Dark Matter, White Space

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Abstract:
This thesis addresses the ambiguous role of Malmö’s latest megaproject in the context of the city’s racializing urban development trajectory. The project is a public/private congress center, concert hall and hotel complex called Malmö Live. Malmö Live is problematized as the height of spectacle and challenge as it is expected to be the city’s most prominent cultural and social meeting place. The inquiry is directed to how its expectation of relevancy came about and utilizes a Foucauldian inspired genealogical methodology. The result stems from an investigation of the historical, present, local and global conditions that constitutes the expectancy of its relevancy. The investigation notes the divisiveness of tourism and how it affects ways of thinking and doing government on multiple scales, and in particular how it motivates the case in question. The result shows that there are affinities between tourism-during-colonialism and the contemporary tourism industry. Where the former was appropriated by colonialism and overtly racializing, the latter is allowed appropriacy by a currency ascribed to selected geographies and histories. By describing the becoming of this megaproject and the use of tourism knowledge and technology, the how-question about the expectation of Malmö Live’s relevancy leads to a genealogical reconstruction of Malmö Live as a wager on whiteness. The wager on whiteness hold no guarantees, but the power of it is the ability to be persuasive and believed, and the currency it holds for those who perform it. The thesis ends with a discussion on what is at stake with Malmö Live, i.e. Malmö’s whiteness.

Keywords: Tourism, Megaproject, Whiteness, Malmö Live, Racialization
Acknowledgement
To the person who stole my computer

We gon' be alright
Do you hear me, do you feel me, we gon' be alright

// Kendrick Lamar
I Introduction

This thesis explores the device to mean something locally while representing something internationally attractive and competitive, and how it is operationalized in a megaproject in Malmö, Sweden. The city of Malmö has been in a state of transition for the last 35 years. By that I mean, there is a divisive discourse in Malmö, represented as the story of Malmö’s transition from an industrial city to a successful city of knowledge with an international esteem. It is a quite standard formula that also appears in cities across Europe that were confronted with an industrial decline around the 1970s and 1980s. This is a story where iconic architecture, tourism, sustainability, hosting international events, and production of knowledge is expected. In Malmö, this refers to the last two decades of urban development projects like the university, the public library, the Boots fair and sustainable accommodation in new urban environments like Hyllie and the Western Harbor. This is also a story that casts a shadow over the struggle with socio-spatial exclusion. An exclusion that has an ethnic or racial component that we can see mirrored in the institutionalization of a doctrine on the dilemma of racism and discrimination, over the last two decades (Burns et al., 2007). This doctrine exists on multiple scales through networks such as the European Coalition of Cities against Racism and its international equivalent (ICCAR), UN’s Sustainable Development Goals (which the City Council of Malmö has adopted as local goals), and the recent Local Unesco Center for Collaboration (UNESCO Lucs). One of Malmö’s strategies to combat the issue of exclusion is through creating meeting places. The term ‘meeting place’ is a multivocal policy instrument that indicates a place where social cohesion integration, entrepreneurship and innovation occurs, or is expected (Norberg Hansen and Lagergren, 2010; Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2018; Stadskontoret, 2008; Wittrock, 2011). In 2010, the Municipal Executive Committee of Malmö decided to build the biggest and most expensive meeting place to date (Holgersen, 2016; Ivarsson and Persson, 2015). Today, that is Malmö Live - megaproject consisting of a combined congress center, concert hall and hotel with indoor public space, apartments, offices and other commercial amenities. Malmö Live is expected to be the city’s most prominent meeting place and is often associated with other major infrastructure investment like the Öresund bridge and the City Tunnel. What sets Malmö Live apart from those big infrastructural projects is the requirement of programmed content. It has to be curated in order to fulfill its purpose – to be attractive locally, regionally, nationally and internationally; to become a point of tangency in the every-day lives of the diverse people of Malmö and its visitors; to manifest materially and culturally the creativity that the city wants to represent. It is an exceptional agglomeration of local and regional resources. Yet, in a generic way echoes Malmö’s urban development effort for the last two decades. However, it is not unique to Malmö. With the ambition to present a final story of the megaproject’s becoming, a book was released, written by the former CEO of the Malmö Symphony Orchestra, on behalf of the municipality. It contains technical, organizational and symbolic references to other similar projects in Scandinavia. It tells us that between 2007-2014 thirteen other concert halls where completed in Sweden, Norway, Finland and Iceland, with the combination of congresses and symphonic orchestras - a supposedly synergetic relationship. They are conveyed as a type of place - “functional icons” - “the cathedrals of our times” that represents grandeur, stature, and prosperity (Stenkvist and Feldt, 2015, p. 5). Equally symbolic, the book makes sure the reader learns about the different milieux these symbols travels through; Iceland, Berlin, Hamburg, Bilbao, Sidney. The mosaic
of mobile cultural and economic referents is spatially fixated by the ‘4th urban environment’ - an urban planning concept that appeared in 2008 and implemented in Malmö Live. It is a mixed use and functional semi-public space concept. In an attempt to understand the concept it has been argued that the concept was created to travel, in the sense of being appealing and useful to other ‘creative cities’, and that its ambiguity is facilitating in that regard (Listerborn, 2017). Listerborn stresses that more research is required and her concern is that “... unequal power relations may be more severe than at first sight.” (2017, p. 29). It is an important point to make because inequality and socio-spatial exclusion, especially on the basis of ethnic or cultural belonging either as an identity or assigned identity, is increasing in Malmö (Amin et al., 2002; Burns et al., 2007; Holgersen, 2014; Hübinette et al., 2012; Möllerström, 2011). A prominent feature of socio-spatial exclusion is structural, institutionalized, and everyday racism (Kalonaitė et al., 2007; Kamali, 2006; Kumlin, 2014). And a central aspect of racism is the self-image of privileged groups, the way symbolic and material consensus is established and makes barriers for inclusion (Amin et al., 2002; Stigendal, 2012). It has given cause for a notion of cultural racism – *Even in Sweden*. For example, when the program director of the new concert hall, in an interview with a regional newspaper after three years of operation, talks about how they finally know their role in the city and enthusiastically speaks about program highlights thus far, but on the meeting place ambition elusively states:

> A water wheel gets started quickly if you pour a huge amount of water on it in the beginning, otherwise it will go slow. We will work on it long-term (Jarminder, 2018).

Elusive public commentary like this had Allan Pred asking “why did she avoid the particulars of this instance while elsewhere providing specifics?” while he was working towards the notion of cultural racism, in a Swedish context (2001, p. 135).

In Malmö Live I therefore see “the spectacular and the challenge at their highest point [emphasis in original]” (Baudrillard, 1983, p. 114). From this vantage point, the expectation to mean something locally while representing something internationally attractive and competitive; to be the city’s most prominent meeting place against the trajectory that is Malmö’s racializing urban development trajectory, is problematic. This thesis aims to investigate this problematic and traces the discourses, practices, and knowledge that render it appropriate. In the following sections I will position this aim within the field of urban studies through a brief literature review followed by a problem statement and a research question that will guide this thesis toward its aim.

1.1 Literature Review
There is plenty of research drawing from the metanarrative of Malmö’s post-industrial transformation. Therefore, what follows is a brief introduction to a selection of research that is particularly resourceful to the aim of this thesis. The first section introduces literature related to Malmö’s problematic urban condition. The second section present research on the megaprojects in a global context.

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1 In the book *Even in Sweden* (2003), Allan Pred writes about the resurgence of racism in Sweden, the unconstructive and dated Swedish self-image, and the specific form of Swedish racism that he exposes by demonstrating its metonymical character and cultural practice.
1.1.1 Malmö – The Neoliberal Spectacle

Dannestam (2008) looked at the process through which Malmö’s approach to urban policy was constituted. Through a historical examination of particular social and material relations, she captures how Malmö transformed from a redistributing unit of welfare policy for the national government, into an engine for growth that channels entrepreneurial policies with the introduction of a new regime of stakeholders and actors (the proliferation of the city scale). Attention is given to how certain discourses are selected to fit Malmö’s context, by whom they are selected, and how that translate into urban policy and specific urban projects.

Möllerström (2011), has problematized the metanarrative as such - Malmö’s transition from a crisis-prone industrial city to a successful knowledge city. She describes how this image was created and launched as a new identity and became the discourse it is today. There is some overlap with Dannestam’s research here, but Möllerström use a different terminology. Möllerström also includes how this discourse has been experienced by the inhabitants of Malmö, which is described as structural schizophrenia.

Holgersen (2014) departure s from a Marxist perspective and crisis theory. For him, the metanarrative is less significant. His study of Malmö’s ‘ambivalent urban development’ explains the city’s current urban condition as a result of a dialectic based on political-economic relationships; politicians and developers on the one hand, and their ideological underpinnings on the other. And specifically, their response to the economic crisis in 2008. Amongst his conclusions is that Malmö handled the economic crisis in 2008 by appropriating urban policy from the industrial era – “building more of the same” (Holgersen, 2014, p. 19). Nylund (2014) gets a bit more specific about the nature of socio-spatial exclusion in Malmö. She problematizes the ‘cultural turn’ in urban planning and argues that ‘cultural planning’, as a tool for achieving social inclusion, is a proxy for economic accumulation. One of her conclusions is that the notion of integration has been replaced by social cohesion in Malmö’s planning discourse. Möller (2009) problematizes the consolidation of cultural policy and neoliberal urban policy in Malmö. This consolidation, he argues, creates “a common culture in the city, which means that the attractive value contained in the image of Malmö, on the basis of an outsider’s view, is the basis for the well-being of the city residents” (Möller, 2009, p. 455). Culture, he concludes, becomes without involvement - hollow. The city becomes a landscape of exogenous representations. Much of this research refers to a tension between everyday life in Malmö, and an external gaze that perpetuates the production of the new Malmö, which focuses on attracting capital, competence, tourists, and high-income taxpayers. Special attention to this tension has been given by Mukhtar-Landgren (2016), in the sense that she scrutinize the problematizations of progress and diversity in Malmö’s visionary plans. Her analysis put forward that immigration is seen as a ‘de-stabilizing factor’, and immigrants are excluded from the story of progress. She ends the article with:

In this aspect, the exclusion of immigrants is two-fold: (i) by not being included in articulations of progress (either in the past or in the future), and (ii) by being associated with articulations of problems such as exclusion and unemployment. In short, the separate discourses of progress and problems reinforce and strengthen each other, as well as cement and fix the duality of the city (Mukhtar-Landgren, 2016, p. 23).
Elsewhere, Mukhtar-Landgren has discussed the municipality’s transition from planning through rational, concrete goals and methods in the post-war era, to the weakening of planning as an ideal practice during the 1970s - 1980s, towards governance driven by visions of a desirable future (Mukhtar-Landgren, 2008). It is a description of post-industrial Malmö as a city open to entrepreneurs and businesses but closed to others. Who are the others? Well, whoever that does not fit the aesthetic of the entrepreneurial city, and furthest from it is the unemployed immigrant (Mukhtar-Landgren, 2016, 2008). Then, how is this aesthetic constituted? This relationship, between a certain localized yet mobile aesthetic has been given attention by Reimer (2016). A notion of ‘site’, as distinct from place, assist Reimer in putting the finger on the spatial ambiguity evoked by the “semi-permanent” art installation Elsewhere, that can be found in one of Malmö’s City Tunnel stations.

