



DEGREE PROJECT IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT,
SUSTAINABLE URBAN PLANNING & DESIGN
SECOND CYCLE, 30 CREDITS
STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN 2021

Defining Urban Terroir

The Placemaking Qualities of a City

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Master of Science thesis

Title: Defining Urban Terroir – The Placemaking Qualities of a City

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Master Thesis number:

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Keywords: Terroir, placemaking, authenticity, urban design, cultural identity, exclusion, interculturalism,

Abstract

Throughout the history of Architecture and Urbanism many efforts were made and continue being done in order to learn how to successfully design good built environments for human beings. This goal has not only expanded to several other fields such as Geography, Sociology, and Environmental Psychology, but also received new and invaluable contributions from several other unexpected fields. Such might be the case with the field of Viticulture and its interesting concept of *terroir* which has already been used to address topics connected with urbanism and against the increased globalization. The process of globalization in which people are instead considered as citizens of a new global world order reduces the place and rather creates a world of “placelessness”. As a concept, *terroir* sheds light on the importance of authenticity and how a sense of feeling can generate a cultural identity. However, in a time where neoliberal politics are increasing with a strengthened nationalism it can also be a source of politics. Although its authenticity can be used as a means to work against globalization, it can also install a perception of unity to the local people, therefore excluding foreigners and maintaining an ideal that is unattainable for multicultural cities.

The purpose of this paper is to primarily suggest a definition for a new concept entitled *urban terroir* and to reveal the elements of the interactive urban ecosystem of a place embodied in our cities’ characteristic and distinctive qualities. In addition, the paper also has an objective of understanding how architects, planners, politicians and developers can deeply understand *terroir* when creating places and policies without excluding people from the developed cultural identity it is meant to create. This is possible by interviewing residents from three cities in France, Mulhouse, Dunkerque and Toulouse and different areas in the municipality of Stockholm about their respective perception of *terroir* in the form of authenticity and its

linkage to placemaking that may act as an accelerator to further exclusion of cultural minorities in the urban environment.

The obtained results conclude a definition of urban terroir as a compilation of elements and certain characteristic that collectively, with respect to the residents in an area, make up the essence of a city. These elements comprise of the architecture and its historical significance, inherent traditions tied to the region, temporal legibility, the elements of scale including nodes, paths, landmarks, districts as well as edges and ultimately, the inclusion of minorities. The author also raises the potential romanticization of nationalism with terroir and authenticity. Thus, policies according to Interculturalism are derived which firstly include acknowledging the impact that politicians have. This includes securing housing, providing strategies to work against the identified ethnic segregation and developing an agenda that promotes interactions whilst simultaneously nurturing inclusive cultural identities. As for architects and urban planners, the study concludes the potential placemaking has in fostering micro-public places in the city where different cultures can meet. The authenticity behind these places should go beyond the physical attributes and instead include the people living in the city. It becomes crucial to view the city as not limited to the inner-city, but also validate the right to the city and placemaking of inhabitants residing in the periphery by organizing initiatives that foster growth in such areas of the city. By working against the identified current state, in the form of generating authentic interactions with a social attachment to minority cultures, urban planners are able present an understanding of the inevitable political aspect of placemaking.

Acknowledgement

This study is a master thesis which comprises 30 higher education credits and is the final stage of master's degree. It was carried out in the spring of 2021 at the Royal Institute of Technology within the department of Sustainable Urban Planning & Design. The thesis comprises 30 higher education credits and is the final stage of master's degree.

The degree project is part of the research project "Urban Form and Human Behavior" at the Royal Institute of Technology, and the author would like to take the opportunity to extend a big thank you to Tigran Haas who through supervision, support and guidance made the study possible. It is through the valuable conversations we had about the troubles that would arise during the thesis that we were able to formulate a clear research question and purpose.

Furthermore, the author would like to show gratitude to Nuno Gones, who began this study and contributed with valuable information that was able to be further developed. A thank you is also aimed at Malin Hansen, who was a tremendous support throughout the study, all of which aided in generating a more relevant and reality-based results.

In addition, I would like to show appreciation to the respondents who took their time in answering questions, whether it was in person or through a digital screen using Zoom and Skype. Without your contributions, the study would not have been possible to complete with no empiricism able to be presented.

Sincerely,

Zaid Al-karkhi

Stockholm, 2021-06-07

Examensarbete

Titel: Att Definiera Urban Terroir – Kvaliteter i Staden för Placemaking

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Institution: Hållbar Samhällsplanering & Stadsutformning

Examensarbete Master nivå:

Handledare: Tigran Haas

Nyckelord: Terroir, placemaking, autenticitet, urban design, kulturell identitet, exkludering, interkulturalism,

Sammanfattning

Genom historien om arkitektur och urbanism har många ansträngningar gjorts och fortsätter att göras för att lära sig att framgångsrikt utforma bra byggda miljöer för människor. Detta mål har utvidgats till att inkludera andra forskningsområden såsom geografi, sociologi och miljöpsykologi men även ovärderliga bidrag från flera andra oväntade områden. Sådant kan vara fallet med vinodlingsområdet och dess intressanta begrepp *terroir* som redan har använts för att ta itu med ämnen kopplade till urbanism och mot den ökade globaliseringen.

Globaliseringsprocessen där människor istället betraktas som medborgare i en ny global världsordning minskar värdet av specifika platser och skapar en känsla av "*placelessness*". Som ett koncept belyser *terroir* vikten av autenticitet och hur en känsla av tillhörighet till en plats kan skapa en kulturell identitet. Men i en tid där nyliberal politik ökar med en förstärkt nationalism kan begreppet också vara politisk betingat. Även om dess autenticitet kan användas som ett sätt att arbeta mot globaliseringen, kan det också förstärka en uppfattning om enhet för lokalbefolkningen, och därmed utesluta invandrare och minoriteter för att upprätthålla ett ideal som är ouppnåeligt för multikulturella städer.

