social aspects of cultural heritage, researchers and developers can gain a better understanding of how the built environment affects the people who inhabit and use it, contributing to the creation of sustainable and inclusive urban spaces.

Keywords

Sustainable cities; urban (re)development; social sustainability; social heritage; sense of place; public participation; power dynamics

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As one chapter closes, another opens. Onwards and upwards.

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Chapter 1 | Introduction

Today, cities worldwide face significant global challenges, such as the rapid expansion of urban areas, population growth, and climate change, which pose increasing risks to human health and well-being. In response to these challenges, many countries have turned to the United Nations' 17 Sustainable Development Goals, which include a dedicated goal on 'Sustainable Cities and Communities' (SDG11). Heritage and urban experts and practitioners, such as Fouseki et al. (2020), Landorf (2011, 2019), Naheed and Shooshtarian (2022), and, in Sweden, The National Heritage Board (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2017), have started advocating for the role of heritage in sustainable urban development. It is argued that heritage, including tangible and intangible dimensions, can provide a sense of community, promote the reuse of existing resources, provide employment opportunities and financial gain, and add character to our cities. It can also inspire and remind us of our place in the world, reinforcing the need to care for our environments and their inhabitants. However, in the field of urban planning, there is a general understanding that the three pillars of sustainability – social, environmental, and economic – are not equally prioritized in (re)development processes. The social dimension, in particular, is often neglected as it is hard to measure, poorly developed, and too abstract to implement (Chan & Lee 2008; Landorf 2019). With this thesis, I argue that the same seems to have happened with the social aspects of cultural heritage being undervalued in development processes. To achieve liveable and thriving communities, the social dimension of sustainability needs to be addressed within urban development processes. By attending to the social aspects of cultural heritage, researchers and developers can gain a better understanding of how the built environment affects the people who inhabit and use it, thus contributing to the creation of sustainable and inclusive urban spaces.

The unification of heritage and urban development has presented various complex challenges, as evidenced by the case of Valhallabadet (the Valhalla swimming facility), Scandinavia's largest indoor public swimming facility located in central Gothenburg, Sweden. This modernist architectural gem from the 1950s has been a centre for public wellness for the past 70 years (Lindgren & Peter 2013). However, after two decades of uncertainty, it was announced that

the facility located within the city's centrally located event and arena district, Evenemangsstråket (the Event Area), would be redeveloped and replaced with a modern counterpart in the near future (Yousuf 2022b). To investigate how planning professionals, heritage advocates, and other stakeholders account for the social aspects of cultural heritage in redevelopment processes, this thesis uses Valhallabadet as a case study. Specifically, I have examined local news articles and government reports related to the redevelopment project to gain insight into the prevailing discussions and perspectives. Currently, the debate is divided between preservationists who argue for the significance of Valhallabadet as an architectural and cultural heritage site and a critical social space for generations of city residents and governing actors who view a new swimming facility as essential for accommodating urban growth and maintaining Gothenburg's status as a leading event city. To further contextualize this universal discussion into the local context, I conducted interviews with planning and heritage professionals as well as citizens to seek additional perspectives on the findings from the articles and reports and the social aspects of cultural heritage's role in development processes.

Although cultural heritage typically comprises tangible and intangible elements, such as buildings, natural environments, songs, rituals, and languages (Harrison 2013), it also includes socio-intangible elements that are influenced and enacted by cultural heritage, such as societal cohesion, individual well-being, identity creation, cultural diversity support, social values (Panzer 2022), as well as memory, emotions, and nostalgia (Viejo-Rose 2015). During my research for this thesis, I noticed the absence of a term that specifically represents the social aspects of cultural heritage. To address this gap, this study introduces the term "social heritage" as a way to disentangle what can be a complex array of terms and to establish a concept to represent these important social aspects. In recent years, the concept of heritage has been criticized for its exclusionary language, which is predominantly mastered by an elite. Laurajane Smith (2006) refers to this as the "authorized heritage discourse," where heritage experts, such as scholars, antiquarians, and historians, have dominated the heritage narrative through their expert/technical language, thus excluding a large segment of society and their engagement with and influence on the official notions of heritage. By introducing and incorporating the collective term "social heritage" in this thesis, my aim was to create consistency and comprehension throughout the text, while also responding to the critique of heritage discourse and promoting heritage as a more inclusive concept both inside and outside the expert field.

In short, this thesis aims to explore the role of social heritage in urban (re)development by looking at the preservation debate surrounding Valhallabadet. While this debate may appear black

and white at first glance, urban development is not a static concept, and cities are constantly changing. Similarly, the notion of heritage is not fixed, and there is room for creative solutions that take into account both the city's history and its future needs.

1.1 Aim and research questions

Although some reports and research projects have already addressed the preservation debate surrounding Valhallabadet (Bladin 2019; Lindgren & Peter 2013; Nilsson 2001; Wackfelt 2020), my aim with this research is to bring an added perspective by emphasising social heritage as a leverage in the local preservation debate, as well as contribute to the research on heritage and sustainable urban development. The main objective of this thesis is therefore to explore the role of social heritage within built environments and its influence on planning processes using Valhallabadet as a case study. The central questions guiding this thesis are:

1. What forces are present in the preservation debate and redevelopment process surrounding Valhallabadet and the Event Area in Gothenburg?
2. How does the aspects of social heritage factor fit into this debate and planning process?
3. How can the case of Valhallabadet emphasize the equal value of social dimensions in sustainable urban development?

1.2 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters, including the *introduction, background, previous research, theoretical framework, methodology, results, analysis and discussion* and *conclusion and recommendations*.

Chapter Two, *Background*, will provide a brief overview of the history of Valhallabadet, the current discussions surrounding the regeneration plans for the central event district "The Event Area," and the intertwined debate on the significance of Valhallabadet as an urban heritage site deserving of preservation.

Chapter Three, *Previous research*, examines the debate on cultural heritage in the context of urban development; it also explores the theory of the dominant concept of cultural heritage, presenting key thinkers and the growing critical discourse surrounding it. Additionally, the chapter

presents two studies that are significant to the understanding of the public's involvement with urban heritage.

Chapter Four, *Theoretical framework*, further adds relevant research essential for this study. During literature research, recurring themes were identified as key components in understanding the relationship between cultural heritage and planning. The three themes, including *Social Sustainability, Memory & Emotions*, and *Power Dynamics*, is the structure of the theoretical chapter explaining their role within the heritage and planning discourse, but also acts as the outline of this paper's analytical framework that is used for analysing the collected data to seek linkages between theory and practice.

Chapter Five, *Methodology*, outlines the methodologies used for the research and data collected for this thesis, which include a case study, literature review, content analysis, and interviews. This section also explains how the analytical framework guides the Results and Analysis chapter and concludes with a review of reliability and validity considerations, as well as positionality and ethics.

Chapter Six, *Results, Analysis & Discussion*, presents the qualitative data collected on the public swimming facility Valhallabadet in Gothenburg. Utilizing the analytical framework the analysis will explore the power dynamics, social heritage aspects, and social sustainability of the redevelopment process of Valhallabadet and the 'Event Area' to gain a comprehensive understanding of its value to Gothenburg and its citizens as well as identify any parallels, gaps and missing perspectives in comparison with the theoretical findings on heritage and social sustainability's role in urban development.

Chapter Seven, *Conclusion and recommendations*, will present the final summary drawn from the thesis outcome, identify any gaps in the debate and highlight areas where further research is needed.

1.3 Relevance to Global Studies

This thesis interlinks the global concepts of cultural heritage and sustainability and applies them to a local development case, illustrating the influence of global ideas on local politics, power dynamics, and societal perspectives. The drive towards sustainable cities has been a paramount global issue since the Brundtland Commission's report in 1987 and was emphasized by the United Nations' Agenda 2030 in 2015. Cultural heritage has a long history of global importance, dating back to the Enlightenment era and continuing with the creation of UNESCO in 1945 and the World

Heritage Convention in 1972. However, the relationship between cultural heritage and sustainable development is a relatively recent concern. Naheed and Shooshtarian (2022) attribute the recognition of the role of culture in long-term development to the influence of the United Nations' 17 Sustainable Development Goals. They argue that integrating heritage into sustainable urbanization demonstrates its contribution to social cohesion, well-being, creativity, and economic appeal, and benefits future generations.

1.4 Delimitations

The drive for this thesis was to explore what aspects of the built environment are considered worthy of preservation and what are not. To tackle this complex issue, a sustainable urban perspective was adopted, which provides a relevant context for investigation. Given that the intersection of cultural heritage and sustainable development is a relatively new field, there is still much to be explored, and information on the topic is limited. However, this provides a clear gap that this thesis aims to address. Additionally, to stay within the word limit and time frame of this work, the research scope was narrowed down. Specifically, only local news articles from the last two years and government reports related to the redevelopment plans of the Event Area and Valhallabadet were analysed. While this approach leaves many avenues unexplored, such as a more extensive public survey to gain a deeper understanding of citizens' perceptions of social heritage's influence on people and the built environment and their perspectives on Valhallabadet's heritage, the content analysis of news articles and government reports offers valuable insight into the dynamics present in development projects. The contribution of this thesis is to shed light on potential complexities within current preservation and development processes and highlight how social heritage when considered in urban planning can smoothen the transition between old and new for current users of urban environments.

Chapter 2 | Background

2.1 Valhallabadet – to be, or not to be.

In the spring of 2022, the local government of Gothenburg made the decision to demolish the iconic central swimming facility Valhallabadet within the near future, a public facility that has served as a recreational centre and social hub for locals and sports clubs for the past seventy years. As part of a larger regeneration plan for the city, a majority of local politicians believe that the old swimming facility has reached the end of its swan song and should be replaced with a new structure (Yousuf 2022). However, the debate over Valhallabadet has been ongoing for almost 20 years (Jalamaa 2022), and it has generated a lot of emotions and community engagement. Local citizens, politicians, experts, and heritage advocates have expressed their concerns and desire to preserve the facility in various news articles and petitions submitted to the local government. On the other hand, advocates for maintaining Gothenburg's status as a significant national event city and local sports swimming clubs have been calling for a new, modern facility that can accommodate the growing city. Although a decision is set, there are several indications of the debate not dying out just yet with new articles being published on a regular basis in the local news papers (Cwejman 2022; Laurits et al. 2022).

The debate over the central bathhouse in Gothenburg may have been intensified by the city's history of significant urban transformation. Like many cities during the 20th century, Gothenburg underwent a period of what critics have termed "demolition hysteria" or "demolition rage", resulting in several neighbourhoods being completely rebuilt or demolished, and the loss of buildings with significant cultural and historical value to the city and its identity (Lönnroth 1999). According to Filip Laurits and Monica Bengtson (interview 2022), representatives from the non-profit association FASAD, an organization dedicated to protecting Gothenburg's cultural heritage, this period may have fuelled a lasting collective skepticism towards future urban development in the city.

2.2 Background: The rise of a democratic swimming facility

To understand how Valhallabadet gained its recognition and symbolism in Gothenburg, we must first examine its early years. The public swimming facility was a product of the political concept that revolutionized Sweden in the early 20th century, the development of the Swedish welfare state known as Folkhemmet (the People's Home) (Martínez 2018). As industrialization took hold worldwide between 18th and 19th century, it did so in Gothenburg as well, attracting people from all over the country in search of better opportunities. This led to crowded living conditions in small

apartments with inadequate hygiene facilities, creating ideal conditions for the spread of life-threatening diseases such as cholera, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases. As a response to this urgent need for improved public sanitation, the first public bathhouses emerged in Sweden in the late 19th century. Larger public swimming facilities developed in the 1920s, and after a period of stagnation during World War II, Valhallabadet opened in 1956. Since then, the public swimming facility has been known as a Folkhemsbad ("the people's swimming facility") to the population of Gothenburg, always promoting good public health through its regular organization of public swimming lessons and local and national swimming competitions (Nilsson 2001) (See figure 1).



Figure 1. Early image of kids learning to swim at Valhallabadet. Source: Stadshem Fastighetsmäklari n.d.

The original design for Valhallabadet was created by architect Nils Olsson in 1948. However, after his sudden passing, the architect Gustaf Samuelsson completed the construction. Valhallabadet's uniqueness lies in its well-preserved 1950s Modernism architecture, which can be seen in its combination of traditional and modern materials such as marble, concrete, wood, and large areas of glass (see figure 2 – 3). The original building contained a 25-meter pool with a grand three-level diving tower and a stepped spectator stand, as well as changing rooms with saunas and a Roman

bath (added in 1959), and a 50-meter outdoor pool which was later rebuilt into a new indoor pool in the 1980s (Nilsson 2001). Although the establishment has undergone several alterations over the years, many of its original features remain intact, such as the 14-meter high and 700 square meter mosaic wall of glass. As described in Helena Nilsson’s cultural conservation thesis, the local artist Nils Wedel’s pastel-colored cubist artwork “evokes associations with a place of sun, summer, and salty baths” (2001, 21).

Valhallabadet has been a popular destination for Gothenburg citizens since its opening in 1956, with its peak visitor count of over 760,000 annual visitors occurring in 1972. Despite newer swimming facilities being added to the city, approximately 500,000 visitors still visit Valhallabadet each year, making it Scandinavia's largest indoor public swimming facility (Higab AB 2015). However, Valhallabadet is more than just a social wellness hotspot for the city. It has a rich history, having been awarded an Olympic bronze medal in architecture at the 1948 London Olympics, the last time architecture was included as an Olympic category (Cheng 2016; Lindgren & Peter 2013). This accolade further emphasizes that Valhallabadet is not just an ordinary swimming facility. It has played a significant role in the city's social and architectural history.