While being a part of the geopolitical machinery, which feeds sites and destinations into the circuits of the global panorama, the artwork introduces what I in the following will refer to as extrasitutational, as a locational ‘stammering’, revealing not simply the ‘otherness’ but the ‘becoming-other’ of locations (Reimer, 2016, p. 230).

Reimer, like Mukhtar-Landgren (2008), suggest modes of inquiry that consider articulations of power over temporal and spatial scales, in order to come to terms with Malmö’s problematic urban condition.

1.1.2 The Cultivated Megaproject

As mentioned in the introduction, the Malmö Live project plugs into a trend of symbolic megaprojects (Kennedy, 2015). Some scholars have announced this trend as paradoxical, and critique megaprojects for not delivering what they promise, or for exceeding their budgets. The ‘megaprojects paradox’, as postulated by Flyvbjerg (2014) says that the demand for megaprojects is increasing but the performance of their management has not improved, which lead to continuously overestimating the benefits and underestimating the costs. Misrepresentation, optimism bias, ignorance, creative error, and a power-trumps-rationality dynamic are some of the reasons given to why this happens repeatedly. From here, with reference to Flyvbjerg, Metzger et al., (2017) argues that power is what needs to be explained – “the dark matter of critical planning studies”. Flyvbjerg’s conception of power that underlies his approach to megaproject research renders too narrow the diffuse ways and the multiple scales power is exercised (Flyvbjerg, 2014, 1998; Foucault, 1982; Metzger et al., 2017). This diffusion has Gellert and Lynch asking for whom these megaprojects are beneficial and for whom they are destructive (2003). Megaproject’s displacing quality, they argue, is bound to the “practices and modernizing ideologies associated with colonialism, development (capitalist and state socialist), and more recently globalization” (Gellert and Lynch, 2003, p. 20). They departure from the work of Swyngedeouw who have done a lot of research on the political economy of large-scale development projects. His main thesis reduced is the following. Democratic deficit in urban planning, resulting from a fragmented urban governance through project-based public-private partnerships on different scales. This have reconfigured the local political focus from civitas to a network of stakeholders who shape: a) the urban landscape to fit their cultural, social and economic expectations, and b) new policy tools and new exclusive institutions. The expectations stem from a competitive dynamic between the local and the global, is market oriented, and fueled by a neoliberal logic that
emphasize place rather than people (Swyngedouw et al., 2005; Swyngedouw, 2002). Research with a more aesthetic sensibility argues that the appetite for symbolic and spectacular buildings are desires of a new urban elite (Kaika, 2011); a transnational capitalist class (Sklair, 2017). This elite has no loyalty to locality, it is argued, thus their material representations have no meaning for the everyday lives of locals. Nonetheless, they are performative entities that impose new social relations. Departing from an aesthetic discussion about universal symbolism, Kaika (2011) wish to crop out a normative inquiry on the economic and political processes so that alternatives can be produced. In that sense, Kaika and Flyvbjerg are similar. Yeoh (2005) further abstracts and gives context to this understanding of the consolidation of economic and cultural activities (consuming art, architecture, fashion, design, media, food, and entertainment) when cities ‘goes global’. Her message is that the strategies used by ‘global cities’ are not solely economic; ‘going global’ is an elaborate aesthetic project that includes flagship megaprojects as signifiers of global connection and “nationalist sensibilities” (Yeoh, 2005, p. 947). While her discussion is based in an Asian post-colonial context, it can be constructive to give it consideration in an European post-colonial context as well, where indeed nationalisms and fascist sensibilities are sprouting at a European scale (Gilroy et al., 2016; “Is Europe seeing a nationalist surge?,” 2018). The claim I am aligning with here is that “an urban situation can be at once heterogeneously particular and yet irreducibly global.” (Ong, 2011, p. 9).

In a Swedish context this means acknowledging the compliance with colonialism - the “participation in the hegemonic discourses, involvement in the promotion of universal thinking and practices of domination.” (Vuorela, 2009, p. 20). Furthermore, in the words of Hübinette and Lundström (2011), who postulates a genealogical and political consolidation (left wing antiracists and right wing extremists alike) of Swedishness with ‘whiteness’; “How are we to understand the fact that whiteness and white privileges are maintained in a country ruled by progressive social policies, democratisation projects, gender equality and official antiracism?”. Molina (2015) argues that mechanisms of discrimination are obscured by explanations of economic rationality. Following Gilroy (2000), she makes a lay-up to the ethnocentric imaginaries that shape economic rationality. Then, in the words of Stuart Hall: “The problem here is not whether economic structures are relevant to racial divisions but how the two are theoretically connected” (1980, p. 308). Which he would approach through rigorous historical investigation (Bakan and Dua, 2014).

The literature review directs attention to the ethnocentric imaginaries that influence economic rationalities behind megaprojects and their benefits to a local context. This entail an inquiry which is both particularly local yet generic and global, present and historical.

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2 A concrete example of this is Sweden’s involvement in the Berlin Conference 1884-1885, also known as the Scramble for Africa: “To summarise what we know about the Swedish-Norwegian position or strategy, it aimed to secure terms of trade as most favoured nation; to underscore the civilising mission of colonisation in Africa; and to generally rally behind Germany in the negotiations.” (Nilsson, 2013, p. 41)

3 A discursive category for studying “the nuanced and locally specific ways in which whiteness as a form of power is defined, deployed, performed, policed and reinvented.” (Twine and Gallagher, 2008, p. 5).
1.2 Problem statement & Research Question

The question at hand therefore revolves around a how (Foucault, 1982; Hall, 1980). I will clarify this in the coming chapter. The challenge to this thesis is to avoid what Ananya Roy, inspired by Jennifer Robinson, has described as regulating fictions - authoritative knowledge designated as theory that could obscure rather than reveal (Mains, 2012; Roy, 2011). A story that is told over and over again assimilates us to its points of reference and makes us invest in its ‘regime of facts’ (Harris, 2017; Mandelbaum, 1991). Malmö’s transformation into a city of knowledge is one of those stories. Urban development projects reiterate, manage and maintain the same storyline through the texts that are produced about them and the social relations and histories they order (King, 2004; Mandelbaum, 1991). In terms of content this include “metaphors, analogies, historical references, clichés, and appeals to collective fears or senses of guilt” (Low et al., 2005, p. 406). Therefore, the following research will avoid a “style and substance that affirms the forms of collective narration” (Mandelbaum, 1991, p. 211). This can be achieved by not gauging relevance against the discursive symmetries offered by the city’s metanarrative about urban transformation, but rather against racialization. The literature review suggests that Malmö Live could have a role in mechanisms of exclusion through urban governance, and by way of its aesthetics might affirm nationalist sensibilities. Which in a post-colonial Sweden qualifies as problematic for its general obscurity. Briefly stated, the problem addressed is Malmö Live’s ambiguous role in the city’s racializing and excluding trajectory. The research questions I ask is: How is it that, in the context of Malmö’s racializing urban condition, Malmö Live is expected to be relevant? This position and the research question can be operationalized with inspiration from the genealogical methodology of Foucault.

1.3 Research Design & Thesis Outline

A Foucauldian inspired genealogy leaves quite some freedom in terms of research design. However, there are important steps suggested in the literature about his genealogy. The first step is to locate a problem or problematize a framed system of discourses and practices (Garland, 2014). In Foucauldian terminology that is the dispositif - a disposition of particular power relations that conditions knowledge and truths about its own nature. Therefore, a genealogical thesis would start with casting doubt or deconstruct the certainties associated with the existence of a dispositif (Tamboukou, 1999). For Foucault, this was a very crucial step. The initial diagnosis of a present condition was the efficacy of his critique (Garland, 2014). From here, he would pose the research question. And Tamboukou enthusiastically adds: “In posing genealogical questions one can never be sure that one could ultimately find any ‘satisfactory answers’” (1999, p. 214). In this thesis, this first step is attempted in this introductory chapter. The second step have been described as everything else - the crisscrossing between theory, empirical investigations, analyses, and conclusions (Clifford, 2018; Reich and Turnbull, 2018). However, this paper will have to be more partitioned. That way I can utilize a theoretical framework instead of exclusively channeling a Foucauldian philosophical ethos. I will clarify all of this in the coming chapter on methodology. For now, the thesis layout is as follows:
1.0 Introduction:
As mentioned, the first chapter is about building a case for the problematization identified as the expectation that Malmö Live is relevant to a racializing urban context.

2.0 Methodology:
This chapter introduces the genealogical methodology and explains the philosophical assumptions that guides the research. The sourcing of empirical material and its limitations is discussed, as well as what reliability and validity means in the context of a genealogical study.

3.0 Theoretical framework:
The main purpose of this chapter is to allow critical distance to the empirical material, in the sense that the theoretical framework has assisted with gauging relevance when collecting, reading and sequencing data and information. I introduce the politics of expectation, and offer definitions of race, whiteness, and racism(s). I also outline a theory of racial space. I end this chapter with a genealogical treatment of modern tourism so that the contemporary version’s affinities with late 19th and early 20th century nationalist projects can be recognized. For it is such perspective that creates a tangent that later finds a point of tangency with other moments in the early 2000s that builds a momentum that manifests in Malmö Live and render it appropriate.

4.0 Malmö Live:
In this chapter I give a presentation of how the process following the commitment to build a new congress center unfolds to become Malmö Live. I analyze the process by weaving it together through context inferences. As a whole this chapter articulates the expectation of Malmö Live’s relevancy.

5.0 Conclusion:
Here I briefly summarize the previous chapter and offer a concise statement on what insight the chapter has brought.

6.0 Discussion:
In this last chapter I discuss the result, share reflexive thoughts on the process and the theoretical framework, and what theoretical insight might be drawn from the work and relate it to the literature review.

2 Methodology
There are no straightforward instructions for conducting genealogical research. In fact, it has been stated that Foucault avoided a precise method. He rather adapted to what the investigation brought upon him but was explicit on the decisions being made in the process (Bielskis, 2018; Dean, 1994a; Ferreira-Neto, 2018; Reich and Turnbull, 2018; Tamboukou, 1999; Upadhyay, 2014). What would emerge then is a form of method sometimes referred to as analytics:
The idea is that a Foucaultian analytic seeks to conceptualize the conditioning limits that simultaneously enable and constrain the practices under investigation. If for Kant these conditioning limits had been transcendental, for Foucault the empirical is conditioned by the empirical—that which is hidden (the conditioner) is but more of the same (the conditioned), albeit deeper and heavier (C. Koopman and Matza, 2013, p. 826).

