PLACE IDENTITIES OF TRANSFORMING PORT-CITY AREAS

A study on the place identities of the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport

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PREFACE

I have always been in love with architecture, so the decision to have a bachelor's degree in architectural history was easily made. To learn more about all these buildings that I admired, I started to travel around Europe to see the buildings that inspired me so much. Most of them by train, because throughout those years sustainability also became one of my obsessions. In the preface of my bachelor thesis, I thanked the buildings that I fell in love with most. Going to Dessau to see the Bauhaus, spending two weeks in Venice just for the Architecture Biennale, and realizing that architecture is a pure form of art by visiting the Barcelona Pavilion of Mies van der Rohe, has made me fall in love with not just architecture, but also cities.

So here I am again, writing a preface for my thesis, but instead I want to thank the cities that led me decided for to the master Metropolitan Analysis, Design, and Engineering. Firstly Berlin, because even though I cannot count on one hand how many times I have been there, I am still not tired of this city. Paris, because I sometimes feel this intense need to jump on the next train because I miss it, even if it is just the croissants. New York, because even though we never went, I know my dad would have loved it. Jerusalem, because it showed me that chaos is okay and that this unique mix of different religions is something we need to protect and be thankful for, we need more peace and respect in this world. I also want to take the space here to thank Karin Peters and Carola Hein for supervising me during the process of this thesis. Moreover, I want to gratefully thank Martin Ottosson and Eva Nielsen for giving me the opportunity and trust to dive into the inspiring project of the Stockholm Royal Seaport. And finally, I want to thank Stockholm, because it proved to me that you can choose your own path and happiness by simply being in love with the city itself.

ABSTRACT

The municipality of Stockholm is currently working on one of Stockholm's most extensive and complex urban areas: The Stockholm Royal Seaport (se: *Norra Djurgårdsstaden*). The area is an example of how a former industrial port area is being transformed into a sustainable urban district. Because of the transformation of the area, the identity of the place is slowly changing to something different. Place identity is a two-way relationship in which a place influences people and where people tend to change and create the place in a way that represents them. This research wants to get insights on the place identities of the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport, to see how synergies can be created between them. The four elements of Amundsen (2001) are used to assess and define the place identities and allow to understand what makes the areas distinctive compared to other places. With these insights, the aim of the research is to provide the municipality with recommendations for the further place branding and development of the Stockholm Royal Seaport, as many scholars argue that the identity of a place should be the base of a place branding strategy. This is important to consider as the place brand should be representative to all segments of the area, especially as it has the potential to affect the place identity over time.

The results of the interviews with the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport imply that they mainly define their place identities on spatial qualities that distinguish the place from others. Also, the characteristics or qualities of the inhabitants indicated to be important, as most responses were about the many children in the area. This element also raised awareness on the inclusivity of areas such as the Stockholm Royal Seaport. The comparison of the place identities of the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport led to the insights that the social needs of residents without children should be considered, more efforts should be made on the socio-economic level of the area, there should be more attention to the unique location of the area and the knowledge on the sustainability of the residents needs to be improved. The element of culture and history is underrepresented in the place identities of the residents, but both the municipality and residents expect that the further development of the area might bring more awareness to this. This shows that it is important to keep monitoring and managing the place identities in transformative port-city areas. It also implies that the local unique elements are defining for the area and should be the driver of the place branding strategies of the municipality, especially as more cities are developing their former industrial port areas into urban districts.

Keywords: place identity, transforming port-city areas, place branding, sustainable urban development, Stockholm

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1. INTRODUCTION

More and more cities are developing their former industrial port areas to urban districts in order to fulfil the demands of the city's growing needs (Puylaert & Werksma, 2011). Even though some old harbour cranes or industrial heritage will remain to remind us of a different past, the original, rugged, industrial character will slowly fade away. Because of the transformation of the area, the identity of the place is slowly changing to something different. It is not only the location that determines the place identity, it is the sentiments, stories, and activities of that place (Bennett, 2014; Hague & Jenkins, 2005). Place identities are shaped by individuals, groups, and others in the wider society and define what makes an area distinctive compared to other places (Hague & Jenkins, 2005). Place identity is a two-way relationship in which a place influences people and where people tend to change and create the place in a way that represents them (Kaymaz, 2013; Peng et al., 2020). As Jan Gehl (2008) states: "first we shape the cities, then they shape us" (p. 9). People perceive a place mostly through the external looks of a place, thus spatial planners and urban designers hold an important role as one of their key purposes is to "create, reproduce or mould the identities of places through manipulation of the activities, feelings, meanings, and fabric that combine into place identity" (Hague & Jenkins, 2005, p. 8). Spatial planners are used as a conduit to promote the ideas of place identities of politicians, yet at the same time, they must engage with residents for whom the place identities may be very different (Grenni et al., 2020). They do however not hold the power to determine the place identity (Hague & Jenkins, 2005). It is the interaction between the place and the people that determines the place identity. Where the strong industrial port identity fades away, a new identity arises. But what will define and determine the new place identity? It is evident that the defining characteristics of an industrial port history with strong defining elements such as water, vessels, wharves, and piers remain, but spatial planners and urban designers will add on to that character. On the other hand, people that will move into the transformative port-city area will also on their turn influence the place identity. So how to assess and collect these place identities?

The municipality of Stockholm is currently working on one of Stockholm's most extensive and complex urban areas: The Stockholm Royal Seaport (se: *Norra Djurgårdsstaden*). It is one of the largest sustainable urban development projects of Europe and an example of how former industrial land is being transformed to a city district (Stockholms Stad, 2021b). The municipality of Stockholm desires to be the leader in the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and therefore the vision for the Stockholm Royal Seaport has been defined by the municipality of Stockholm's overarching steering documents of Agenda 2030. In 2015, the UN General Assembly adopted Agenda 2030 with 17 global goals – known as the SDGs – that span a large number of societal challenges based on human rights. All the signatory countries pledged to implement changes that lead to achieving social, environmental, and economical sustainable development by 2030. A significant amount of the commitments and work need to be put into practice at a local level. As a result, different cities, organisations, companies, and projects create personalised goals and strategies that contribute to achieving this – just like the Stockholm Royal Seaport. With the Stockholm Royal Seaport, the municipality wants to set an example for holistic sustainable urban development, and the area therefore contains the task of testing and developing new sustainable solutions and processes that other cities and neighbourhoods can learn from (Stockholms Stad, 2021b). A question that arises when talking about sustainable urban development is to what extent the SDGs prove conduit for the development of place identities (Hague & Jenkins, 2005). Many studies on sustainability for the urban environment focus mainly on water, energy, or transport, whilst little attention is brought to the identity of such areas (Kaymaz, 2013). As the SDGs are grounded in the policy and spatial planning of the Stockholm Royal Seaport, the area will most likely be influenced by them too. But is sustainable urban development contributing to a distinctive place identity, if other cities pledged to achieve the same goals?

As the municipality wants to set an example on a holistic sustainable urban development, they are also branding the area as such. Place branding serves as a basis for developing policy that will enhance economic development and at the same time, it can provide a conduit to let residents identify with their city or neighbourhood (Kavaratzis, 2004). However, the challenge is to develop a place brand that is inclusive and representative of all segments of the target area (Campelo, 2015). If the place brand is not fully representing the shared identity of a place, it may differ from the place identity as perceived

by e.g., the residents (Potts et al., 2011). In the case of the Stockholm Royal Seaport, surveys have shown that the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport do not move to the area for its sustainability, even though the area is planned on sustainable principles and the municipality of Stockholm is branding the area as such (Institute för kvalitetsindikatorer & Stockholms Stad, 2019). This contrasts with the study visits offered by the municipality, which mostly attract tourists, experts, and other municipalities that specifically come to visit the area in order to learn from the sustainable solutions and processes in the area (C. Edvinsson). Therefore, it is of interest for the municipality of Stockholm to get insights on which elements of the place identities as perceived by the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport are shared and where they differ. These insights can create synergies in the further development of the transformative area, meaning that considering their differences in the place branding strategy, will allow to develop an inclusive and representative place brand. The research objective is threefold: (1) Develop a method to assess and collect place identities, (2) Understand to what extent SDGs prove conduit for the development of place identities, and (3) Contribute to the broader understanding of place identities of transformative industrial port-city areas. The main research question that follows from that is:

How can insights on the place identities of the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport create synergies?

The main research question will be answered with the help of the following three sub-research questions:

1. What are the aims and policies of the municipality of Stockholm with regards to the development of the Stockholm Royal Seaport and how do they relate to the elements of place identity?
2. What are the place identities of the residents that are already living in the Stockholm Royal Seaport?
3. Which elements of the place identities as perceived by the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport are shared and where do they differ?

These insights on the place identities of the municipality of Stockholm and the residents will help to provide the municipality with recommendations for creating synergies in the further place branding of the development of the Stockholm Royal Seaport. Because the Stockholm Royal Seaport is still under development, these recommendations can be of use for the municipality in the further transformation of the area.

This report is structured as follows: first, the theoretical framework will introduce the concepts of place branding and place identity. The theoretical framework will also present what elements define and influence place identity. Second, the methodology chapter will cover the different methods that have been applied to answer the research questions. Thereafter, the results chapter will provide the findings of this research, followed by the discussion chapter. Finally, the concluding chapter will answer the main research question and provide recommendations to the municipality of Stockholm on how the insights on these place identities can create synergies in the further development of this transformative port-city area.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The importance of pleasant cities and places cannot be overstated. Due to urbanisation and globalisation, the desire to achieve lively, safe, sustainable, and healthy cities has become urgent (Jan Gehl, 2010). It is compelling to see to what extent places can shape its user's identity and how a good place can attract and appeal city dwellers, tourists, and daily users (Jan Gehl, 2010; Peng et al., 2020; Verheul, 2017). To understand the relationship between people and place, this chapter will introduce the key concept of place identity. The concept of place branding will also be introduced as it is a way to attract and retain people to a place. To do this successfully, many scholars argue that the identity of a place should be the base of a place branding strategy (Campelo, 2015; Grenni et al., 2020; Kerr & Oliver, 2015; van Assche & Lo, 2011). The structure of this chapter is as follows: first, the concept of place branding will be introduced. Secondly, the relationship between place identities and place branding will be elaborated. Thereafter, the key concept of place identity will be explained to fully understand the relationship between humans and their physical environment. Lastly, to understand how place identities can be assessed and collected, the defining elements of place identities will be explained.

2.1 PLACE BRANDING

In the case of cities, place branding has the aim is to encourage people to try the place, e.g. for a new residents – to move, for a tourist – to visit and for investors – to invest (Kerr & Oliver, 2015). Once tried, you want them to rebuy, e.g. to remain, revisit or reinvest (Kerr & Oliver, 2015). Grenni et al. (2020, p. 1355) explain that place branding "refers to the creation of value in space by reinforcing and representing place assets in a cohesive manner". Preferably, place branding builds on local knowledge and represents the perceived images that people have of a place. The image that place branding portrays is a "marketing construct based on various purposely chosen values, representations, ideas, and impressions relevant to a city" (Potts et al., 2011, p. 2). The challenge is to develop a place brand that communicates the place identity that is representative to all segments of the target area (Campelo, 2015). Therefore, Kerr and Oliver (2015) argue that revealing and selecting a place identity needs to be the base of a place branding strategy. This way, the strategy will be better aligned with the place identity as perceived by e.g., residents. The model of Kerr and Oliver (2015) shows a simplification of this relationship (see fig. 1, p. 11). 'A' shows the identity-set, meaning that place identity is pluralistic. This implies that the place identities of the residents can be different. The arrow also suggests the fluidity of place identity, hence it is important to constantly monitor and manage the place identities (Kerr & Oliver, 2015). 'B' and 'C' represent the selected and designed identities, these are strategic choices, in the case of this research, of the municipality. The model also shows that the effectiveness of a place brand strategy may affect the identity over time or even result in new emerging identities, 'C'. This implies the influence that place branding has on a place identity. Because of this, scholars argue that it is important to fulfil and reflect on the different perceptions of the place identity of the residents, if the municipality wants them to feel represented (Campelo, 2015; Grenni et al., 2020; Kerr & Oliver, 2015; van Assche & Lo, 2011). As mentioned earlier, that can pose quite a challenge. The municipality should remember that, as stretched by Kavaratzis (2004), the city's own residents are the most important target audience of place branding, whilst at the same time the most important city marketeers. The aim of place branding is to evoke and reinforce their perceived image of the city. Therefore, it is important that place branding should be driven by the place identity to create synergies between the place identities of the municipality and the residents.
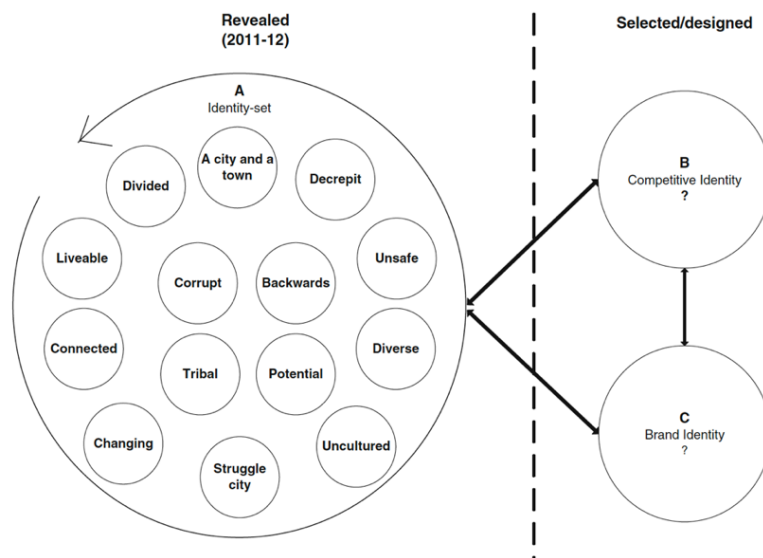
Figure 1: Relationship between place identities and place branding (Kerr & Oliver, 2015)

2.2 PLACE IDENTITY

Places are more than just a location. They are infused with meanings, memories, and activities (Bennett, 2014; Hague & Jenkins, 2005). Place is the core concept in environmental psychology and seen as a valuable concept to investigate the relationship between humans and the urban environment (Lewicka, 2008). Even though there is a consensus on the definition of a place, there is less agreement on how to define and measure people's bonds with places (Kaymaz, 2013; Lewicka, 2008; Peng et al., 2020). Therefore, many researchers have investigated this topic to get a better understanding of the relation between people and place (Hague & Jenkins, 2005; Jan Gehl, 2010; Kaymaz, 2013; Lewicka, 2008; Proshansky, 1978). As a result, a wide range of concepts have emerged, such as place attachment (Lewicka, 2008), place narratives (Grenni et al., 2020), city image (Lynch, 1960), sense of place (Campelo, 2015) and place identity (Proshansky, 1978). They seem interchangeable – as they all refer to the relationship between humans and the physical environment – but have never been unanimously agreed upon (Peng et al., 2020). To prevent entering this discussion, this study will use the concept of place identity. To better understand this concept, the article of Peng et al. (2020) will be one of the main references. Peng et al. (2020) synthesised different studies on place identities and their meanings in the article *Place Identity: How Far Have We Come in Exploring Its Meaning?*, by reviewing how researchers have conceived and deconstructed the concept of place identity. Due to this clear overview and since it is based on studies of many scholars, this research will use their findings and model to better understand the relationship between people, place, and place identity (see fig. 2, p. 12).