Figure 2—3. Left: Valhallabadet exterior. Right: Valhallabadet interior. Source: Lindgren & Peter 2013 / Engström n.d.

2.3 Current affairs: The regeneration project 'Gothenburg Event Area'

Valhallabadet is situated in the heart of Gothenburg's event district, also referred to as the Event Area (Evenemangsstråket), an area that has been developed since the mid-1950s and is home to several larger event facilities. As the second-largest city in Sweden and the fifth-largest in the Nordic countries, Gothenburg has established itself as a top destination for events and entertainment, competing against other Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish cities (Kennedy 2021). Valhallabadet was the earliest establishment in the event district, and it is now accompanied by other notable venues, including the Nya Ullevi outdoor arena, Scandinavium indoor arena, and Svenska Mässan event centre. The district also boasts several cultural and educational facilities, such as Världskulturmuseet (The Museum of World Culture), Universeum (Science museum), and Liseberg, a popular funfair. Sebastian Wackfelt describes in his study on the planning of Gothenburg's new event area and the arenas' position in cultural preservation that “the gathering of events, arenas and meeting places in the middle of the city and in direct connection to hotels, restaurants, attractions and communications has made Gothenburg unique among larger cities, and is something that the City of Gothenburg still wants to develop further with new experiences and meeting places” (2020, 15).

In recent years, discussions have taken place regarding the redevelopment of Gothenburg's Event Area to accommodate the city's growth and maintain its status as a significant event destination. As part of this redevelopment plan, the local government has identified Valhallabadet and the adjacent indoor arena, Scandinavium, as no longer meeting modern standards and in need of replacement. The proposed redevelopment plan includes a new multi-arena, central swimming facility, and other sports facilities, as well as commercial and public housing (Wackfelt 2020). The new swimming facility will be constructed north of Valhallabadet to allow the current establishment to remain operational during the development phase (Engelbrektson 2022). However, Valhallabadet poses a challenge as it is a popular swimming facility but struggles to meet modern standards. The aging structure requires constant repairs, and the 50-meter pool lacks a spectator stand while the 25-meter pool is too narrow and shallow for larger competitions (Göteborgs Stad 2016). This has been recognized as a missed opportunity and a necessity by the majority of local political parties and water sport clubs, as larger swimming facilities capable of hosting competitions are located a great distance from Gothenburg.

Valhallabadet is currently managed by Higab, the real estate company of the City of Gothenburg. Before the decision to replace Valhallabadet with a new swimming facility was made, Higab was asked by the municipal board to provide an updated maintenance plan and a cost

estimate for renovating the existing facility. Higab concluded that the necessary maintenance measures would not bring the facility up to the standards of a modern swimming facility in terms of comfort (such as heating and ventilation), technical installations, mobility, and other functional requirements, which will remain limited to the facility's current capabilities (Higab AB 2021). However, constructing an entirely new swimming facility would be very costly, which has been a significant concern for several of the political parties involved in the discussions. To balance the need for a modern facility and keep costs down, discussions have been circulating around preserving parts of the current facility. Higab's investigation suggests that it would be possible to continue operating parts of the facility for 30 more years at a cost ranging from SEK 220 to 350 million, depending on what is preserved (Larsson 2021). This idea has been greatly supported by several heritage advocates.

2.4 The brittle future: Valhallabadet as a listed building

Before the decision was set on Valhallabadet's future were there attempts to have the facility classified as a listed building, known as a "byggnadsminne," in Swedish. Sweden has laws and building policies in place to safeguard cultural-historical built environments and heritage landscapes. When a building, garden, park, or other facility is deemed historically significant, it can be granted as a listed building. The Cultural Environment Act (Kulturmiljölagen 1988:950) and the Planning and Building Act (Plan- och Byggnadslagen 2010:900) protect listed buildings in Sweden. While the latter applies to all buildings, the former aims to ensure the selection of a limited number of objects with significant cultural-historical value at the state level. Thus, only a small sample of the nation's buildings can receive high qualification protection under the Cultural Environment Act. The County Administrative Board is responsible for deciding whether a building has strong enough cultural-historical value to be classified as a listed building. This decision is backed by the owner of the built heritage's willingness in sustaining it as a cultural memory and the absence of other similar listed buildings. However, municipalities can also introduce protection in detailed development plans or area regulations that are similar in scope to the protection that a listed declaration can provide. This broadens the scope of cultural environments within larger built-up areas (Boverket 2021; Riksantikvarieämbetet n.d.).

In 2015, Valhallabadet was proposed to be designated as listed due to its well-preserved structure and high artistic and architectural value (Lindgren & Peter 2013). The building has also been acknowledged as culturally and historically significant in Gothenburg's conservation program (Lönnroth 1999). However, the County Administrative Board rejected the application because of

uncertainties surrounding the municipality's future plans. Although the building was not considered to be directly threatened with demolition at the time (Laurits et al. 2022), the lack of interest from the building's owner, the City of Gothenburg, to protect it as a listed building was a factor in the rejection. As further explained in a commentary from the County Administrative Board, does a listed building require the property owner's interest, understanding, and commitment to achieve long-term preservation and management of the building. As such, it is only enforced against the owner's will in exceptional cases. A threat of demolition does not in itself constitute the basis for a building/facility to be declared as a listed building (Svanberg 2023).

According to Wackfelt (2020) is it seemingly rare in Sweden to classify sports facilities as listed buildings. Currently, there are over 2,400 facilities and environments recognized as listed, with only around 3 per mille being related to sports. For instance, is it only one swimming facility from the 1950s that has been designated as listed: Pontusbadet in Luleå (Riksantikvarieämbetet n.d.). Pontusbadet shares strong Modernist characteristics with Valhallabadet, and both were developed as democratic swimming facilities to promote public health and well-being. Pontusbadet was recognized as architecturally significant in 2003 due to its geometric volumes, flat pulpit ceilings, marble and stained glass facades, and free-standing elegant bath sign, which all reflect the unmistakable stamp of the 1950s. The interior boasts open spaces, solid materials, lavish material processing, and artistic functional interior details (ibid) (Figure 4).

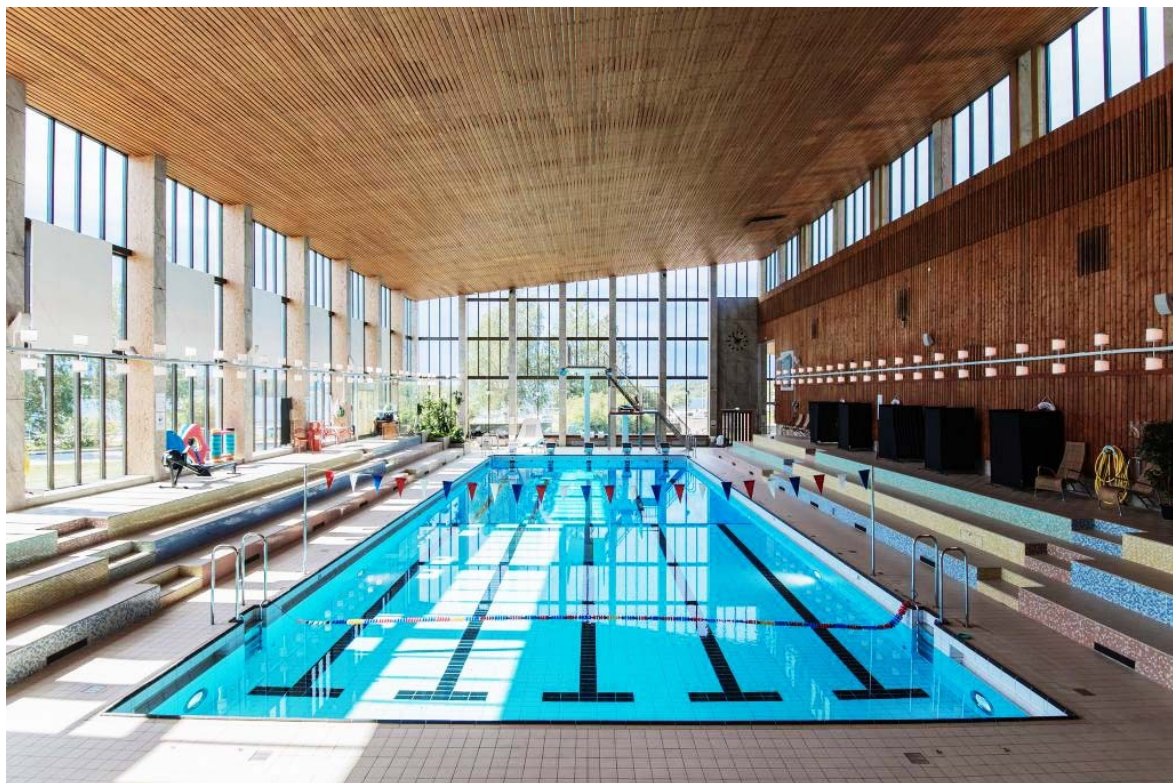


Figure 4. Pontusbadet in Luleå, Sweden. Source: Actis Sverige 2022

In addition to Pontusbadet, a few other swimming facilities and bathhouses in Sweden from various time periods have been designated as listed. However, these sites appear to have been recognized mainly for their architectural significance rather than their social roles (Riksantikvarieämbetet n.d.). Valhallabadet stands out as a remarkable example of 1950s Swedish architecture, representing civic well-being through its aesthetics and social function. It has served as a critical social hub for years, creating numerous memories and fostering essential relationships. Despite this, previous reports have overlooked the swimming facility's significant social value. Higab's maintenance plan and the City Management Office's investigation into a new event area and central swimming facility have primarily focused on economic and environmental factors, highlighting the question of why social values do not receive equal attention in heritage preservation or development processes. Furthermore, while the physical destruction of a building may be straightforward to comprehend, intangible elements such as memories and values raise questions about how to acknowledge and preserve them if the original source is no longer available.

Chapter 3 | Previous research

The forthcoming chapter will present a comprehensive review of the current research and theory on cultural heritage in urban development and examine the discourse surrounding the dominant global concept of heritage. Additionally, the chapter will focus on two notable studies that have contributed to our understanding of how individuals engage with heritage in built environments, a topic that has seemingly been underdeveloped and insufficiently accounted for in the planning field.

3.1 Cultural heritage in urban development

A city is more than just buildings, infrastructure and commerce, there are also social textures that make up its fabric deriving from past and current inhabitants who live, work and socialize within its sphere. The same goes for current-day architects, urban planners and civil servants who beyond their aim to sustain and develop a functional city equally have to take into account social layers such as collective identity as well the historical remnants of urban heritage to maintain the foundation that a city is built upon. Whilst cultural heritage and urban development are two concepts not alien to each other, it wasn't until recently cultural heritage was revalued as a valid actor and important aspect of development (Chan & Lee 2008). As described by Bandarin & van Oers (2012, 108) cultural heritage in urban environments “are as much about the urban form and architecture, which make a crucial contribution to a city's character and articulation, as about social patterns and cultural traditions embedded in the historic city”.

Today, historic buildings and urban landscapes have somewhat become high-status icons in contemporary societies with the quality of their physical spaces being a hotspot for cultural and artistic events that support local identity, the persistence of their sense of place as well as being an important economic market for cultural tourism. Although the numerous legislations in place urban conservation does however face challenges as new processes and forces of change are constantly lingering in the evolution of societal development. “Cities are dynamic organisms. There is not a single city in the world that has retained its ‘original’ character: the concept is a moving target, destined to change with society itself. And this is natural: social structures and needs evolve, and the physical fabric adapts constantly” (Bandarin & van Oers 2012, ix).

Yet, the continuous threat towards historic urban landscapes, which is not only a threat towards the external environment, holds the duality of also tampering with social values and the community's intangible connection with urban heritage. A town, a city or any sort of settlement naturally represents a melting pot of experiences for more than one community, each with its traditions and customs (Bandarin & van Oers 2012). Social values are, however, seemingly harder

to advocate for when it comes to what should be preserved and not. Urban conservationists, planners and heritage advocates have therefore in recent years turned to investment as a way of boosting its value and purpose (Labadi & Gould 2015) likewise, sought the opinion and support of the public to understand their perception of, and relation to, urban heritage (Tweed & Sutherland 2007).

The emergence of urban conservation dates back to the French Revolution, yet, it took almost a century later until a formal theory was developed in Europe. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, cities saw great transformation through several extensive development programs spurred by industrialization and the vast implementation of urban sanitation. Likewise the heyday of the Modern Movement with its theory that radically opposed urban conservation adds to urban removal and renewal programs worldwide. Seen as a burden from the past, built heritage was a non-adaptable and chaotic feature that did not suit the modern idea. However, today, after a thorough revision of past development methods, a strong institutional and professional system has been established to reinforce the preservation of urban heritage (Bandarin & van Oers 2012; Malaud 2020).

3.2 The dominant concept of cultural heritage

To gain a better understanding of the mechanisms behind the valuation and preservation of heritage environments, it is necessary to examine the history of the concept of heritage itself, particularly the modern concept that currently dominates worldwide. While heritage can be viewed from various cultural and national perspectives, a dominant approach emerged during the spread of globalization. Originating in the late Enlightenment era of the 18th-19th century, when Europe was characterized by philosophical, political, and scientific discourse, as well as the rise of nation-states and national identity, a new perspective on heritage emerged that emphasized the categorization, ordering, and organization of cultural objects and structures (Harrison 2013). Later, global organizations like UNESCO, founded in 1945, and its various international conventions, such as the World Heritage Convention, led to the concept of heritage becoming a global patrimony (Meskell 2015). This proliferation of the universal heritage concept has led nation-states to desire national identification, prestige, socio-economic benefits, and recognition of a particular modernity by subscribing to it.