This makes the methodology a priority. The epistemological commitment of genealogy’s methodology is qualitative and can be described as a combination of radical historicism and poststructuralism (Bevir, 2010, 2008). It is most often associated with Nietzsche and Foucault, although I owe my operationalization much more to the methodological discussions by the scholars that were inspired by them. By way of a radical historicism, genealogy operates as a form of critique. It does so by exposing the contingent and contestable emergences of ideas and practices that we take for granted, or their claims of neutrality, universality, and transcendence (Bevir, 2010, 2008). In other words, genealogy uncovers forgotten conditions that made certain beliefs and values or ways of doing things possible. Contingency and contestability are two key features of genealogy, that are connected to its affirmative dimension (Evans, 2008). This means, in the words of Bevir (2008a), that “genealogy opens up novel spaces for personal and social transformation precisely because it loosens the hold on us of entrenched ideas and institutions; it frees us to imagine other possibilities.”. It does so by offering alternative narratives and contrasting ahistorical and formal explanations and judgements by modernist social sciences. ‘Histories of the present’ as Foucault had explained it (Garland, 2014; Saar, 2008). Yet it is distinct from historiography as it is about explaining something in the present by way of historical events, and by not making universal truth claims as timeless certainties. Genealogy’s inclination towards poststructuralism means rejection or caution against objective and essential truths, and instead addresses an object of study by way of the practices and knowledge that made it possible (Bevir, 2008b; Upadhyay, 2014b). “There is no rock-solid truth, then: but there is still the activity, the process of truth-telling” (Valverde, 2004, p. 88) - a necessary attitude that enables scrutiny of norms and institutions, which are domains through which power and knowledge fusion. Foucault put much effort into making such point, that there is a reciprocal relationship between power and knowledge. It is not a philosophical point as much as it is an empirical observation by way of historical content (Foucault, 2003; Koopman, 2008). For example: “the history which became part of the fund of knowledge or the ideology of the nation, state, and movement is not what has actually been preserved in popular memory, but what has been selected, written, pictured, popularized and institutionalized by those whose function it is to do so” (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1992, p. 13). Key to such position is the observation that historical records are not byproducts of the past. History is made by a current user, it is a practice. So, it becomes in the present because we have historical content, and for a reason. As Foucault efficiently articulated: “History is the discourse of power, the discourse of the obligations power uses to subjugate; it is also the dazzling discourse that power uses to fascinate, terrorize, and immobilize” (Foucault, 2003, p. 68). That is why history can be used for critique. Since historical content is the outcome of practices like curation, conservation and organization, they constitute evidence of a truth-telling process (Dean, 1994b; Upadhyay, 2014b). It is this sensibility towards power that distinguishes genealogy from conventional historiography. For Nietzsche and Foucault alike, power was diffuse and productive (Foucault, 1982; Saar, 2008). Diffuse entail that power is not necessarily a
possession, a position, or centralized in an institution, not an act of restriction. Instead, power is viewed as exercised through a network of institutions and concepts (Gutting and Oksala, 2018) - “in and through knowledge” (Gunn, 2006, p. 713). Thus, for Foucault, the question of how was the most relevant (Foucault, 1982). How a sequence of events unfolds and a way of thinking doing emerges, and by what kind of power. It is such investigation that exposes the contingency and contestability of ideas and practices; because of the continuity of history by power. And where and when continuity is missing - brought to our attention through observation, commentary, experience, perception or response - is precisely what inspires problematization, and the apetite for genealogical reconstruction. To summarize, in the words of Koopman & Matza (2013, p. 826):

[G]enealogy thus function to critically excavate historical conditions of possibility that reveal the objects of our historical present as contingent (rather than necessary), complex (rather than simple), and composed (rather than merely given).

2.1.1 On method & The How Question

Wetherell and Potter offers some reassuring words in regard to method (1992, p. 86):

To follow Foucault is to rule out certain, sometimes very productive, ways of telling history, but to follow Marxist accounts is to exclude, as we have tried to demonstrate, certain investigations of class identification and studies of the mobility of discourse. We see, therefore, discourse analysis as necessarily involving a double movement. A satisfactory account of a piece of discursive material must, in our view, move backwards and forwards between what could be described as the ‘established and ‘constitutive’ aspects of discourse. Our account must examine, as Foucault and others suggest, the specification of reality and the social in discourse – how agents and subjects are formed, how the social world is grouped and categorized, how material interests and the nature of relevant objects are determined. Analysis must look at how power, particularly persuasive and rhetorical power, the power to formulate and be believed, is generated in the process. /.../ [T]here is danger of falling into a pit, or at least of stumbling along with a very strange gait; but much, too, can be gained from weaving rather than marching.

More advice can be found in research focused on governmental practices and techniques that, following Foucault, directs attention to the historicity of aims, logics, expectations, vision, problem formulations and their imagined possible solutions (Huxley, 2008a). It is a highly empirical endeavor about the conditions that make possible, appropriate, or desirable a way of thinking and doing. My interest in these conditions is sprung from my case. It is a governmental enterprise that is expected to be relevant in a context of racializing urban development. I want to know how this expectation came about. Then, it follows that I start with examining their working documents and records to see what might emerge from there. The genealogist "organises the document, divides it up, distributes it, orders, arranges it in levels, establishes series, distinguishes between what is relevant and what is not, discovers elements, defines unities, describes relations” (Foucault quoted in Dean, 1994, p. 15). The associations and links to events or concepts that are made in that process then informs further investigation. To support this process, I have compiled a theoretical
and empirically grounded gauging device – the theoretical framework. In Foucauldian methodological terms - the analytic.

2.2 Empirical Material & Limitations
The empirical material involves both primary and secondary data of the following:

- Local and national government records such as protocols, reports, evaluations official statistics, remittances, directives, memorandums, public inquiries
- Public documents from the UN, UNWTO, European Tourism Commission, European Council.
- Newspaper articles and interviews, radio broadcasts, blog-entries, official homepages.
- Scientific articles and books.

The sourcing of local government records was on one hand limited to that which is publicly accessible, but also to that which is archived. Archiving is a particular procedure and not everything gets saved and stored the way or in places one might expect. Archives have helpful and dedicated staff but the more you know when engaging with them the more productive it gets. This became an apparent limitation for my research. Knowing what to look for, and where to look for it is key. This is a common challenge when conducting archival research (Harrison and Startin, 2013). Roaming in the city archive to explore on my own was not granted. Even when being at the archive I had to e-mail my request and wait until the next day for that request to be handled. This made it quite difficult to explore archived public information and government records. With the help of the staff at the archive I narrowed down the archival data to the case number that had been used for the Malmö Live project: KS-KOM-2007-00082. That case number held a series of documents by and to the Municipal Executive Committee regarding Malmö Live. Furthermore, there are strategies that public institutions can deploy to limit the informative capacity of public records (Hanberger, 2001). One way of doing so is to outsource evaluations, assessments and investigations to private companies. That way, raw data stays private. A way to get around these challenges is to put investigative emphasis on context (ibid.). Even though I had most of the documents produced by the Municipal Executive Committee, there were certain documents I could not get. In particular, two documents that seemed important to the Municipal Executive Committee when committing to the idea of a new combined congress center and concert hall. They were two reports were made by two different private institutions that no-longer exist. They were not archived, and their existence is denied or avoided. Although, they had been referred to, interpreted and summarized into a memorandum by a working group consisting of (at the time) the Chief Financial Officer, Head of City Planning, the City Gardener, Head of the Property Management Department, and the Director of Tourism. And that concluding summary I did have access to. Reading political and archived documents is engaging with curated and crafted material – what is

4 "Primary data is original, unedited and 'first-hand' whilst Secondary data is ‘second-hand’, edited and interpreted material." (Pierce, 2008, p. 80)
5 Ny mäss- och kongressanläggning i Malmö, Turismens Utredningsinstitut, dec. 2006
Rapport om projektering av kongressanläggning i Malmö, HÅP Konsult, sept. 2006
there or absent is intentional (Harrison and Startin, 2013). And as such it is treated, in accordance with the genealogical methodology - as textual evidence (Upadhyay, 2014). Furthermore, the information provided by the case number and the documents it held would not allow me to fully comprehend Malmö Live's becoming, and the conditions that made it possible and appropriate. It required relevant but diverse sources and data which was quite time consuming to find. Essential information was sometimes found in or patched together from mundane motions and protocols and not in official reports and statements. References found in documents to events, reports, trends were tracked down and examined, and for this reason, the internet became a vital archive as well. Search engines present information according to relevance based on algorithms which most probably affect my search results. I also believe that serendipity plays a role (Merton and Barber, 2004).

Spending countless hours in the Malmö university library, roaming amongst the (systematically organized) bookshelves and spotting titles of books that I have used, digging through the results from keyword searches in their digital database, having conversations with my peers, my own sagacity and previous experiences – it all counts. There are also limitations related to the methodology. Some that are more or less relevant depending on what epistemological commitment one has. The following discussion on reliability and validity attends to that.

2.3 Discussed: Reliability & Validity
Questions of reliability and validity is often of less concern for qualitative research (Bloor and Wood, 2006). There is at least a common agreement on the less apt traditional and quantitative approach to reliability and validity, in the poststructuralist context (Vick, 2006). In very broad terms; reliability is mainly judged on the consistency of the data to support the truth, and the researcher's ability to bridge the two in a transparent and replicable way; validity specifies the strength, or appropriateness, of a measurement or method to indicate what it is intended for (Leung, 2015; Noble and Smith, 2015; Pierce, 2008). In regard to the methodology chosen, reliability and validity is relative. Thus, for this thesis it depends on a) the initial problem formulation, b) my subjectivity, and c) if theories and evidence collected support the aim of giving perspective to and critique my object of study by way of genealogical reconstruction. Depending on one’s epistemological inclination, subjectivity can be regarded as a bias or a choice (Sharp and Richardson, 2001). In a western context I am a black man, born and raised in Sweden. In order to incorporate this subjectivity, I have channeled it through the theme of race as a gauging device. I cannot conveniently disregard the theme of race since I am always reminded and aware of it. I wear it on my body, together with its history and its geography. I take it with me everywhere I go, on vacation, to work and even to this thesis. Furthermore, generalizability is not attempted but it is not ruled out. I hope that “critical analysis of one context will stimulate critical thought about another” (Sharp and Richardson, 2001, p. 207). Genealogy is not only a form of critique, it has the capacity to inform critical theory. A reoccurring quote of Foucault is quite telling of this: “Genealogy is gray, meticulous and patiently documentary” (Foucault quoted in Bevir, 2010, p. 430).
3 Theory

3.1 Expectation, Power/knowledge and Subjectivities.
During the early stages of the investigation it became evident that the Municipal Executive Committee was being proactive and acted on a certain future oriented judgement, when committing to the idea of Malmö Live. A variety of words could describe the basis for such foresight such as vision, ambition, or aspiration. I have chosen the term expectation, which entail a set of assumptions. Expectations draw from norms, traditions and practices. As such they reflect a social imaginary bound in a diachronic time-space. Which means that expectations are situated projections in the present of a future that is wished for, with material and social path-dependencies (Borup et al., 2006; van Lente, 2012). I recognize the significance of how and by whom expectations are established. For example, expectations are used by governments and companies as orientation for planning for a future in a global network of actors. In that case, expectations can help mobilize and coordinate resources (McEwan et al., 2014; Milne, 2012). What emerges from here is a sensibility towards power that aligns with the Foucauldian understanding, as something diffuse but productive and enabling. Power manifests through the exercise of a cultural, material and spatial imaginary, which cannot be clearly separated from knowledge and the production of such (Borup et al., 2006; Koopman and Matza, 2013; Porter and Randalls, 2014). These are subjectivities with history and geography (Huxley, 2008b). Which I wish to emphasize as we move on - the force of history and geography, as it will proliferate further through examples and with the help of some theory.