The term "place identity" has a duality in its meaning: the place identity of a place and people's place identity (Kaymaz, 2013; Lewicka, 2008; Peng et al., 2020). These two meanings overlap, but they are not the same. "As the interaction between people and a place is a mutual, dynamic, and eternal process, the creating and fostering of place identity is also a mutual, dynamic, and circular process" (Peng et al., 2020, p. 14). Yet on most occasions, researchers seldom notice both sides or there is a paucity on one of the two sides of place identity (Peng et al., 2020). They both embody a subjective and emotional bond between people and the physical world. Although the two are not the same, it does not imply that they need to be studied separately. Instead, they should be seen as comprehensive structure in which both identities are formed by places, people, and processes (Lewicka, 2008). It is a two-way relationship in which a place influences the self-identity and in which people tend to change, maintain, or create the place in a way that reflects themselves (Kaymaz, 2013). Figure 2, which was created by Peng et al. (2020), depicts this mutual and dynamic process (see p. 12). Through the interaction people have with a place, the place influences and subsequently constitutes people's identity (Peng et al., 2020). This identity is both social and personal, i.e. collective and individual. If there is a change in any of the components that determine the place identity of a place, a change and impact on the identity of

its inhabitants' place identities will follow. Meanwhile, it is also the other way around. Place identity is generally linked to the place itself and used in the field of spatial planning and urban design, whereas people's place identity is generally linked to self-identity and used in the field of environmental psychology. The concept of place identity was first introduced by Proshanksy (1978), who defined it as "those dimensions of self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, feelings, values, goals, preferences, skills, and behavioural tendencies relevant to a specific environment" (p. 155). In regards of people's place identity, the place is a means to distinguish yourself from others (Lewicka, 2008). The place is a part of individuals' personalities and is significant in the formation of their identities (Peng et al., 2020). People's place identity thus focuses on the influence places impose on the formation of individuals' identity and how they in turn affect the identity of a place.
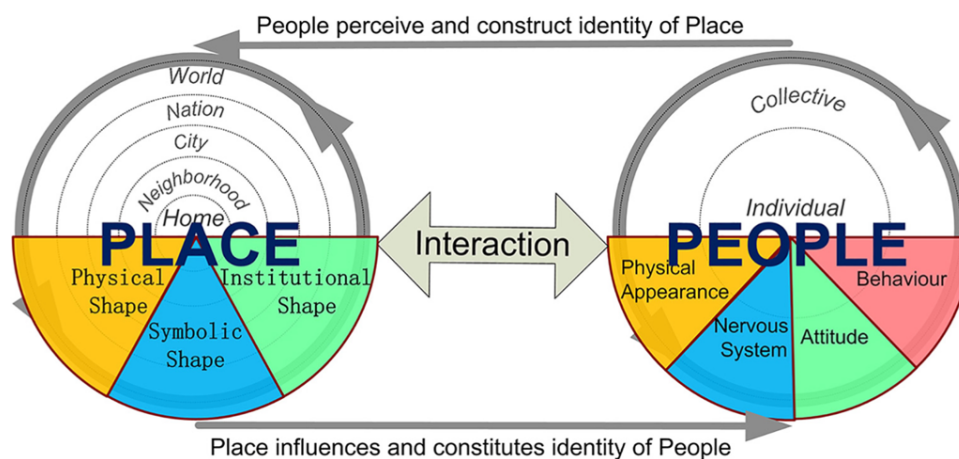

Figure 2: Relationship between people, place, and place identity (Peng et al., 2020).

Generally, place identity refers to the uniqueness of a place and the elements that distinguishes a place from others. The elements that define the place identity are where the theories diverge (Kaymaz, 2013; Peng et al., 2020). Hague and Jenkins (2005) deem that the physical features and its users results in the distinctiveness of a place. Bennett (2014) observed the importance of historic, social, and material connections to a place. Kaymaz (2013) states that the identity of a place is the perceived uniqueness, constructed to differentiate a place from others, which is based on the interaction between the physical environment, the social factors, and personal factors. Paasi (2002) refers to the inhabitants and elements of nature, culture, and economy that distinguish a place. Based on an elaborate disquisition of the meanings of place identity, deconstruction measuring methods, and roles of place identity, Peng et al. (2020) concluded that "place identity can be anything that makes a place identifiable within the spatial system" (Peng et al., 2020, p. 4). This study will make use of the four elements that Amundsen (2001, as cited in Hague and Jenkins, 2005, p. 13) identified. According to Amundsen (2001), the following four elements are typically present in place identity:

1. Spatial qualities that distinguish the place from others
2. Characteristics or qualities of the inhabitants that distinguish them from inhabitants of other places
3. Social conditions and social relations between the inhabitants
4. Culture and/or history which is the unifying element

The four elements allow to get a better understanding on how the place identity is almost entirely a subjective social construct, but based on the objective physical settings, i.e. urban design (Peng et al., 2020). It should however be noted that these physical settings are influenced by those in power, such as spatial planners, urban designers, and politicians (Hague & Jenkins, 2005; Kavaratzis, 2004). Amundsen (2001) refers to this as the spatial qualities which include location, infrastructure,

communication, and architecture (Hague & Jenkins, 2005). Research by Potts et al. (2011) shows that this is the most distinctive element, meaning that individuals often perceive a place through the elements of the external looks of the place (Peng et al., 2020). The external looks for a place refer to tangible elements such as place names, buildings, land use, landmarks, and population (Paasi, 2002; Peng et al., 2020). This is supported by Lynch's (1960) theory, in which his methodology of mental mapping also focuses on the physical structure of the city. These mental maps are based on what one remembers and thus reveals a personal subjective understanding of the area. By analysing the different elements of the mental maps, similarities can be discovered. Lynch (1960) states that "there seems to be a public image of any given city which is the overlap of many individual images (p. 46). The method of mental mapping is valuable as it reveals the subconscious interrelations people have with a place. Even though each of these individual mental maps are unique, there are five types of elements to be found: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks (Lynch, 1960). Lynch (1960, p. 47) describes them as follows:

1. Paths – Paths are the channels along which the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves.
   → Streets, walkways, transit lines, canals, railroads
2. Edges – Edges are the linear elements not used or considered as paths by the observer. They are the boundaries between two phases, linear breaks in continuity.
   → Shores, railroad cuts, edges of development, walls
3. Districts – Districts are the medium-to-large sections of the city, conceived of as having two-dimensional extent, which the observer mentally enters "inside of", and which are recognizable as having some common, identifying character.
4. Nodes – Nodes are points, the strategic spots in a city into which an observer can enter, and which are the intensive foci to and from which he is traveling.
5. Landmarks – Landmarks are another type of point-reference, but in this case the observer does not enter within them, they are external.
   → Building, sign, store, mountain

Nowadays, Lynch (1960) is often criticised for the lack of the social dimension as his work highly focuses on the physical structure of the city (Kaymaz, 2013). However, mental mapping allows to identify places and people's affiliation to these areas (Harteveld, 2021). As residents often perceive a place through the external looks, analysing the mental maps allow to discover similarities within their place identities.

The second element of Amundsen (2001) refers to the characteristics or qualities of the inhabitants that distinguish them from inhabitants of other places. This can refer to their values, customs, and physical appearance (Hague & Jenkins, 2005; Potts et al., 2011). Their characteristics can also relate to their household composition or socio-economic status. Meanwhile, people also ascribe place identities to less tangible meanings, memories, and activities (Peng et al., 2020). It is through the third element of social conditions and social relations between the inhabitants that it is possible to understand how they are living their lives. It refers to their usage of the space, their behaviour, their interactions, and their feelings towards each other and the place (Potts et al., 2011). Finally, Amundsen (2001) sees the fourth element of culture and history as the unifying element as this element connects the place to earlier periods, tradition and again distinguishes itself from other areas due to its unique and authentic character (Hague & Jenkins, 2005).

Although people all have their own personal place identity, it is possible to discern elements that they share and that are dominant (Hague & Jenkins, 2005). As argued before, revealing and selecting the place identity of people needs to be the base of a place brand strategy. This place identity can be identified through its containing elements: (1) spatial qualities, (2) characteristics of the inhabitants, (3) social conditions and social relations, and (4) culture and history. The way these elements are operationalised – in other words, how theory is put into practice – is more thoroughly discussed in the following methodology chapter.

3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on the methodological approach for this research. First, a description of the context in which this study has been done will be given. After that, it sets out the steps that were employed to be able to answer the sub-research questions. Moreover, this chapter explains how the data that was needed was gathered and analysed. To answer the research questions, the elements of the place identities, as perceived by the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport, were gathered, selected, and analysed. This chapter set out how this has been done.

3.1 CASE STUDY

The municipality of Stockholm is currently working on one of Stockholm's most extensive and complex urban development areas: The Stockholm Royal Seaport (se: *Norra Djurgårdsstaden*). The project is an example on how an old industrial port area is being transformed to a modern city district for both residents and businesses (Stockholms Stad, 2021b). The planning began in the early 2000s and opened private areas that were used to produce gas, port, and other industrial activities. The waterfront was also previously closed for public access. The city started planning the urban development project to fulfil the city's growing needs as they are expecting to reach a population of 1.2 million, resulting in a 40% growth compared to 2012 (Lennartsson & Salmhofer, 2017). Due to the central location of the area – in the north-east region of Stockholm, adjacent to Östermalm – there is a lot of potential to transform the former industrial buildings to new uses. The area will provide around 12.000 apartments and 35.000 workplaces by approximately 2030 (City of Stockholm, 2022). Moreover, the area is enclosed by the blue-green infrastructure, namely with on the right side the eight kilometres coastline of Lilla Värtan, and on the northern and southern parts, the area is directly adjacent to the Royal National City Park (*se: Royal Djurgården*; see appendix 1, p. 50). The Stockholm Royal Seaport consists of four subareas: Hjorthagen, Värtahamnen, Frihamnen and Loudden (see appendix 1, p. 51). In the northern part (Hjorthagen) there is already some liveliness, as there are already people living in the area since 2012. Most buildings have been realised in that area, whereases the other areas are still in the planning and construction phase. In addition, Energihamnen is also located in the area, where the industrial activity will continue (City of Stockholm, 2022). To date, approximately 6.970 residents have moved into 3.160 new homes (Stockholms Stad, 2022). The socio-economic level of the area is very high. This information was obtained by analysing a survey that the municipality send out to a random selection of 1300 residents in 2019. The question regarding the monthly household income had the following answers: 3% earns €0 - €1.999, 27% €2.000 - €5.499, 25% €5.500 - €7.999, 45% €8.000+ (Institute för kvalitetsindikatorer & Stockholms Stad, 2019).[1]

In 2009, the Stockholm Royal Seaport was designated by the municipality of Stockholm as a sustainability-profiled area. This means that the development of the project contains the task of testing and developing new solutions and processes for a more sustainable future (Stockholms Stad, 2021b). In the early 1990s, Hammarby Sjöstad was the first environmentally profiled area of Stockholm. The lessons learned from the planning and development of Hammarby Sjöstad formed the base for the Stockholm Royal Seaport. Moreover, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the City's Approach to Agenda 2030 were also used as a conduit for the overarching vision for the Stockholm Royal Seaport. However, to what extent they relate to the elements of place identity will be explored in the results. In the next part of this chapter, the steps to employ this research will be explained.

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[1] 3% earns 0-19.999 kr, 27% 20.000-54.999 kr, 25% 55.000-79.999 kr, 45% 80.000+ kr

3.2 METHODS

As stated before, the main research question is as follows:

How can insights on the place identities of the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport create synergies?

The question will be answered with the help of the following three sub-research questions:

1. What are the aims and policies of the municipality of Stockholm with regards to the development of the Stockholm Royal Seaport and how do they relate to the elements of place identity?
2. What are the place identities of the residents that are already living in the Stockholm Royal Seaport?
3. Which elements of the place identities as perceived by the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport are shared and where do they differ?

This research combined primary and secondary data collection. The first step of this research was to understand what the aims and policies of the municipality of Stockholm with regards to the development of the Stockholm Royal Seaport are, and how these related to the four elements of Amundsen (2001). Thereafter, the place identities of the residents that are already living in the Stockholm Royal Seaport were retrieved. Comparing the results of the first and second sub-research question, allowed to see which elements of the place identities of the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport are shared, and where they differ.

3.2.1 POLICY DOCUMENTS, REPORTS, AND WEBSITE

The first method was an analysis of the different policy documents, to get a better insight on what the aims and policies of the municipality of Stockholm are regarding the development of the Stockholm Royal Seaport. The documents were analysed with the theoretical interest of the four elements of Amundsen (2001) to understand how the aims and policies relate to the elements of place identity. The first set of documents is the three Sustainable Urban Development Programme reports that are published by the City of Stockholm. The first was released in 2010, the second in 2017, and the latest version in 2021. The most recent version has been used primarily, as some of the elements, targets, and principles have changed since the previous versions (City of Stockholm, 2022). The documents describe the development of the Stockholm Royal Seaport in detail and clearly set out the guidelines and ambitions of the municipality of Stockholm. The documents are directed at politicians, developers, authorities, city officials, and visitors. This document is written by the City Planning Administration in consultation "with the relevant City of Stockholm administrations and companies" (City of Stockholm, 2022, p. 4).