The way that humanity have tended to traditions, culture and higher beliefs have been present within our societies for thousands of years. Evident in early cave paintings from 45,000 years ago can we see humanity's affinity for passing along events and beliefs to coming generations (France-Pressé 2021). Similarly do we see traces of ancient Roman and Greek civilizations in our

contemporary aesthetics, social, cultural, and political movements, highlighting how our societies are constantly evolving and building upon past events (Harvey 2008). These processes and markings is what we today would speak of as heritage. However, the concept of heritage is multifaceted and has numerous message producers, including public/private stakeholders, official/non-official actors, and communities/individuals, each interpreting it differently (Graham & Howard 2008). This malleability is what many professionals and critics in the field consider one of the most intricate aspects of the concept and a reason why it is continually subject to scrutiny.

The dominant concept of heritage places a strong emphasis on the material foundation of heritage, giving objects an intrinsic cultural value or meaning (Smith 2006). David Lowenthal argues that heritage is present in everything from galaxies to DNA, in the news, in movies, and in the marketplace. It serves as both a primary tourist draw and the main centre of patriotism. "Every legacy is cherished. From ethnic roots to history theme parks, Hollywood to the Holocaust, the whole world is busy lauding—or lamenting—some past, be it fact or fiction" (1996, ix). Rodney Harrison (2013) agrees with Lowenthal and argues that heritage can describe anything today, from the tangible (buildings, monuments, and memorials) to the intangible (songs, festivals, and languages).

While Harrison's description of the breadth of the cultural heritage concept is extensive, there has been a stagnation in developing and defining the various forms present within its concept. Viejo-Rose notes that "the ways in which we look at cultural heritage [have] evolved dramatically from monument and museum collection to encompassing a complex matrix of meaning, values, associations and related concepts" (2015, 2). Despite this evolution, many aspects remain under-researched and under-represented, including the lack of a term for the socio-intangible aspects of heritage. The social aspects of heritage include people's relations and emotions towards a community or society through societal cohesion and collective identity (Panzera 2022), as well as people's emotions and experiences related to a building or environment (Tweed and Sutherland 2007). One reason for this stagnation can be down to what many critical heritage theorists have started to address within the heritage discourse, the control over the dominant concept of heritage by a heritage elite, including historians, antiquarians, heritage scholars, and governing actors who maintain traditional perspectives and are obsessed with preserving old traditions (De Cesari & Herzfeld 2015; Meskell 2015). This heritage elite has also been criticized for gatekeeping the heritage discourse by using an excessively technical language, leading to the exclusion of a large segment of society (Smith 2006).

The concept of heritage is complex and influenced by numerous power dynamics. While it has become a crucial aspect in addressing climate change, economic and social inequalities, conflicts, political differences, and cultural preservation through organizations such as UNESCO and ICOMOS, the concept is simultaneously scrutinized within the heritage debate for its overly influence on humanity. As Harrison (2013) argues has the mechanisms for categorizing, cataloguing, and managing the past become so sophisticated that we have become largely unaware of the rapid and pervasive accumulation of heritage in our daily lives. This may have led to, as Edson (2004) and Lowenthal (1996) suggests, that people hold on to heritage because they want and need to, rather than because of any inherent value or socio-political or cultural relevance. People and preservationists may hold on to heritage as a way of finding stability and meaning in the face of change and loss. As Lowenthal (1996) describes this, when "mourning past neglect, we cherish islands of security in seas of change".

3.3 People's relation to heritage environments

Based on the research presented earlier, it can be understood that built environments play a significant role in shaping our cities. Despite their importance, there is still a lack of understanding about how people relate and engage with their heritage. Two noteworthy studies that explore the relationship between the civic population and built environments are Laurajane Smith's (2021) Registers of Engagement, which examines how heritage sites and cultural museum exhibitions affect and are affected by people's emotional responses and engagement, and Christopher Tweed and Margaret Sutherland's (2007) assessment tool, a survey technique developed for planning professionals to understand citizens' relationships and reactions to changes in the built environment.

Smith's Register of Engagement is a two-part analytical framework designed to understand the emotional responses and engagement of people at heritage sites and cultural museum exhibitions. The framework is based on a study in which Smith interviewed 4,502 visitors at 45 different history and culture museums and heritage sites in England, the United States, and Australia. The framework consists of three components: (1) intensity, which examines the degree of engagement a visitor has with a site, including low, shallow, intense, platonic, or passionate; (2) valence, which assesses whether the experience left the visitor feeling positive, negative, or neutral; and (3) tensions between conservative and progressive/liberal social and political values, which examines how a person perceives and engages with heritage performance from a socio-political perspective. These three components are further supported by six Modes of Engagement (MoE):

Embodiment, Affect, Emotion, and Cognition, Performing Memory, Imagination and Playfulness, Scale and Scope, and Ideology.

“My starting assumption was that people as visitors have agency and are not passive audiences for curatorial and interpretive messages...Museums and heritage sites do not have a social impact without their audiences; there is an interrelationship between the work that museums and heritage sites do in constructing and telling stories and histories and how they are then understood and used by visitors” (Smith 2021, 3).

For a long time, scholars and professionals have held the dominant theory that the primary motivation for visitors to museums and heritage sites is to educate themselves. However, Smith's study shows that this theory is only partly correct, as emotions also play an equally important role. As highlighted by Smith, visitors frequently engage in performances that reinforce their existing beliefs, feelings, knowledge, and understanding, emotionally investing in their prior commitments. This suggests that a historical site or museum can act as a component of enhancement beyond its educational purpose, by consciously and sensorially engaging with individuals' pre-existing memories, beliefs, and identities.

Tweed and Sutherland's development of the assessment tool was also a response to the lack of understanding and investigation into people's relationship with heritage environments, in particular historic environments within urban settings. Although there have been optimistic developments of more social tools in the planning field in recent years, such as Social Impact Assessment (SIA), Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA), and Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), which aim to support the interests and well-being of the public in urban development projects (Regeringskansliet 2021), there has been little development in supporting people's opinions and engagement with heritage connected to built environments.

The assessment tool developed by Tweed and Sutherland (2007) is rooted in the SEA and EIA methodologies and aims to assess people's perceptions and emotions towards heritage in built environments, including proposed changes to these environments. The tool draws on earlier studies, such as Kevin Lynch's work on the perceptual form of urban environments, Pierre Bourdieu's social theory of taste, and Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs (see figure 5). The survey method is based on three main groups of indicators that seek to examine: (1) respondents' awareness of their surroundings through mood, familiarity, and perceived quality of the space; (2) respondents' recognition of and reaction to proposed interventions in a certain space; and (3) categorical indicators such as socioeconomic background, education level, and reasons for visiting the space. The authors conclude that the tool provides insights into people's perceptions and emotions towards

heritage environments, which can inform decision-making and planning processes for the preservation and development of these spaces.

“Buildings are essential to meeting basic needs in most climates if only to provide shelter from hostile conditions. However, buildings are never purely functional and so they also contribute to satisfaction of higher needs. The most mundane buildings can acquire higher level meanings, often unintentionally, and these meanings may be quite different, even diametrically opposed, for different groups of people” (Tweed and Sutherland 2007, 64).

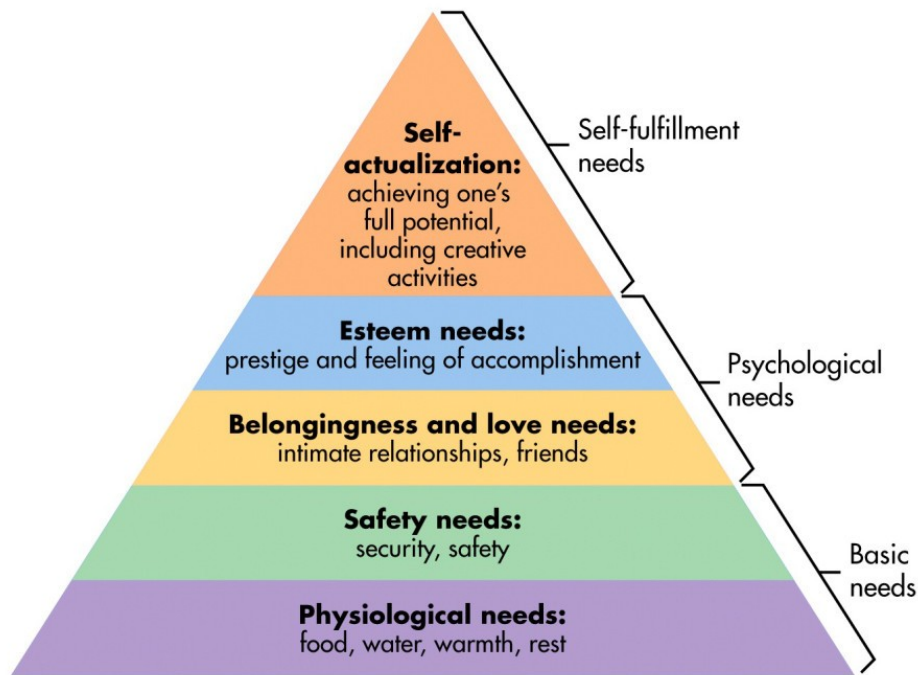


Figure 5. Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Source: The School of Life n.d.

Both Tweed and Sutherland's (2007) assessment tool and Smith's (2021) study conclude that built heritage has a significant impact on people, both physically and emotionally. According to Tweed and Sutherland (2007, 68), "The built environment exerts a major influence on citizens' everyday experiences, but interaction between people and the built environment is complex and operates at different levels". Smith (2021) adds that heritage sites not only elicit emotions but also physically enhance understanding and bring clarity to certain issues or memories. Even the journey to a site can act as a secular pilgrimage to further enhance the meaning and value of the final destination and/or memory. Despite this, there is still a lack of understanding about people's interaction with built heritage, which is reflected in the absence of legislation to address it, as noted by Tweed and Sutherland (2007).

Chapter 4 | Theoretical framework

Given the earlier research, it is evident that heritage profoundly impacts societies and remains deeply ingrained in our existence. To better understand the relationship between cultural heritage and planning, this section will focus on recurring themes identified during the literature research. *Social Sustainability, Memory & Emotions, and Power Dynamics* are three critical themes that this study found serving as key building blocks encapsulating a range of subtopics discussed in heritage studies and urban planning debates. The theoretical framework will explore these themes to further highlight the role of heritage in shaping urban development processes and environments.

4.1 Social Sustainability

With the pressing matter of climate change and urban growth the planning field and urban scholars are still evaluating how cities can best evolve and strengthen its resilience for future challenges (Fouseki et al. 2020). Whilst many nations have turned to the Sustainable City approach as a go-to solution, particularly after UN's call in 2015 for signing up to Agenda 2030 and its 17th Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations 2015) there is a universal understanding among professionals that the social dimension is greatly lacking behind the economic and environmental dimensions. The first theme of this theoretical framework will therefore explore the social dimension of development, with a particular focus on the role of culture in sustainable development.

In the past, the focus of sustainability has been primarily on economic and environmental dimensions. According to experts, this is due to the established international practices and methods for environmental and economic arguments. Social sustainability, on the other hand, has been criticized for being poorly developed, hard to measure, abstract to implement, and difficult to demonstrate results throughout the development process (Chan & Lee 2008; Landorf 2019). The definition of social sustainability, like sustainability itself, is fluid and subject to interpretation. Tunström's (2019) explanation highlights that social sustainability is not only about considering environmental sustainability in the context of people and politics but also encompasses social interactions and networks that are separate from the environment. In the context of urban planning, a socially sustainable project is one that fosters harmonious living, reduces social inequality, and improves overall quality of life. This can be achieved through various measures, such as providing essential social infrastructure, creating job opportunities, improving accessibility and safety, enhancing psychological well-being and involving the public in planning processes to increase that the actions taken adequately reflect the needs of the people. Well-designed townscapes that preserve

local character can also contribute to a sense of belonging and visual satisfaction (Chan & Lee 2008; Macnaghten & Jacobs 1997).

Furthermore, the focus on sustainability in planning processes over the past three decades has brought about a paradigm shift in the way culture is viewed. Culture, which was once denigrated in development circles, is now recognized as a celebrated cornerstone of development (Lafrenz Samuels & Lilley, 2015). According to Labadi and Gould (2015, 200), culture is defined as the "complex and constantly changing set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional features that characterize a society or social group", and it is now considered a legitimate participant in sustainable development. This change in narrative has not only elevated the value of culture but has also demonstrated how heritage, when used sensibly and sustainably, can positively impact economic growth, public well-being, social identity, and a sense of belonging.

With the recognition of cultural heritage as a crucial aspect of community and social well-being there is an increasing focus on involving citizens and communities in managing cultural heritage. However, there is an ongoing debate surrounding heritage accessibility, what should be considered culturally valuable, and who should have the authority to define it. Traditionally, cultural value has been assigned to buildings and objects deemed to have cultural, architectural, and historical significance by the social elite. In Sweden, the term "fine culture" has been used since the 1970s to illustrate this perception. It not only separates "good" culture from "bad," but also serves as a status symbol for the dominant classes to assert their power and belonging in society over the lower classes. Cultural sociologist Bourdieu referred to this as a way for the dominant classes to separate themselves from the lower classes by holding the "correct" view of what constitutes "fine culture" (Magnusson & Wärlöf Bové 2019).