3.2 Race and Space
Since I have mentioned race to be the theoretical domain that Malmö Live is problematized through, it is necessary to provide a framework to how its relationship to space is understood and operationalized. Writing about race in a Swedish context feels rather peculiar. I was raised in Sweden and taught that race was a category of the past. Since racism had supposedly been overcome in the Swedish society (but mostly denied and a taboo laden topic all together), race as a category and concept had to be regressive. Instead, terms like ethnicity, religion and culture is considered more constructive. But that does not mean that race is a dormant factor in everyday life and contemporary culture (Hübinette et al., 2012). Since race, racism and whiteness are multivalent concepts it is necessary to clarify what they mean in the Swedish context. Thereafter, a general theory of racial space will be introduced.

3.2.1 Definitions: Race, Whiteness, Racisms
Race: Race is a way to categorize people based on aesthetics that can be traced back to colonialism and the time of scientific racism (Hübinette et al., 2012). Even though discussions of race are largely avoided in Sweden, race is still made. This goes under the notion of racialization - the processes by which race relations are established, usually involving domination and subordination. The reason for the relevance of race in Sweden is the systematic discrimination and division of a significant part of the Swedish population on the basis of what is considered foreign to Swedishness (SOU 2005:56, 2005). What then, is Swedishness?
In contemporary Sweden, the idea of being white constitutes the central core and master signifier of Swedishness, and thus of being Swedish. A Swede is a white person and a non-white person is not a Swede. In other words, within the Swedish national imaginary the difference between the genetic concept of race and the cultural concept of ethnicity has collapsed completely: whiteness is Swedishness and Swedishness is whiteness. (Hübinette and Lundström, 2011)

The quote above is arguing that Swedishness and whiteness is seamlessly overlapping. This consolidation is due to processes on different temporal and spatial scales finding points of tangency (Brubaker, 2002; Hübinette et al., 2012; Twine and Gallagher, 2008).

**Whiteness:** Whiteness is a discursive race category, and different from 'white people' which represent a socially constructed identity. Whiteness has been conceptualized in a variety of ways. From its inception, that is attributed to W.E.B. DuBois, focus was on “how whiteness operates as the normative cultural center that is for many whites an invisible identity.” (Twine and Gallagher, 2008, p. 9). Whiteness studies has since diversified and now aim to expose the multiplicity of discursive practices of whiteness - “the cultural practices and discursive strategies employed by whites as they struggle to recuperate, reconstitute and restore white identities and the supremacy of whiteness in post-apartheid, postindustrial, post-imperial, post-Civil Rights.” (Twine and Gallagher, 2008, p. 13). Whiteness is performative, relational, contingent, cultural capital and a resource in a global landscape of norms and values (Garner, 2017, 2006; Leonardo, 2002). In the context of Sweden, whiteness proliferates against the proportion of the population with origins outside of Europe, meaning postcolonial Africa, Asia and Latin America (Hübinette and Lundström, 2011). Power resides in the excursion of representing that which is diverse and particular as a unit; the immigrants, the non-swedes, and the foreigners. Whiteness, then, offers an analytical lens that can be constructive in research on racialization. However, whiteness is still quite underutilized in Swedish and European scholarship (Garner, 2006; Hübinette et al., 2012).

**Racism(s):** I do not refer to racism as something monolithic – an ideology upheld by a belief in the superiority of one race over others. What was once an explicit doctrine is now refuted and for the most part officially and formally rejected. Racism is today commonly recognized to vary over time and space. Usually when one has such perspective one refers to racism(s) (Hall, 1980; Pred, 2001, 2000). Therefore, what is more constructive to consider is the salience of racisms in particular moments. Like this, racisms operate as situated discourses and practices indicating racialization. In other words, it is seen as processes that produce a particular power relation (Hall, 1980; Harrison, 2013; Neely and Samura, 2011). This entail that racisms also produce space.

3.2.2 Racial Space

In their article *Social Geographies of race: connecting race and space*, authors Neely and Samura sketches on a theoretical framework of racial space that can provide a useful analytical and linguistic atlas to make explicit the links between race and space (2011). Some of which I have so far only hinted on or not explicitly established. The research areas where they have found overlapping theories of race and of space are: a) contestation, b) historicity and fluidity, c) relationality and interaction, d) difference and inequality. In this interface they have traced
complementing approaches to the changes of, and struggles over, meaning and power. Their thesis is that “[l]inking race and space explicitly help us understand how the fluid and historical nature of racial formation plays out around ongoing negotiations over the meanings and uses of space” (Neely and Samura, 2011, p. 1946). One of their examples is Caroline Knowles’ notion of ‘active archive’ which considers space and race to be dialectically constituted through social and historical processes. Knowles actually makes her way of thinking quite accessible: “I want you to think about space as produced by who people are, by what they do, and by the ways they connect with other people” (2003, p. 79). By active, she means that space is an active agent with its own potential to shape race relations. And space is an archive in the sense that it holds meanings that accumulate over time. This allows for new links to be exposed. By giving a brief example I can come a little bit closer to how. Anthony Kwame Harrison, in his article Black Skiing, Everyday Racism, and the Racial Spatiality of Whiteness (2013), asks why skiing as a sport and leisure activity in the US is predominantly White. His intention is not to problematize the fact that skiing is a white peoples’ activity, or why Black people in the US do not ski (because they do), rather it serves as a case to explore the workings of whiteness. Through the device of space, Harrison goes beyond what leisure studies would otherwise assert to the ‘marginality thesis’ or the ‘ethnicity thesis’. Which would give reasons like socioeconomic barriers or “ethnic” preferences to why Black people or other marginalized groups do not participate in skiing (Harrison, 2013, pp. 321–323). Instead, Harrison’s attention to spatial processes includes the analysis to the geography of skiing. During the last 40 years more than 1000 ski areas have closed, and changed the geography of skiing - from small local community economies and cultures, to tourist-industry destination resorts with standardized shopping, entertainment and night-life. This development has given momentum to racialized representations by the incentive to attract a particular consumer that is simply good for business. And “it appears that its clientele - largely hailing from families which decades earlier partook in a more conspicuous variety of white flight – is unwittingly, or at least cynically, complicit” (Harrison, 2013, p. 333). Not unusual in European-based ski tourism in the US, however, is racial diversity in service jobs and manual labor workforces. Harrison describes a form of racial division of labor that is common for white spaces.

Knowles’ ‘active archive’ and Harrison’s examination of whiteness in US American skiing brings to mind Stuart Hall’s notions of the ‘limit case’ as a way to study the economic, social and historical mechanism that articulates a racial segmentation in a specific social structure. A limit case is a particular conjuncture of associated contradictions and similarities on different spatial and temporal scales. It is similar to Foucault’s dispositif, but particularly useful for its capacity to render race an undeniable feature. ‘Articulate’ is a metaphor that capture the particular sequence of historical, social and economic circumstances that produced or reproduce a certain power relation (Hall, 1980, p. 325). Hall’s methodological framework builds on two premises – the historical and the material, and is a re-reading of Marxist theory that emphasize the relational aspect to the production of space. The type of relation that is the working of racialization.
3.3 Tourism
Malmö Live is a result of the political and economic imperative of tourism. How tourism was operationalized will be described in the next chapter. However, it still needs some special treatment for some of the deep taken-for-grantedness saturating the general understanding of tourism (Franklin, 2008; Gyr, 2010; Tribe and Liburd, 2016). ‘What is tourism?’ is actually a hard question to answer:

Those who would define tourism know well that this heterodoxy somehow hangs together but there seem to be no words available to describe such a radically hybrid assemblage, other than tourism itself [emphasis in original] (Franklin, 2008, p. 281).

The official definitions of the UNWTO (World Tourism Organization) have been deliberately put aside for they are more interested in quantifying economic activity than understanding the underlying process. It should be noted that several dissatisfied researchers have developed their own definitions. (Demay, 2015, p. 5)

I see two perspectives that account for its confusing ontology: a) tourism as an industry, and b) tourism as more or less equated with forms and experiences of traveling, that are eventually captured by the industry. The theoretical framework of racial space also requires a re-calibration of what tourism is by way of how it became, and that will be offered in the following section.

3.3.1 The History of Tourism ≠ The Historicity of Tourism
I have made a distinction between a history of tourism and the historicity of tourism. The history of tourism informs us that modern tourism was invented by Thomas Cook in the mid 19th century (Franklin, 2008; Gyr, 2010). It would propose that travelling for recreational and educational purposes have been traced as far back in history as to pharaonic Egypt, and how holiday travel emerged as infrastructure developed and extended. During medieval times, travel diversified; the traveler was a student, merchant, soldier, pilgrim, and vagabond. Travelling eventually went from physically moving from point x to point y, to being purposeful as such. It became an experience for self-discovery, self-realization, enlightenment and learning. In the 14th century travelling was an institution; journeying for three to four years as part of one’s training to be a craftsman. This was well-organized and proceeded into the 18th century. It is also said that the forerunners to modern tourists were the grand tours of young nobles and aristocrats between the 16th-18th century. During this period, guidebooks and travelogues were being published (Gyr, 2010). Then, in the 1840s Thomas Cook invents the organized group holiday:

Cook’s pioneering role in the emergence of mass tourism is widely recognised. He influenced the travel agencies later opened in Germany, above all those associated with the names of Rominger (Stuttgart, 1842), Schenker & Co. (München, 1889) and the Stangen Brothers (Breslau, 1863). Carl Stangen (1833–1911) organised holidays through Europe, then from 1873 to Palestine and Egypt, before extending them to the whole world in 1878 [my emphasis]. (Gyr, 2010)

During Subsequent years new transportation technologies made travel ever cheaper and more flexible. After the railroad had greatly broadened the market, the automobile
further revolutionized travel by giving tourists the ability to choose destinations virtually at will. (Judd and Fainstein, 1999, p. 1)

This is the history of tourism in a very brief and simplified format. I emphasized the last sentence in the first quote above because I find that moment remarkable. For in 1871 Germany unified and became the German Empire. Before that, Germany was not a nation but rather a collection of independent states. And the 1880s was the symbolic point of departure for colonialism, epitomized by the Berlin Conference that was held between 1884-1885, during which European nations congregated over the colonial conquest in Africa (Nilsson, 2013). It is the historicity of tourism that allow these moments significance for the development of modern tourism. I will give three examples in order for this particular historicity of tourism to be recognized. The first one comes from Demay’s research on tourism in French colonial Indochina (2015). She shows that tourism practices were successively imported between 1889-1939, but also that tourism to Indochina, and within the colony, was promoted far into the 1940s. A distinction is made between ‘the explorers’ which served the colonial project, and ‘the tourists’ which served their own purpose. However, it is stressed that these could actually be the same persons (Demay, 2015, p. 14). She argues that the establishment of tourist facilities in Indochina had a role in the mobility and well-being of the colonial community, and inform that former colonial tourist sites in Indochina and tourist locations in Southeast Asia are for the most part the same (Demay, 2015, pp. 223–224). This also goes for the second example which is tourism in the Maghreb during colonial times:

Tourism, far from being superficial, is at the heart of the colonial context. It helped justify the imperial presence, it reshaped urban and rural landscapes, and it may even have increased tensions. Tourism in North Africa, at least for Algeria, experienced the same stages of development as in Europe. Moreover, in the imperial system with tourism, ideas moved from one point to another and networks were established: such as political networks of French civil servants who were sent from one end of the empire to another, and chambers of commerce who organized the economic networks of large transport companies at the scale of the Maghreb. (Kazdaghli and Zytnicki, 2017)

The places that were created in this ‘tourism during colonialism’ still shape the choice of tourists today (Kazdaghli and Zytnicki, 2017). The reasons for this, they argue, is a pragmatic use of colonial tourist infrastructure and the imaginaries rooted within the Western tourist.