      The municipality of Stockholm also releases annual sustainability reports. Those reports contain a summary of the Stockholm Royal Seaport's sustainability work in that specific year. Moreover, they show how the urban development project achieves the sustainability goals that are set. The first was to be published in 2014 and named *5 years with a sustainability profile* (Stockholms Stad, 2014). Although all the sustainability reports between 2014 and 2020 have been read, they mostly contributed to getting a better understanding of the case study and thus are not all directly applied and cited in this research. However, the structure of all the reports is based on the five strategies that form the basis for the Stockholm Royal Seaport requirements. This outline was thus helpful to understand in what way the city is working.

      Lastly, the website www.norradjurgardsstaden2030.se has been thoroughly analysed. The website provides more wide-ranging information compared to the reports. The reports are a summary of key events, whereas the website also serves as an archive of collected material. The website is both available in Swedish and English. The website is structured in four-tab pages: about, how we work, results and innovations. Mostly the tabs 'how we work' and 'results' were of value for this research. The

results were again structured on the five strategies, whereas 'how we work' contains all the information about the vision and targets of the sustainability-profiled area.

3.2.2 INTERVIEWS

Semi-structured interviews were held with five people working for the municipality to create an overview and get insights into their aims regarding the development of the Stockholm Royal Seaport. During this whole research, close contact was maintained with Martin Ottosson, the communication manager of the Stockholm Royal Seaport. He provided information if data was unclear, an elaboration on a specific topic was needed or findings needed to be confirmed. Moreover, he provided the contact details of the other four interviewees. That resulted in the possibility to talk with the experts that were needed for this research, as he exactly knew who is responsible for what (see table 1).

The interview with Staffan Lorentz and Camilla Edvinsson both took place whilst walking through the research area. As both interviews were held early in the research process, it also contributed to getting familiar with the context in which this study has been done. Camilla Edvinsson is the tour guide for the study visits. Both a private tour and a tour for the residents were joined for this research. The in-depth interviews with Christina Salmhofer and Andreas Rostvik were both held online and took about an hour. Both interviews were held to obtain a better insight on what their perception is on the place identity of the Stockholm Royal Seaport and how they used this perception in their policy and planning strategies. Moreover, questions that arose from reading these policy documents were asked to gain more clarity. Central was the question how the urban planning principles relate to the sustainability targets and which of the two is leading in this sustainable urban development project. Moreover, questions were asked on the process of forming the principles, strategies, and targets to get a better understanding to what extent the SDGs proved a conduit for the development of the place identities. Finally, questions regarding the uniqueness of the area, strategies for the place identity and their perspective on the place identity were asked.

Interviewee	Expertise	Date
Staffan Lorentz	Head of the Stockholm Royal Seaport development	17-02-2022
Camilla Edvinsson	Information Officer for the Study visits	22-02-2022
Christina Salmhofer	Sustainability Strategist for Stockholm City Development	31-03-2022
Andreas Rostvik	Team leader of the architects and urban planners of the Stockholm Royal Seaport	21-04-2022
Martin Ottosson	Communication Manager of the Stockholm Royal Seaport	Feb-Jun 2022

Table 1: Overview of the interviewees that work for the municipality of Stockholm

Semi-structured interviews were held with twelve residents living in the Stockholm Royal Seaport. The supporting concepts of place identity were operationalised by asking questions that indirectly relate to the four elements of Amundsen (2001). Even though place identities can be highly subjective, as mentioned in the theoretical chapter, there are common grounds to be found. In order to find these common grounds, the qualitative data sets needed to be made manageable to make sense of the acquired data.

The data was collected through interviewing residents living in the subarea Hjorthagen, located in the northern part of the Stockholm Royal Seaport. This was done on a semi-random selection as the main requirement was to have a good distribution of gender and age. Because the rest of the development of the Stockholm Royal Seaport is still going on, the subarea Hjorthagen was of interest. Residents were approached on different days, times, and weather circumstances, to ensure a right distribution and representation of the residents living in the Stockholm Royal Seaport. As the socio-economic level in the area is very high, income was not a requirement in the selection of the residents

(Institute för kvalitetsindikatorer & Stockholms Stad, 2019). The same applies for the educational background of people.

The interview consisted out of 16 questions, on which some of them had sub-questions and the final question involved drawing a mental map of the area. The list with questions can be found in the appendix 2 (p. 55). It was deliberately decided to refer to the Swedish name *Norra Djurgårdsstaden*, as experienced showed that many Stockholmers, including people living in the area, are unaware of the English name 'Stockholm Royal Seaport'. To verify this, the first question that the interviewees were asked was "Where do you live?". This question was asked to gain an insight whether the residents would say the English name (Stockholm Royal Seaport), the Swedish name (Norra Djurgårdsstaden) or the subarea (Hjorthagen).

Table 2, shows the twelve residents that were interviewed. The table provides an overview of their age, how long they have been living in the area, and with whom they are living. Moreover, the table shows when and where the residents were approached. Some of the interviewees had the time to sit down and take the interview immediately. Others gave their contact details to schedule a different day and time. The interviews were recorded and transcribed. It was found that on Tuesday afternoon people were generally in a rush and thus difficult to stop. The people that were sitting on the benches and thus approached as they seemed to have time, were not living in the area. Moreover, it was mostly women that were out in the area. Despite being in a rush, three people stopped to have a talk for about 10 minutes. For this reason, the interviews were not recorded, but notes were written down during and after the interview. This applies for the interviewees 10, 11, and 12. It was interesting to see that because it was not a formally set up interview, the interviewees were more relaxed and talkative. Most of the interview questions were still asked, except the final question. The final question involved drawing a quick map of the Stockholm Royal Seaport and they did not have time for this. Interviewees 7, 8, and 9 were approached during a residential tour that the tour guide Camilla Edvinsson gave on a Wednesday evening. Not only did this time allow to reach residents that would normally work during the day, but it also gave the possibility to hear if the answers were different after an informative tour about the area.

	Gender	Age	Living in SRS	Household	Approached on	Where
1	Female	39	6 months	Alone	Sunday afternoon	In the shared courtyards
2	Female	26	7 months	Housemate	Sunday afternoon	Laying benches next to Husarviken
3	Female	87	3 years	Husband	Sunday afternoon	Bench next to Husarviken
4	Male	42	1 year	Partner and daughter	Sunday afternoon	Working in their little garden box
5	Male	40	8 years	Wife and daughter	Sunday afternoon	Playground
6	Male	33	5 years	Wife and 2 kids	Monday morning	Supermarket
7	Male	53	6 years	Wife (son and daughter moved out)	Wednesday evening	Residential tour
8	Female	27	6 months	Alone	Wednesday evening	Residential tour
9	Female	70	30 years	Husband (kids moved out)	Wednesday evening	Residential tour

10	Female	68	5 years	Husband	Tuesday afternoon	Walking her dog close to the dog park.
11	Female	31	4 years	Partner and son	Tuesday afternoon	Playground in the courtyards
12	Female	44	5 years	Alone	Tuesday afternoon	Bobergsgatan

Table 2: Overview of the interviewees that live in the Stockholm Royal Seaport

3.2.3 THEMATICAL ANALYSIS

To identify, analyse and report patterns in the data, thematic analysis was applied as a method. This method allows to find patterns that relate to themes that enable to find an answer on the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the case of this research, it was driven by a theoretical thematic analysis, in which the theoretical interest was defined by the four elements that define and influence place identities. These four elements of Amundsen (2001) have been introduced in the theoretical chapter. A thematic analysis is a step-by-step process, set out by Braun and Clarke (2006) in six phases (see table 3). "A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). By searching across the data set, a thematic analyse finds repeated patterns of meaning. For this research, the themes relate to place identity.

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Table 3: Phases of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87)

The data was gathered by interviewing residents. After transcribing and re-reading the interviews, the data was loaded in the coding program Atlas.ti. Next step was to generate initial codes. In the case of this research, the themes are theory driven. This resulted in 26 initial codes. In phases 3 and 4, these were sorted into the four themes spatial qualities, characteristic inhabitants, social conditions and relations, culture, and history (see table 4, p. 20). If the answers related to spatial planning or urban design, they would be sorted to the theme 'spatial qualities'. The second theme 'characteristic inhabitants' refers to answers that related to the physical appearance of the residents, their household composition, character traits, and socio-economic status. Answers that were about to the usage of space, the interactions between residents, activities that the interviewees like to do in the area, or feelings they have towards each other and the place, were sorted to the theme of 'social conditions and relations'. Answers that contained the transformation of the area or the old use of the Gasverket would be sorted to the theme 'culture and history'. Phase 5 was executed to identify the essence of each of the themes and what aspect captures the theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Finally, the last phase creates

an overview of the findings which are presented in the results chapter. The aim of phase six is to present the data in a "concise, coherent, logical, non-repetitive and interesting account of the story the data tells within and across themes" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 93). Some of the answers showed a difference regarding the interviewees' age or household composition. These differences did however have repeated patterns of meaning. Therefore, the chapter concludes with three personas that represent a greater group and the overall place identity of the Stockholm Royal Seaport.

Themes	Initial codes
Spatial qualities	Amenities Architecture City-Nature Development Infrastructure Location unfamiliar Nature Parks Restaurants/pubs Stockholm City Sustainability Water
Characteristic inhabitants	Calm Children Dogs Health Income
Social conditions and relations	Facebook/online Friends Helping Neighbours Playgrounds Safe Walking in nature
Culture/History	Gasverket Old use of the area

Table 4: Codes in Atlas.ti

3.2.4 MENTAL MAPPING

As a final question, the interviewees were asked to draw a quick map of the Stockholm Royal Seaport. It was explained that this did not need to be accurate – just a rough sketch as if they were making a rapid description of the neighbourhood to a stranger, covering all the main features. This method is called 'mental mapping'. This approach "reveals a person's point of view and perception of an area of interaction" (Harteveld, 2021, p. 66). Even though these mental maps are unique, Lynch (1960) identified five types of elements that are found in these individual images. The nine mental maps that were drawn by the residents in the Stockholm Royal Seaport were analysed according to these five elements of Lynch (1960). As mentioned in paragraph 3.2.2, the interviewees 10, 11, and 12 were not asked to draw a mental map, hence the results only contain nine mental maps. The mental maps can be found in the appendix 3 (p. 56).

4. RESULTS

4.1 THE MUNICIPALITY OF STOCKHOLM

What are the aims and policies of the municipality of Stockholm with regards to the development of the Stockholm Royal Seaport and how do they relate to the elements of place identity?

As concluded in the theoretical chapter, a place influences and subsequently constitutes people's identity through the interaction people have with a place. As city's actions and decisions influence to a large extent how places look, it is important to get an understanding on what the aims and policies of the municipality of Stockholm with regards to the development of the Stockholm Royal Seaport are, in order to find how they relate to the elements of place identity. The interviews with the municipal employees and the analysis of policy documents and reports, show that there are five overarching goals to ensure that the Stockholm Royal Seaport is developed in a sustainable manner. Each of the goals consists of sustainability targets and urban planning principles. Next to these five overarching goals, the municipality identified six unique qualities and opportunities that have formed the foundation for the future development of the Stockholm Royal Seaport (A. Rostvik). Firstly, the five goals and six unique qualities will be described in more detail. Thereafter, a description in what ways they relate to the four elements of Amundsen (2001) will follow to get a better understand on their relation to place identity.

4.1.1 THE FIVE GOALS

The lessons learned from the planning and development of Hammarby Sjöstad formed the baseline for the Stockholm Royal Seaport, after the municipality of Stockholm decided in 2009 to designate it to a sustainability-profiled area (M. Ottosson). Subsequently, the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the City's Approach to Agenda 2030 were used as a conduit for the overarching vision for the Stockholm Royal Seaport. The four urban development goals of the city are a growing city, a coherent city, attractive public spaces, and a climate-smart and resilient city (City of Stockholm, 2022). These are set out to support all planning and urban development within the city of Stockholm. The SDGs and the City's Approach to Agenda 2030 will not be elaborated in the results as they are used to support the five goals of the Stockholm Royal Seaport project. Because they are directly or indirectly intertwined within the development, the assumption is made that the possible influence they might have on the place identity of the Stockholm Royal Seaport is thus already taken into consideration (see fig. 4). The five goals are: (1) the vibrant city, (2) accessibility and proximity, (3) resource efficiency and reduced climate impact, (4) let nature do the work, and (5) participation and learning (City of Stockholm, 2022).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. Vibrant City	○		●	●	●			●	●	●	●		●		●	●	
2. Accessibility and Proximity	○	●	●	○	●				●	●	●		●			●	
3. Resource Efficiency and Reduced Climate Impact			●		●	●	●		●	●	●	●	●	●			
4. Let nature do the work	○		●	○	●	●			●	●			●	●	●	●	
5. Consultation and Learning	●			●	●			●	●	●	●	○	●			●	●

● Direct   ○ Indirect

Figure 4: An overview that was made by the municipality of Stockholm on how the five goals directly or indirectly contribute to the UN's global goals for sustainable development (Stockholms Stad, 2022).

Each goal consists of urban planning principles and sustainability targets. Christina Salmhofer, the sustainability strategist of the Stockholm Royal Seaport, stated that the five goals were developed to help guide the spatial planners and urban planners in a more structured way. This was especially helpful in the early stages of the planning process, to understand how the sustainability targets and urban planning principles can complement each other. The municipality implemented a broad consensus process, to ensure that they would serve as common set of values (C. Salmhofer). The five goals were formed with the help of the communication offices, and the input from workshops and working groups with partners and stakeholders. The municipality asked the citizen association HIND for input, but they did not give any comments (C. Salmhofer). The urban planning department of the municipality had the most influence on deciding on the urban planning principles, because it is their field of expertise (A.

Rostvik). An overview of the five goals, including their urban planning principles and sustainability target can be found in table 5.