Syftet med denna uppsats är att i första hand föreslå en definition för konceptet *urban terroir* och att avslöja elementen i det interaktiva urbana ekosystemet på en plats förkroppsligad i våra städers karakteristiska och distinkta kvaliteter. Dessutom har studien ett mål att förstå hur arkitekter, planerare, politiker och fastighetsutvecklare kan förstå *terroir* när de skapar platser och policyer utan att utesluta människor från den utvecklade kulturella identitet som den är tänkt att skapa. Detta är möjligt genom att intervjua invånare från tre städer i Frankrike, Mulhouse, Dunkerque och Toulouse samt olika områden i Stockholms kommun om deras respektive uppfattning om *terroir* i form av autenticitet och dess koppling till placemaking

som kan fungera som en accelerator för ytterligare exkludering av kulturella minoriteter i stadsmiljön.

Den erhållna empirin resulterar i en definition av *urban terroir* som en sammanställning av element och vissa egenskaper som kollektivt, med avseende på olika invånare i ett område, utgör stadens karaktär. Dessa element består av arkitekturen och dess historiska betydelse, inneboendes traditioner knutna till området, tidsmässiga aspekten, elementen som inkluderar noder, stigar, landmärken, distrikt samt kanter och i slutändan inkludering av minoriteter. Författaren lyfter också fram den potentiella romantiseringen av nationalism som en konsekvens av koncepten terroir och autenticitet. Således föreslås policys enligt interkulturalism som för det första inkluderar att erkänna den inverkan som politiker har. Detta inkluderar att säkra tillgängliga bostäder, tillhandahålla strategier för att arbeta mot den identifierade etniska segregeringen och utveckla en agenda som främjar interaktioner emellan alla kulturella identiteter. När det gäller arkitekter och stadsplanerare drar studien slutsatsen att placemaking har som potential att främja mikro-offentliga platser i staden där olika kulturer kan mötas. Autenticitet bakom dessa platser bör gå utöver de fysiska attributen och istället inkludera de människor som bor i staden. Det blir avgörande att inte se staden som begränsad till innerstaden, men också erkänna rätten till staden och placemaking av invånare som bor i stadens förorter genom att organisera initiativ som främjar tillväxt i sådana delar av staden. Genom att arbeta mot det identifierade tillståndet som kännetecknar Stockholm, i form av att skapa autentiska interaktioner med en social koppling till minoritetskulturer, kan stadsplanerare utveckla en förståelse för den oundvikliga politiska aspekten av placemaking.

Förord

Denna studie är en uppsats som omfattar 30 högskolepoäng och är den sista delen av magisterexamen. Det utfördes våren 2021 vid Kungliga Tekniska Högskolan inom avdelningen för hållbar stadsplanering och design. Examensarbetet omfattar 30 högskolepoäng och är det sista steget i masterexamen.

Examensarbetet är en del av forskningsprojektet "Urban Form and Human Behavior" vid Kungliga Tekniska Högskolan, och författaren vill ta tillfället i akt och rikta ett stort tack till Tigran Haas som genom handledning, stöd och vägledning gjorde studien möjlig. Det är genom de värdefulla samtal vi haft om de problem uppstått under studiens gång som vi kunde formulera en tydlig forskningsfråga och syfte. Vidare vill författaren även visa tacksamhet till Nuno Gones, som påbörjade detta examensarbete och bidrog med värdefull information som senare kunde utvecklas. Ett tack riktas också till Malin Hansen, som var ett enormt stöd under hela studien, som alla hjälpte till att bidra till mer relevanta och verklighetsbaserade resultat.

Dessutom vill jag visa uppskattning till de respondenter som tog sig tid att svara på frågor, oavsett om det var personligen eller via en digital skärm med Zoom och Skype. Utan era bidrag hade studien inte varit möjligt att genomföra utan något resultat som kunde presenteras.

Vänliga hälsningar,

Zaid Al-karkhi

Stockholm, 2021-06-07

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1 Introduction

This chapter will provide a background into the study as well as a problem statement which altogether will present an explanation of the gap that this thesis is trying to fill

1.1 Background

Throughout the history of Architecture and Urbanism many efforts were made and continue being done in order to learn how to successfully design good built environments for human beings. These ongoing efforts, as time goes by, tend to adapt to new circumstances. Today, the city encounters new conditions such as a recursive climate of international economic and political instability as well as immigration outbreaks promoted by war scenarios and humanitarian crisis. The city vulnerability to such contexts of social, political, economic and ecologic instability has made not only academia but also common citizens question how cities can continue to develop, at the same time needing to adapt to new circumstances without beginning to lose their characteristic and distinctive qualities in the process. In a time and space of increased globalization and mobilization, people are trying to evoke a spatial-cultural identity to secure a sense of belonging (Feagan, 2007). The process of globalization in which people are instead considered as citizens of a new global world order reduces the place and rather creates a world of “placelessness” (Relph, 1976).

The goal of learning how to successfully design good built environments for human beings has not only expanded to several other fields such as Geography, Sociology, and Environmental Psychology, but also received new and invaluable contributions from several other unexpected fields. Such might be the case with the field of Viticulture and its interesting concept of *terroir* which already been used to address topics connected with urbanism and against increased globalization. Zukin (2009) uses the word *terroir* to suggest that the distinctive character of urban environments (particularly urban neighborhoods) is produced by their specific demographic, social and cultural processes. Both cases, first attached to an urban environment’s physical and spatial dimensions, and second to its socio-cultural dimensions, show how the word *terroir* is used to express a connection to roots, local contexts, origin, thus underpinning the qualities of an urban environment. Elaborating on this concept is Rainha & Ogando (2015), who explain that *terroir* can function as a way of adding value to a space since it links the people to local cultural heritage and the identity of the place.

Concerned with the processes that provide good wines their characteristic qualities the field of Viticulture has adopted, studied and conceptualized the French word *terroir*. *Terroir* can be loosely translated as a “sense of place”. The sum of the effects that a local environment has had on the production of a product, embodied in its characteristic qualities such as texture, aroma and taste. The French began to crystalize the concept of *terroir* as a way of describing the unique aspects of a place that influence the wine made from it. To them *terroir*, as the specificity of a place, came to include in general, the local know-how, the characteristic of the soil, the climate, the vineyards, and everything else that can possibly differentiate one piece of land from another.