Despite the increasing availability of cultural resources, not everyone has equal access to them, particularly when it comes to heritage sites. Factors such as disability, cultural background, physical accessibility, and socio-economic status can all play a role in determining how accessible a site is (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2017). Additionally, studies conducted in Sweden and abroad have shown that the majority of visitors to cultural and historical sites are well-educated and come from higher economic backgrounds (Adie & Hall 2016; Magnusson & Wärlöf Bové 2019). This understanding raises the critical question of who the recognised heritage is for and who are the decision-makers of it. As with urban development, which saw a shift in the 1970s towards "bottom-up" decision-making that recognized citizens and local communities as valuable contributors to development processes (Kostešić et al. 2019), similar shifts are becoming noticeable in heritage management.

According to Rautenberg's theory, when experts label sites, buildings, and objects as culturally important, it is a form of Heritage by designation. However, there are indications of a shift towards what the theory calls Heritage by appropriation, where the value is determined by the public through their behaviour and use, rather than by expert designation. This transformation reflects a growing democratization of culture, where citizens have a larger role in deciding what is considered cultural. The change is attributed to recent socioeconomic changes and a broadening of cultural classifications to include quality, experience, and personal connection (Tweed & Sutherland 2007). While the presence of heritage experts will likely persist in the field, the dominant management strategy of preservation is becoming a thing of the past. There is now a growing acceptance of diverse perspectives in the process, allowing previously excluded voices to participate.

4.2 Memory & Emotions

The upcoming theme will centre on the impact of emotions and sentiments in shaping humanity's connection with heritage, specifically in relation to collective heritage, collective memory, and nostalgia. While examining the social aspects of heritage and its practical impact on urban development is important, delving into the emotional dimension of heritage can provide a more profound comprehension of how feelings can affect urban development processes. As previously mentioned in the works of Smith (2021) and Tweed and Sutherland (2007), emotions have an essential role in shaping our encounters with heritage.

According to Smith (2021), heritage evokes emotions that help to define and validate both individual and collective meanings and impacts in the present. These emotions are shaped by social and political experiences, and different forms of heritage – authorized and dissonant – can elicit different emotional responses and validate different uses. Additionally, can individuals, as much as any group, ascribe meaning and identity to heritage, in particular when emotions are at the forefront (McDowell 2008). The complexity of heritage therefore lies in its openness to interpretation, as anyone can assign meaning to it. According to McDowell (2008) are there numerous types of memories; official/unofficial, public/private, local/national, societal, historical, collective, communal, post-memory, literal, exemplary, and not least, emotional. They are commonly referenced according to scale where, for instance, individual or private memory may involve personal experiences such as suffering or loss; the local or communal draw their collective memories from key events or experiences that have occurred within smaller groups; societal

memories, on the other hand, draw their narratives from the past that are sympathetic to larger groups (e.g. populations) which is similar to public and national memory.

Collective memory is a complex, non-linear process influenced by social and political factors. It allows groups to create and shape their own versions of the past, often distinguishing themselves from others with different interpretations of historical events. Narrators, such as nation-states, political parties, spiritual leaders, academic elites, and media, can influence heritage-making and determine which elements to include or exclude (Neiger et al. 2011). Nostalgia is a form of collective memory characterized by a sentimental longing for a romanticized past that cannot be regained. While Tierney (2013) suggests that nostalgia can counteract feelings of loneliness, boredom, and anxiety and promote generosity towards strangers and tolerance of differences, Cunningham Bissell (2005) examines nostalgia through the complex lens of colonialism. For example, colonial nostalgia was prominent in conservative movements such as Reagan in the 1980s US and Thatcher in the UK, where evoking emotions about a grand, bygone era was used as a tactic to sway public opinion before an election. A tactic that is not uncommon in modern societies either (Dunin-Wasowicz 2017). Although nostalgia may evoke bittersweet emotions, its overall impact, according to Tierney (2013), is to imbue life with more meaning and decrease the fear of death. When people reflect on the past with a touch of longing, they tend to become more optimistic and motivated about the future.

Another way to comprehend the emotional and sensory bond that humanity has with built heritage is by examining the concept of "Sense of place," which refers to the sensory and spiritual essence of a building or landscape. The sense of place is the relationship between things in a place and how individuals or groups experience them. Environments, consisting of physical structures and frameworks, can be perceived through sensory elements like form, material, colour, and directional emphasis, leaving lasting memories and images. When spaces are infused with cultural myths, rituals, and social structures, they become more than just physical structures and instead become spatial constructs of architectural, historical, sensory, and conscious relationships (Malnar & Vodvarka 2004). McDowell (2008) sees no surprise in that modern societies today mark places as representatives of memories. A landscape through its surroundings can act as a resource for the interpretation and articulation of heritage, a pictorial way of representing history. A common example are sites that are connected to conflicts or tragic events. These places become representatives of a heritage belonging to particular individuals, groups or communities. Consequently, places that people feel connected to, either physically or emotionally, are bound to create notions of belonging (or not belonging), ownership as well as identity.

The spirit of a place in combination with nostalgia has seemingly become an affective approach, not least for nation-states as Macdonald have recalled. In Europe, Macdonald (2013) has seen a rise in what she calls the transformation towards a memoryland. What she refers to is the continents erratic preoccupation with preventing potential loss of communal memory and the preservation of it. Through the creation of heritage sites, museums, memorials, plaques and art installations are the public to be reminded of histories in the meantime keeping the collective memory alive. However, Macdonald notes that this can lead to the past being turned into "The Past," with certain social groups' values being validated over others and ownership of heritage being assigned. Collective heritage can serve as a strong binding force for social groups by uniting people, creating a sense of belonging, and building identities. However, the close connection between emotions and heritage also increases the risk of misuse. There is a danger of certain groups being favoured over others or of heritage being exploited for profit rather than human welfare.

4.3 Power Dynamics

This final theme will explore the perspectives and interests of governing parties and stakeholders involved in heritage management. As previously discussed, the universal heritage system has been heavily criticized for neglecting vulnerable groups and for being controlled by an elite group focused on preserving old traditions rather than adapting to the needs of the modern world. This system has also been criticized for its "conservation ethic," which often disregards public ownership, opinion, and involvement in heritage, and for imposing its principles on other ways of preserving heritage (Meskell & Brumann 2015).

The contemporary concept of heritage has expanded beyond traditional objects such as artefacts, sculptures, paintings, historical buildings, and archaeological sites, to include intangible legacies such as oral history, music, performances, and rituals, as well as photographs and manuscripts. This expansion has opened up cultural heritage to neoliberalism, allowing it to reach a wider market and giving rise to new forms of governance. International organizations, non-governmental organizations, states, and local governments are working to verify local and regional heritage in order to boost the economy, all under the guise of combating poverty, bringing social groups together, creating employment, and preventing rural-to-urban migration. However, this commodification of heritage, or "heritagization," which transforms performances, locations, and objects into heritage for economic gain, has been criticized for interfering with ownership and territorialities, as well as leading to issues of cultural appropriation and exploitation (Alonso González 2019; Coombe & Baird 2016).

Investments and profit-making in heritage can seemingly create complex situations and as understood even lead to conflicts. From a global perspective, conflicts over heritage are often linked to the increasing influence of the universal heritage concept. Minority groups, such as indigenous or religious communities, may face privatisation, alienation, or monumentalisation of their spaces in the name of neoliberalism and the dominant heritage principles, leading to disputes (De Cesari & Herzfeld 2015). On a local level, heritage conservation within urban development has repeatedly led to gentrification, especially when heritage is used as a strategic tool in urban regeneration projects. Urban regeneration is a sustainable, integrated process commonly carried out by local governments in collaboration with real estate developers and other financial stakeholders to address economic, social, ecological, and physical degradation in a specific building or urban area. The goal is to reuse and repurpose obsolete buildings or degraded spaces to meet the growing demand for housing and boost financial revenue (Chan & Lee 2008).

The concept of reusing old buildings and spaces is environmentally responsible. However, urban renewal projects can lead to negative consequences, including the dismantling of existing social networks, displacement of vulnerable groups, and degradation of living environments (Chan & Lee 2008). Gentrification, which often occurs when a redevelopment leads to significant changes in the socioeconomic structure, is a common issue. This phenomenon results in previous residents being priced out of the area due to rising rents while new, wealthier residents move in. This trend is especially prevalent in areas with rich cultural and historical value, where heritage is used as a marketing tool (Kostešić et al. 2019).

Dean's study of heritage as a selling point – the Barrio Italia case

A relevant study that sheds light on the use of heritage in regeneration processes was conducted by Dean in 2017. As previously discussed, collective memory and nostalgia can be powerful tools in attaching significance to buildings and landscapes (McDowell, 2008). When combined with heritage as a marketing tool, degraded neighbourhoods can be revitalized. This was evident in Barrio Italia, a neighbourhood in the Chilean city of Santiago. A restoration project utilized the past to create a sense of familiarity for long-time residents and appeal to new social groups and visitors. The neighbourhood, which was previously a housing and industrial area dating back to the late 1800s, underwent a transformation and became a trendy design and business district. Dean examined this transformation by analysing how the case was utilized in a local guidebook.

According to Dean (2017), the guidebook portrayed the area as a place where tradition and modernity coexist, with heritage being emphasized as both material and cultural. The language used in the guidebook repeatedly emphasized the significance of the past, using terms such as "barrio," "heritage," and "nostalgia," which Dean refers to as a "narrative of nostalgia". The guidebook also included images of old refurbished houses, many with their facades still intact (See figure 6 – 7). However, what Dean found particularly noteworthy was the seemingly peculiar way in which these houses were valued.

"In relation to how reused houses are valued, old conversions can be called heritage because they preserve culture (traditional businesses); new conversions can be called heritage because they preserve the material (traditional buildings). This fits both the old and the new into the same frame where both guard the past... they do not just recall the traditions of the past but make direct links between material and experience" (2017, 131).



Figure 6 – 7. Left: Traditional Conversions in Barrio Italia depicting a hair salon and convenience stores. Right: New Conversions in Barrio Italia, Commercially used building between two residences. Source: Dean 2017

Dean also emphasizes the role of emotions that have been recognized as a valid reason for preserving the area.

"While tradition and barrio may be valued already,...stressing the emotional link to the past raises it to the level of needing to be "saved" in an area where the buildings are not protected under heritage status and have not been historically valued in the culture of the city. (2017, 134).

Barrio Italia serves as a prime example of how heritage can be a powerful selling point for transforming an economically declining area into a popular destination. While Dean's study focuses on the area's portrayal in a guidebook, it provides insight into the type of area developers aimed to create during the revitalization project. The area did not have a current heritage designation, but the flexibility of heritage and its power indicate how potent it can be depending on who wields it. As Macdonald (2013) points out, the past can be constructed to become "The Past," illustrating that even buildings and environments without heritage designation can have their histories shaped and emphasized, particularly when serving certain agendas.

Chapter 5 | Methodology

5.1 Research design and Methods

This thesis employs a case-based design, utilizing the public discussion surrounding Valhallabadet's preservation as a study ground. The goal is to investigate how social heritage aspects are expressed among citizens and how governing and planning actors consider them during (re)development processes. As Hancké (2010, 233) notes, "the aim of social sciences is to understand the world as it is made by human beings, the structures and institutions they produce, and the actions they take within those structures." Urban change can be difficult, as it often disrupts one's familiar surroundings and everyday environments (Lowenthal 1996). Therefore, studying the public preservation debate expressed in local news articles not only sheds light on how redevelopment processes are communicated, perceived, and vocalized by the public and other relevant stakeholders, but also offers insight into how the dominant concept of heritage shapes what society deems significant to preserve in the urban environment.

Additionally, this study employed an iterative research approach, as suggested by Bryman (2012, 26), which involves a constant "weaving back and forth between data and theory", as opposed to the more conventional deductive approach, where theory informs the observations and findings, or inductive approach, where observations and findings inform the theory. This approach was deemed necessary due to the relatively under-researched topic of social heritage's influence on citizens and urban development. As I have previously mentioned, this is a relatively new research area (Naheed and Shooshtarian 2022) that lacks a substantial body of resources to draw upon. This not only underscores the research gap but also the topic's broad and multifaceted nature, which demands an open and adaptable research methodology.

5.2 Data collection

For the data collection I mainly sought a qualitative approach, utilizing a literature review, content analysis, and interviews as the primary methods. With content analysis typically being considered a quantitative method (Bryman 2012), it could be argued that this study is a mixed-method approach. However, as discussed in the literature, the analysis of news articles and government reports/statements focused on how their content was expressed by the authors, rather than seeking patterns or generalizations through quantitative content analysis (Vromen 2010).

Literature review

As Hancké (2010) notes, a literature review should acknowledge that one is seldom the first to consider a problem and should therefore identify the theories that have influenced the study. While heritage is a multifaceted concept studied across diverse fields such as archaeology (Silva 2008), psychology (Schofield 2015), ecology (Haslam et al. 1997), tourism (Dicks 2004), and politics (Joy 2016), this thesis focuses primarily on understanding heritage from an urban studies perspective. To achieve this, I choose to divide the literature review into two main sections: previous research and theoretical framework. The previous research section provides a comprehensive review of key concepts and debates surrounding the global understanding of heritage as a concept, as well as the role of cultural heritage in urban development. In contrast, the theoretical framework focuses specifically on three key areas that are significant to the heritage and urban development discussion. These three concepts encompass various sub-concepts that have been repeatedly observed in heritage and urban studies (see Table 1). As I will elaborate in a later section, these three concepts form the basis for the analytical framework used in the analysis, results, and discussion chapter.

Table 1. Key concepts with sub-concepts recognised as significant within heritage and urban studies.