The first goal – the vibrant city – focuses on people. The goal is to be inclusive and equal, where public spaces are the core (City of Stockholm, 2022). These spaces should offer a variety of functions and activities, where spontaneous encounters between people can happen. The second goal relates to the accessibility and proximity in Stockholm Royal Seaport. In the area walking, cycling, and public transport are prioritised, with the aim to contribute to reduce the climate impact and improving the health of the citizens (City of Stockholm, 2022). The municipality wants the area to be a place where it is easy to live without a car, therefore, the area is based on the five-minute city, meaning that everyday services should be reachable within five minutes. The municipality determined that parks and recreational areas should be within a 200-meter reach and daily services and public transport within 400-meter. The third goal is about resource efficiency and reducing the climate impact. This varies from the selection of building material and waste systems to fossil-free transport systems and utilizing existing values. The fourth goal stretches the importance of the water and greenery in Stockholm Royal Seaport. Within this goal, the municipality states that synergies can be made between the social, economic, and ecological functions. The goal aims to contribute to the health and well-being of the citizens, provide the opportunity for recreation, and increase the aesthetic values of the area (City of Stockholm, 2022). At the same time, it aims to increase the biodiversity and be resilient to future stresses. Lastly, the fifth goal refers to the participation and learning of the residents, striving for an inclusive process.

Five goals	Urban planning principles	Sustainability targets
Vibrant city	- Connect the city - Intense and lively places - Destinations for the whole city - Public spaces for different needs - Mixed functions - Public meets private - Active and open ground floors - Careful design	- An equal city - Well-functioning everyday life - Safe places day and night, all year
Accessibility and proximity	- Continuous street network - A backbone of public transport - Concentrate - Multifunctional streets at human scale - Services from the outset - Stimulate sustainable modes of transport	- Easy to live without a car - Efficient business transport - Sojourn streets - Five minutes to daily services
Resource efficiency and reduced climate impact	- Use land efficiently - Quality and longevity - Utilise existing values - Energy planning - System integration - Sites and buildings as producers	- Reduce amounts of waste - Resource efficient water and wastewater systems
Let nature do the work	- Multi-functional blue and green spaces - Greenery for pleasant outdoor environments - Mitigation of stormwater and increased rainfall - Green buildings and courtyards - Robust ecological connectivity - Cultivate	Utilise ecosystem services

Participation and learning	• It should be easy to do the right thing • Civil dialogue and influence • Provide space for meetings and initiatives • Visible and invisible sustainability effort • Dare to try something new	• Stimulate long-term participation • Sustainable business • Innovation and development

Table 5: Overview of the five goals and their supportive urban planning principles and sustainability targets

4.1.2 THE SIX UNIQUE QUALITIES

The Sustainable Urban Development Programme states that "building on what already exists is a necessary prerequisite for long-term sustainable urban development and at the same time the basis for creating a dynamic and attractive urban environment" (City of Stockholm, 2022, p. 13). Andreas Rostvik, the team leader of the architects and urban planners of the Stockholm Royal Seaport, explained that the five strategies are goals to work towards to, but that the six unique qualities are identified as places that define the Stockholm Royal Seaport. He stated the following: "so we develop and build from these qualities and see them as the local and unique identity, the five strategies are the added-ons on how we want to achieve it and the place identity will thus be a mix of those two". The policy documents state that these six unique qualities give the area its own clear identity (Stockholms Stad, 2017; Stockholms Stad, 2014, 2021a). According to Rostvik, these unique elements make the area distinctive from other development projects of former industrial harbour areas, that were developed around the same time (A. Rostivk). With the input of workshops with different stakeholders, the municipality decided on the following six unique qualities: (1) Gasverket, (2) Hjorthagen, (3) Industry and Infrastructure, (4) Port and City, (5) Water space and Waterfront, and (6) the Royal National City Park (see fig. 5, p. 26).

The municipality decided to give new life to these already existing buildings and environments, by acquiring them with new functions and letting them be part of the new context (City of Stockholm, 2022). Additionally, the policy reports states that "existing environments and buildings provide the basis for a distinctive local identity with historical ties that together contribute to the area's identity" (City of Stockholm, 2022, p. 13). To do so, the municipality makes use of three principles: (1) making them accessible, (2) make them visible so they are utilized and prominent in the cityscape, and (3) highlight and enhance the distinctive features by allowing new prerequisites to impact existing environments (City of Stockholm, 2022). Additionally, their vision for the area is as follows: "a compact and multi-faceted area, where the focus is on people, and with nature also being an integral aspect. Stockholm Royal Seaport feels inclusive with its safe, vibrant meeting places. Resource-efficient, holistic solutions result in reduced climate impact, increased climate adaption, and prepares Stockholm Royal Seaport for challenges of the future. Co-operation and innovative new thinking pave the way for creative solutions and encourage wide community involvement" (City of Stockholm, 2022, p. 9). To understand the perception of the municipality of Stockholm on the place identity, the five goals and the six unique qualities will be further elaborated based on the four elements of Amundsen (2001).
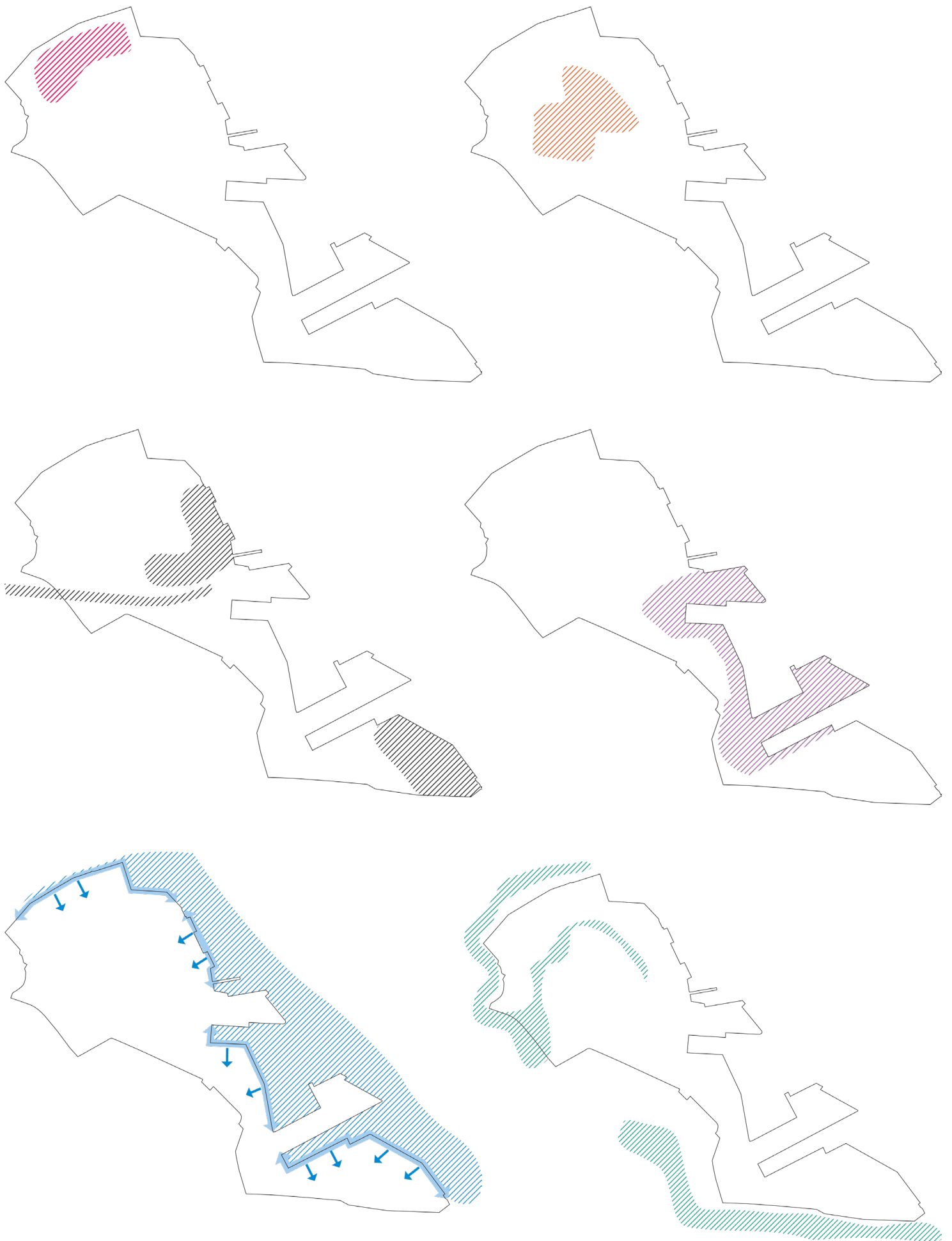
Figure 5: The locations of the six unique qualities. From left to right: Gasverket, Hjorthagen, Industry and Infrastructure, Port and City, Water space and Waterfront, and the Royal National City Park. Source: City of Stockholm. (2022). *Sustainable Urban Development Programme*.

4.1.3 SPATIAL QUALITIES

Walking through the subarea Hjorthagen shows a variety in architecture (see appendix 1, p. 52). According to Rostvik, it is "a child of its time and it looks different from what the upcoming plans for the rest of Stockholm Royal Seaport are". He added that "the buildings look similar to other development projects of former industrial harbour areas for example in Hamburg, Malmö, Copenhagen". Hence, the municipality found it important to find elements that do have a strong identity, which according to Rostvik are the six unique qualities. The element 'spatial qualities' of Amundsen (2001), refers to e.g., the location, infrastructure, and architecture. The municipality sees the 'Industry and Infrastructure' as a unique quality of the area. Because the city's critical infrastructure and supply system are located in the Stockholm Royal Seaport, the municipality thinks that it influences the character of the area, as these infrastructures to some extent create physical and mental barriers between the four subareas Hjorthagen, Värtahamnen, Frihamnen, and Loudden. Even though the motorway and train tracks can be crossed, they divide the different areas and therefore contain the risk of creating barriers. Moreover, in the area Energihamnen, industrial activities will continue and thus will be inaccessible for people. The motorway also creates a barrier between the inner city and the Stockholm Royal Seaport. Therefore, the municipality wants them to be reduced where possible, to strengthen the connections (City of Stockholm, 2022; A. Rostvik). One of the main objectives of the municipality is to connect the Stockholm Royal Seaport to the inner city. According to Staffan Lorentz, the head of the Stockholm Royal Seaport development, people move to this area because it is close to the city and nature. The area is accessible by bus and metro and the bike is prioritised to make it easy to live without a car (City of Stockholm, 2022). Because the area is also based on the 'five-minute city', amenities are in close reach and car ownership is therefore rather low. Moreover, the municipality counts for 0.5 car spaces, meaning that only one out of two families own a car (S. Lorentz). This is all in line with the goal of 'accessibility and proximity'. Salmhofer also emphasized the proximity to water and parks when she was asked what she thinks is what defines this area. She elaborated saying, that just like the rest of Stockholm, water is present everywhere. In the case of the Stockholm Royal Seaport, it is both the eight kilometres coast of Lilla Värtan, as well as the narrow bay of Husarviken between Hjorthagen and the Royal National City Park. What distinguishes the Stockholm Royal Seaport from the rest of the city, is that the area is located next to the port. The English name for the area even got its name from it. The municipality states that the port contributes to a dynamic area with strong defining elements such as water, wharves, and piers. It is also one of the main entry points of Stockholm, resulting in and flow of people and goods. A new terminal, Värtaterminalen, has been built to strengthen the role of the port as a gateway to the city (City of Stockholm, 2022). In the two subareas Värtahamnen and Frihamnen, urban environments will be developed next to the port operations. The municipality expects that these high-rise apartments, commercial premises, and offices, will strengthen the port-city relations (City of Stockholm, 2022). 'Water space and waterfront' and 'port and city' are also two of the six unique qualities. The municipality considers this a unique combination, within the city of Stockholm. To highlight this, they will add more public spaces next to the waterfront, to encourage activities that utilise the water as much as possible (City of Stockholm, 2022).

Additionally, the municipality states that "the port has a key role to play in transitioning the Stockholm region into a long-term sustainable region" (City of Stockholm, 2022, p. 20). Salmhofer argued that the SDGs have proven to be a conduit for the development of the city structure, e.g., the way buildings face the sun to have enough daylight throughout the day or the lay-out of parks for certain animals. This was also highlighted by Camilla Edvinsson during the tours. Edvinsson thinks that sustainability is the identity of the area. She is always surprised to see the reaction of residents compared to visitors that join her tours. Visitors join the tour to learn more about sustainable urban development, regardless of whether they are national or international, researchers, experts, or other municipals. Residents are always surprised to learn from her how sustainable the area is (C. Edvinsson). Rostvik stated that sustainability is just the way it is these days. According to Rostvik, it is the task of urban planners that the functions that the city provides are sustainable. He states that residents should not get the option to live in sustainable area, it is something that the municipality should provide, i.e. they live in an area that happens to be sustainable. Salmhofer explained that the aim was to develop an

area where "it should be easy to do the right thing". Or as Rostvik said, "sustainability is just the way it is, rather than something that residents can choose".

4.1.4 CHARACTERISTICS INHABITANTS

Stockholm Royal Seaport is adjacent to Östermalm, resulting in an extension of the inner city. However, the central location drives up the housing prices and as a result, the socio-economic status in the area is very high (Institute för kvalitetsindikatorer & Stockholms Stad, 2019). People living outside the area tend to call it the "next Östermalm" when they refer to the Stockholm Royal Seaport (M. Ottosson). This is not a positive reference as it relates to the fact that the housing prices are extremely high in Östermalm, in fact, it is one of the most expensive areas to live in Sweden (M. Ottosson). Rostvik added that there is no such thing as social housing in Sweden, but that they are working on planning for more diversity in the area through student housing, co-living, rainbow living, and tiny floating houses. He added that "when it comes to deciding on such forms of living, it is unfortunately up to the politicians and the market".