Meanwhile, key theorist of the field of Viticulture such as Seguin and Van Leeuwen have conceptualized *terroir*. They have defined *terroir* as the interactive agro-ecosystem of a place where elements such as the climate, the soil, and the vines together with human know-how, interact and provide a wine its characteristic and distinctive quality. As the specificities of a place provide to a wine a unique set of characteristic and distinctive qualities, it too occurs to a city. Certain natural, geo-morphologic, socio-cultural, economic and physical elements of a place also provide a city a unique set of characteristic and distinctive qualities. Embodied in the diverse forms, densities, structures and scales that characterize the spaces of a city and its urban fabric, so could an “*urban-terroir*” refer to the interactive urban-ecosystem of a place where certain elements interact and underpin our urban spaces and places their characteristic and distinctiveness qualities.

1.2 Problem Statement

As a concept, *terroir* sheds light on the importance of authenticity and how a sense of feeling can generate a cultural identity. However, in a time where neoliberal politics are increasing with a strengthened nationalism it can also be a source of politics. Although its authenticity can be used as a means to work against globalization, it can also install a perception of unity to the local people, therefore excluding foreigners and maintaining an ideal that is unattainable for multicultural cities. The term *terroir* is French, hence using it in a context tied to France is relevant to understand how it functions on a political level as of today. Since *terroir* connects the people to the French soil, the political implications of *terroir* amplify the idea that identity is based on inherent traditions which leads to the segregation of the people whose history and heritage are not linked to the land and are intrinsically barred from the

French identity (Rogers, 1987). The question that arises is how one entails a cultural identity to a nation which has a foundation in authenticity without having minorities excluded from said identity.

1.3 Purpose and Questions

The purpose of this paper is to primarily suggest a definition for a new concept entitled *urban terroir* and to reveal the elements of the interactive urban ecosystem of a place embodied in our cities' characteristic and distinctive qualities. This import of the concept of terroir from the field of viticulture into the field of the built environment has the ambition to suggest an alternative method for analyzing cities, their environments, and to contribute to the architect's and planners' mission on how to construct meaningful places for human beings. The paper also has an objective of understanding how architects, planners, politicians and developers can deeply understand *terroir* when creating places and policies without excluding people from the developed cultural identity it is meant to create. Authenticity is linked to a place's cultural identity, but what the term actually means in a practical sense is more complicated. Is it possible to create authenticity or is it something that is inherent to a place? By applying an intercultural perspective that defies differences and instead values cultural diversity, one can include a wide range of people from different backgrounds in placemaking authentic to the space it is in to create a sense of belonging for minorities as well.

The questions that need to be answered throughout the paper are therefore:

- Is it possible to create authenticity and a cultural identity linked to a specific space?
- Does the concept of *terroir* limit the inclusion of minorities in a city?
- What implications does *terroir* have on placemaking in terms of urban politics?

1.4 Limitations

This research has been limited geographically to primarily include the French regions of Mulhouse, Toulouse and Dunkerque. The choice behind these three regions stem from the fact that terroir is French concept, whereas these three regions are considered different in size and in terms of local production. The semi-structured interviews that will take place will be conducted with the people that live there to gain an understanding of their experiences of *terroir* and how this is translated into the cultural identity of the people.

An in-depth analysis of the population of Stockholm will also be included to analyze what the *terroir* of Stockholm is – whether it exists or is something that needs to be brought up to the surface to help planners and architects understand the places that need to be created for its inhabitants. An extensive literature review will also be conducted on the term *terroir* and how it can be connected to urbanism and cultural urbanism. The literature review will be limited to include reports, articles and research papers that have been peer-reviewed to ensure that they provide validity to the study.

2 Literature Review

The literature review will specify and go into depth on the most relevant previous research that have studied the same themes that this study is expected to explore

For the research questions to be defined, an empirical literature review has been chosen where a thorough analysis of previous research papers and studies that deal with the concept of terroir and its linkage to urbanism is conducted. The aim of the literature review is to gain a broader understanding of the implications that terroir has on creating authenticity in spaces. The current existing field of research that deals with terroir is dominated by sociology and anthropology, analyzing how terroir is conveyed through a product to which it verifies its authenticity (Demossier, 2011). However, the gap in research that this study aims to contribute with and explore is the fundamental problem which is linked to the ways that terroir emphasizes and develops a strong cultural identity within a nation. Additionally, how this can be further conceptualized as a form of exclusion of minorities that are not as directly linked to the space through history and traditions. Below, previous research is not only presented but also discussed since the concept of terroir is both complex and important to distinguish in order to establish the theoretical framework that will follow the thesis.

2.1 Terroir

2.2.1 Definition of Terroir

It is not easy to objectively determine terroir due to its complex nature, which associates the qualities of a product, to the specificity of the environment of its place of origin (Leeuwen; Seguin, 2006). While the qualities of a product are easy to describe, the same doesn't apply to a geographic location and the specificity of its environment. As it involves the actions of humans and nature, the environment of a geographic location refers to a living and adaptive ecosystem in perpetual change where elements of diverse nature interact. Given its French roots and their connection with winemaking, it is not a coincidence that the first incursions of terroir in academia emerged within the agricultural sciences in the field of viticulture. In the eighties, Gerard Seguin from the University of Bordeaux, introduced the scientific community to the definition of terroir and his studies about the effects of terroir in the qualities of wine for the first time.

“Terroir can be defined as an ecosystem, in a given place, including many factors, like climatic conditions, cultivar and rootstock, geography and topography, as well as soil characteristics like mineral nutrition and water supply” (Van Leeuwen, 2010, p. 274)

Wine literature refers to terroir as the special character of a wine, a certain “taste of place” or “sense of place” given by its place of origin. As these attributes are embodied in its sensory qualities (style, taste and aroma) and are intrinsically linked to, thus influenced, by the particularities of that place (the natural and man-made elements of its environment), a terroir thus becomes defined by such particularities, the elements of a particular environment, which differentiates one place from another. These elements are commonly referred to by winemakers as the climate, the soil, the vines, and the human know-how embedded into the overall wine making process. Objectified into the word terroir, this concept is rooted and can be considered to be the backbone of the culture in France.