The last example is about the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) and how it came about. UNWTO monitors, maps, develops, calculates, categorize, orders, frames, promotes, educates and inform on, tourism globally (Jafari and Xiao, 2016). It is “the key source of research and knowledge on tourism, acting as the focal point for tourism development activity globally” (Ferguson, 2007, p. 565). It is founded on a momentum that have been traced to 1898, when the Ligue Internationale des Associations Touristes was created - a joint effort by various national touring clubs. The league was later revived as the Alliance Internationale de Tourisme in 1919, following the decline in tourism during the first world war. In 1924 France initiated the forming of Conseil Central du Tourisme International, which purpose was to coordinate tourism between governments and
international organizations (Schipper et al., 2018). The council congregated on all sorts of practical matters, like European traffic signs and road safety (Schipper, 2008). However, national tourist organizations were not invited to be a part of the council. Instead, they had their own congregations, which in 1930 resulted in Organs Officiels de Propagande Touristique (UIOOPT) and a joint effort to promote Europe as a tourist destination in the US. In 1946 the First International Conference of National Travel Organizations was held in London, with experts from 40 European countries including USSR. The ambition was to create “...a global organisation that would unite all national tourist organisations.” (Schipper et al., 2018, p. 14). They met again in 1947, this time together with the UIOOPT, dealing with the “concrete problems of passports and visa formalities” and “how to stimulate economic and cultural relations between nations in collaboration with national governments and the United Nations” (Ibid.). This collaborative effort created The International Union of Official Travel Organisations in 1947, where European countries and the United States were represented. The United States actually had an instrumental role in shaping tourism at the time. It did so as part of its European Recovery Program (The Marshall Plan) initiated in 1948. The program was directed to infrastructure recovery and modernization, and immediate aid but also on international tourism development (Scott, 2017). Tourism became a tool to promote US American consumerism against “Soviet-inspired communism”, a form of “soft power” (ibid.). Through extensive marketing campaigns and kickstarting tourism through mobilization of soldiers as tourist they introduced a new culture of consumerist travel and liberalism. Very telling of how this perpetuated racialization after colonialism is Hunter S. Thompson’s account of his time spent in South America. In the reportage Why Anti-Gringo Winds Often Blow South of the Border published in 1963 he writes: “There, where the distance between the rich and the poor is so very great, and where Anglo-Saxons are automatically among the elite, the concept of noblesse oblige is subject to odd interpretations” and “One young American put it this way: “I came down here a real gung-ho liberal, I wanted to get close to these people and help them – but in six months I turned into hard-nose conservative. These people don’t know what I’m talking about, they won’t help themselves, and all they want is my money. All I want to do now is get out” (Thompson, 1963). There are other portrayals of the social, political, and economic processes of modern tourism during these formative years – how it formed stereotypes, hierarchies, contestations, desires, and identities. For example Dennis Merrill’s Negotiating Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Twentieth-Century Latin America (2009) and Harvey Levenstein’s We’ll Always Have Paris: American Tourists in France since 1930 (2010). For now, it can be noted that:

For policy makers charged with reconstruction, Europe was a laboratory, a series of technics that one could then apply around the world. And it was Paul Hoffman, the head of the Marshall Plan, who provided a series of lessons that could be applied around the world. Hoffman became head of the Ford Foundation and then ran the UN development program. He is, in a sense, a segue from the European experience of US-led

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6 Unfortunately, this thesis is not the place to dive into the significance of the car (and other technical innovations) in coloniality and postcoloniality. For that See Bellucci, S. and Zaccaria, M. (2012) Transforming innovations in Africa: Explorative studies on appropriation in African societies.

7 International Union of Official Tourist Publicity Organizations.
reconstruction to a global development experience in the 1950s and 1960s. (Mazower, 2014, p. 311)

Then, in 1969 when the United Nations held its General Assembly, during the 24th session December 5th, on the topic of establishing an intergovernmental tourism organization – later to be renamed the World Tourism Organization in 1974, it is decided based on:

Acknowledging the vital contribution that international tourism is making to the economic, social, cultural, and educational progress of mankind and safeguarding world peace, Taking into account the important role that tourism can play in the national economy, particular in that of the developing countries...

[emphasis in original] (General Assembly resolution A/RES/2529(XXIV))

This is an important moment to the formation of the contemporary view on tourism. Here it is conceived as something good for mankind and world peace. It is a bloated announcement when looking back at it (Hall, 2007; Litvin, 1998; Pratt and Liu, 2015; Tesfahuney and Schough, 2010). However, at the time, during decolonization, it was accessible, undisruptive, and complacent thinking precisely because the infrastructure, business networks, and practices had already been installed and tested during the years of colonization, and the European recovery after world war two. Although, this thinking was not uncontested at the time. In fact, it had been the very cause for critique that emerged during the 1970s, depicting tourism as a form of neocolonialism or imperialism (Grinell, 2004). Suppressing the colonial reality and anti-colonial resistance was a feature of tourism. Looking at tourism advertisement in Sweden during colonization and decolonization, Grinell (2004) has noted that the tourism industry did not perceive Africa as a continent of lengthy resistance of European colonialism. Instead, all forms of ‘social antagonism’ was overlooked, and colonial depictions of postcolonial tourist destinations by Swedish travel agencies continued even though decolonization and anti-racist doctrines were institutionalized in the UN and generally accepted. As the UN resolution continues one can find indications of a convenient pragmatism: “Conscious of the leading role that the Union [The International Union of Official Travel Organisations] has hitherto played in the field of tourism and the technical ability and experience that it has built up”. This standpoint echoes within the massive intellectual efforts to legitimized tourism as development since the 1970s. The following quote illustrates this in a neat and concise research question. The research question was brought up in a debate between two tourism scholars, one criticizing the other regarding the conceptual and empirical deficiencies in pro-poor tourism research. It tries to explain its good-intended fundamental inquiry:

[W]here tourism exists as a largely private sector activity, how could the tourism system in a destination be used to ensure a contribution to poverty elimination? (Goodwin, 2008, p. 869).

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8 Pro-poor tourism is a field of research that is devoted to legitimize tourism as a development tool. It emerged in the 1970s, and have been instrumental in the implementation of tourism discourse since. It was particularly influential in the tourism development strategies in the 1980s and 1990s. (Harrison, 2008)
Freed from the symmetries of dominant tourism understandings help generate more relevant questions than anything else. Such as:

[W]hat if development practice is not driven by policy? What if the things that make for good policy are quite different from those that make it implementable? What if the practices of development are in fact concealed rather than produced by policy? What if, instead of policy producing practice, practices produce policy, in the sense that actors in development devote their energies to maintaining coherent representations regardless of events? (Mosse, 2005, p. 2)

The examples above show instances of tourism as an articulation of racial and national privilege (Hall and Tucker, 2004; Scott, 2017; Tesfahuney and Schough, 2010). The point has been to recognize the capacity of contemporary tourism to reverberate these privileges through sometimes well-intended but also convenient pragmatism and economic rationality. This capacity which has both history and geography defines a form of power (Allen, 2008; Grinell, 2004). This power carries with it the notion of whiteness. Hence the tempting comprehension of the tourist subject as white (Tesfahuney and Schoug, 2010). It has to be emphasized again that the early years of modern tourism, during colonialism, was the forming of nations and national identities, i.e. the rise of nationalism. This was a time that birth FIFA⁹, Tour de France, Giro d’Italy, The Olympic Games¹⁰; a time when symbolic public buildings reached their peak; a time of unprecedented invention of political and social practices and symbols aimed at creating social cohesion by introducing values, norms and behaviors amongst new communities (Grinell, 2004; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1992). New social relations gave cause for new building types. These new types and environments supported the new identities and subjectivities (Markus, 1993). European invented traditions were cultural resources that served the purpose of creating shared frames of reference and representations for pride and loyalty during the colonial project (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1992; Schech and Haggis, 2000). This still influence economic activity such as tourism and development (Schech and Haggis, 2000). Lipsitz (1998) has argued that this happens for two reasons, at least in white America. One relates to an encouragement to wager on whiteness as it facilitates a gain in resources, opportunity and power. The other is about how whiteness has become a form of currency:

Whiteness has a cash value; it accounts for advantages that come to individuals through profits made from housing secured in discriminatory markets, through the unequal education allocated to children of different races, through insider networks that channel employment opportunities to the relatives and friends of those who have profited most from present and past racial discrimination, and especially through intergenerational transfers of inherited wealth that pass on the spoils of discrimination to succeeding generations (1998, p. vii).

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⁹ FIFA – The Fédération Internationale de Football Association was founded to govern international competition between Sweden, France, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, and Switzerland.

¹⁰ During the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, Swedish news media adopted Nazi Germany’s representations of the games and spoke of “raskamp” - a competition of the races (Catomeris, 2004).
This chapter has been both informative and helpful for being able to identify and work out key moments during the becoming of Malmö Live that relates to the research question. In Foucauldian terms, it is the analytic that I apply to the case of Malmö Live.