One of the unique qualities is the residential area Hjorthagen which was built between 1897 and 1965 (City of Stockholm, 2022). The area is defined by low-rise apartments and used to be a former working-class district where the employees of Gasverket lived. Because the area is located on a hill, the municipality wants to strengthen the ties between the new and old Hjorthagen, whilst persevering the green belt the area has. Moreover, the residents that are living in the older Hjorthagen do not have a monthly income as high as the residents living in the newer Hjorthagen. As introduced before in the methodology chapter, the monthly household income of people living in the Stockholm Royal Seaport is: 3% €0 - €1.999, 27% €2.000 - €5.499, 25% €5.500 - €7.999, 45% €8.000+. Comparing this to the people living in the older Hjorthagen shows a socio-economic difference between the two areas: 22% €0 - €1.999, 45% €2.000 - €5.499, 15% €5.500 - €7.999, 17% €8.000+ (Institute för kvalitetsindikatorer & Stockholms Stad, 2019).[2]

4.1.5 SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND RELATIONS

Many of the urban planning principles relate to public spaces, with the overall aim that they are safe, attractive, active, and green. For example, the urban planning principles of the goal 'vibrant city' are: intense and lively places, public spaces for different needs, and active and open ground floors. In the Sustainable Urban Development Report, it is explained that "public spaces are the core of urban life and space is made for spontaneous and unexpected encounters between people from different backgrounds and identities" (City of Stockholm, 2022, p. 30). This principle relates to the third elements of Amundsen (2001), which is about the social conditions and social relations between the inhabitants. The Stockholm Royal Seaport is characterised by many parks, inner courtyards, and the national park (see appendix 1, p. 53). Due to the 'five-minute city', parks and recreational areas should be within a 200-meter. The municipality has the aim that the parks are multi-functional spaces, meaning that they for example increase the aesthetic values and the health and well-being of the citizens, but that they also function as meeting places for unexpected encounters (City of Stockholm, 2022). Moreover, the municipality expects that the 90 plant boxes can function as a point of social contact, where residents can interact with each other and have an educational opportunity on cultivating. The fifth goal, participation and learning, strives for an inclusive process. To include more people in the planning process, the municipality has organised different dialogues, e.g., at the exit of the local supermarket to discuss about the future of Värtahamen (Stockholms Stad, 2021a). The municipality also has an active project-oriented Facebook page, which serves as a channel and point of contact for residents. Lastly, several guided tours are yearly arranged by Camilla Edvinsson, to develop the knowledge on the sustainability of Stockholm Royal Seaport. The municipality arranges four up to eight study visits for residents in the area. Before the covid-19 pandemic, they welcomed about 500 groups, with 600 people per year (M. Ottosson). Most of them were experts, decision-makers, and students.

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[2] SRS: 3% earns 0-19.999 kr, 27% 20.000-54.999 kr, 25% 55.000-79.999 kr, 45% 80.000+ kr
Hjorthagen: 22% 0-19.999 kr, 45% 20.000-54.999 kr, 15% 55.000-79.999 kr, 17% 80.000+ kr

4.1.6 CULTURE AND HISTORY

As mentioned earlier, Salmhofer emphasized the proximity to water and parks when she was asked what she thinks is what defines this area. Additionally, she mentioned "cultural, historic buildings, and a industry history". According to her, in addition to the new buildings, recovering and reusing several old buildings, and giving them a new lease of life, is one of the most sustainable things they can do as a municipality. One of the unique elements is the Gasverket area. The area is now open and publicly assessable, where it used to be private property for about hundred years. The grid was used to provide the city with gas and the production ended in 2011 (City of Stockholm, 2022). The area was planned and designed by the architect Ferdinand Boberg by the end of the 19th century. In the upcoming years, the area will be transformed to a hub for culture, gastronomy, and shopping (CA Fastigheter AB, 2021). Currently, the developers of the area, CA Fastigheter (2021), promote it as a lively area of the Stockholm Royal Seaport highlighting the fact that it is being transformed "från stängd industri till öppen stad" (en: *from closed industry to open city*). One of the old brick gasholders will function as a hotel and the second one as a music venue (M. Ottosson). Other buildings are transformed into a climbing hall, the liquor store *Systembolaget*, schools, a train museum, and soon there will be restaurants (CA Fastigheter AB, 2021). The pictures in the appendix 1 (p. 54) show images of what the area can look like in a few years. The intended aim of the municipality is that the Gasverket will function as a cultural destination for the whole city of Stockholm (City of Stockholm, 2022). It was also decided that none of the newly build buildings could use the same colour of bricks as that of the Gasverket, respecting the heritage value (C. Edvinsson; see Appendix 1, p. 52). A similar decision was made by the municipality regarding the Royal National City Park. The northern part of the Stockholm Royal Seaport is characterised by relatively low-rise buildings in a muted colour scheme with the aim to reduce the impact on the Royal National City Park (City of Stockholm, 2022). The park spans about 10 kilometres and the municipality wants as many people as possible to get the feeling that they live next to the park (City of Stockholm, 2022). Because the area is home to 1,200 species of beetle, 800 different kinds of plants, and approximately 100 nesting bird species, the Stockholm Royal Seaport's location plays a key role in connecting the northern and southern ends of the park (City of Stockholm, 2022). As a result, streets like Jaktgatan are designed in such a way that the insects can find their way to the park and stimulate pollination (C. Edvinsson).

4.2 THE RESIDENTS OF THE STOCKHOLM ROYAL SEAPORT

What are the place identities of the residents that are already living in the Stockholm Royal Seaport?

In this chapter, the findings regarding the place identities of the residents that are already living in the Stockholm Royal Seaport are presented. First, the analysis of how the place identities relate to the four elements of Amundsen (2001) will be presented. Second, extra attention is brought to the perspective of the interviewees regarding the sustainability of the area. Lastly, the chapter ends with three personas, because even though the place identities amongst the interviewees are different, there are repeated patterns to be found.

4.2.1 SPATIAL QUALITIES

The analysis of the interviews shows, that residents mention the combination of living in the city but being so close to nature when they have to describe the area to someone that has never been there. Many of the interviewees think that this is what distinguishes the area to the rest of Stockholm (interviewees 1, 4, 7, 8, 9 and 12). Interviewee 1, said that it is impossible to describe this area, "because it is city centre and also a forest. I don't have direct neighbours, as I'm surrounded by kindergartens, so here I am in the city centre, I don't have neighbours and I do have a forest, so it's impossible". Interviewee 8 said: "I would say what is significant for this area, is the closeness to the city but also the countryside feeling. I would describe it as a mix of city life, but also having the other amenities that the city would not have". When talking about nature, most of the interviewees referred to the park or forest, meaning the Royal National City Park and Stora Skuggan. All of the interviewees mentioned that they make use of the parks and the surrounding nature on almost a daily basis. When the interviewees were asked which place they would be most likely to go to when they are by themselves, they unanimously replied 'to the green areas'. Some like to sit on the benches next to Husarviken, others like to walk through the Royal National City Park. The mental maps complement to this, as all the interviewees drew the Royal National City Park. Some also drew the dog park (interviewees 1, 2, 6, 7).

　　　Water was also mentioned by half of the interviewees. For example, interviewee 2 likes to sit along the narrow bay Husarviken to read. If she wants to take a stroll, she enjoys walking along the coastline Lilla Värtan. She would like to have a few more benches down "the big water", but she understands that there is still a lot of construction going on there. Interviewee 4 pointed out that there are a lot of barriers to reach Lilla Värtan due to the constructions. This might be the reason why the port was not mentioned by any of the interviewees. Even though only interviewees 2 and 4 talked about Lilla Värtan, all the mental maps show the coastline of Lilla Värtan. This indicates that the interviewees perceive the unique qualities of 'water space and waterfront' and 'Royal National City Park' as a distinguish feature of the Stockholm Royal Seaport. Lynch (1960) calls this 'edges', meaning that they are seen as boundaries between areas. Another other boundary that the residents drew is what Lynch refers to as 'edges of development'. This implies that because the area is still developing, the residents consider these as edges, i.e. the boundary of the area. Only interviewee 4 asked, "do I need to draw the whole area of *Norra Djurgårdsstaden* or the area that is build today". Analysing the mental maps of the citizens, show that almost all the interviewees draw an 'edge' where the hill up to the older Hjorthagen starts. Even though the two areas are connected through different roads, and both are the greater subarea of Hjorthagen, only interviewees 7 and 9 included the area in their mental map. All the interviewees drew the main street Bobergsgatan as a continuous line. This indicates that the road leads to the city, some even emphasized this with the word *stan* (en: town) and an arrow (interviewees 6 and 7). All the interviewees drew the Royal National City Park and the narrow bay Husarviken in their mental maps. Interviewee 12 said that this narrow bay makes the Stockholm Royal Seaport different to the rest of Stockholm: "of course, Stockholm has a lot of water, but it is not as easy to reach and at the same time Husarviken is very quiet compared to other neighbourhoods in Stockholm. Here, you really sense the nature feeling and you don't see so many people." However, the lack of people is also a downside for her, meaning that the area does not feel like a vibrant city yet. She is very enthusiastic about the continuation of the development because she is "missing the liveliness that people working, shopping, eating in a place bring". A similar comment was made by interviewee 7: "There are a lot of things to be added to this area and we patiently wait for those things to happen". With 'things' he means restaurants, pubs, a brewery, and nightlife. "I expect it to be going in a similar direction as Hammarby Sjöstad, if not better. But for now, with the proximity to Östermalm, it does not matter". Other

interviewees also drew a comparison with Hammarby Sjöstad, as this area was also developed from an old industrial area and the first sustainability-profiled area of Stockholm. Some even called the Stockholm Royal Seaport, "Hammarby Sjöstad 2.0" (interviewees 1, 7, and 9).

Where most of the interviewees cannot wait for the area to be livelier and have the expectation that it will lead to more and higher quality restaurants, interviewees 9 and 10 think that the area is getting too crowded. It should be stated here, that the answers and comments of interviewee 9 were in general rather negative. The negative answers related mostly to the poor connections between the new and old area of Hjorthagen. Her mental map shows these connections (see appendix 3, p. 57). Interviewee 9 has been living in the older Hjorthagen for about thirty years, what could explain why she might have a different perspective compared to the other interviewees. She knows that the area is now part of the greater area of "Norra Djurgårdsstaden", and that the northern part of the Stockholm Royal Seaport is also called Hjorthagen. She kept referring to it as the lower Hjorthagen, differentiating it by the fact that the older Hjorthagen is located on the hill and thus the "higher Hjorthagen". Occasionally, she would also say "us up on the hill". She also thinks that the new buildings are too high and have too little space between them. Interviewee 10 mentioned this too: "I have never lived in an apartment before, only houses, so I think it is quite tight to live in this way". Most of the mental maps show drawings of building blocks, but none of them had negative feelings towards them (interviewees 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9).

4.2.2 CHARACTERISTICS INHABITANTS

Generally, the interviewees enjoy living in the area not only because it is so close to the city and nature, but also because they think the other residents are calm. Interviewee 6 compared the Stockholm Royal Seaport to the Astrid Lindgren story of *The Six Bullerby Children*. "It is a story about a small village in Sweden where it is very calm, all the kids are playing with each other and there is nothing dangerous and everyone is polite to each other. This – meaning the Stockholm Royal Seaport – is like a small village in the big city of Stockholm. It is very different from the rest of the city". Also, interviewee 3 describes the area as such: "It is very calm here, there is not much traffic. Mostly young people and small children. Not so many old people". She also describes the people as very healthy and rich. Interviewee 1 also said that what she likes so much about the Stockholm Royal Seaport, compared to other areas in Stockholm, is that people are calm. Additionally, she pointed out that other places in Stockholm have a better social vibe and that they are more inclusive compared to this area. Other interviewees mention that the area is expensive to live in. Interviewee 6 said that the prices are driving them to other areas: "In a world where we would have all the money we need, we would stay here. So, the only reason to maybe move to other places is that it is cheaper." Interviewee 10 also said that she considers moving out, but for a different reason. She dislikes the fact that the area will get busier and more crowded, as more people are moving and coming to the area as the development continues. Therefore, she is unsure if she would stay in the area once it is finished.

Interviewee 8 pointed out that she is in a phase in her life where she enjoys being close to nature. "Years ago, at the beginning of my student life, I would have said a different thing. Now I have my dog, I can walk a lot and I like that it is calmer here". Interviewees with young children like that there are many families in the area, as their kids can play together (interviewees 4, 5, 6, and 11). Overall, the interviewees pointed out that it is a neighbourhood with relatively young people and many kids. Also, dogs were mentioned by five out of the twelve interviewees (interviewees 1, 2, 8, 10, and 11). The findings suggest that children and dogs seem to be important and defining elements for the interviewees. Because there are so many young people with small children, interviewee 3 mentioned that she is missing her friends from the place where she lived before, as there are not so many other old people in the area. Moreover, she cannot do as much because she is not that strong anymore: "I like to walk around the park and the forest, sometimes I bike. There is not a place I avoid, but I'm never out in the evening". Compared to the other mental maps, she only drew a very small part of the area, namely the between Husarviken and Bobergsgatan (see appendix 3, p. 56). Her mental map shows a cross, implying that she exactly lives in between them. She also drew the library, the bike repair store, the supermarket, a coffee shop, the pharmacy, and the liquor store *Systembolaget*. Nevertheless, she

likes living here because their children and grandchildren live in the area too. This implies that the Stockholm Royal Seaport has not so much to offer for the elderly.

4.2.3 SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND RELATIONS

All the interviewees unanimously agreed that it is their favourite neighbour to live in. 'Live' should be highlighted here, as most of them do not prefer this area regarding certain activities. With having the city centre so close by, they would most likely go into town to do activities, such as having drinks, visit high-quality restaurants, doing yoga, i.e. as interviewee 8 said "things that you would have and do in the city". So, because of the proximity to the city, almost all the interviewees would not meet up with friends or family in the Stockholm Royal Seaport for a coffee or drink. However, they do meet up with them if they want to enjoy the good weather in order to take a walk along the water or through the Royal National City Park (se: *Norra Djurgården*). Having easy access to the park is something that interviewee 9 pointed out as a positive part of the development, as the older part of Hjorthagen has gotten better access to *Norra Djurgården*. She states that she thinks that the accessibility can still be better for them up on the hill, but "for them down there it is fantastic".

According to interviewee 12, another reason why many people meet their friends or family in town, is because of the unfamiliarity with the area: "I grew up in Stockholm and a lot of my friends don't know what this place is. Or where it is even [...] Of course they come to visit me, but we would not meet up at one of the coffee shops [...] There is nothing that draws you to this area and it is kind of its own island that is isolated from the other city areas that are all sort of connected with each other". She is not the only one to mention the unfamiliarity of the area. Others also pointed out that their friends do not really know the Stockholm Royal Seaport. However, all mentioned that they like to invite friends and family to show them the area (interviewees 1, 4, 6, and 12). Interviewee 12 said that she especially likes to meet with friends with kids, even though she does not have kids herself. This way she can show them what the area has to provide for kids, especially the playgrounds. The results imply that this unfamiliarity relates to the fact that there is not so much to do in the area. As residents that are living in the area go to the city to have drinks, it explains why people from outside of the area do not have the incentive to go to the Stockholm Royal Seaport either.