KEY CONCEPTS			
	Social Sustainability	Memory & Emotions	Power Dynamics
SUB-CONCEPTS	Social dimension; sustainable cities; social values; public participation; inclusivity; democracy; heritage by appropriation	Collective heritage; identity; belonging; memories; experiences; sense of place; interpretation; emotions; nostalgia	Stakeholders; local government; planners; civic; preservationists; regeneration; gentrification; commodification; heritagisation; social norms; narratives; leading voices

Content analysis

Apart from the literature review, the primary data collection method employed in this study involved an examination of local news articles published by Göteborgs-Posten and Göteborg Direkt between 2020 and 2022, which addressed the future of Valhallabadet and the redevelopment plans of the Event Area in Gothenburg (see Appendix I). These articles included journalistic reporting on the redevelopment plans and political discussions, as well as personal opinion pieces submitted by citizens who expressed their views on the demolition plans for Valhallabadet. Additionally, four reports and statements issued by the Gothenburg Municipal Board and the City of Gothenburg were also analysed (see Table 2).

For the content analysis, a document-based qualitative analysis technique was utilized. Although content analysis is typically seen as a quantitative method (Bryman 2012), this study followed a particular approach outlined by Vromen (2010) that concentrates on texts that convey an actor's position and does not depend on secondary sources like scholarly journal articles. The news articles and government reports were evaluated for their contextual meaning, which included reconstructing a historical sequence of events and gaining insight into stakeholder perspectives. However, since news articles and government reports may include secondary sources (Vromen 2010), they were analysed with this in mind.

Table 2. Examined reports and statements

City of Gothenburg. 2016	Strategy for Gothenburg's swimming and bathing facilities. Investigation Sports & association. Diary number: 0538/15.
City of Gothenburg Municipal Board. 2022	Act 2022 no. 84. Investigation of new arena and urban development in the event area.
City Management Office. 2022	Final report. New Arena and urban development in the event area.
City Management Office. 2022	Service statement. Investigation of new arena and urban development in the event area. Diary number 0367/21.

Interviews

To supplement my primary research, I utilized semi-structured and unstructured interviews as a second research method. Bryman (2012) notes that these types of interviews typically involve either a single question or a set of questions that are tailored to the research topic yet, encourage both the interviewee and the interviewer to respond and adjust to an open-ended discussion. By using this

method, I was able to engage in in-depth discussions about the findings discovered in news articles and government reports. Additionally, the interviews provided valuable insights into the perspectives of those directly involved in the preservation debate and redevelopment process, as well as those with no prior involvement.

To accommodate the preferences of the interviewees and ensure that the interviews were conducted smoothly, two of the three semi-structured interviews were conducted via video call with Ulrika Samuelsson from the City of Gothenburg and Boel Melin from Higab, while the interview with Filip Laurits and Monica Bengtson from FASAD was conducted in person (see Table 3). For the semi-structured interviews, I had prepared a set of predetermined questions (see Appendix II) based on the data collected from various sources, such as the local news articles, the literature review, and the reports on the redevelopment process. All interviews were also recorded with the consent of the interviewees for transcription and analysis purposes.

I used unstructured interviews to gather insight into the opinions of citizens who may not be publicly involved in the preservation debate surrounding Valhallabadet. These were selected and conducted in a casual manner, all at different occasions, after I had initiated a conversation about my thesis study. I asked the participants, who in some way or another had a connection to Gothenburg, about their relationship to Valhallabadet and their opinion on the preservation debate surrounding the facility. This approach helped me understand if the opinions expressed were similar to those found in local newspapers and provided insight into the spread of the public debate beyond media.

Table 3. Semi-structured interviews

Boel Melin, Antiquarian, Higab AB	Advisor to the municipal real-estate company and contractor Higab on cultural heritage in built environments. Higab administer several key heritage buildings in Gothenburg, such as Valhallabadet and Villa Wernerska
Filip Laurits, President & Monica Bengtson, Member, FASAD	Non-profit association advocating for the conservation and safeguarding of historical buildings and landscapes in Gothenburg city.
Ulrika Samuelsson, City of Gothenburg	Head of unit and leading role in the development of the new central swimming facility. Sports and association administration / Development and competitive intelligence

Table 4. Unstructured interviews

Interviewee 1	Woman, 35 years old. Gothenburg resident since birth.
Interviewee 2	Man, 28 years old. Gothenburg resident since birth.
Interviewee 3	Woman, 70 years old. Born in Västra Götaland region but today resident in the east coast of Sweden
Interviewee 4	Man 63 years old. Born outside Gothenburg. Resident in the city since moving to the city as an 18 year old.

5.3 Data analysis

Analytical framework

In order to select, implement, organize, and analyse my research methods, I developed an analytical framework based on three key concepts identified during my literature review: *Social Sustainability*, *Memory and Emotions*, and *Power Dynamics*. These three concepts were recognised as significant within the urban and heritage discourse and together with their relevant sub-concepts became the foundation for my research approach. Applying an analytical framework within social research allows for the identification, description, and interpretation of key patterns within and across cases of interest, as highlighted by Goldsmith (2021). These three concepts not only influenced my data collection, but also guided my results, analysis, and discussion chapter, with the aim of recognizing recurring linkages between the theoretical findings and the data collected.

Examples of how I applied theoretical findings to the data include investigating how the City of Gothenburg incorporates social sustainability into its urban planning practices and examining whether preservationists perceive dominant heritage concepts as influential in local cases. Additionally, I explored theoretical perspectives on how people emotionally relate to heritage and how this manifests in practice. One particularly clear illustration of this was evident in public opinion pieces in local newspapers, where individuals described their frequent experiences with Valhallabadet or expressed their feelings about the potential demolition of the facility.

5.4 Research quality

Reliability and validity

When predominantly analysing public debates in local newspapers, there is a risk of individual differences fallacy, where the researcher interprets individual characteristics as representative of group characteristics (de Munck 2005). In this study, there is a possibility that opinion pieces published by citizens may not necessarily reflect the views of the larger community. To address this concern, conducting a larger public survey would have been advantageous, but this was not feasible due to time constraints. Instead, this study sought to mitigate this challenge by clearly indicating in the text when there are personal opinion pieces represented and acknowledging in the discussion that they represent a particular perspective rather than the views of all Gothenburg citizens. In terms of validity, this study also considers the possibility of sampling bias (Bryman 2012), where certain voices may be overrepresented. Local newspapers tend to highlight the most vocal citizens' voices in a debate, such as preservationists who use public communication outlets to express their opinions. However, this study attempted to address this concern by conducting unstructured interviews with randomly selected individuals to acknowledge that there are counteracting perspectives within the debate and society.

Positionality and ethical considerations

During the data collection process, I observed a prevailing research perspective in the reports on Valhallabadet's heritage, with authors either representing a local/personal bias or a heritage professional bias. While this is not necessarily a problem, I aimed to position myself as a newcomer to Gothenburg early on in the study to provide a different perspective on the topic. Despite being transparent about my positionality, I made a conscious effort to avoid introducing my personal opinion on Valhallabadet's survival to ensure that it did not influence the results. Ethical considerations were taken into account throughout the research process. For instance, the interviewees were informed of the study's aim and that their contributions would only be used for this thesis. Similarly, the interviewees who were contacted for their public position and involvement in the redevelopment plans and preservation debate were named, while the unstructured interviews and the authors of published opinion pieces in local newspapers were anonymized.

Chapter 6 | Results, Analysis & Discussion

This chapter presents, analyses, and discusses data collected from public news articles, government reports, and interviews concerning the public discussion surrounding Valhallabadet's future and the redevelopment of the Event Area. While Social Sustainability has been the leading concept for this thesis research, Memories & Emotions and Power Dynamics have emerged as significant factors in sustainable planning. To provide a clear structure for this chapter, I will address the analytical framework's concepts in a logical sequence. Firstly, I will explore the presence of social sustainability in the preservation debate surrounding Valhallabadet and the redevelopment plan for a new swimming facility. Then, I will examine how personal and collective experiences, memories, and emotions influence the discussions and planning related to the future of Valhallabadet and the Event Area. Finally, I will identify any power dynamics existing within the debate and among the various stakeholders involved (see Table 5).

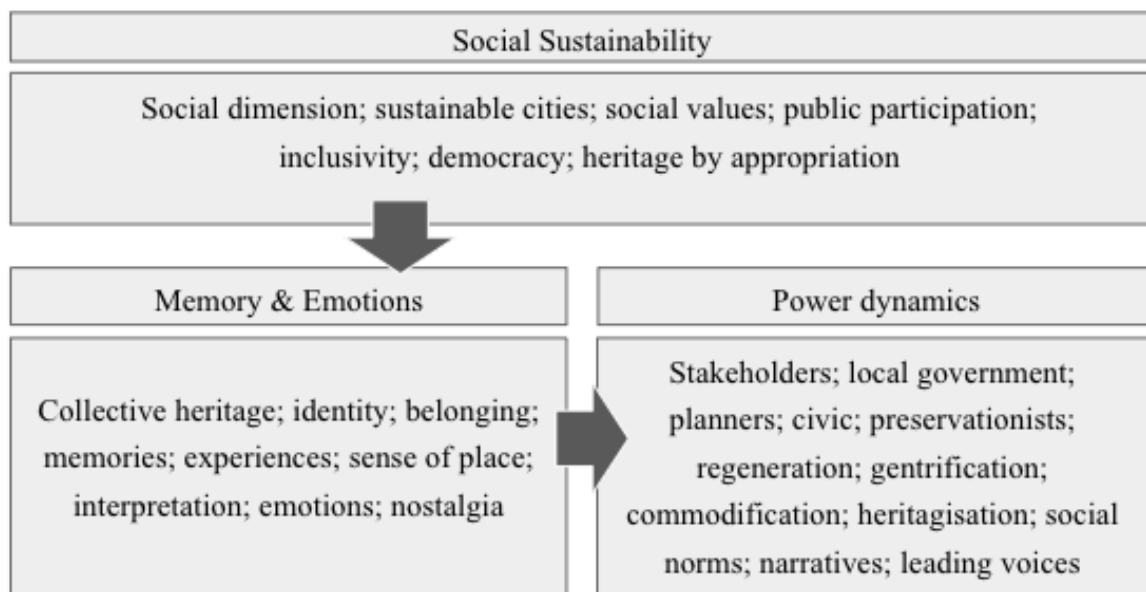


Table 5. Structure of the analysis and discussion in Chapter Six following the analytical framework.

The weighing arguments

Before analysing the findings according to the analytical framework's three concepts, a short introduction will be laid out on what seemingly have acted as the main arguments among the preservationists for why Valhallabadet should be preserved. For the past two decades, a variety of

sources, including research papers, local news articles, a public petition, and a Facebook group with 440 members, have voiced opposition to the demolition of Valhallabadet, regarding it as a cherished local landmark. Those who advocate for its preservation often prioritize its architectural significance, citing it as the facility's primary value. Although the building's structural quality has declined, some maintain that it still possesses potential, with many of its original features still intact (Lindgren & Peter 2013; Nilsson 2001). The second most frequently mentioned argument for preserving Valhallabadet is its environmental impact. Various sources highlight the depletion of natural resources that would occur if the existing building were to be demolished and a new facility constructed (Alström & Pleijel 2022; Laurits 2022). Sweden's construction sector is a significant contributor to greenhouse gas emissions, with over 20% of the total emissions coming from this sector. The primary sources of climate impact are the production of materials and products, as well as the emissions generated from energy consumption during the operational phase (The Swedish Construction Federation 2018).

Valhallabadet 2.0

Following the decision to demolish Valhallabadet, the next phase of the project will be to determine whether the new swimming facility will be a completely new structure or a revamped version, a "Valhallabadet 2.0." Before the demolition decision was made, a proposal was put forward to preserve Valhalla's cultural heritage while meeting modern swimming facility demands and keeping costs down. The proposal suggested retaining the main room, 25-meter pool, and mosaic wall, while replacing outdated areas with a new extension, as proposed by Pleijel and Svensson (2021). The Green Party supported this proposal, stating that it aligns with Gothenburg's vision as a sustainable city while preserving the building's unique cultural and historical significance (Larsson 2022).

However, with the partly preserve / partly redevelop proposal being discarded the current focus lies in the potential preservation of Valhallabadet's most highly coveted artwork, Nils Wedel's grand mosaic wall, amidst the demolition of the rest of the structure. During my discussion with the representatives from FASAD, Filip Laurits and Monica Bengtson expressed that they ultimately prefer the entire building to be saved, yet, agreed on preserving parts of it is preferable to losing it entirely. Nonetheless, they highlight that the mosaic wall, along with other original artifacts such as the Roman bath and other interior details, carries significant symbolic and "sense of place" value that could be lost if the building is demolished.

“If the alternative is to destroy it which almost happened with some paintings from the central station, then it's ok to preserve it.” - *Monica*

“In terms of its symbolism, however, I think it would lose its significance. Any artefacts kept would just become relics. They become a bit like when you demolish a building and only keep the facade. The whole soul disappears.” - *Filip*

In speaking with Boel Melin, the in-house antiquarian at Higab which is the property manager of Valhallabadet, she shared similar views with Filip and Monica. She believes that preserving the mosaic wall and other significant artefacts is essential if the worst-case scenario of demolition becomes inevitable. However, in addition to the discussion about the mosaic wall, she raises a question about how to view it. Should Nils Wedel's work be seen as a standalone art piece, or should it be considered part of the larger architecture?