4 Malmö Live

4.1 The Becoming

In 2005, a regional business newsletter reported that the privately run exhibition and conventions center - Malmömässan AB - might relocate from the Western Harbor to the south part of the city where a new city district was being planned, called Hyllie (Hyllievång) (“Malmömässan ska flytta,” 2005). Hyllie was being planned and marketed as the next Western Harbor. It was initiated against the projection of capturing the synergy of the City Tunnel (under construction at the time) and the Öresund Bridge, as the two would connect in a station placed in Hyllie. The urban development in Hyllie had been instrumentalized and normalized by a local business magnate since the 1990s, when plans of a station in Hyllie first appeared on the political agenda (Westemar, 2018). This urban development is best described through juxtaposing the critical words of Baeten against the enthusiastic description of Hyllie by of the former Mayer:

If the Western Harbour project was experimental in the way it changed planning practices and local government intentions, the next major urban development project in Hyllie would institutionalise and normalise the Western Harbour experiments: top-down planning, focus on spectacular architecture, attraction of wealthy residents, privatisation of city-owned land, etcetera. (Baeten, 2011, p. 22)

The Hyllie UDP [urban development project] is part and parcel of the formation of a new interurban scale, an Örescale or Örespectacle, that is created through the development of a set of well connected elite UDPs, technology parks, and new infrastructures. (Baeten, 2011, p. 40)

Hyllie, with its excellent location just a stone's throw from the Öresund Bridge, with its City Tunnel Station and with Copenhagen just a few minutes away, is becoming one of Malmö’s most exciting and fast-growing neighborhoods. Hyllie is an expression of the modern, young, cocky, international, expansive Malmö and thus a perfect symbol of the city's role as a vibrant and sizzling power center in the middle of the Öresund region. (Reepalu, 2008)

Malmömässan AB had put together a formal proposal for a relocation of the exhibition and convention operation to Hyllie, including the construction of a new facility, and presented it to the city planning office (Spjuth, 2007). The reason it did so is because the property owner, together with the municipality’s Property Management Department, were going to redevelop the 78 500m² plot into a residential area, in line with the overall vision and plan of the Western Harbor (Åkerwall and Alevrá, 2009). Malmömässan AB had no choice but to relocate, it was rather a matter of when it could move. Negotiations had actually been going on since 2001, and the main issue had been about how to finance a new facility (Skånska Dagbladet, 2008). It is important to register the significance of convention centers within city planning discourse to fully grasp what was happening here, between the city planning office
and Malmömässan AB. The inter-European competition\textsuperscript{11} for the meetings and conventions that are being held at these facilities has considerable influence on city planning since a strategy to compete is through the supply of hotel space, commercial amenities, culture and entertainment. On top of that, the construction and operations of convention centers are usually subsidized (ibid.). The City Planning Office rejected Malmömässan AB’s proposal and instead chose to commission two independent studies on the city’s opportunities to compete on the market for conventions and meetings. I mentioned those two studies earlier. They were fundamental to the commitment that prompted the formal decision in 2010. The reason they were commissioned was to assess how to best seize this opportunity; to have a “holistic approach” and integrate this occasion with the bigger restructuring vision of the city (Spjuth, 2007, p. 2). As opposed to only departure from the “absolutely necessary” commercial interest proposed by Malmömässan AB (Spjuth, 2013, p. 1). Malmömässan AB’s proposal had been instrumental in shaping a concluding summary of those two studies. For example, on the basis of how Malmömässan AB ran its operations, a distinction was made between the industry for conventions and the industry for conferences, congresses, and meetings. Given the explanation, that these are in practice two different industries, two different facilities on two different locations became an option. Malmömässan AB did not agree with this, and therefore chose to pursue business elsewhere (Bubenko, 2010). The concluding summary describes the tourism industry’s significance to the local economy. It informs that tourism is an emerging industry, indicated by the 30 percent increase of overnight stays between 1999-2005 in Sweden. There are no statistics or data provided for Malmö, but it is mentioned that the local tourism industry follows a similar trajectory. Examples of investments in congress centers by other cities are mentioned, such as Karlstad, Örebro, Luleå, Visby, Uppsala, Stockholm, and Copenhagen. One of the vital success factors for a congress center, stressed by the concluding summary, is a local support system of companies, scientific and research institutions, organizers, and a “Conventions Bureau” that can assist in marketing (Spjuth, 2007, p. 5). It is argued that congress organizers to a large extent choose location based on the overall attractiveness of a place, thus it is important that the place is regarded as attractive by its umwelt. Towards the end of the concluding summary, in a section with “additional aspects” it is mentioned that it can be beneficial to have a congress center ready by the time the City Tunnel is completed, and that it is worth considering to combine a new congress center with a new concert hall (Spjuth, 2007, p. 10). A couple of months prior to the news that Malmömässan AB might relocate, the director of the old concert hall had told a leading local newspaper that it was being neglected by the municipality, that it needed urgent renovation. In the same article the public is made aware, in passing, that discussions of a new concert hall are intensifying (Gustafsson, 2005). And

\textsuperscript{11}Dennis R. Judd has a good example that illustrates the dynamic between convention centers and urban policy, as it evolved in the US: “[B]efore 1960 only a few big cities actively sought to attract the convention business, and competition did not really heat up until the mid-1970s. Cities have entered the race because much is at stake. /.../ Between 1970 and 1985 more than 100 convention centers were constructed in the United States; in 1970 the nation had available 6.7 million square feet of convention space, but by 1990 this area had almost tripled, to 18 million square feet. In the 1980s cities began a virtual arms race for the convention trade, with even small localities joining the competition. /.../ By the end of the 1980s, 331 convention centers were operating, which constitutes a 50 percent increase in only a decade.” (Judd and Fainstein, 1999, p. 40)” The united states hosted 14,3 percent of the international conferences in 1999 and Europe hosted 61 percent.
indeed, when reading the additional aspects section in the concluding summary, it comes forth how the old concert hall had been a burden:

The experience from 1985, when the concert hall was inaugurated, until today, raises the question of a new concert hall. The Concert Hall's development confirms, among other things, the difficulties that have been pointed out about combining a concert hall with a permanent orchestra with a continuous meeting activity. This thought was a fundamental idea in the original plans when the Malmö Concert Hall was erected but proved impossible to carry out. [My translation] (Spjuth, 2007, p. 10)

It should be mentioned that the old concert hall was a combined congress center, concert hall and hotel complex. It was located in an older but central part of the city and was accessible with multiple regional and local bus lines. In fact, Malmö Live is the exact same formula.

There are two incentives for a new concert hall, but only one reason. The first incentive is that the Malmö Symphony Orchestra’s contract with the property manager of the old concert hall was going to expire in 2013 (Spjuth, 2015, 2007). The property manager, however, had tried hard to renew the contract (Bergström, 2007; Larsson, 2012). The second incentive for a new concert hall was to help finance a new congress center, with the logic that the revenues from a new concert hall would essentially finance the megaproject (Spjuth, 2013). These two incentives put the Culture Department and the Malmö Symphony Orchestra in quite ambiguous situations, which I will return to in the next subchapter (Kulturnämnden, 2011a). When the allocation competition was initiated in 2008, after the location had been chosen12, there were still no clear objectives, missions or strategies for the new concert hall. It left a lot of room for the competing architectural firms to decide form, function and content (Holmqvist, 2014). The reason behind a new concert hall, however, can be traced to the comprehensive plan from 2000, where it is made clear that preliminary discussions for a new concert hall at Universitetsholmen (current location) were being held. This is mentioned in a chapter about relocating municipal institutions along new emerging urban focal points: The Western Harbor, Hyllie, Östervärn-Värnhem and Universitetsholmen. These urban focal points were tied to accessibility from a local and regional (Öresund) infrastructural perspective. The comprehensive plan also makes evident the influence of these scales on the urban planning in general, referring to “Europe’s new political and geographical map” (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2001, p. 3).

4.1.1 Contextual Inference #1
Consider this umwelt - the geography and some of its decisive features and affinities with tourism. The Öresund Region is first and foremost a region within a European dimension. The Öresund bridge is not only a link between Sweden and Denmark. It is an idea with a long history, but it was the integration and regionalism of the European Union, through

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12 Four new locations were suggested by the concluding summary, but two were highlighted: next to Triangeln and next to the central station - the two locations that would become stations for the City Tunnel. Based on this information, the municipal executive committee then ordered the City Planning Office to coordinate an investigation on what setup would be the most technically, spatially, and economically reasonable (Spjuth, 2007).
policy and promotion of social and economic cohesion and seamless mobility within European territory, that finally set it up (Metzger and Olesen, 2017). Policies and programs such as The Trans-European Transport Network (TEN-T), The European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) and INTERREG promoted, supported, financed, monitored, innovated, shared knowledge, and implemented projects with the focus on "paving the way for regions to realise their full potential – by helping them to capitalise on their innate strengths while tapping into opportunities that offer possibilities for economic, social and environmental progress" (Interreg Europe, 2019). Accordingly, the Öresund Region became. “A new space and a new consciousness about the opportunities is being created” - it was stated in a joint official report by the national governments of Denmark and Sweden in 1999 (Öresund, 1999). The consciousness drew mostly on narratives of economic potential and opportunity. Critics argue that the region has a white (west-European) target group (Baeten, 2011; Metzger and Olesen, 2017). Another effort to establish a frictionless movement of people, goods and capital for citizens of European states was the Schengen collaboration. Sweden joined in 2001. A fundamental condition to the increased mobility of European citizens was the tightened control and policing of the external borders of Europe and the careful monitoring of non-Europeans’ travels. This setup blurs the “boundary between permitted distinction on the basis of nationality and illegal racial and religious discrimination.” (Cholewinski, 2002, p. Preface). And indeed, it has been shown that:

[The fundamental human right to be free from discrimination is undermined considerably by European Union (EU) rules relating to the crossing of external borders and the issuing of visas. There are serious deficiencies in the way these rules have been formulated and in the way they are applied in practice. (Cholewinski, 2002, p. 1)

A local example from 2018 happens to illustrate this. In the end of August 2018, local, regional and national news media reported on two Senegalese brothers who were on their way to visit their cousin in Malmö after visiting their father in Holland. They had a Schengen family visa issued by the Netherlands, and fulfilled all requirements, such as insurance and a paid ticket back to Senegal. The bus they were on crossed the Öresund Bridge and as soon as it entered Sweden it was stopped and searched. The brothers were interrogated about their stay which led the Malmö police to put them in custody and revok their visa. Their judgement was based on suspicion after the brothers referred to their cousin as their brother, and claiming he was married while by Swedish law he was not (but according to their cultural customs he was) and referring to him by his nickname rather than his government name. And not knowing the address of their cousin, although they had arranged for him to pick them up. They spent eight weeks in jail because a lengthy and complex bureaucratic process of deportation was set in motion (Landin, 2018; Moreno, 2018; Oldberg and Nord, 2018). This story is exceptional, but the issue is not unusual. There are examples from the UK were non-European scholars have been denied a visa to attend sponsored conferences and other international academic events, for reasons such as “insufficient balance” on their bank account (Weaver, 2018). The point in making is that the tourism of some nationalities is regarded as desirable and lucrative while the tourism of other nationalities is risk and suspicious. Swedish
accommodation statistics\textsuperscript{13} and the national tourism strategy helps further illustrates this point and how such mentality enters local urban development.

In 2006 77\% of total overnight stays at accommodation establishments (holiday villages, hotels and hostels) in Sweden were made by Swedes. Of the 23\% of overnight stays that were made by foreigners, 54\% were made by Danes, Norwegians and Germans. USA was the biggest market outside of Europe. Other big markets were The Netherlands and the UK (SCB, 2007). These markets are what the National Tourism Organization (Visit Sweden) identified, and still identifies, as prioritized markets: “Europe North: Norway, Denmark; Europe South: France, Italy, Spain; Europe West/USA: UK, USA; Europe East: Finland, Russia; Europe Central: Germany, Holland; Asia: Japan, China” (SOU 2007:32, 2007a, p. 92; Visit Sweden, 2015a). Sweden is marketed as a tourist destination towards segmented target groups in those countries (except China, where market analysis is not conducted). Visit Sweden has identified a tourist subject. They call it their chosen target group (Visit Sweden, 2019). The Global Traveler:

> The global traveler is a globally conscious target audience with experience of travelling. [They are] always looking for new destinations and experiences and have good preconditions for attracting to Sweden. They do more international trips than average, have higher income and higher education, and more often live in big cities compared to those who are not global travelers (Visit Sweden, 2015a, p. 4).