Most of the interviewees mention that they got in touch with other residents at the playground. As interviewee 6 said: "by being outside and being in the parks for big parts of the day, you get to know other parents, especially dads for me". Another way they get to know them is through kindergarten. Four interviewees wrote the word *skola* (en: school) in their mental maps (interviewees 6, 7, 8, and 9). This suggests again that children are an important element for the place identity, especially as only interviewee 6 has kids. Generally, the interviewees with kids, stated that they know and recognize more people in the area compared to the interviewees without children. A few interviewees mentioned that they got in touch with their neighbours through Facebook or WhatsApp groups (interviewees 1, 2, and 7). When asked if they wanted to get in touch with their neighbours more, interviewee 8 replied "I like being anonymous. It is nice to be friendly with your neighbours, but I don't have driving forces to get to know anyone here". Interviewee 7 pointed out that ever since their kids moved out, he and his wife like to live more isolated. He did wonder if you could make friends in the area if you do not have kids, as there are not so many events in the area. But as he has no interest in making new friends, he has not tried. Interviewee 1 thinks that the "municipality has an influence in this". She recently got a plant box from them and thinks that if she would be watering her plants there, that she would meet people and get to know them. The findings show a difference in the answers of residents with or without children. The main reason why the interviewees with children like to get in touch with other residents, is because it is nice for their kids to play or do activities with other children in the neighbourhood. Many of the interviewees pointed out that this happens spontaneously, as they encounter each other at the playground.

4.2.4 CULTURE AND HISTORY

The findings show that the element of culture and history is underrepresented in the answers of the residents. Some of the interviewees did mention that the area is rebuilt from an old industrial area (interviewees 4, 5, 9, and 11). Only two interviewees mentioned something relating to the cultural and historical buildings of the area (interviewees 3 and 9). Interviewee 9 said that she appreciates that the city is taking care of the old buildings. Interviewee 3 had "glasklockerna" as the first word that came to her mind. She did not mention them later, and neither did she draw them on her mental map. Five of the nine mental maps do however show the gasholders, which are identifiable by their circled shape (interviewees 1, 2, 7, 8, 9). Lynch (1960) refers to these as landmarks, meaning that they are seen as external elements that define the area. As mentioned before, many of the interviewees are patiently waiting "for things to be happening in the area" (Interviewees 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 12). With 'things' they all referred to the new function these old buildings will fulfil, once the Gasverket area is officially open. So, even though this element is underrepresented, the mental maps revealed that the residents consider the gasholders as an important point of reference.

4.2.5 THE SUSTAINABILITY OF THE AREA

The perspective of the interviewees varied a lot regarding the sustainability of the area. Only half of the interviewees think that the Stockholm Royal Seaport is a sustainable area. The others either thought it was not sustainable or they were not sure about it. Interviewee 1 responded with "no, I come from the countryside where there is a more regenerative way of looking at things, this is the greenwashed city version". Interviewee 2 thinks that the city likes to promote itself that way. She hopes that the municipality is doing a good job, but she is not sure about it. Interviewee 11 said that she is disappointed in the sustainability of the area. She is lives next to the energy plus buildings and compared to those two buildings, the other buildings do not seem so sustainable anymore. She expected all the buildings to be equal in that regard. Contrary to those two answers, interviewee 4 immediately said yes "every building is built in a sustainable way and how the water runs when it rains, they thought about that [...] We also have the waste grinder system, I love it, it is the best thing we have at home". Also, interviewees 3 and 5 concluded that they perceive the area as sustainable, but they could only argue that because of the waste system. Interviewees 7 and 8 could elaborate more on the sustainability of the area. What interviewees 4, 7, and 8 have in common is that they joined a residential tour that was given by Camilla Edvinsson. Both interviewees 7 and 8 told they knew it was one of the most sustainable areas in Stockholm, also before joining the tour, but not in great detail. Interviewee 8 thinks that the municipality and real estate agents should promote this more: "the sustainability aspects, of literately the buildings and infrastructure, is something people don't know in general. It would not be harmful to tell them". What these results imply is that communication is key to level the expectation people have, but also to inform them about the sustainability of the area.

To some extent, the residents seem to understand the different aspects of sustainability, namely social, environmental, and economical. For example, interviewee 6 said that the area is sustainable in a social and economical way, but that he is not sure about the environmental part, because he has no facts about it. The interviewees that joined a tour (interviewees 4, 7, and 8) were enthusiastic to tell what makes the area so sustainable and learn about the thought that is behind all the "smaller details, architectural design choices, and insects" (interviewee 4). Interviewee 4 added, "I have never heard so many descriptions about the need for wide streets to have insects to pass through an urban area". In general, they enjoyed the guided tour as it made them aware of things that they might not have seen otherwise. These results indicate that interviewees that perceive the area as sustainable, have actively sought information to obtain that knowledge. The others that do not perceive the area as sustainable, think that the city only likes to promote it as such, or they hardly know facts that prove that the area is sustainable.

4.2.6 PERSONA

The analysis shows that the residents value the combination between nature and city, and that many of them think that this is what distinguishes the area to the rest of Stockholm. Many of the interviewees mentioned that the area is perfect for the phase that they are in their life. This 'phase' does not relate to their gender or age, but rather to their living preferences and their household composition. Because of this, there are some differences to be found in the analysis. These differences do have a repeated pattern, which allow to distinguish the following three personas:

The first persona represents a group with young children. They enjoy meeting other parents and like that their children can play with each other. They also love taking their kids to the different playgrounds. Sometimes they spontaneously run in to other residents that they know, which they got to know because of their kids. Some of them, they know by name. They think that the Stockholm Royal Seaport is a perfect combination between nature and city. Some call it a concession between either living on the countryside or in the busy city centre. They also like the convenience that the waste system offers, as it saves them time and makes them do better in regards of sustainability without much effort.

The second persona represent people that love being outside in nature. They enjoy living in the Stockholm Royal Seaport because it is a calm area. They are almost out in the forest daily and like sitting on the benches along Husarviken. They are most likely retired and tend to think that there are too many children in this area. They tend to be afraid for the further development, as the area will get busier, more vibrant, and thus more citylike. Moreover, they think that this continuation will result in less green spaces. This might result in them moving out of the Stockholm Royal Seaport. Additionally, they would like to be able to rent spaces for a lower price to join activities like knitting or have meetings with the citizen association.

The third persona represents people that enjoy the vibrancy that a city has to offer. They cannot wait for the area to be finished, as the further development will mean that there will be more restaurants and pubs. Because Östermalm, is so close to the Stockholm Royal Seaport they do not mind that they must wait a little longer. Moreover, most of their friends do not live in the Stockholm Royal Seaport – and also have not heard of it – so they meet them in the inner city. People in this group like that it is easy to do the right thing regarding sustainability, although the sustainable profile of the area it is not the reason why they moved. Some of them like to learn more about the sustainability of the area, and even think that the municipality should promote it more to attract people to the area. Others think that the municipality likes to brand itself as sustainable, but are not sure if this is true, because they do not have facts for this.

4.3 DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES IN THE PLACE IDENTITIES

Which elements of the place identities as perceived by the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport are shared and where do they differ?

In this chapter, the results of the first and second sub-research questions will be compared to see which elements of the place identities as perceived by the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport are shared and where they differ.

4.3.1 SPATIAL QUALITIES

One of the aims of the municipality was to connect the Stockholm Royal Seaport to the city. This aim was mentioned by Andreas Rostvik, the team leader of the architects and urban planners, but was not as clearly stated in the policy documents. The results indicate that living so close the inner city is appreciated by the residents, as this was highlighted by all of them. It also implies that this could have been considered as the seventh unique quality of the Stockholm Royal Seaport. Due to the accessibility of the infrastructure, with public transport as a backbone, the interviewees can easily leave the Stockholm Royal Seaport and go into the city. The barrier between the inner city and the Stockholm Royal Seaport, which is caused by the motorway, does not seem to affect the residents. The results also indicate that they like that the area is at the same so close to nature. Although the municipality has determined that parks and recreational areas should be within a 200-meter reach, it was only Staffan Lorentz that clearly stated that people move to this area because it is close to both the city and nature. The municipality does consider the access to waterfront and the Royal National City Park as unique qualities, but this combination of the city and nature was not as clearly mentioned by the municipality, as it was by the residents. Many of the interviewees think that this is what distinguishes the area to the rest of Stockholm. So, even though the municipality seems to know that the combination between the city and nature is what draws people to the area, it is not as present in their place identity compared to the place identities of the residents.

The municipality considers the residential area Hjorthagen that was built between 1897 and 1965, a unique quality of the area. Because the area is located on a hill, the municipality wants to strengthen the accessibility between the new and old Hjorthagen. Whilst different interventions have been applied to strengthen the connection, the mental maps that were drawn by the interviewees only show the newly build Hjorthagen. Only two interviewees did draw the area that is up on the hill, on which one of them is living there. This implies that the residents do not see it as a distinguishing element of the area. It could also be that they are unaware of the fact that it is part of the Stockholm Royal Seaport. As mentioned before, only one interviewee asked if he needed to draw the whole area of the Stockholm Royal Seaport, or the area that is built today. Because the subareas Värtahamnen, Frihamnen, and Loudden are still under development, it can also be that the residents living in the subarea Hjorthagen did not consider it as an interesting area to draw. The same applies for the port, as the municipality considers the port to be a defining element of the area too. However, the port was never mentioned by the residents. Moreover, the residents that were interviewed are all living in the subarea Hjorthagen, but never mentioned that. Only one interviewee said she lived in Hjorthagen, but she was referring to the older Hjorthagen up on the hill. Generally, the fact that both the old and new part are called Hjorthagen seems to result in confusion. The developers of the Gasverket area, CA Fastigheter, mention that the area is located in the district Hjorthagen, whereas the municipality keeps referring to the Swedish name *Norra Djurgårdsstaden*.[3] The tours that the municipality offers, get a lot of international interest, and internationally the area is known as the Stockholm Royal Seaport. However, residents living in the area are unaware of the English name, hence the decision was made to only refer to Norra Djurgårdsstaden in the interviews.

4.3.2 CHARACTERISTICS INHABITANTS

The socio-economic level of the area is extremely high. Comparing the monthly household income of people living in old Hjorthagen to people in the new part shows quite a difference. Because of the

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[3] This was written on the 25th of May 2022. This finding was pointed out to the municipality of Stockholm. When re-reading this research the website www.gasverket.se was checked again on the 20th of June 2022. They now refer to Norra Djurgårdsstaden. It is unclear if this is coincidence or because this finding was pointed out to the municipality and they told CA Fastigheter to adjust it.

central location, the housing prices of the Stockholm Royal Seaport are driving up. Moreover, the area is getting compared to the adjacent neighbourhood Östermalm, one of the most expensive areas to live in Sweden. It is not meant as a positive comparison, but more as criticism towards to high housing prices. Some residents even pointed out that the area is not inclusive according to them, even though the municipality aims to be inclusive. Although the municipality claims to be working on more diversity in the area, the socio-economic status of the area remains very high. The prices are driving people to different areas, even though this is their favourite neighbourhood to live in. So, even though they still enjoy living in the area, they are simply being pushed out.

Besides the high socio-economic level of the area, the area is also defined by young families. The area offers a lot for children, e.g., schools, playgrounds, and a train museum. The area does not seem to offer much for students or the elderly. The two students that were interviewed for this research, both mentioned that they are in a phase in their lives where they like living in a calm area close to nature. If they seek to go for drinks or coffee, they go to the inner city. The Gasverket might cause a shift in this, but for now that is speculation.

The calmness of the area was brought to attention several times. In general, the interviewees liked that the people in the area seem to be calm. However, the development of the Gasverket area might change this sense of calmness. The intended aim of the municipality is that the Gasverket area will function as a cultural destination for the whole city of Stockholm. This is in line with their goal of the vibrant city. The results of the interviewees show that most of them are excited about this development, as they assume that this will lead to more restaurants and other activities that a city brings. Some assume it will make the area more known, whereas now many Stockholmers have not heard about the Stockholm Royal Seaport. While some of the interviewees are patiently waiting for pubs, breweries, and concerts, others consider moving out of the area as they are afraid that the area will get too crowded and busy. They think it might appeal a certain group of people that will disturb the calmness of the area. One might argue that the municipality has always been transparent about creating a vibrant city, but as one of the aspects of that goal is inclusivity, it raises the question for who this part of the city is.

4.3.3 SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND RELATIONS

This element is where the place identities of the municipality and the residents have the most in common. The goal of the municipality is to create a vibrant city with the aim to have public spaces at the core, where spontaneous encounters between people can happen. The results of the interviewees tell that everyone makes use of the public spaces on a regular basis and values the many green spaces a lot. However, only the interviewees with children happen to run into other residents spontaneously. Interviewees without children do not feel the need to get in touch with them. The results imply that many of the buildings have a WhatsApp or Facebook group with the people living in the same building block. These self-initiatives imply that there is a possibility to have contact. Moreover, the municipality expects the plant boxes to function as a point of social contact, but if there are only 90 of them it can be argued if that is enough.

4.3.4 CULTURE AND HISTORY

As mentioned earlier, the findings on the place identities of the residents show that this element is underrepresented. The municipality wants the Gasverket to be a meeting place for knowledge and culture (City of Stockholm, 2022). In a few months, there will be QR codes on the pedestrian paths that will provide information about the history of the area, as well as its sustainability (M. Ottosson). This might bring more awareness on the history of the area to the residents. Both the municipality and residents, expect that the Gasverket has the potential to fulfill the lack of places to go to for a drink, restaurants with higher food quality, or shops. Even though the cultural scene has not opened yet, five of the nine mental maps show the gasholders. This implies that the gasholders are defining the area.