“The mosaic wall could retain its symbolism in a new building, but not as part of the architecture, as it belongs to the entire room and was created as a whole. It is similar to the Sistine Chapel; if the ceiling art were to be moved to a train station, it would still be a work of art, but it would not be suitable for that location.” - *Boel*

As we progress through this chapter, it is worth considering whether the spirit of a place can be preserved or transferred to a new facility. Can memories and legacies maintain their symbolic power when detached from their original setting, or are they only meaningful in their original context? Upon examining the universal concept of heritage, the above discussion prompts the critical theory that both Edson (2004) and Lowenthal (1996) discusses, that humans seemingly have a need to preserve physical artifacts as a way to retain memories. They also point out the current lack among users of heritage to not critically examine the societal beliefs and values that inform our understanding of heritage and memory. Tweed and Sutherland (2007) talks about this issue too, particularly in the context of globalization and its impact on the definition and preservation of cultural heritage in the diverse societies that we live in today. While this topic is vast and complex, it is a vital question to raise, particularly within the context of urban preservation debates. It begs the question: how much of our preservation efforts are influenced by dominant cultural norms, and to what extent are we critically evaluating and questioning these beliefs?

6.1 Social Sustainability | *The attention to social dimension within the new development*

In light of the ongoing debate surrounding the future of Valhallabadet, it is essential to analyze the development plans for a new swimming facility, which is what we know today to be the direction in which Valhallabadet's future is heading. This thesis study primarily focuses

on the social dimension in sustainable planning processes and how social heritage plays a critical role in this aspect. While it is important to note that development processes for revitalization projects can be extensive and complex, with various significant aspects to consider such as stakeholder perspectives and construction feasibility, the social dimension has gained more prominence since the adoption of Agenda 2030. However, as previously mentioned, studies have shown that the social dimension often takes a back seat to the economic and environmental dimensions in urban development processes (Chan & Lee 2008; Landorf 2011), making it particularly intriguing to investigate its integration in the planning process of Valhallabadet's replacement.

To gain insight into the extent to which the social dimension has been considered in the new project, I contacted Ulrika Samuelsson, a key figure in the City of Gothenburg's plan for a new swimming facility. In our interview, she confirmed that social sustainability is starting to become more integrated into city planning projects, although it still needs more attention. She did however express confidence in that social considerations will be taken into account in the planning of the new facility.

“This is such a complex project if you consider that it regards the entire Event Area, not only a new swimming facility. There is also a difference when building on undeveloped land. Then you can do what suits you best. It doesn't work here. In that way, it is very challenging at the same time, you are also forced to take into account and think in slightly different ways than what you normally do. We also know that it is such a prioritized project within politics, which means that you cannot lose anything along the way, which we who work within the project know. There is a great awareness among everyone. And we are so many different people with different skills, different approaches, different driving forces and I think it is those parameters that mean we will ensure social sustainability through the course of the project.” - *Ulrika*

The local development report "*Strategy for Gothenburg's Swimming and Bathing Facilities*" and the City Management Office's statement and final report on "*Investigation of new arena and urban development in the Event Area*" do address the social dimension too, including factors such as the population's swimming skills, public health, availability of swimming facilities, organized sports opportunities, and demographic, inclusive, and cultural challenges. However, these reports overlook the historical and social significance of built environments to citizens. Social heritage, which refers to the socio-intangible aspects of heritage such as the impact of built environments on social cohesion, social values, identity, and collective memory, appears to be absent not only in local planning reports but also in the overall discussion. In my interview with Filip Laurits and Monica Bengtson from FASAD, they

confirmed that they have never experienced the concept of social heritage being addressed at a decision-making level. They stated:

“The social heritage in comparison with the aesthetic and historical is precisely what the politicians miss. I have never heard anyone attach any importance to them at all.” -
Monica

“We talked a little about that when meeting with our friend associations, about exactly how much social values are cared for. At that point it struck me that I read a lot about how social values should be protected and benefited when building something new. Even mentioned in the master plan. But when a building is to be demolished, then you bring attention to the cultural-historical values [...] but the social heritage of the building completely fall through the cracks.” - *Filip*

Higab, the property manager of Valhallabadet, did not include social heritage (or even the social dimension) in their maintenance plan for the current swimming facility either (Higab AB 2021). Boel Melin explained in our interview that social aspects are not a regular part of Higab's work but are instead something she advocates for as the in-house antiquarian. She believes that social heritage is not given as much attention as architectural heritage because it is not widely recognized or understood outside heritage work. This may be why social heritage isn't addressed as much as architectural heritage in preservation debates and development plans. Boel further emphasized that if Valhallabadet were to be demolished, the potential loss of its social heritage as a significant meeting place for people in the city could be the primary reason for public opposition.

"If you sit in the entrance for an hour, you will notice the diverse group of people who visit Valhallabadet. It's a place where people of all ages and backgrounds come together. The swimming facility is a powerful community hub, and its potential demolition is what will hurt people the most. Valhallabadet has been a beloved part of people's lives and a symbol of their personal and familial history, and that loss would be difficult for the community to bear." - *Boel*

After conducting my research, it has become clear that one of the main concerns among the public regarding the potential closure of Valhallabadet is its significance as a democratic public swimming facility that has always been open to everyone. There is a fear that the new swimming facility will mainly serve swimming associations and tourists, neglecting the needs and desires of regular visitors who value the current facility's historical and social significance. During my conversation with Ulrika at the City of Gothenburg, she

acknowledged these concerns and explained that they are being taken into account in the planning process. She stated that the ultimate goal is to create a new central swimming facility that is just as accessible to the citizens of Gothenburg as it is to outside visitors or elite swimmers. However, the city has changed since Valhallabadet's opening in 1956, with increased density and segregation, making it challenging for any sports facility to cater to everyone. Nevertheless, Ulrika emphasized the importance of maintaining Valhallabadet's inclusivity and striving to welcome everyone, regardless of their cultural and socio-economic status, for the benefit of public health.

“We do plan for the new facility to be able to hold big events but at the same time welcome you as a citizen to have a leisurely swim. One of our large target groups is families, because it is a common activity for them to go swimming when the weather is bad. Early exposure to water is crucial for young children to become comfortable and confident swimmers later in life. Fear of water can hinder the learning process, making it more challenging to acquire swimming skills.”

When addressing how they will attain a social focus in the development process, Ulrika says:

“The City of Gothenburg always conducts Social Impact Analysis (SKA) and Child Impact Analysis (BKA). [...] It will also be extra important to conduct the public participation dialogues since it is there where we can have the dialogue about what the objective is with the new facility.”

Although the development plan for the new swimming facility is still in its early stages, it is encouraging to note that the social dimension is taken into account in the planning process. However, a noticeable discrepancy exists in communicating this to the public. As this chapter will later present and discuss, a dominant division exists between concerned citizens and governing actors. With Gothenburg's history of "demolition hysteria," it is likely that old wounds among citizens are being stirred up. Therefore, it would have been wise for politicians to maintain clear and informative communication, not only presenting the new facility as a necessary development for a growing city but also addressing how it would account for the significant legacy left behind when a central social hub such as Valhalla is demolished. However, as Ulrika expressed, there will be increased public involvement in the planning process at a later stage. This could potentially ease the concerns of citizens and facilitate a smoother transition between the old and new, while also allowing citizens to feel more engaged in the changes happening in their city.

6.2 Memory & Emotions | *Social legacies and varying narratives*

As discussed in the theoretical chapter, delving into the emotional dimension of heritage can provide a deeper understanding of how feelings and memories impact preservation debates and urban development processes. Emotions not only shape our relationship with heritage and urban environments, but also influence what we perceive as valuable to preserve (Smith 2021; Tweed and Sutherland 2007). For Ulrika and her colleagues at the City of Gothenburg, these emotional and social aspects present a significant challenge when it comes to replacing a beloved and longstanding meeting place that has served both locals and outsiders for many years.

To understand the social and emotional heritage that Valhallabadet represents, it was essential to examine the types of stories and anecdotes being shared around the public swimming facility. Even before starting my research for this thesis, I became aware of Valhallabadet's special place in the hearts of many Gothenburg locals. This was further evident during data collection, where I analyzed numerous testimonials from reports, social media, and local newspapers. However, it is worth to mention that opinions and stories presented in local news articles are already curated, either by the choice of the publisher or by the person who chooses to send in their written piece. This means that not all voices or opinions of the public are represented. To counter this and to gain insights into other perspectives among the public who may not speak out publicly, I conducted unstructured interviews.

After analyzing public opinion pieces and testimonials expressing support for the preservation of Valhallabadet, it is clear that there is a multitude of memories and emotions associated with the facility. Authors are not just recounting personal anecdotes and experiences but are also using creative storytelling techniques to evoke emotions in their readers and transport them to the site. This not only emphasizes the author's emotions but also captures the reader's emotions, creating a powerful connection between the reader and Valhallabadet.

“I almost never meet old people. There are few good, genuine, established meeting places where citizens from all over the city meet. A good meeting place grows slowly, organically and silently. Like Valhallabadet – a place for anyone. [...] it is of course possible to build a new central swimming facility. But it is not only the necessity for the public to be able to have a swim that is needed to be fulfilled. It's decades of flip-floppy lifeguards' quiet heaving and sighing, important decisions in the sauna, conversations, high steps to reach the next level in the stands, bacon snacks in the cafe, the talk in the

wicker chairs, the flick of the towel. The routines and slippery thresholds are all part of something bigger.”

- Columnist piece, Göteborgs-Posten February, 26th 2021

The above testimonial provides a personal perspective on the experience of Valhallabadet, but it also reflects on the characteristics of events that many people can likely relate to and have experienced when visiting the swimming facility. As such, it represents what could be considered a collective memory, comprising a range of small and large experiences that are likely to be repeated on a daily basis for any visitor to the facility. The next testimonial shares a personal experience and perspective of Valhallabadet too, yet, it goes beyond a simple recollection and becomes a personal anecdote, as the author describes the swimming facility as a sanctuary during times of bodily ailments, evoking empathy within the reader.

“Took the flex line down to Valhalla today to swim again for a bit. There is probably no better medicine to get when you are in pain from head to toe. Long since I felt so good, could take quite a few swims. Hope the facility can remain for many, many more days.”

- This weeks poem “Save Valhallabadet”. Göteborg Direkt May 28th 2022

Other testimonials, such as the one coming up, place greater emphasis on the facility’s service to sports community’s. It highlights that Valhallabadet has not only provided the necessary facilities for sports diving but has also been a significant meeting place for personal encounters and the formation of long-lasting relationships. Also, that it has been a key factor in the expansion of the sport in the country.

“Valhallabadet is the institution or facility in the country that has meant the most to the development of Swedish port diving. It is because the founders of the country’s first dive shop Aqua-Sport, the pioneers Dennis Österlund and Ingvar Elfström started courses in sports diving at the bath. [...] Valhallabadet was for several decades a natural meeting point. [...] Here you met like-minded people, exchanged experiences and acquired a well-founded knowledge of both the technical equipment as the physical laws that apply when staying in water. [...] Even today, there are diving clubs and individual sports divers who use Valhallabadet as a base for training and education.”

- Testimonial, response to article published in Göteborgs-Posten November 30th 2022. Retrieved from FASAD.

Among all the emotions at play in the numerous testimonials found around Valhallabadet there are of course those that show clear evidence of frustration and lack of understanding in regards to the demolition decision and redevelopment.

“How do you think – or do you think at all – when you consider building a swimming facility for 3 billion!?! In Gothenburg, there never seems to be an end to the drunkenness and waste. You have a plethora of projects that are investigated and postponed or closed that cost huge sums of tax money straight down the river. The cable car, Frihamnen, Jubileumsparken, Skeppsbron, and so on. And the latest in the line a bathhouse in Gullbergsgvass for an unimaginable 3 billion! [...] Think again and think right and, above all, think about the taxpayers’ money at some point!”

- Public opinion piece in Göteborgs-Posten June 14th 2020.

“Read about a new swimming facility that is planned to be developed here in Gothenburg. A swimming facility that has a price tag of around 1.7 billion and should be ready by 2029. Then I wonder, someone who regularly swims at Valhallabadet, what is wrong with the current facility? You can’t get a better location, can you? Close to both Liseberg, Scandinavium and Ullevi. I experience Valhallabadet as a perfect swimming hall. Of course there are some flaws which is not that strange. The bath was inaugurated in 1956. Why not spend a few million to refurbish our Valhalla?”

- Public opinion piece in Göteborgs-Posten January 17th 2022.

When gathering information about the public's emotional connection to Valhallabadet, relying solely on text testimonials leaves it to be a one-way conversation. In contrast, conducting unstructured interviews allowed me to gain a wider variety of responses. It also gave interviewees the freedom to choose whatever they wanted to share about their experiences or relationship with Valhallabadet. For example, during my conversation with a 35-year-old woman (1), she revealed that she first visited Valhallabadet as part of her primary school's swimming lessons and later used it as her training ground for her professional swimming career as a teenager. Another interviewee, a 28-year-old man (2), recounted his own primary school experiences at Valhallabadet:

“What I remember the most from my first visits at Valhallabadet is being a small kid standing on the geometric tiled floors with the towering ceiling above, feeling quite vulnerable from only wearing my swimming trunks, all while listening to the strict swimming instructor. It very much felt like a health institution from the 1950s.”

- Interviewee 2, man 28, 2022.

The third interviewee, a 70-year-old woman (3), spoke of Valhallabadet as being one of her first long-distance travels when she was in primary school:

“Gothenburg and Valhallabadet was my first school trip outside my home town Skara (130km from Gothenburg). I must have been about 12 years old at the time, so in 1965. One of my strongest memories from that visit was the bath attendant scolding us kids for being mischievous I guess”

- Interviewee 3, woman 70, 2022

All three accounts, without the knowledge of each other, recounts their experience with Valhallabadet as childhood experiences and memories. With the first two interviewees being born in Gothenburg it is not that strange since the facility has for long served as the main place where many young Gothenburg citizens have learnt how to swim. In the third account, there is also evidence of a childhood memory although being born in another city. Whilst the first account is a very informative, the two others choose a greater nostalgic path in their storytelling, taking the listener on a journey of their experience at Valhallabadet.