“In the climate-soil-vine ecosystem it is difficult, (...), to determine its influence on the constitution and the quality of grapes and wines. Moreover, human factors must be added to the natural factors, since the wine grower may happen to transform (...) Straightaway, it must be noted that there is no complete in-depth study of these ecosystems.” (Seguin, 1986, p. 861)

Besides the French, probably no other culture has developed the same level of commitment to recognize, value, and protect, the influence of the environmental specificity of a geographic location in the taste of food and wine. The cultural significance of these products together with the need to regulate their commercialization – to protect them, the producers, and the consumers – took the French to merge the concept of terroir in a system called Appellation d’Origine Contrôlée (AOC) initially. A merge which, in practice, translated an underlying concern, not only for the valorization and preservation of the social and cultural values framed by the long-standing traditions alive in production processes of these products, but also the valorization and preservation of their unique natural context. The Institut National des Appellations d’Origine (INAO) is responsible for overseeing all aspects of establishing, monitoring and promoting products awarded the AOC status (Trubek, 2008).

2.1.2 Terroir and Authenticity as a Social Construction

Although terroir has been illustrated as a rural heritage that is harmonic, consistent, authentic, original as well as a concept where citizens, space and time are naturally unified; throughout the years there has been a shift in which terroir also consists of a political layer (Filippucci, 2004; Demossier, 2011). From the political perspective, terroir can defy previous academic attachments and instead refer to a process where the present is merely a social construction created by a wide range of actors to empower an ideal that revolves around self-proclaimed identification. Thus, terroir, beyond the original definition, also entails a level of declaration and validation of an increase in social, economic and political advantages due to differences that can be traced to a local or micro scale. The micro scale is transformed onto a global market where an initial protectionism to reject globalization is instead used for literary, financial and lawful indications. Ultimately, terroir and authenticity become tools in that are strategically placed in order for some actors to gain more privilege in an imbalanced world (Moran, 1993). McGee & Patterson (2007) further elaborate on this sentiment, suggesting that terroir is merely a marketing campaign in which the Old-World tradition is pitted against the globalized New World Order. Nevertheless, the marketing campaign of terroir is a successful one where the thought that authenticity behind soil and climate as crucial is triumphed over the belief that the grower is able to manipulate plant growth and the winemaker with the power to make strategic choices in the process which determines the final product.

Feagan (2007) illuminates the notion of authenticity connected to terroir by exemplifying the values consumers have in regard to farmer's markets and community gardens due to the characteristics and cultural identity that lie behind these establishments. According to Hammer (2011), it is understood that consumers are enabled through authenticity which is provided by the customary preparation and traditional practices of production within the farmer's markets and community gardens. However, Porciani (2019) argue that the idea behind authenticity and the factors that affect authenticity are difficult to determine and generate since traditions are always changing. Authenticity is perceived as a concept that exists in a vacuum, unbothered by changes and contributing to a timeless perspective on historical processes. Despite the discussions regarding the validity of the concept terroir and how it is used on several arenas, it is crucial to understand that terroir is a means to be able to relate time, inhabitants of society and space to consumption, fabrication and epistemology.

Harvey et al. (1996) mentions the rejection of old ideas of space and its relationship to the inhabitants of the community in the rise of the post-industrial contemporary era due to them being associated with senselessness and tradition which contradicted the modern definition of the nation state – reasonable, democratic and effective. However, researchers understood that space and the sense of place was not being fully rejected by the citizens themselves. In a world that opened up for globalization, the thought of *placelessness* began to arise which would be defined as the decrease in importance of a distinctive experience and identities linked to specific place (Relph, 1976). The association of a familiarity to a certain place would reduce and instead be replaced by rootlessness. Placelessness can according to Relph (ibid) be seen as a deliberate process in which homogenous landscapes are planned constructions from an inattentiveness point of view towards the way human beings subjectively experience place. Agnew & Duncan (2014) with research from 1989 would resurface the importance of space as a spatial concept onto the field of research, reasoning that liberal capitalism weakens the worth of place in a social setting, working against Marxist social science. Despite the New World Order and globalization, it becomes evident that place does not vanish as a concept in connotation to social relations but rather transforms (Agnew & Duncan, 2014). Agnew & Duncan (2014) argues that the relation that people have to a geographic location is the reason as to why place still upholds value and that identities were formed in association to that specific place.

“It is said in French, for example, that certain customs or idioms are rooted in their terroir, or that a person strongly conveys a sense of the terroir of their birth and upbringing” (Barham, 2003, p. 131)

In alignment, Pascual-de-Sans (2004) claims that on the contrary of previous history, discourses regarding space and place on a local level are instead strengthened where the importance of “place” in people’s lives is being claimed to stay relevant unbendingly. Thus, this is a reaffirmation that the said authenticity and cultural identity that terroir provides is a resource that can be used in a manner of protection and resilience against globalizing forces (Faegan, 2007). Noticeable practices that establish recreation of place is tied to the emerging consciousness and fear regarding global change and is a clear indicator of resistance.

2.1.3 Implications of Terroir

Schuilenburg (2011) sheds light on an important matter in which terroir is applied in the context of Lefebvre's "Right to the City" (1996) to further elaborate on the Right to Terroir. The foundation of the argument is that terroir can be a tool in the conversations that arise when the results of migration and globalization is debated, shifting away from the traditional conceptualization of terroir. He argues that identity was formed by the norms and values determined by the state, which easily shifted into a global identity in which a citizen was a world citizen. The discussion on how to deal with place and identity without focusing on either a simplistic analysis regarding world citizenship or a solution where conservative national values are central and key components is needed.

Broadening terroir from its original field of viticulture, citizens are able to assert a right of terroir by forming social connections and creating a way of life. Theoretically, this is the realization of a communal, in which the relationships are not based on debt or the promise to return a similar benefit (Clark & Mills, 1993). There is not a specific characteristic that is shared by the citizens of the communal, but rather strictly speaks on what can produce a community. Ultimately, what is said is that the right to terroir should consist of several key rights that need to be taken into consideration (Schuilenburg, 2011). The right to community, the right to openness and the right to difference are mere examples that are in alignment with the consequences that migration and globalization entail. Therefore, underscoring the importance of ensuring that terroir does not exceed the right to inclusion for minorities that might not feel as connected to the land as the majority native population. The need for this conversation is amplified when reading Trubeck (2005) who summaries the concept of terroir as a result of *cultural component*, the *people* and the *history*.