Visit Sweden’s methodology is based on a market-oriented approach – mapping attitude, values, lifestyle, travelling habits and behavior. This is analyzed and compiled, segmented and sorted into conceptions of demand. This abstracted demand serves the basis for an understanding of what supply ought to be. Supply is then pursued by the tourism industry and courted by the state through representation in marketing ventures, projects, market analysis and forecasting, reports, research, and conventions\textsuperscript{14} (SOU 2007:32, 2007b; SOU 2004:17, 2004; Visit Sweden, 2015b). This is far from self-evident. In fact, in the turn of the millennium there were quite some uncertainties regarding what role the state should take in promoting tourism. There were debates around what the state could actually do, considering the fragmented and scattered nature of the tourism industry. It should be mentioned that the tourism industry is actually not an industry. It is a cluster of consumption in different business sectors that are linked, through complex statistical calculations, to travel. It was perceived and promoted as an industry while a macroeconomic technology was being developed in the 1980s and 1990s by the UNWTO and OECD - that could capture and link domestic consumption to travel (SOU 2004:17, 2004; United Nations, 2010). It became a standardized technology in 2000, and that same year it was officially installed in Sweden. From there on a new tone and esteem is associated with tourism; one that comes with obligations of coordination on regional and national level to promote and facilitate it together with the private sector in order to fully benefit from tourism (Prop. 2000/01:100, 2001; SOU 2004:17, 2004). One identified obstacle was the lack of formal or economic

\textsuperscript{13}Accommodation statistics are used, among other things, as a basis for decisions on special tourist investments at local, regional and national level. The data collected is also the basis for calculating the effects of the travel and tourism industry on Sweden’s economy and employment. [my translation]” (SCB, 2019)

\textsuperscript{14}Visit Sweden is in fact a communications company with a 50/50 joint ownership by the Swedish state and the tourism industry represented by Svensk Turism AB.
legislated relationship between the national, regional and local levels of government, which made coordination difficult. This was stated in a public inquiry in 2004 – SOU 2004:17. However, the strength of social democracy at the time was precisely that - a political conviction that the private sector knows best, and in tourism - by way of culture as an engine for growth, job creation and regional development (“Motion 2008/09:N426,” 2008, “Motion 2009/10:N441,” 2009a, “Motion 2009/10:N475,” 2009b). The Social Democratic party targeted cultural institutions that were locally, regionally and nationally relevant through funding dependencies and their capacity for multiscalar coordination through cultural policy. For example, one motion declares how the Social Democrats have initiated a pilot operation in the Skåne region that would enable state efforts to be used with greater freedom (“Motion 2009/10:N475,” 2009b). The orchestra is one of those cultural institutions. As the following quote illustrates.

The orchestra, and perhaps above all the large “fully developed” symphony orchestra of around 100 musicians, is a huge concentration of energies - artistically, economically and historically. The orchestra has also been used in Sweden as a local, regional and national status symbol - but also as an instrument for strengthening the image of a civilized Western society. This has gradually contributed to assimilating the orchestra as something we all expect to be there: a large city should have an orchestra to be a real big city [my translation] (SOU 2006:34, 2006, p. 18).

This quote comes from a public inquiry appointed by the Swedish government on the future of orchestras. It informed that their future was uncertain. It declared a negative international trend of shrinking audiences, less grants, higher costs and increasing difficulties for international touring. In Sweden, the situation was perceived as less severe for its peripheral role internationally. Still, there were affinities. For example, the five biggest orchestras that acquires national state funding had a 40% drop in paying attendees between 1998-2003. Orchestra representatives spoke in terms of “ticket buyers increasing disloyalty” (SOU 2006:34, 2006, p. 44). The orchestra has not innovated much the last 100 years, the investigation explains, and quotes “the reputable” Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians: “It has become something like a “museum, an isolated, self-affirming institution”” (SOU 2006:34, 2006, p. 47). The lack of progression is reflected in the repertoire, with 95% male composers. Amongst the 30 most played composers, none of them were alive or a woman. Most of the composers in the repertoire where white men born in the mid 19th century. The low share of contemporary composers means a low share of female composers, in the repertoire (SOU 2006:34, 2006). In general terms, however, Sweden has a very low share of female composers, only 8%, while 9% in Austria, 11% in Norway, 30% in Ukraine, 40% in Romania, and 42% in Italy. And 75% of program councils consisted of men. “The orchestra – a role model?” the investigation asks (ibid. p. 82). Overall, in 2006, the relevance

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15 State funding for orchestras was introduced in 1911, before that there were no full scale dedicated symphonic orchestras. The Malmö Symphony Orchestra is one of those five (SOU 2006:34, 2006).
16 To understand this, one has to know that concerts by orchestras have a long history of subscription-based ticket sales (Engström, 2003).
of the orchestra is at stake. Its very existence was resting on its ability to create new alliances and become more inclusive.

### 4.2 The Dubious Concert Hall

The ambiguities regarding the Culture Department and the Malmö Symphony Orchestra did not really clarify until 2013, after the release of a report in 2011 based on an investigation they had commissioned. Which basically obliged the Municipal Executive Committee to make an official statement on what role the new concert hall should have, in the city but also within the project itself. The report from 2011\(^7\) looked at the economic prerequisites and the new requirements for the Malmö Symphony Orchestra, since there had been confusion and a lot of uncertainty about how the Malmö Symphony Orchestra would finance their operations in a bigger facility with a broadened yet ambiguous mission. In a statement to the Municipal Executive Committee it was stated that:

> The Cultural Affairs Committee believes that much remains unclear - for example, how the common areas should be managed and to what costs, what content the concert hall should be filled with and how, what the common areas should be filled with, and how the cooperation with the congressional part should look [my translation]. (Kulturnämnden, 2011a)

The investigation asks the fundamental question of what kind of building the new combined congress center, concert hall and hotel complex wants to be. It explains that there is a conceptual dilemma. Is it a multifunctional facility containing many different cultural institutions and supporting a wide range of culture? Is it a dedicated home for the symphony orchestra? Or a shared house for the purpose of concerts and congresses? The latter option was basically what had been the failed attempted with the old concert hall setup. The investigation aimed to spur reflexivity over what the city wished to achieve (Nielsén and Benson, 2011). The authors assumed that the city appreciates the Symphony Orchestra; that a new concert hall combined with a new congress center is a good opportunity to use culture to market the city. However, they conclude that the economic incentive for a new concert hall is unrealistic. For example, they estimate that the profits could increase by 70% but that would still only make up for 12% of the estimated operational costs\(^8\). If ticket sales would increase by 40% that would still only be 2% of total revenues since most of it comes from public grants. The authors therefore argue that the increase from 1200 seats to the planned 1600 means very little in that regard, especially since the old concert hall hoovered around 63% occupancy at the time (excluding free tickets which brings the number closer to 80%). It meant that the audience influx needed to increase by a third, in order to maintain 63% occupancy in the new concert hall. They give two suggestions to how that can be achieved with the Malmö Symphony Orchestra: more concerts\(^9\) or a new and bigger audience. In

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\(^7\) Thereafter referred to as the Volante investigation. It had considerable impact. Elsewhere the year 2011 is associated with the revamping of the whole Malmö Live project (Spjuth, 2015, 2013).

\(^8\) In fact, all estimated revenues and costs were related to the daily operations and did not include costs related to the building, like rent and maintenance, since it involved a lot of uncertainty. 12 percent is calculated with an added hypothetical rent of SEK 40 million. The Cultural Affairs Committee estimated the cost for operating the building to SEK 60 million (Kulturnämnden, 2011b). They also stressed that the project should be seen as an infrastructural investment, and not only an investment on culture.

\(^9\) Symphonic Orchestras rarely give more than one concert per week. In big cities they might do two and occasionally three (Nielsén and Benson, 2011).
passing, the old concert hall’s target group is described as “loyal” and “homogenous” (Nielsén and Benson, 2011, p. 61). Without any further detail. In a pronouncement following the release of the investigation, the Malmö Symphony Orchestra mentions plans to double the number of concerts, and adding more content such as pop, rock and jazz concerts. And they express an overall excitement for the project (Malmö Symfoniorkester AB, 2011). The investigation is said to have influenced the projects overall trajectory, but it is hard to see how it deviated from the concluding summary regarding the concert hall’s role. In 2013, the Municipal Executive Committee released the memorandum to announce the new trajectory, to clarify the concert hall’s role in particular. It firmly states that Malmö Live is primarily about a new congress center. The concert hall is a strategy to make sure the congress center becomes commercially viable. What is required from the Malmö Symphony Orchestra is to deliver a broader repertoire and diverse content, not only for economic reasons but also for reasons related to cultural policy (not specified in the memorandum). The pressure to make the congress center commercially viable, and a new concert hall more profitable, came from the knowledge that similar congress centers in Gothenburg, Jönköping, Linköping, Stockholm, Uppsala, Visby, Västerås, Örebro and Bella Center in Copenhagen have not been able to achieve economic self-sufficiency and profitability for the last ten years, resulting in forced financial support, or economic responsibility through ownership, by their local, regional or national governments (Spjuth, 2015). The Municipal Executive Committee urged the Cultural Department and the Malmö Symphony Orchestra to explore new revenue streams (Spjuth, 2013). It was emphasized again in 2014, when it was decided that the Malmö Symphony Orchestra AB would be incorporated into a mother company called Malmö Live Konserthus AB\(^{20}\). The overall purpose with the Malmö Live project was then stated to “strengthen local and regional tourism” (Spjuth, 2014, pp. 3–4), and: “It cannot be emphasized enough that the congress facility (and the concert hall) in Malmö Live should be an asset for the entire tourism industry in Malmö” (Spjuth, 2014, p. 4).

Malmö Live Konserthus AB was established in 2014, but not without contestation. Because, what followed was a regime shift regarding its cultural policy - from being under the mandate of the Cultural Affairs Committee to the responsibility of the Municipal Executive Committee. The upset was voiced in local media by a member of the Cultural Affairs Committee. The title to the news story translates to “Power Struggle over Malmö Live” (Clarén, 2014). Having the Municipal Executive Committee responsible for the cultural policy of Malmö Live meant that content, program, strategic operations and overall expectations would not be bound to harmonize with the municipality’s cultural policy\(^{21}\). In practice, it made Malmö Live subsidiary to the tourism industry. I have mentioned this only as a conceptual predisposition. Now it was politically anchored and structurally steered

\(^{20}\) Based on an organizational investigation by the private consultancy firm PwC (PriceWaterhouseCooper) (Spjuth, 2014).