As seen from the numerous testimonials and accounts, it is evident that Valhallabadet has played a recurring role in the lives of many people over the past seventy years. The public swimming facility has become a cherished place for generations to gather and create memories. Both for locals and outside visitors. Upon analyzing the testimonials, it became clear that individuals tend to prioritize their personal perspectives over the collective value of places like Valhallabadet. However, when articles describe Valhallabadet's collective value, they often draw on memories from significant characteristics or events that have been shared by many. This observation is consistent with McDowell's (2008) theory that memories come in different forms and scales. Private memories are primarily focused on personal experiences, while communal and societal memories pertain to the collective, such as events shared among larger groups.

However, as earlier approached in the theoretical chapter can a memory mean different things to different people. Likewise can it be interpreted and conveyed in various ways. While there are many positive testimonials about Valhallabadet, it is important to acknowledge that the facility is associated with a range of memories and experiences. The anecdote of interviewee 1, did hold a follow-up story wherein she detailed how a fall on the wet tiled floor transformed her relationship with the facility, leading to an enduring fear and ultimately,

the termination of her professional swimming career. Another testimony from a regular visitor, a 63-year old man (4), that I spoke to conveyed his perspective on Valhallabadet as concerns about the behavior of some visitors who appear to use the facility in a careless manner:

"It's like some of the visitors have been at Valhallabadet for so many years that they engage with the place as if it would be in the comfort of their own home. They throw their clothes everywhere in the dressing room, taking little consideration to other swimmers who are also sharing the same communal space"

- Interviewee 4, man 63, 2022

While the testimonials from interviewee 1 and 4 may be evaluated as neutral or negative natured, they are still valid voices in the preservation discussion. Similarly, incidents of far more disturbing nature, such as a recount of sexual harassment occurring at Valhallabadet (Olsson 2014), is not typically included in the preservation debate either. These more complex stories and experiences are not uncommon but are often overlooked or not given priority in discussions about the heritage of built environments. This does not only highlight the lack of representation in the preservation debate but also the importance of recognizing that narratives can include different perspectives, and that not all stories are given equal opportunity to be voiced.

In my conversation with Ulrika from City of Gothenburg, she also acknowledged that while Valhallabadet is cherished by many, it evokes less favorable memories for some. The question of which legacies and aspects should be carried over to a new facility, and which should be left behind, will be a complex one, given that the new central swimming facility is likely to be viewed as a successor to Valhallabadet. For some, a new facility may represent a fresh start, a blank canvas for new experiences and memories. Leaving less favorable memories and past behavioral patterns in the past. However, for others, the current facility has acted as a second home for generations and is now planned to be demolished and replaced by something unfamiliar.

6.3 Power Dynamics | *Leading voices and power-imbalance*

As we progress through this chapter, it is crucial to critically analyze the voices that contribute to the discourse on preservation and redevelopment. The dominant voices in this conversation often perpetuate power dynamics that influence decisions about what is worth preserving and

whose heritage is being prioritized. Despite the variety of stakeholders involved such as citizens, preservationists, planners, politicians, and developers, certain perspectives and narratives tend to hold more sway than others. This not only shapes how we understand the concept of heritage and who bears responsibility for it, but also which perspectives and opinions are left out of the conversation.

From identifying the type of narratives present in the preservation debate, it becomes intriguing to question who the storytellers are themselves. Specifically, who is engaged in the heritage debate? In my interview with Filip and Monica from FASAD, they noted that individuals involved in heritage preservation tend to come from a particular social background, which includes those who work in the heritage field, study it, or have a keen interest in it. This finding is consistent with previous studies by Magnusson & Wärnlöf Bové (2019) and Adie & Hall (2016), which show that culture and heritage sites are mostly enjoyed by people from higher socio-economic backgrounds. However, the degree of engagement among these citizens appears to vary.

FASAD has played a prominent role in the movement to preserve Valhallabadet. They have for instance, founded a public petition called "Save Valhallabadet from Demolition," which has garnered 2,000 signatures, authored and co-authored several debate articles in local and national news outlets as well as, approached the County Administrative Board to reconsider Valhalla's cultural significance. However, despite gaining significant public interest and a following in their cause, Filip has noticed a trend of excessive discussion without much action. People's actions do not seem to match their rhetoric, and it appears easier for them to voice complaints on social media than to take a stance through concrete actions.

When I asked Higab's antiquarian, Boel Melin, about her perception of the leading voices in the general preservation debate, she mentioned the engaged citizens and heritage advocates who sometimes go too far and unintentionally disrupt the discussion. While some people may only come as far as social media forums with their opinions and support, such as the example by FASAD, Boel points to those that sometimes may swing too far in their manifestation and engagement, causing more harm than good. To illustrate her point, Boel cited the example of the climate activist group Extinction Rebellion in Stockholm, whose members once glued themselves to the tarmac, obstructing a large main road, in the cause of raising climate awareness (P4 Stockholm 2022).

"It's good with emotions, it's good with committed people but what's a shame is that it's usually very...how shall I say, it's very committed citizens who can do a lot of good but

sometimes they can also do a lot of harm. It is usually a type of people who fight, and they may not actually fight for the cause itself, but sometimes just to fight. Almost legal malpractice. And then it seems to be a bit misdirected. Then it's almost like the incident with Extinction Rebellion. Good action, but useless. [...] While citizen dialogue is important, it can be challenging as the voices most frequently heard tend to be highly polarized.” - *Boel*

Although Boel's example may not be directly applicable to the heritage discussion surrounding Valhallabadet, it does offer insights into a potential trajectory of the ongoing debate. As the facility is set to serve the community for approximately seven more years before being replaced, it is crucial to consider the direction of the discussion and whose heritage is being advocated for. Whether the new development proceeds or if there is an opportunity to renovate parts of the existing facility with an added extension, the group advocating for Valhallabadet's preservation may need to adopt a new approach to safeguard the facility's heritage. Addressing the imbalance of diversity among their voices would be a crucial first step, as stronger representation would carry more weight in the preservation debate. This would not only make it easier to speak for all Gothenburg citizens but also prevent personal interests from driving the discussion, where only the loudest and most enthusiastic voices are heard. It would also stand up for a diverse and democratic heritage in a city enriched by numerous cultures.

Furthermore, with new development plans underway, it is equally essential to consider the future relationship between the various stakeholders involved in the redevelopment, particularly between decision-makers in heritage and urban development and the citizens who experience it. As observed, there is a clear imbalance in the public debate. While the public expresses concerns about the potential loss of a local treasure, governing actors appear preoccupied with revitalizing the central area to maintain the city's prosperity as a popular destination.

The redevelopment of Valhallabadet has been a source of controversy since its inception, with nine political parties holding varying opinions on the matter. However, a decision was reached in April 2022, and the new Event Area will be developed, with Valhallabadet being replaced by a new facility. Six of the nine parties represented on the municipal board are in favor of the redevelopment plan (Engelbrektsson 2022). The initial statement released by the municipal board after the decision shows a strong focus on the future development of the area, with little consideration given to the historical significance of

Valhallabadet or the concerns voiced by the public regarding the potential loss of a local landmark.

“Gothenburg needs a new arena and a new central swimming facility. During several turns, both the arena and the central swimming facility issue have been investigated, where different placements and designs have been tried. There is broad political agreement to move forward on the issue. In order for Gothenburg to be a competitive event and visitor city, a new, modern multi-arena and a new central swimming facility with large capacity are needed to meet the needs of an expansive city, where both breadth and elite can be accommodated.”

- The introduction of the statement. Göteborgs Stad Kommunstyrelsen. Statement 2022, no. 84

In an article in Göteborgs-Posten, members of the municipal board expressed their contentment with the decision that has been reached (Yousuf 2022b):

“Gothenburg is a leading event city and it is important for future generations that we can continue to be so.”

- Chairman of the municipal board, Moderaterna (Moderate Party), Göteborgs-Posten April 1st 2022

“This "extra everything" city swimming facility will be one of the largest in Sweden. A swimming facility that the citizens of Gothenburg deserve.”

- Municipal member. Vänsterpartiet (Left party). Göteborgs-Posten April 1st 2022

In another article (Yousuf 2022c), another municipal member defends the decision of not considering Valhallabadet as a significant heritage site:

“The important issue here has been to be able to have a replacement with a new and modern central swimming facility. Valhallabadet has over 70 years behind it and it has served its role today. We also need the space on that side to be able to accomplish what we want to do, [referring to the planned multi-arena]”

- Municipal member, Socialdemokraterna (The Social Democratic Party) Göteborgs-Posten April 2nd 2022

The Green Party, which strongly advocates for the preservation of Valhallabadet's architectural, cultural, and social heritage, withdrew from discussions a year prior to the final decision, citing concerns that the talks were straying from the right path (Yousuf 2022c). Although there have been some indications of efforts to preserve certain parts of Valhallabadet, such as Wedel's mosaic wall (Ekman 2022), the overriding focus on "the new" raises questions about who will champion Valhalla's legacy within the decision-making process in the future. The lack of response from local politicians to public concerns is worrying. As this study has previously noted, active public engagement is repeatedly emphasized in urban research as crucial for effective urban development, giving citizens the opportunity to shape the future of their city (Kostešić et al., 2019). The neglect of the public's voice now begs the question of how much it will be taken into account in later project stages, particularly in an inclusive urban redevelopment initiative designed to meet the needs and aspirations of all stakeholders.

This discussion also prompts another question: who decides what is worth preserving and what is not within a city? The municipal board member from the Social Democratic Party cited earlier prioritized a new construction over preserving the 70-year-old Valhallabadet facility. The party's local branch in Gothenburg has also recently gone public with their opinion that they prefer classic architecture over modernist designs in the urban fabric. They claim this preference is influenced by a local poll where citizens expressed their favoring of classic architecture (Falkirk 2022). Beyond heritage often being evaluated based on its architectural significance, Boel Melin from Higab, further emphasized in our interview that pre-twentieth century architecture appears to have a higher chance of survival than more recent structures.

“When I talk to the board or politicians, they talk about the Villa Wernerska and the Dicksonska Palace (see figure 8 – 9), they can understand them, but when it comes to Modernism, they haven't really realized that they would be something to preserve. Except the mosaic wall, they can agree that is valuable.” - *Boel*



Figure 8-9. Right: Villa Wernerska, Built 1886. Left: Dicksonska Palace. Built 1862. Source: Wretling 2015.

Despite the efforts of preservationists to promote Valhallabadet's exemplary Modernist design, which indicates public interest in safeguarding buildings from the post-nineteenth century period, it appears that the heritage discussion surrounding the swimming facility has already been settled at the governing level. The decision to prioritize a new construction over preservation may reflect the governing level's narrow view of what constitutes heritage, without taking into account the public's perception of what is valuable heritage to the city. This scenario aligns with Rautenberg and Smith's theories on the designation and discourse of heritage being driven by the elite and highlights the inflexibility and exclusionary tendencies of the heritage concept towards stakeholders without power. This raises the question of who ultimately decides what is worth preserving in a city, especially when public opinions and preferences are not being taken into account.

Summary

As I bring this results, analysis, and discussion chapter to a close, it is important to emphasize once again the complexities that come with any urban preservation and redevelopment process. There are multiple stakeholders involved, and various factors that need attention. The Valhallabadet case and the redevelopment of the Event Area are not unique, but given Gothenburg's history of "demolition hysteria," it is worth taking an extra look at the processes behind current development practices. The aim of this analysis and discussion was to shed light on the dimensions that exist within this sphere and the complexities that require attention. Sustainable urban development necessitates balancing the social, economic, and environmental dimensions in the development process. However, the social dimension is particularly challenging to account for, as previous studies have

highlighted. Social heritage is an even more elusive dimension to factor in, but as this discussion has shown, it is present everywhere in our cities and leaves a significant impact on citizens. This impact is not only felt today but will also be felt by future generations who will utilize these environments. Therefore, social heritage arguably deserves a prominent place in preservation and development discussions.

Chapter 7 | Conclusion & Recommendations

Through my examination of the preservation debate and redevelopment process surrounding Valhallabadet and the Event Area, this study's research and findings has shown the importance and legitimacy of social heritage in sustainable urban development. As societies leave behind a rich legacy of cultural and historical artefacts that continue to shape and influence their environments, urban development faces the challenge of balancing growth with the preservation of the built environment. From my research, I have found that the social aspects of heritage are crucial in fostering emotional connections to our surroundings, serving as a bonding mechanism among communities and reminding us of our past and future aspirations. By prioritizing social heritage throughout the (re)development process, we can gain a better understanding of how the built environment affects its users, leading to the creation of sustainable and inclusive urban spaces.

In this study, I aimed to understand how stakeholders approach heritage, particularly social heritage, in their interactions and discussions using the case of Valhallabadet. Given that heritage interpretation can be subjective and prone to misuse for personal, commercial, or political purposes, power imbalances are a constant challenge, particularly among those who make decisions about heritage or advocate for its protection. In answering my first research question (*What power dynamics are present in the preservation debate and redevelopment process surrounding Valhallabadet and the Event Area in Gothenburg?*), I identified various power dynamics. The dominant concept of heritage has prevailed globally since the Enlightenment era and the establishment of UNESCO and the World Heritage, placing great emphasis on categorization, ordering, and organizing cultural objects and structures. Even in local preservation debates like Valhallabadet, the heritage discussion within an urban context revolves mainly around preserving the facilities' significant architectural and interior features, such as Nils Olsson's 1950s modernist architecture and Nils Wedel's mosaic wall. With this in mind, it seems as the possibility of remembering and cherishing a legacy without its tangible aspect is almost non-existent. The study also revealed power imbalances among heritage advocates, particularly in their lack of diverse representation, and the dominance of governing actors over local heritage. While this did not come as a surprise, the data further underscores the excluding nature of the dominant concept of heritage. This is evident in the use of overly technical language, the dominance of certain voices in the preservation debate, and the exclusion of valid stakeholders from decision-making processes.