In alignment with previous research, Gade (2004) studies the history of France and how terroir is a way for the people from rural areas to form an identity founded on inherent traditions which is tied to the French soil. This indirectly contributes to the notion that immigrants, whose heritage cannot be linked to French soil will be excluded from said cultural identity (Rogers, 1987). The argument behind the citizens from rural areas continuing this mindset is linked to modernization of the agriculture considered to be a threat to their cultural identity that is based on protecting rural landscapes, food, wine and other central

elements of terroir linked to national and regional heritage. Due to this, the conceptualization of terroir that Schuilenburg (2011) provides is an important transition of rights to the city to ensure that urban planners, politicians, architects and developers understand what terroir can lead to on a practical level.

Linking terroir to constructing authentic spaces to create a sense of feeling within a region is highlighted as a form of deterring its actual political significance (Karpiak, 2016). In alignment with Schuilenburg (2011), Karpiak (2016) elaborates on previous research and argues that terroir can be used as a form of critique when discussing the immigration and globalization in response to the *Front Nationale*. Although the xenophobia and anti-immigration discussion is not limited to solely the far-right politics in France, defined by *Front Nationale*, modern time is weighted with a fear of the ability to deal with a nationwide cultural community (Ingram, 1998). Throughout history, the most dominant perspective for incorporating immigrants into the civic society in France has been through an assimilation process in which immigrants are expected to abandon their previous cultural identities for a unified French cultural identity (Crapanzano, 2011). The model of multiculturalism from America has traditionally been condemned, an argument that is strengthened through the case of Jose Bove who attacked a McDonald's restaurant in France, demanding the need for terroir to counteract establishments that are not authentic (Hammer, 2011). The critic for multiculturalism lies behind the fact that it unavoidably results in the rise of ghettos where minority groups are excluded (Ingram, 1998).

"In short, despite an astonishing level of cultural and ethnic diversity, France has seen itself as has sought to become a monocultural society" (Jennings, 2000, p. 575)

The nationalism in the country and citizenship is not a mere image, but rather embedded as an illustration and phenomenon that emerge through social practices. The image of French nationalism is therefore seen to be reinforced by the political implications that terroir has on space, citizenship and political economy (Karpiak, 2016). This attempt to universalize values onto citizens in order to validate the citizenship of immigrants does not solely create a shared identity, but also a means for France to exclude the people who fail to uphold the values (Sapir, 1924).

2.2 Urban Terroir

Although terroir has been put in different contexts that transcends its culinary character (*see section 2.1*), there is an aim to further apply it in an urban context in order to define *urban terroir*. According to Langegger (2016), the same way that terroir is seen as a process that can map the authenticity of a region's cuisine, it can be used to describe the way which neighborhoods are transformed. Neighborhoods that consist of streets are not automatically renovated but are a result of many intertwining processes. This way, terroir can capture the essence of commercial sections. This reasoning is applied when discussing gentrification and how in a quest to capture authenticity of an urban area. The risk of the area being upscaled in combination with real estate prices increasing results in the entire neighborhood being transformed as well as the entire exclusion of the previous inhabitants that are forced to move out (Zukin, 2009). With the original definition of terroir including the people behind the winemaking and their craftsmanship, it becomes impossible to apply terroir on an urban scale where the inhabitants are no longer involved in the process, often former immigrants or minorities. A paradox is therefore identified which Zukin (2009) investigates and further concludes that authenticity in the form of terroir is not merely the character of a physical space but is tied to the interaction that the social groups that reside in the urban space. This provides the argument that the concept of authenticity assumes that public spaces consist of social diverse groups of people living in conjunction.

In a city, a place's terroir could be identified as an urban interactive ecosystem where certain elements interact. This leads to the question of which elements are behind an urban location distinctiveness, and who is at the center of its urban interactive ecosystem. Terroir in the form of wine agricultural locations have already been mapped, meaning they are easy to define which is not the key with urban locations and there need to be mapped. Urban location can consist of streets, blocks, neighborhoods, squares, parks or districts. Each with its own scale and accordingly affecting a city distinctiveness. The same way grapes and its soil are central elements of a terroir, people will be argued to occupy the same central role in an urban setting. Thus, the relationship and connection between people and the other elements underpins an *urban terroir*. Understanding how these different places interact with people and how they are responsible for providing its distinctiveness, will enable the discovery of common elements amongst them (Wahlström, 2017). Jiven & Larkham (2003), sense of place can be created through practical planning and design with the use of historical forms to

achieve a distinctive character, however arguing the fulfillment of sense of place is attained through a sustainable interaction between these elements and the people that use them.

Barbehön et al. (2016) add to the discourse of city distinctiveness by conducting a cross-urban comparison and argue that the same phenomenon that arise in different cities will be dealt with in different ways. The way that the city tackles and creates a problematization is crucial and is a factor that creates a distinctiveness to each city. By settling a theoretical framework, it provides the opportunity to discover a city's *urban terroir* ([see section 3.1](#)).

Terroir in which there is a linkage to the built environment to the essential character of the physical space is not a new phenomenon but rather something that planners and architects incorporate in design. Norberg-Schulz (2013) applies the Roman concept of “genius loci” which is translated as to the essence of place and holds this in combination with physical character, identity and place as important foundations of architecture and the built environment. In his quest for meaning in architecture, Norberg-Schulz also developed curiosity on how to build a meaningful environment. He argued that when changing built environments, one is required to understand their genius loci. Genius Loci was used by Norberg-Schulz to express the idea that the circumstances (natural and man-made) of a place (environment) gave it a particular meaning. He continues to critique modernism due to its universalizing nature and qualities that are not place-based and proposes a method of design that incorporates communication in which place-based meaning would be translated into design.