4.3.5 THE SUSTAINABILITY OF THE AREA

The biggest difference between the elements of the place identities as perceived by the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport is the role that sustainability has in them. Because the aims and policies of the municipality are grounded by the SDGs, they proved to be a conduit in the elements of their place identity. The municipality wants to set an example for holistic sustainable urban development and therefore the social, environmental, and economic aspects are all taken into account. The place identities of the residents imply that the SDGs proved a conduit for the development of their place identities, but without enough information and the right understanding of the term 'sustainability', residents are unaware of this. For example, the goal of the vibrant city aims to have public spaces at the core where spontaneous encounters between people can happen. The results of the interviewees show that everyone makes use of the public spaces on a regular basis and the interviewees, particularly those with children, spontaneously run into other residents. The municipality would consider this social sustainability, whereas residents would not consider it as such. Question here is if the municipality wants residents to get a better understanding of the term sustainability and what would be an effective way to get that information across. The municipality already provides a lot of information on their project-oriented Facebook, but interviewees that mentioned following their Facebook did not necessarily think that the area is sustainable. The answers of the residents that joined a tour imply that a tour is a good way to get information across. In the tours, residents learn why certain decisions are made, for example streets consider the pollination of insects and parks are designed for heavy cloudburst. The interviewees pointed out that it was surprising to hear that design choices look like any other street or park at the first sight, but that there is reasoning behind it. However, the tours require residents to actively seek information about the area and its sustainability and it is unclear if residents want this.

5. DISCUSSION

5.1 MOST IMPORTANT FINDINGS

As stated in the introduction, the aim of this research was to gain insights on the place identities of the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport, to provide the municipality with recommendations for the further development of the Stockholm Royal Seaport. The main research question was: How can insights on the place identities of the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport create synergies?

The results indicate that the SDGs are grounded in the place identity of the municipality, but that this is not as clear in the place identities of the interviewees. The results do imply that they appreciate e.g., the many parks, the two old gasholders, and the waste grinder system, but that they are unaware of the sustainable thoughts that are behind them. The data suggest that the SDGs to a certain extent have influenced place identities of the residents, but a better understanding of the term 'sustainability' is needed. Hence, this is important to consider in the further development of the Stockholm Royal Seaport. The analysis also shows that the municipality and the residents have a different understanding of what the municipality refers to as, "the six unique qualities of the area". Where the results of the municipality imply that they consider Hjorthagen, the industry and infrastructure, the combination of the port and city, the Gasverket, the waterfront, and the Royal National City Park as distinguishing for the area, the residents only mention the last three. Moreover, the results of the residents imply that they value the combination of the city and nature as a characterising element of the area. The analysis of the place identity of the municipality does imply that they know that this combination is what draws people to the area, but it is not as present in their place identity compared to the place identities of the residents.

The residents also consider the many children and dogs as defining for the area. The analysis shows that the Stockholm Royal Seaport has a lot to offer for these young families. Therefore, the residents with children tend to be more satisfied with the activities that the area has to offer. The other residents do however expect that the development of the Gasverket area will lead to more restaurants and other activities that a city brings. The results also indicate that people consider moving out of the area because of the rising housing prices. The data implies that even though the municipality is working on more diversity in the area, the socio-economic status remains high, and residents do not consider the Stockholm Royal Seaport an inclusive and diverse area. The insights on the place identities of the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport thus imply that more synergies can be created by: considering the social needs of residents without children, making more efforts on the socio-economic level of the area, drawing more attention to the unique location of the area, and improving the knowledge on sustainability of the residents.

5.2 INTERPRETATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESULTS

The results imply that both the place identities of the municipality and the residents, generally refer to elements that distinguish the place from others. As Peng et al. (2020) stated that the place identity is based on objective physical settings, it was expected that most residents would indeed relate to physical elements. The analysis of the elements of Amundsen (2001) shows that the residents and municipality do not always relate to the same physical elements. The results of the place identities of the resident referring to the 'spatial qualities', mainly relate to the green spaces of the area and the combination of living close to the city and nature. It was expected that the mental maps that were drawn by the residents would have stronger references to the waterfront, the industrial sites, and the port, as the municipality considers them as unique qualities of the area. An explanation why these elements were not highlighted by the residents could be because the area is still developing. The two subareas Värtahamnen and Frihamnen will be developed next to the port operations and the municipality expects that this will strengthen the port-city relations (City of Stockholm, 2022). Harteveld (2021) found that the limited amount of information on the mental maps, could also be explained by the limited access people have to certain industrial areas. He explained that because the public spaces in such port areas are rare and the sites are often private areas that are fenced off, residents know little about the space and thus draw little (Harteveld, 2021). As the further development of the area might bring more attention to the waterfront and port by adding public spaces, there is potential that they get more

present in the place identity of the residents when the development of Värtahamnen and Frihamnen is finished.

The research of Potts et al. (2011) also found that the element of 'spatial qualities' is the most distinctive place identity element. Because their research showed that the element of 'social conditions and social relations' was the second most distinctive element and 'characteristics inhabitants' the least, similar findings were expected for this research. However, this research revealed something else. A reason for this could be that the municipality and residents both namely referred to the social conditions that the public spaces fulfil. The research of Potts et al. (2011) had a bigger variety of answers regarding the social element, e.g., laid back lifestyle, beach lifestyle, unemployment, tourism main source of city income, busy, and high crime rate. Because the results of the residents imply that they are satisfied with the many public spaces, the analysis of the element 'social conditions and social relations' did not show many differences between the municipality and residents. The data does not tell what, according to the residents, is making the public spaces good. However, the data does give insights on the social sustainability of the area. Jan Gehl (2010) stresses that a part of the focus in this concept, is "to give various groups in society equal opportunities for accessing common city space" (p. 109). Here, the priority of social sustainability is to meet "others" in public spaces. Even though the residents living in the Stockholm Royal Seaport have good access to public spaces, the element 'characteristics inhabitants' brought attention to the issue on the inclusivity of the area. The results show that the area is defined by a high socio-economic group and mainly young families. One reason why the area is so expensive to live in could be because living sustainably is still something that only the privileged class can afford (Tielbeke, 2017). Similar urban development projects, like HafenCity in Hamburg, also get the stigmatization of being a district of the rich (Bruns-Berentelg, 2014). The overheated housing market can also have a role in this. The issue was also brought up by Andreas Rostvik, who said that the urban planners and architects are working on planning for more diversity in the area, but that it is the politicians and the market that decide. This adds to the debate about whether there is a need for social housing in Sweden. In Sweden, the organisation *Allmännyttig* ensures public housing, which is ensured by municipal housing companies (Sveriges Allmännytta, n.d.). These housing companies operate on business principles, but the objective is to provide housing in their municipality (Housing Europe, 2010). The organisation *Allmännyttig* does acknowledge on their website that there are challenges amongst this: 'The Million Homes Programme is now facing the need of extensive improvement work. Exclusion exists in many residential areas and needs to be combated. There is a shortage of housing and at the same time it is more difficult than ever to build at a cost that ordinary people can afford. Meanwhile, legislation means that the public housing companies have to combine their social responsibility with a business-like approach" (Sveriges Allmännytta, n.d.). The results of this research indicate similar challenges in the Stockholm Royal Seaport.

The Stockholm Royal Seaport is defined by young families. Both the municipality and residents expect that the opening of the Gasverket area can attract a different group. The area might also bring more awareness to the culture and history of the area, as the insights on this element show that culture, in general, is underrepresented in the place identities of the residents. This is an important insight to consider, as scholars argue that the cultural and historic context is important in sustainable development (Hein et al., 2021; Oorschot & Mensink, 2020). This also contributes to the larger debate on whether culture should be understood as an integral aspect of sustainable development. Hawkes (2001) argues that culture should not be used as a tool to achieve sustainable urban development, but that it should be the fourth pillar of sustainability. This debate also raises the issue that there is more clarity needed about the relationship between culture, sustainability, and place identities, especially as there are different understandings of what these concepts imply. The AIVP (Association Internationale Villes et Ports) adapted the SDGs for the specific context of city port relations (AIVP, 2020). This led to 10 assisting goals, on which the 6th goal states to "promote and capitalise the specific culture and identity of port cities, to allow residents to develop a sense of pride and flourish as part of a city port community of interest" (AIVP, 2021, October 19). Here, culture and identity are seen as two different elements, whereas in this research culture is seen as a part of the place identity. The 6th goal of the AIVP also states that the culture and identity should be promoted. This raises the issue on what makes the

Stockholm Royal Seaport distinctive to other port-city areas, such as HafenCity in Hamburg or the Rotterdam Maker District. For example, the strategies and aims of Rotterdam are similar to the aims of the Stockholm Royal Seaport, e.g., to be socially inclusive, connect the city to the port, and create a lively mixed-use area (Kermani et al., 2020). Bruns-Berentelg (2014) essay, raises the question how the identity of HafenCity can be brought by the residential users, jobs and culture, despite the international importance of HafenCity and its touristic function. He continues that the identity will "hopefully hold out for a century or more, leave a positive imprint on Hamburg, and provide it with a unique design" (Bruns-Berentelg, 2014, p. 8). His research finds a similar challenge, namely, preventing that this newly built transformative port-city area will turn out like any other global urban development project. He poses that the "various HafenCity localities are not only specific atmospheres and cultures, but also distinct forms that are unique to Hamburg", and can prevent this from happening (Bruns-Berentelg, 2014, p. 10).

With place branding, the municipality aims to evoke and reinforce the perceived image of the city. As explained in the theoretical framework, the challenge in place branding is to develop a place brand that communicates the place identity that is representative to all segments of the target area (Campelo, 2015). The aim of place branding with residents as a target group, is to encourage them to move and remain in the area. Therefore, insights in the place identities of the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport can also gain insights for place branding strategies of the municipality of Stockholm. The model of Kerr and Oliver (2015) refers to this as the 'identity-set'. The biggest difference between the place identities of the municipality and the residents, is the role that sustainability has in them. The results imply that this could be because the residents do not know what 'sustainability' means. Their defining elements of the place identities do relate to the sustainable decisions and choices that were made by the municipality, but the residents are either unaware that they are sustainable or mainly appreciate the conveniences they offer. Therefore, Hanss and Böhm (2011) state that an important step in promoting sustainability is to find out how people understand the concept of sustainability. However, the data does not tell to which extent the residents are interested in the sustainability of the area. For now, it seems that place branding the Stockholm Royal Seaport as sustainable, mostly reaches visitors. This confirms that different target groups ask for different place branding strategies (Kerr & Oliver, 2015). As stretched in the theoretical framework, to do this successfully, the identity of a place should be the base of a place branding strategy (Campelo, 2015; Grenni et al., 2020; Kerr & Oliver, 2015; van Assche & Lo, 2011). Hein et al., (2021) highlight that the local culture is a driver for the uniqueness of a port-city area in a globalised context, but also for future development. According to Warsewa (2017), these tangible and intangible elements of the local culture should be depicted and used as an indicator of regeneration strategies and image campaigns. The insights on the place identities of the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport can help the municipality in selecting and designing the place branding strategies that are more representative to them. This can also contribute to overcoming the differences by creating synergies between their place identities, as the model of Kerr and Oliver (2015) shows that effective place branding may affect the identity over time and can even result in new identities.

5.3 LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The four elements of Amundsen (2001) were found to be helpful in defining and comparing the place identities of the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport. The thematic analysis did reveal that there are overlaps within the four elements, which made it occasionally difficult to decide to which element certain answers belonged. For example, the parks can be seen as a spatial quality, but can also enhance social relations. Nonetheless, the responses did relate to the elements of Amundsen (2001) and allowed to get insights into which elements define, form, and contribute to place identities. As sustainable urban development is still rather new, there is not much research and theories on the relation between sustainability and identity. This raises the question if there is a need for a specific methodology to assess place identities on places that are based on sustainable design principles. More research is needed to understand if residents value good functions above them being sustainable, if it is a combination or the other way around.

Because most of the elements of the place identities are related to physical settings, mental mapping was a helpful addition to the four elements as it reveals a personal subjective understanding of the area through the physical structure of the city. For example, none of the interviewees talked about the Gasverket area, but more than half of the maps show the two old gasholders. However, it is not just the physical structure and activities that determine the place identity, but also the sentiments and stories (Bennett, 2014; Hague & Jenkins, 2005). As these stories can be highly personal, they were not of interest to this research. However, they could have giving insights on the reasoning of the interviewees as the approach of Bennett (2014) has shown associations between personal biographies and material places. The personal stories could also have revealed defining elements that were not taken into account in the interview questions that were asked. It should also be considered that the interviews were conducted in English and that the older interviewees emphasised having difficulties expressing themselves in English. Moreover, only twelve residents were interviewed. Their answers had a lot in common, hence the decision was made that interviewing more residents will not lead to new findings. The interviews did however raise new questions:

- Does the area offer enough for residents without children?
- Is there an interest in getting to know their neighbours? And what would be helpful in this?
- Is there an interest in learning more about the sustainability of the area?
- What is 'sustainability' according to them?

It remains unclear what the further development of the Stockholm Royal Seaport will do to the place identity of the area. However, it is important to keep monitoring the place identities. They can gradually change, as "place identities are a mutual, dynamic, and circular process because of the interaction between people and place" (Peng et al., 2020, p. 14). This implies that this research should be done again when the subareas of Värtahamnen, Frihamnen, and Loudden are also finished. It would also be valuable to ask the interviewees in Hjorthagen again if they could draw a quick mental map of the Stockholm Royal Seaport once the development is finished. Now, the mental maps mainly show the subarea of Hjorthagen, but the data does not tell if this is because the subareas Värtahamnen, Frihamnen, and Loudden are still under development, or because the residents living in the subarea Hjorthagen did not consider it as an interesting area to draw. Asking them the same question again, once the area is finished, can gain insights on this. Moreover, it can show if the mental maps will have stronger references to the waterfront and the port. It is also recommended to ask the residents in the three subareas the same questions that were asked to the residents in Hjorthagen.

As the development will go on for at least one more decade, other research to enrich these findings might be of interest in the meantime. It would be valuable to have more interviews with people living in the old Hjorthagen, as they might have different views on the development of the area. Additionally, dialogues with people living outside of the area will also be insightful to understand what their perspective on the Stockholm Royal Seaport is. As mentioned earlier, most residents are unaware on the sustainability of the area, whereas the tours that the municipality offers are joined by visitors that specifically come to the area in order to learn about the sustainability. Therefore, it can be of interest to do more research on the interaction between place identity and place branding of tourists. A key question could be whether residents and tourists do perceive the place identity differently or if they hold the same place identity. Moreover, it can be of interest to explore for which of these groups place branding efforts are more effective. To do that, there is a need to better understand which process of place branding contributes to forming the place identity. A similar knowledge gap is found in the research of Potts et al. (2011).