My second objective in analysing the Valhallabadet case was to assess the prospect of giving social heritage equal importance in comparison to the partiality of future urban infrastructure needs. In this regard, answering research question 2 (*How do social heritage aspects factor into the debate*

and planning process?) becomes crucial. As I consistently argued in this thesis, social aspects of heritage are present everywhere in the urban space, ranging from people's personal and emotional connection to the built environment to the social cohesion and collective belonging it may foster. This was evident in Valhallabadet's significant heritage and identity as the public's swimming facility (Folkhemsbad). I primarily identified social heritage through the numerous testimonials encountered during this study, highlighting Valhallabadet's impact on personal and collective experiences and memories. It was also present in the interviews and earlier studies on the swimming facility, although it may not have been the focus of those studies. However, I found that the reports by the local government lacked consideration of social heritage, which is concerning as it neglects an essential aspect of social sustainability. I argue that the lack of awareness about the social aspects of heritage, with the architectural and cultural aspects being the prominent ones, could be the reason behind this exclusion.

This brings me to my research question 3: *how can the case of Valhallabadet emphasize the equal value of social dimensions in sustainable urban development?* Through my analysis, I found that incorporating the social dimension in planning processes can be a complex task, especially when it comes to accounting for social heritage. While the architectural and cultural aspects of heritage are more easily understood by governing actors, Valhallabadet's heritage is linked to a multitude of social aspects that are equally important. It is essential to remember that built environments have a significant impact on people at various levels, including social aspects. Given the history of demolition controversies in Gothenburg, where the proposed redevelopment of the Event Area and the demolition of Valhallabadet could potentially stir up memories, it is even more critical to consider the social legacy associated with Valhallabadet.

As I have demonstrated in my study, Valhallabadet holds a significant place in the hearts and memories of many individuals, contributing to shaping its legacy. Incorporating these memories and experiences into the new development plan can create a stronger sense of place and help the new swimming facility better transition between the old and new. Furthermore, considering that the public's voice has not been adequately considered in the redevelopment plans of the Event Area, it is vital that the next stage of the process prioritizes public engagement to address their concerns and perspectives. By recognizing the public's pivotal role as a legitimate actor in urban development processes, we can create more sustainable and inclusive urban spaces that meet the needs of all members of the community. And lastly, as much as social heritage can be a tool for planners it can be a wielding power to preservationists and citizens too. Along with encouraging urban and heritage studies to further strengthen the awareness about social heritage through studies such as Tweed and

Sutherland and Smith's, this thesis highly encourage any heritage advocate or interested citizen to greater discuss its significance within preservation debates and planning processes.

7.1 The Third Perspective | *Heritage as leverage*

As an additional recommendation, I seek to put forward a perspective which so far have not been observed within the preservation and redevelopment debate. This third perspective involves a hybrid approach of partially preserving and partially renewing the existing facility, as suggested by Bladin (2019), FASAD (interview 2022), and Pleijel & Svensson (2021), yet placing heritage as a leverage where Valhallabadet is promoted as a selling point. While it may seem irrelevant since the current status of Valhallabadet is set to be demolished in the near future, I have observed a sense of hope among the preservationist actors through my research and interviews. Articles are still being published in local newspapers debating the matter, and in my interview with the representatives from FASAD, there was no indication of giving up hope on Valhallabadet's future.

What is noteworthy about the partially preserve / partially renew option is that it satisfies the key arguments put forth by both preservationists and governing actors. By preserving a building of architectural and socio-cultural significance, while also reducing the climate impact associated with demolishing and building a new facility, this option meets the preservationists' objectives. At the same time, the suggested extension to the facility caters to the city's need for a more modern facility that can host larger events and accommodate population growth. Although this option has been previously declined by the municipal board, it could be revitalized by positioning Valhallabadet as a heritage selling-point, thereby providing the Event Area with an additional reason to promote itself as a cultural tourism destination.

The notion of heritage as a selling-point was initially introduced in the theoretical chapter, where I discussed Dean's (2017) study of the redevelopment of Barrio Italia, a neighborhood in Chile where heritage was utilized to revitalize a degraded area. Although this particular case study indicated the potential for gentrification, I contend that Valhallabadet's location in the Event Area creates a different setting from the Chilean case. Currently, the Event Area contains mainly event facilities and little permanent housing, which mitigates the risk of displacing large groups of current inhabitants. However, there remains the possibility of gentrification, especially given the plans to add housing to the area alongside new event facilities. Additionally, as previously mentioned, preservationists are also concerned that

regular visitors of Valhallabadet may be discouraged from continuing their recreational activities in a new swimming facility after the demolition, due to the loss of the place's spirit and familiarity.

Although there are challenges in utilizing Valhallabadet as a heritage selling-point, it remains a viable option considering that other alternatives have already been dismissed. This approach, emphasizing a building's heritage to attract tourism, is not a new concept. The demand for cultural tourism is increasing globally, with more countries striving to meet it. In conclusion, while this approach presents its own set of complexities, it highlights the applicability of heritage as a leverage, equalizing power between stakeholders. It not only accommodates the needs of a growing city but also preserves its social, cultural, and architectural legacies, and ensure sustainable urban development.

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- . 2022a. "Arenafrågan - Detta Har Hänt." *Göteborgs-Posten*, January 17, 2022.
- . 2022b. "Partierna Överens Om Att Bygga En Ny Multiarena." *Göteborgs-Posten*, April 1, 2022.
- . 2022c. "Valhallabadets Dödsdom Upprör Miljöpartiet." *Göteborgs-Posten*, April 2, 2022.

Appendices

Appendix I – Reviewed articles from local news papers relating to Valhallabadet

Reverse chronology – 2022 to 2020.

2022

1. Cwejman, A. Kasta inte ut historien med badvattnet. Göteborgs-Posten [Dec, 14]
2. Laurits, F, Claes Caldenby & Robert Berggren. Att Riva Valhallabadet är en kulturhistorisk slakt av enorma mått. Göteborgs-Posten [Nov, 30] *Public opinion piece*.
3. Isaksson, L. KD vill se slöseribroms för svenska kommuner. Göteborg Direkt – Centrum /Majorna /Linné. [Aug, 25]
4. Ekman, C. Anrik mosaik renoveras trots rivning. [June, 27]
5. Engelbrektson, L. Badet renoveras trots rivningsbeslut. Göteborg Direkt - – Centrum /Majorna /Linné. [June, 25]
6. Hilmersson, E. Valhallabadet läcker vatten. Göteborgs-Posten [June, 10]
7. Sofie. Valhallabadet är hopplöst för en vanlig knegare. Göteborgs-Posten [May, 30] *Opinion piece*.
8. Edvinsson, A. Veckans dikt: Bevara Valhallabadet. Göteborg Direkt – Angered / Östra Göteborg [May, 28] *Public opinion piece*.
9. Alström, T. & Karin Pleijel. Miljöpartiet: Riv inte Göteborgs historia – bevara Valhallabadet. Göteborg Direkt – Hisingen [May, 14] *Public opinion piece*.
10. Engelbrektson, L. Beslut. Politikerna överens om multiarena. Göteborg Direkt – Centrum /Majorna /Linné. [April, 9]
11. Dillkvist, S. Tyvärr är planerna för ny arena inget skämt Göteborgs-Posten. [April, 6]
12. Jalamaa, N. Simklubben vågar inte jubla över ett nytt bad. Göteborgs-Posten [April, 5]
13. Hjärne, P. Kompromissvilja och uthållighet gav resultat. Göteborgs-Posten [April, 3]
14. Yousuf, E. Valhallabadets dödsdom upprör Miljöpartiet. Göteborgs-Posten [April, 2]
15. Yousuf, E. Partierna överens om att bygga en ny multiarena. Göteborgs-Posten [April, 1]

16. Larsson, A. Bakslag kring ny multiarena – kan stå klar tidigast 2034. Göteborgs-Posten [Jan, 17]
17. Sommerborn, G. Rusta upp Valhallabadet. Göteborgs-Posten [Jan, 17] *Public opinion piece.*
18. Yousuf, E. Arenafrågan – detta har hänt. Göteborgs-Posten [Jan, 17]
19. Larsson, A. Prislapp på cirka 1,7 miljarder för nytt centralbad – oavsett placering. Göteborgs-Posten [Jan, 5]

2021

20. Balkander, M. Stängt Valhalla “en dödsstöt” för simhoppet. Göteborgs-Posten [Oct, 31]
21. Pleijel, K. Oförsvärligt att riva Valhallabadet. Göteborgs-Posten [Sep, 16] *Public opinion piece.*
22. Stones, M. Simidrotten i Göteborg kräver en ny arena. Göteborgs-Posten [Sep, 10] *Public opinion piece.*
23. Larsson, A. Politisk oro för följderna av försenat bad. Göteborgs-Posten [June, 18]
24. Larsson, A. Vissa delar av Valhallabadet kan behållas. Göteborgs-Posten [June, 3]
25. Hellström, A. Besök på badhuset borde finnas som grundlag. Göteborgs-Posten Helgmagasinet Två Dagar. [Feb, 26]
26. No name. Politiker väcker nytt liv i arenafrågan. Göteborgs-Posten [Jan, 16]

2020

27. Hson. Badhustokeri och miljardslöseri. Göteborgs-Posten [June, 14] *Public opinion piece.*
28. No name. Riv inte 50-metersbassängen. Göteborgs-Posten [Feb, 24] *Public opinion piece.*
29. Yousuf, E. Miljoner måste till för att fixa Valhallabadet. Göteborgs-Posten [Feb, 12]
30. Engelbrektson, L. Eva har tränat, fått massage, fotvård och akupunktur. Göteborgs-Posten [Jan, 26]

Appendix II – Interview questions

Monica Bengtson & Filip Laurits, FASAD

1. Please tell me about yourselves and how the association FASAD came about?
2. What does cultural preservation mean to you?
3. Is the historical background the most important aspect or are there other aspects you think have just as much value in built environments?
4. What is your opinion regarding how social heritage is talked about within civil society/among civil servants/the construction and property sector?
5. How does your association work to lift the social heritage regarding Valhallabadet?
6. Do you know what is most important to your members who care for the preservation of Valhalla?
7. How do you see Valhalla's future?
8. If the alternative is that they demolish Valhalla completely – can the old building with its values be somehow preserved?
9. Do you feel that there is a norm in society of what is considered worth preserving and not worth preserving?
10. What type of people are speaking for the preservation of Valhalla?

Boel Melin, Antiquarian Higab

1. Briefly describe what Higab does and what you do in your role at the company?
2. Valhallabadet is not classified as a listed building. How does the municipal council evaluate which buildings should be preserved?
3. Looking at Valhallabadet's future, have any ideas been discussed about reshaping the building into a new business, giving it a new function to avoid demolition?
4. After the maintenance plan for Valhalla was submitted, did you get to sit in on the next phase of the conversation about the future of the facility?
5. How does Higab view the social legacies that can be linked to cultural-historical buildings? Is it something that is being discussed/has a permanent place within your business?

6. Is there any other building that Higab is involved with that has a clear social heritage? For example. Feskekörka.

7. Do you at Higab collaborate in any way with civil society, e.g. via citizen dialogue in connection with projects or the like?

8. Was cultural preservation Higab's initial business idea when they started?

9. How do you see that the citizen dialogue could be improved? Or will it always be colored by "change is scary"?

10. Would you say buildings need a certain number of years before it can be considered cultural heritage?

11. What is your perspective on the western heritage concept?

12. If the Valhalla Bath comes to the decision to demolish it completely, preserving only reputable parts, do you think it loses its symbolism?

13. Would it be possible to create a "memory room" or perhaps a spa part that has preserved parts from Valhallabadet in the new central bath?

Ulrika Samulesson, Head of Unit, City of Gothenburg, Municipality Office

- Sports and association administration

- Development and competitive intelligence

1. Briefly describe what you do in your role at the City of Gothenburg and how you are involved in the new central swimming pool project.

2. Valhallabadet is strongly linked with being a democratic bathhouse where everyone from all different socio-economic classes have been welcomed. And, in addition to the architectural and cultural heritage linked to Valhallabadet a new central bathhouse has big shoes to fill when also including the social aspect. How do you look at this? Do you see the new swimming facility able to fulfil the same aspects?

3. How far have you come with the development plans?

4. When will you call the opinions of the public into the project?

5. It is commonly said that social sustainability is being introduced as an after measure in development processes. Do you agree? Have you within the project, even if its on a very early stage, discussed about social sustainability yet?

6. There are ongoing discussions and opinion that the new bathhouse will be very focused on tourism? What is relevant there, which groups will you try to focus?
7. Do you feel sure that social sustainability will be able to be included during the course of the project?
8. Valhallabadet, which has now existed for 70 years and has long shown a strong need for renovation in order for it to maintain an acceptable standard, what should be done to ensure that the new central bathhouse will last just as long, if not longer?
9. What would you say is the best way to engage the public in urban changes?
10. It is seen in research that SKA and BKA processes and their results rarely follow all the way through social development projects. Have you perceived the same?
11. Do the project take inspiration from other cases in Sweden and abroad?