Lynch (1960; 1967) investigates the urban environment from the scale of the city, which is important to consider when defining *urban terroir*. In his first book, Lynch (1960) argues that the characteristic qualities that provide urban environments their individuality and distinctiveness are exposed by their spatial legibility. The author claims that the easier it is to map an environment, the more evident and clearer are its characteristic qualities – its identity, structure and meaning. According to Lynch five elements affect an urban environment legibility: its nodes, paths, landmarks, districts and edges. The author claims that it is the variable combination of these elements that create the individuality and distinctiveness in any urban environment. This entails that experiencing the city at the scale of a street, a neighborhood or the city not only affects the type of relationships that are established, but also their meaning. Thus, the order of magnitude of each different scale changes the perceptions, representations, size and nature of what is observed. In the second book, Lynch (1967) argues

that the characteristic qualities that provide urban environments their individuality and distinctiveness are also exposed by their temporal legibility. The author claims that embodiment of time in an urban environment provides the opportunity to sense its past periods, the present, and the future.

Carvalho (2020) exemplifies this notion by studying Calvos, an agricultural place in Portugal that has gone through changes due to technological development and is currently undergoing projects in which different mechanisms are implemented in order to regenerate the quintessence of the place with the creation of space. This form of captured authenticity that is meant to reinvent the place with what is essential to its character is what *urban terroir* is about. With consideration to the argument Zukin (2009) uses, in which exclusion of minority groups hinders the creation of authenticity - the question that arises is how it is possible to include minority groups in the creation of authentic places that can strengthen the cultural identity of a place. This is something that Norberg-Schulz also brings up focused on the unity of place and identity in which environments would be created for all in an age of high level of immigration and mobility (Møystad, 2016). Multiculturalism is argued to possess the character of being embedded into architecture and the built environment; however, the question that remains is how that is achieved.

2.3 Placemaking - Generating Authentic Places

Friedman (2010) captures the importance of defining place, describing it not only as a physical built environment at a neighborhood scale but additionally includes the inhabitant's stances towards one another in a unified community. Doing so, he moves away from the hierarchically prescribed definition of placemaking by geographers (Cresswell, 2014) as an observing outsider and on the contrary implements a perspective at a local scale. As previously mentioned, placelessness as a concept is threatening the cultural identity and attachment to the neighborhood resulted in the establishment of *urban design* ([see section 2.2](#)) with an aim of revitalizing quality of place in a public setting and creating a sense of place (Aravot, 2002). Moving from theory to practice, this generates the application of placemaking both on a local and regional level (Alexander, 1979). Prominent researchers such as Lynch (1981) and Jacobs (1961) contributed to the concept of placemaking, suggesting that sense of place could be achieved through the cultivation of public urban space with a well-adjusted urban surrounding.

According to Feuchtwang placemaking is a process which encompasses “*gathering, centering and linking*” (Friedman, 2006). Friedman (2010) adds to the discourse, arguing that certain sites in a place add a *sacred value* to the community. Furthermore, the destruction of such spaces to mediate development in the neighborhood contributes to the erasure of the sacred value in such places since human relations are eradicated. Fincher et al. (2016) raises the problematization with such mega-developments in metropolitan areas that illuminate the way planner neglect the notions of place and placemaking, thus fostering economic and urban growth with little to no social and physical infrastructure for place to be distinguished. This argument aligns with the work of Zukin (2009), stating the importance of linking a place to the social groups that reside in the urban space ([see section 2.2](#)). This form of development is considered as a contradiction, which Myers (2002) elaborates on and argues that placemaking and the understanding of place has to be analyzed from a political and social lens to be rightfully implemented. Lepofsky & Fraser (2002) contribute with an important argument, in which the politicization of place, driven by economic factors can contradict the initial social aspect of placemaking in which cities become competitors on a global market with the aim of drawing in capital to the place. This further exemplifies how place can be manipulated to generate material benefits to an elite consisting of actors within the political, economic and cultural field. Without the incorporation of place and sense of belonging which recognizes the diverse social groups living in the area to nurture authenticity, placemaking loses its political and social layer and rather becomes apolitical (Aravot, 2002).

Beyond the theory of placemaking, Friedman (2010) highlights the reconciliation that planners need in terms of including the inhabitants of an urban area and to personally connect to the lives of others. Thus, developing both a political and social attachment to the functionality of placemaking in practice. The basis for this thought of process is based on the isolation of minorities such as working-class and migrants in suburbs that are more likely to be a victim of outbreaks of violence due to them being marginalized and overlooked (Simone, 2004). Urban redevelopment disguised under placemaking is theorized as an organizational technique rather than intrinsically political valuating social equity (Fincher et al., 2016), which according to previously mentioned research is not sustainable (Myers, 2002). Fincher et al. (2016) continue to argue that placemaking has throughout the years had an emphasis on “public space” policies and plans, separating people and place from the development and thus

not achieving social equity. Social equity and social justice are both terms that signify just, fair access and availability to social and public goods (Harvey, 2009; Young, 2011).

Lepofsky & Fraser (2002) bring up the initial struggle that arises due to placemaking within cities; to define the meaning behind the cities, what they entail and most importantly who they are for. These questions are attempted to be answered through the use of culture within the cities; however, this produces a further struggle that presents itself in issues regarding race, class, gender and sexuality (ibid). By using the framework of Lefebvre (1996) one can discuss these matters with the perspective of the rights to the city; illuminating who can claim space to the city and who the city belongs to, further transcended into a debate concerning who has the right to placemaking in cities. It is argued that actively participating in placemaking is what grants you citizenship and legitimize rights to the city.

Assi (2010) studies the concept of authenticity and how it relates to the built environment, which opens up for a discourse on how placemaking does not necessarily deter from the development of authentic places within a city. A quality of the built environment, such as authenticity and how it is perceived by a set of individuals within a region is a driving force behind building a community. A share of said individuals view it as a built heritage in the form of artefacts, whilst for others authenticity is a place or similar that has the capacity of inducing feelings and reminiscences. Wahlström (2017) conducted a quantitative research on cities' distinctive features, in which the soul of a city is argued to be connected to the inhabitants feeling a sense of pride, attachment and belonging to their city but also the characteristics such as art, historical beauty and stories.