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The research objective was threefold: (1) Develop a method to assess and collect place identities, (2) Understand to what extent SDGs prove conduit for the development of place identities, and (3) Contribute to the broader understanding of place identities of transformative industrial port-city areas. The four elements of Amundsen (2001) were found to be helpful in defining and comparing the place identities of the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport. Moreover, mental mapping proved to be a great addition on the four elements. The results indicated that the SDGs proved a conduit for the development of the place identities, although it was found that the residents do not base their place identities directly on sustainability. Because the municipality of Stockholm wants to set an example on holistic sustainable urban development, they want to brand themselves as such. Therefore, it is necessary to find to which extent the residents are interested in learning more about the sustainability of the area. The municipality also needs to consider that sustainable urban development has to become the standard if cities want to achieve the Agenda 2030, so it will not make the area distinctive anymore. This is also important to consider regarding the third objective, which was: contributing to the broader understanding of place identities of transformative industrial port-city areas. All the six unique qualities of the Stockholm Royal Seaport remind in some way to the old former industrial port. These local elements should be the driver of the place branding strategies of the municipality, especially as more cities are developing their former industrial port areas to urban districts. Insights on the elements of the place identities as perceived by the municipality of Stockholm and the residents of the Stockholm Royal Seaport showed that the cultural and historical elements are underrepresented. The further development of the area might cause a change in this, but for now it remains unclear what this will do to the place identity of the area. This implies that this research should be done again when the subareas of Värtahamnen, Frihamnen, and Loudden are also finished.

The municipality of Stockholm wanted to understand how residents think about the identity of the Stockholm Royal Seaport and how these insights can give more depth and understanding in their place branding strategies. These insights implied that more synergies can be created by considering the social needs of residents without children, making more efforts on the socio-economic level of the area, drawing more attention to the location of the area, and improving the knowledge on sustainability of the residents. This led to the following recommendations:

1. As residents refer mostly to the spatial qualities of the area when they define their place identity, the recommendation is to emphasize the six unique qualities more. Especially as the distinctive local identity with historical ties contribute to the area's identity. This can be done by limiting the barriers and stimulating the residents to make use of these spatial qualities. For example, the connections between the old and new Hjorthagen can be strengthen by providing activities in the old Hjorthagen and giving the residents an incentive to go up the hill. Moreover, more attention can be brought to the fact that the area offers a unique combination of living close to the city and nature, as this seems to be defining the area according to the residents.

2. Residents do not seem to have a holistic view on sustainability. As this holistic sustainable development approach is something the municipality values, the recommendation is to clearly state if and why interventions relate to the social, environmental, or economical sustainability in the communicated place brand. Two key-research question for this are: (1) Why does the municipality necessarily want residents to identify the area as sustainable? (2) Do the residents have an interest in learning more about the sustainability of the area?

3. On top of that, the municipality should consider what being a sustainability-profiled area means for residents. The results imply that some residents think that the municipality only likes to promote itself as sustainable, especially as this branding mainly has the (international) visitors as a target group. More research should be done to understand what these 500 groups per year do to the place identity of the Stockholm Royal Seaport. This place brand can serve as a basis for developing policy that will enhance economic development, but it should not be forgotten that it also needs to provide a conduit to let residents identify with their neighbourhood.

4. Keep in mind the three personas. The area offers a lot for the first persona with young children, but there should be more activities for the other two personas. This can be a challenge as the

second persona loves being outside in nature and the third persona enjoys the vibrancy that a city has to offer. The development of the Gasverket might be beneficial for the third persona, but the results indicate that this has the risk that the second persona will move out of the Stockholm Royal Seaport. Again, highlighting the unique combination between living close the city and nature can be helpful for this.

5. In a project this large, consistent use of names is important to limit to confusion and complexity. Not only do the English and Swedish name cause confusion, the four subareas do too. Especially the subarea Hjorthagen, as it is unclear if Hjorthagen refers to the old or the new part.

6. To enrich these insights, it would be valuable to have more interviews with people living in the old Hjorthagen. Additionally, dialogues with people living outside of the area will also be insightful to understand what their perspective on the Stockholm Royal Seaport is. The key-research question for this: Do they really think that the Stockholm Royal Seaport is the next Östermalm or Hammarby Sjöstad 2.0? It can also help understand why people are unfamiliar with the area and if there is an interest to go to the area. This is valuable to know as the intended aim of the municipality is that the Gasverket will function as a cultural destination for the whole city of Stockholm.

7. The final recommendation is to promote what makes living in the Stockholm Royal Seaport unique. Try to avoid making assumptions about personal feelings, e.g., inclusive and safe, and focus on spatial qualities. With place branding you want residents to move in and stay. Suggested is to create a slogan that captures the opportunity to live close to both the city and nature, whilst living in a transforming port-city area.

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APPENDIX 1

Bird's-eye view on the Stockholm Royal Seaport
Source: Lennart Johansson/Stockholms Stad (2021)

Bird's-eye view on the Stockholm Royal Seaport
Source: Lennart Johansson/Stockholms Stad (2021)

ROYAL NATIONAL
CITY PARK

HJORTHAGEN

ENERGIHAMNEN

VÄRTAHAMNEN

FRIHAMNEN

ROYAL NATIONAL CITY PARK

LOUDDEN

LILLA VÄRTAN

Map of the Stockholm Royal Seaport showing the subareas Hjorthagen, Värtahamnen, Frihamnen and Loudden

View on Husarviken, Hjorthagen and the two gasholders
Source: Jansin & Hammarling/Stockholms Stad (2021)

Material choices that take in to account the value of the Gasverket area and the Royal National City Park
Source: Jansin & Hammarling/Stockholms Stad (2021)

Bird's-eye view showing the green inner courtyards
Source: Jansin & Hammarling/Stockholms Stad (2021)

An example of one of the inner courtyards
Source: Eva Nielsen/Stockholms Stad (2020)

What the Gasverket will potential look like
Source: CA Fastigheter

What the Gasverket will potential look like
Source: CA Fastigheter

APPENDIX 2

Interview questions

1. Where do you live?

2. What is the first word that comes to mind if you hear 'Norra Djurgårdsstaden'?

3. How would you describe Norra Djurgårdsstaden to someone who has never been here?

4. What kind of activities do you like to do in this area?

5. Which place would you be most likely to go to ...
    a. if you are by yourself?
        i. Why?
    b. If you are with someone?
        i. Why?

6. Which place do you tend to avoid?
    a. Why?

7. Is Norra Djurgårdsstaden an area you meet up with friends to...
    a. grab a coffee?
    b. to enjoy the good weather?
    c. to have a drink?

8. Is it your favourite neighbourhood in Stockholm?
    a. Why?
        i. If no: which is your favourite? Why?
    b. Would you recommend other people to live here? Why?

9. Which mode of transport do you use most?
    a. Which mode of transport is your favourite to use?
        i. Why is it your favourite?

10. Would you consider moving to a different area?
    a. Why yes/no?
        i. If yes: where?

11. Do you know/recognize people in this area?
    a. Yes:
        i. How did you get to know them?
        ii. Do you run in to them spontaneous?
        iii. Do you know their name?
        iv. Do you do activities with them? (e.g., parties, dog walks)
    b. No:
        i. Do you want to get in touch with your neighbours?
        ii. Why?

12. Do you perceive Norra Djurgårdsstaden as a sustainable area?
    a. In what way?

13. Does the area stimulate you to do better in regards of sustainability?
    a. How?

14. Does it make you feel better?
    a. Why?

15. What are you missing in Norra Djurgårdsstaden?

16. Finally, I would like you to draw a quick map of Norra Djurgårdsstaden. It does not have to be accurate —just a rough sketch as if you were making a rapid description of the neighbourhood to a stranger, covering all the main features.
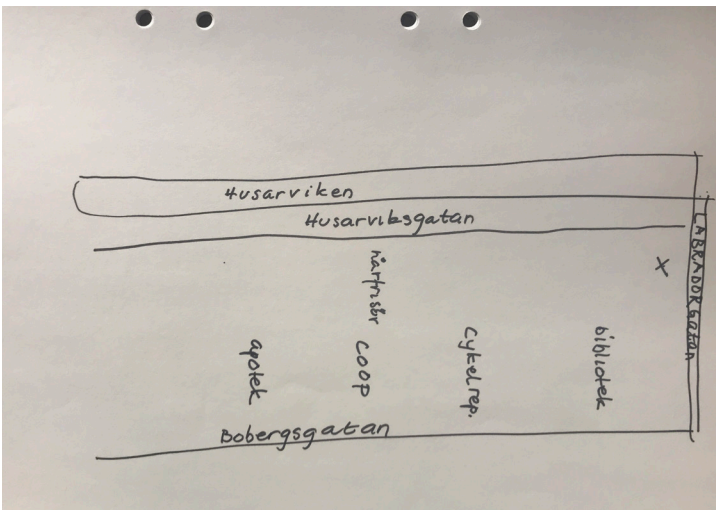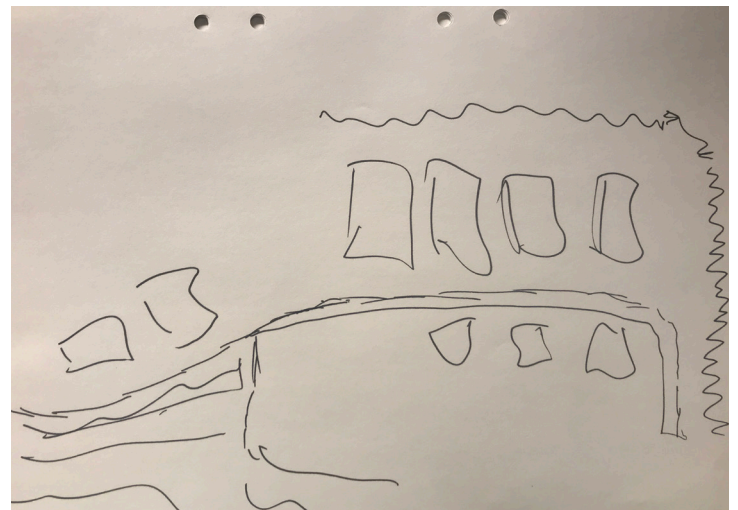
APPENDIX 3

Mental Maps
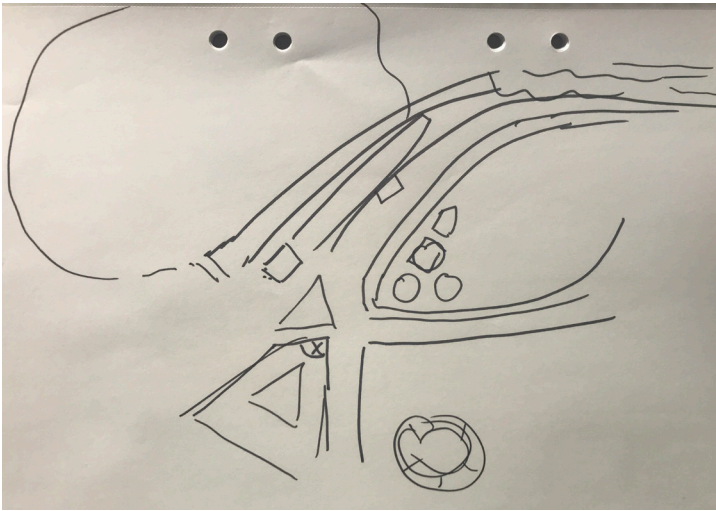
Interviewee 1: Female (39)

Interviewee 2: Female (26)
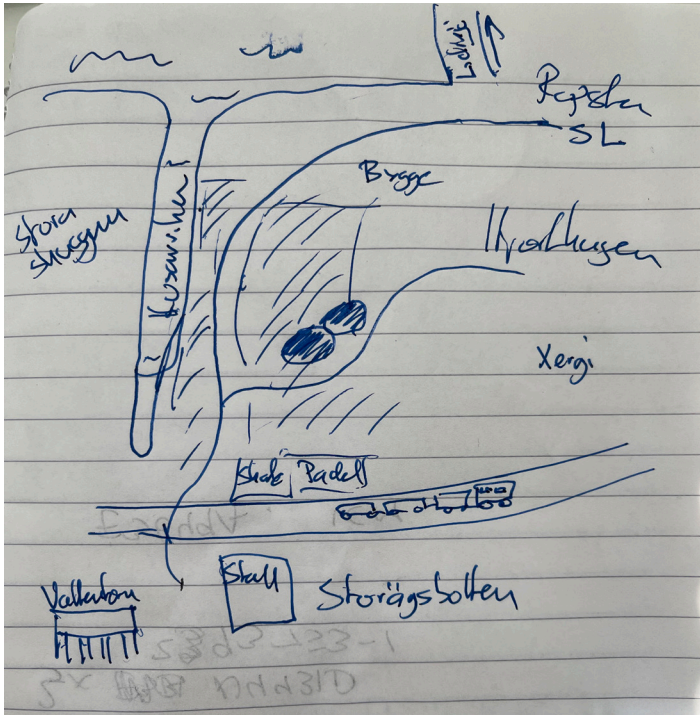

Interviewee 3: Female (87)

Interviewee 4: Male (42)
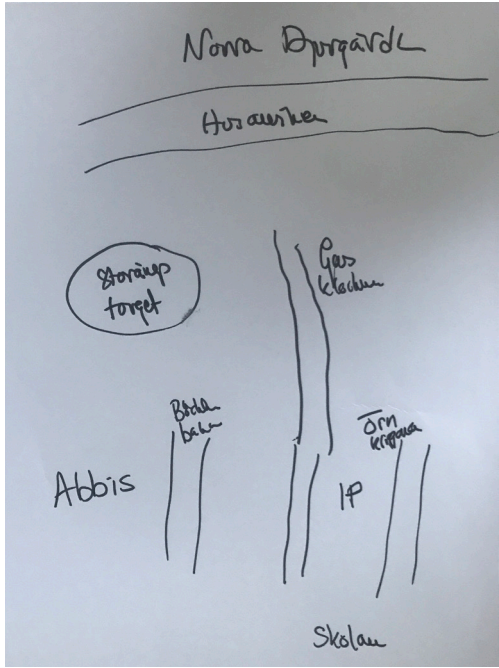

Interviewee 5: Male (40)

Interviewee 6: Male (33)

Interviewee 7: Male (53)

Interviewee 8: Female (27)

Interviewee 9: Female (70)