\(^{21}\) For example, a representative for the Feminist party (FI) in the Municipal Assembly advocated for adding the following sentence to Malmö Live’s cultural policy framework (what is referred to as Kulturpolitiskt utbud in the picture) but was overruled: “There should be an ambition to create culture for all the inhabitants of the city in the repertoire and the activities over the year, which takes into account the factors that may be excluding for certain groups such as age, social status, gender or residential address” (Kommunfullmäktige, 2014).
The following picture illustrates the Malmö Live governing structure (Spjuth, 2014):

[Diagram]

This structure emphasizes consensus between the two operative entities; to work towards the shared goal of making Malmö Live an attractive, competitive and commercially viable site for tourists. Malmö Live Konserthus AB is now responsible for programming content with a customer perspective and harmonize this with the corporation that operates the congress center, the hotel and the restaurants (ibid.). It is also recommended that this new operative strategy aligns with a third company called Destinationssamverkan Malmö AB – a company that works with “destination development” (Spjuth, 2014; www.malmotown.com, 2019).

4.2.1 Contextual Inference #2
To read about how the concert hall gets installed as a facilitator for tourism does not fully grasp what is remarkable about it. I have shown its contingent process, and that give some cause for questioning its relevance. Yet, it does not measure by its entirety the force that put the concert hall into that position. That becomes evident through looking at the wider context in which this unfolding happens. The turn of the millennium was a time when the European Union institutionalized a firmer doctrine on the dilemma of racism and discrimination through the Racial Equality Directive 2000/43/EC. It introduced antiracist legislation and regulation in order to combat racism and discriminating. In Sweden, this too was subjected to much public debate. The Swedish dilemma was by and large the tension between the society’s moral values and institutionalized ways of doing and thinking (Burns et al., 2007). For example, in 2004 a public inquiry was appointed to the topic of “integration, power, and structural discrimination” which resulted in 14 official reports between 2005-

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22 30% owned by Malmö Stad and 70% owned by a local business network.
2006 ("Ju 2004:04," 2007)\textsuperscript{3}. Meanwhile, work was proceeding to declare 2006 the national multicultural year. It was a massive effort. Public agencies, foundations, enterprises within the cultural sector, universities and other institutions in higher education, embassies abroad, municipalities, county councils and administrative boards, regional cultural institution, and various association and organizations where all formally invited to partake in the official program and to cooperate around the keywords: long-term thinking, dialogue, interaction, awareness and change. In total, 630 bodies were reached. The multicultural year was a way for the Swedish government to emphasize that publicly financed culture has to change and become more accessible for and representative of Sweden’s ethnic and cultural diversity; to improve how experiences, knowledge and perspectives gets included and mirrored in and through cultural institutions, and to increase opportunities for cohesion amongst different cultural traditions (SOU 2005:91, 2005). That year, seminars were held, workshops, exhibitions and conferences attended, music was played, performances were seen, art was made, money and time was invested, ordinances and strategies were authored - to the backdrop of intense public debate. Most of it was negative or sceptic. Essentially, there were two streams of consciousness; one that saw in the multicultural year just an additional pretentious project by the state, and another that agreed with its fundamental problem statement but skeptic to what could be achieved (SOU 2007:50, 2007). Meanwhile, “how those responsible for the country’s major cultural institutions are to be persuaded to take their share of responsibility for ethnic and cultural diversity – vanished from the media altogether” (SOU 2007:50, 2007, pp. 31–32). In Malmö, the Municipal Executive Committee granted the Culture Department with an investigation of how diverse visitors to its cultural institutions were. The report stressed systematic work towards diversity and made it one of the Cultural Department’s highest priorities, long-term (Mångfald i Malmö kulturliv, 2007). Sweden was not alone in these efforts and debates. The European Union initiated the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue in 2008. That same year the World Health Organization released a report on the social determinants for health. It shed some light on the effects of social exclusion and inspired the Municipal Executive Committee to establish the Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö in 2010 (Stigendal and Östergren, 2013). Its objective was to: “[P]ropose evidence-based strategies for reducing health inequalities and improve living conditions for all citizens of Malmö, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged in our society.” (Malmö Stad, 2018). As their research was underway, the city set a high priority on fighting discrimination through the Strategic Development Plan for Anti-Discrimination Work in the City of Malmö and the implementation of ECCAR’s ten-point-plan against racism and discrimination with a yearly reporting cycle (Malmö Stad, 2017a, 2016). In 2013, the Commission released its final report, and briefly on page 47 it reflects on the following, which happens to serve my point in making:

Given the great differences between people's living conditions, one might wonder why the conflicts have not become greater. Why isn’t it worse? We asked this question in the Malmö Commission. This may be partly due to Malmö’s cultural life but also to civil society with all its associations and social economy. Cultural life and civil society act as

\textsuperscript{3}Just to clarify, these public inquiries are often the first steps towards new legislation, other times they serve as support for political decisions on national level. And indeed, a new discrimination law was issued in 2008 ("Diskrimineringslag (2008:567)," 2008).
interconnecting forces - which weave together the city and affect people's health, participation and sense of cohesion [my translation]. (Stigendal and Östergren, 2013)

Not only did such reflexivity not feed into the Malmö Live project. When juxtaposing the above sentiment against Malmö Live’s invitation for sponsorship on their website, we can begin to digest what is to be taken from this subchapter:

Malmö faces new challenges. The city is growing, and large parts are developing positively while others are not keeping up with the pace of development. How can Malmö Live and the business community together create the conditions and contribute to the development of society for the young people who seek alternative and new contexts to be seen and work in. /.../ We have wide reach, but especially to those who, for social, cultural or economic reasons, do not have the opportunity for cultural experiences in their everyday lives. /.../ Your contribution will be used to finance projects that otherwise would not have happened. You will help to inspire others in the network to engage in CSR. (Malmö Live, 2017)

Malmö Live Konserthus AB is a publicly funded cultural institution that has effectively bypassed cultural policy with a sensibility and mandate requiring (in/on their own terms) multiculturalism, inclusion, diversity, participation, antiracism and antidiscrimination. When the Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö writes about Malmö’s cultural life and the civil society that holds the city together, it includes what the cultural sector sometimes refers to as the independent cultural sector. Since, at least, the multicultural year in 2006, recognition has been given to that sector, especially in Malmö. It is particularly important for what it means to local ethnic and cultural inclusion (SOU 2005:91, 2005, Mångfold i Malmö's kulturliv, 2007; Lyrevik, 2013; Malmö Stad, 2017b). But there is no evidence for such insight informing the Malmö Live project. Instead, the Municipal Executive Committee rely on tourism, and those involved in promoting and associating to that industry, to perform a particular type of inclusivity funded by sponsorship.

An orchestra is an exceptionally resource demanding cultural institution (SOU 2006:34, 2006). Not only did the Municipal Executive Committee have unrealistic expectations on its ability to perform commercially. It has forced Malmö Live Konserthus AB to repeatedly request shareholder (the municipality) contribution, which was conditionally granted for its second year: “The money will now be used for marketing, among other things, to improve the service to external tenants and other things that will make it possible to make more money in the future” (Sveriges Radio, 2016). Simultaneously, they reduced the amount of program points by almost half – from 550 to 240. The CEO of Malmö Live Konserthus AB informs what this entail: “It is primarily the cooperation with the independent cultural sector that gets less space, or concerts and music genres that do not have the same economic viability as other music genres, says CEO Jesper Larsson” (Ibid.). That is also why sponsorship becomes important, for which they are selling out a socially, culturally and economically burdened local civil society in the name of corporate social responsibility. While in fact a large part of such local civil society were never considered. The force by which Malmö Live Konserthus AB can assimilate to its current fit in the custody of tourism, despite dubious fiscal and cultural policy, is because of the legitimacy of the wager on the orchestra and what it has historically represented, and because of that alone, what can be
expected of Malmö Live. This wager also lends itself to a typological reading in international contexts. In 2016 Malmö Live was awarded Best Mixed-use Project, at the World Architectural Festival 2016 held in Berlin. The jury’s motivation reads:

Malmö Live comprises a concert hall, convention centre and hotel, and was built in a public-private partnership. It’s a public building in the best sense of the word: open to anyone. Not exclusive and very democratic. It cleverly eliminates the traditional division between front of house and back of house. It’s a real piece of the city and an important catalyst of urban regeneration (Jury’s comments quoted in SHL, 2016).

The quote above comes from an article submitted by the architectural firm behind Malmö Live, with the following preamble: “Since its opening in Spring 2015, Malmö Live has become a popular cultural meeting place and landmark in the city of Malmö, offering a setting in which the spirit of the city, its diversity and intimacy receive an architectonic expression” (ibid.). Elsewhere, also in a text submitted by the firm, it is stated:

The point of departure for the building’s design is the modern Scandinavian architectural tradition, which focuses on clear, functional organization and an accessible, open ground floor layout. (SHL, 2015)

The descriptions are hollow and unsubstantiated. But more importantly they are instances that expose the discursive practices that allow Malmö Live its relevance.

5 Conclusion:

In the previous chapter, I set out to present how the expectation that Malmö Live is relevant to the city of Malmö in regard to its racializing urban development trajectory, is constituted. It has shown affinities between tourism-during-colonialism and contemporary tourism. Where the former was appropriated by colonialism and overtly racializing, the latter is allowed appropriacy by a currency ascribed to selected geographies and histories. The how-question about the expectation of Malmö Live’s relevancy led to reconstructing it as a wager on whiteness. The wager on whiteness hold no guarantees, but the power of it is the ability to be persuasive and believed, as long as the performance is conducted. That is precisely what the concept of tourism allows, in this case.

6 Discussion

To device to mean something locally while representing something internationally attractive and competitive has a genealogy and it is intimately related to a tradition of investing in the histories and geographies of whiteness. Governments will fail to transcend racialized urban development if they do not recognize and acknowledge this (learn to see it). In this sense, the sequencing of the empirical material supports previous research on Malmö’s urban condition and hopefully it can inform future research as well. My research

question was composed for such purpose. However, like much of what has been said about Foucault’s work, it is hard to avoid some level of ambiguity. I have allowed and tolerated a higher level of abstraction than I am accustomed to, as a wager on the methodology and as a challenge. My conclusion could also give perspective to the megaproject paradox; that the currency of whiteness could amount for some of the misrepresentation, optimism bias and creative error that Flybjerg and his colleagues have exposed. I even suspect, by way of Foucault’s power/knowledge prism, that this extends to other scientific work as well. Isn’t this what concerns Ananya Roy and Jennifer Robinson?

Economics seem to have been of very little importance in the becoming of Malmö Live. The bill went from around SEK 192 million to an estimation around SEK 1.3 billion (Ivarsson and Persson, 2015). But the actual cost for the megaproject is still unknown, and the cost of a quadrupled rent and bigger operation is not even a part of the calculus. Or that the municipality had to pay SEK 18 million just to get out of the Malmö Symphony Orchestra’s previous les (Persson, 2015). These fragments of information appear to matter very little. I believe there is something bigger at stake – Malmö’s whiteness. Those who know what is at stake, or identify with it, exploit it. We are all welcome to join and participate but some pay a very particular and often unacknowledged tax. Yet, it is a flexible tax. Progressive in a socialist manner, on a continuum between whiteness and other. I suspect that, as whiteness gets challenged, we can expect more desperate and creative wagers by its members. Its very existence depends on it.
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