Although Porciani (2019) mention changing times as a hinder in the process of determining authenticity ([see section 2.2](#)), Assi (2000) views gradual changes in the built environment as necessary in validating authenticity. This is explained by the aftermath of such change, in which the essence of a community being true to itself is identified with the persistence of traditions. Topography and the way of life can be altered, whilst leaving behind the spirit of place which defines authenticity. The connection of placemaking and the importance of authenticity in such practice is validated through the mutual definition of involving the community. Plumwood (2006) puts placemaking as a creation of relations, rather than a specific place, to form a community that entails meaning for the human beings. Both Assi (2010) and Birkeland (2008) apply acceptance of places, buildings, people and objects as the

founding constitutions of a community. The community can develop and become more conscious of social authenticity and cultural principles through knowledge and interacting with other members of society or with the built and natural environment.

Ultimately, the premise of protecting, conserving and feeling a sense of belonging can be created through a systematic process with organized events on different platforms. By using placemaking with a social and political layer emphasizing on inclusion, one can encourage to characterize and realize certain qualities in an existing environment that produces a community with authenticity (Assi, 2020; Birkeland, 2008; Plumwood, 2006).

3 Theoretical Framework

This section has the objective of gathering the information from the literature review to form a relevant theoretical framework which will be used in analyzing the empirical findings of this study

What previous research and the conducted literature review concludes is that the theoretical framework should incorporate an approach to placemaking with an emphasis on terroir and the authenticity that follows to form a cultural identity. It is evident to realize how urbanism is affected by the trends of immigration, mobility and globalization as well as the further essential impact this has on the formed cultural identity within a region. A simple consequence nor solution regarding an increased diversity in society cannot be determined, rather be discussed from different point of views. As discussed in the previous chapter, social diversity has been criticized due to the ghettoization it inescapably results in, thus excluding minorities from participating in society (Ingram, 1998). This view on diversity is not foreign, but rather dominating and thus generating an expectation on immigrants to completely assimilate into society by abandoning previous cultural identities. Below, *interculturalism* as a theoretical framework adapted into the field of urbanism is presented to better understand how to mediate and reconstruct the discourse to how social diversity can unify and create a strong cultural identity tied to place and space.

3.1 Intercultural Urbanism

The concept of interculturalism, introduced by Bouchard (2011) functions as a more renowned model that focuses equally on the interests of majority and minority culture despite them being vastly different. Interculturalism is seen as a model for integration with a toolbox and recommendations on how ethnocultural diversity can be managed in society. Majority culture characterized with desire to preserve itself defending their identity and rights in opposition of minority culture with the interest in defending the rights of minorities and immigrants. By focusing on the two different citizens, there lies potential in combining the majority's desire for identity with an outlook that encourages respect for diversity. Therefore, by having an intercultural viewpoint, the creation of a single procedure of belonging, identity and growth can be promoted (ibid). The belonging and identity can be fostered through the

incorporation of symbolic elements in conjunction with pre-dated ideas of what constitutes a unified nation - official language, land and a lawful framework.

The rise of interculturalism in urban planning and policymaking was a result of the criticism towards the multicultural approach, arguing that although it recognizes diversity in ethnic communities it neglects to create space for cultural diversity to be integrated into society (Watt, 2006). In a multicultural approach, immigrants are viewed as add-ons to an already existing system, something that interculturalism diverts from and instead encourages connections, endurance and adjustment on all levels of society that is negotiated and further renegotiated (Bouchard, 2011). These interactions and negotiations are believed to occur within an identified basis consisting of respect for essential and fundamental values. By installing a framework of respect for essential and fundamental values, it is possible to further establish a belonging and identity through affirmative contact between diverse cultural groups (Leikkilä et. al, 2013). Hence, society is constantly being shaped by the interactions that different cultural groups encounter amongst themselves (Landry & Wood, 2012). Fincher et al. (2016) provides an insight on the importance of urban planners engaging with ethnic and racialized disparities in the modern neoliberal city. The practicality of such insight is reflected in the assurance that intercultural awareness is being promoted and the interactions that Bouchard (2011) discusses are given a platform and space to take place in as well as taking into account that certain groups or individuals that face displacement from mainstream culture entail accommodations. These accommodations can occur in the form of adjustments of norms or rules to counteract their disadvantages and should not be viewed as limited rights nor privileges, but rather a form of protection against the discrimination that can take place due to their distinguishing characteristics in relation to the majority population. An example of such is the realization that schools in socioeconomically weak areas need more support in terms of finances in order to mediate growth which ultimately acts as a remedy for inequalities between socioeconomically weak and strong areas.

Furthermore, interculturalism sheds light on the different paradigms of a country and how that will serve benefit when analyzing policies to implement. There are five levels of paradigms, which entail five levels of analysis which are presented below:

- *Diversity* – by acknowledging a country as diverse, one allows a collective approach to the population that consists of individuals and ethnocultural groups insinuating that there is no majority nor minority culture
- *Homogeneity* – this paradigm is unified, proclaiming an essential ethnocultural similarity in the public and under certain circumstances in private
- *Bi- or multi-polarity* – in this society, two or more national groups or subdivisions are acknowledged
- *Duality* – subpar to diversity, duality admits society to the difference in a majority and minority culture, in which minorities are considered to be a result of immigration and the majority culture as the essential
- *Mixité* - the final paradigm is the idea that the nation will produce a new culture which detaches it from the current ethnocultural diversity through miscegenation

3.1.1 Characters of Interculturalism

The seven characteristics that Bouchard (2011) mentions regarding interculturalism will be presented and explained thoroughly in this section. The characteristics function at a societal or macrosocial level in which integration is meant to be discussed by describing the philosophy behind the guidelines. With the first characteristic taking form, it concentrates on the existing relationship that endures the *majority/minority cultures*. Hence, one can say that it is a clear reflection of the fourth paradigm, duality and the social challenges that exist within its nature. The duality can be described as best analyzing the inherent angst that the majority culture will experience in the presence of minorities proclaiming their cultures. This expression of culture, Bouchard mentions is deemed as a threat for the majority culture and their values, traditions and most importantly – identity. This form of fear has a way of expressing itself in stereotypes based on discrimination and exclusionary behavior towards the minority cultures. What interculturalism tries to pursue and develop is a vision where majority culture is as taken care of and considered as the minority cultures. The fear and anxiety that majority culture feel towards minority cultures must therefore be studied with a critical eye.

Interaction is the second pillar that constitutes the foundation of interculturalism in which proposals for intercommunity activity and common adjustments are ideal in a paradigm of diversity. Whilst the law of the initial host society of the majority culture is respected and considered throughout the process, one also tries to maximize and take advantage of

prescribing a common public culture with united values amongst the cultures. Thus, the process of interaction can be viewed as a balancing key component in the concept of interculturalism.

Although interculturalism functions on a state level, it transcends beyond that and requires the effort and stake from all citizens to act accordingly to the latter feature of interculturalism, the interactions. It is crucial for the citizens of society to sustain intercultural relations in everyday life, particularly in instances where there may arise irreconcilabilities at a higher level that an individual can contribute to break. Although institutions carry accountability for ensuring interactions that prosper, they are considered as meddlers in situations where citizens have unsuccessfully resolved disparities. Since the discussed *responsibility* is a civic one, individuals and groups are encouraged to build initiatives and propose plans that can function on a microsocial level. Bouchard sums up four categories of action for the process of interaction, “*the judicial system, the state and its subsidiaries, civil institutions and organizations and ultimately individuals and groups in their living and work environment*” (Bouchard, 2011, p. 449).

Although *integration* is a term that exists beyond the definition of assimilation that aims to require the abandonment of the previous cultural *identity* of immigrants for an assimilation into the host city, it has been intertwined into the discourse of such conversations. Instead, Bouchard (2011) suggests the integration that interculturalism discusses as “*integrationary*” to avoid the mixture of terms. It is important to consider the marginalization and division that minority cultures experience when the majority culture enforces integration of the traditional definition of integration, which is essentially assimilation. Immigrants are expected to strengthen their connection to the national identity, where interculturalism on the contrary expects a mutual interaction and connection between the majority and minority cultures. By instead forcing minorities away from majority culture, something that multiculturalism is expected to result in, one should focus on approaching minorities in order to ease the anxiety and fear that majority culture feel. By breaking stereotypes and interacting in society, integration can instead be fostered naturally rather than be enforced. Interculturalism continues to emphasize that minority cultures should not be forced to give up their previous identity in relation to their background of culture of origin, but rather renegotiate this into their current belonging with the majority culture.

The fourth character of interculturalism is the realization that an *element of precedence* in a context that refers to history, which is considered to be a key role in building an identity on a national level closely tied to its inhabitants. Although cultural neutrality of nation-states is something that researchers claim to be a vision, non-neutrality is unavoidable to occur. On the contrary, it can be used as a strength which can be a driving force of solidarity, social justice, equality as well as an increased citizen participation. The fourth character intertwines with the fifth character – *a common culture*. The common culture is considered to be a firm foundation to construct and form an identity which relates to belonging and place, thus creating an identity. Bouchard (2011) mentions that majority and minority culture will over time from a long-term perspective realize that their identity will have changed and re-formed in according to the interactions and connections that have been made. Ultimately, the final character is the *search for equilibriums*, which is crucial one since interculturalism is as stated a pursuit of balance. Balance between values, norms and beliefs in the different cultures that connects the majority and minorities to build an identity that seeks beyond the past.

3.1.2 Necessary Policy Directions

Although Bouchard (2011) settles a framework for interculturalism and defines it, its connotations are not by any means a discovery but rather a reinforcement of ideas that have been pushed by researchers. Amin (2002) discusses the requirement of “micro-publics” of the city which is described as a means to generate an environment where inhabitants from different cultures whether it be ethno-cultural, religious or sexuality can coexist. Such micro-publics are defined as spaces in the public where people with different backgrounds can share a common project in the form of activities that generate understanding and civility across cultures. The transition from multicultural society to interculturalism is the push and agenda of incorporating dialogues, activities and projects cross-culturally among immigrant groups (Sandercock, 2003). It is when these ideas of interculturalism can be transcended into policy, rather than merely a conceptualized concept and theory when one can expect change on an institutional level (Zapata-Barrero, 2015). Continuously, interculturalism is seen as a group of diversity policies that can encourage and enhance interaction among groups from different backgrounds. Interculturalism as a discourse is attractive for both citizens and governments with its politicians; however, the key is to make it effective as well.

What Sandercock (2003) suggests is seven necessary policy directions that function on levels from institutions to individuals, covering a range of actors that need to be involved in order to create new forms of belonging, socially and spatially to shape an identity. The first necessary policy consists of politicians and their contribution to interculturalism, with a focus on developing initiatives of integration as their goal and aim in the city. The politicians are main actors with their role in political parties that set the agenda on a national level. Examples of how political decision-making contributes to a further segregation is the privatization of the housing market, which Grundström & Molina (2016) describes has been an accelerator of transforming housing for all into housing for the privileged. Such segregation is an obstacle of ensuring interactions amongst different groups of people residing in different parts of the city. Furthermore, the involvement of organizations and public participation in realizing a goal and aim for integration can be a key success factor since it gains a broader audience to enhance the implementation. In alignment, the initiatives should have its basis in interculturalism in accordance with the theory of Bouchard (2011).

Additionally, there is a requirement on political and policy support systems to function on local and regional level to amplify its effect on society. Since the work of integration has a wide impact including workers that work for the government and municipality, it is crucial for these sectors to undergo educations and gain an understanding for cultural differences. This is a crucial policy that is required in order to minimize discrimination and the exclusion of already marginalized groups. Planners is one of the professions that is required, which is in alignment with what previous research has stated on their role in order to successfully implement interactions to promote a belonging to space which includes minorities. The process of education is out of importance since it aids the development of social sustainability within an urban environment which works against disparities and racial differences. One example of such is the work against segregation, which Westlund (2020) describes is prioritized in theory by municipalities but in practice suffer from setbacks due to political initiative, budget and recourses as well as knowledge by urban planners on how to proactively work with ethnic and social disparities. Given the racialization of the housing market that Molina (1997) discusses, in which there has been an active displacement of immigrants in certain areas of the city, limiting where they are able to allocate. Molina (1997) also sheds light on how these areas are pointed out as problematic areas, where discussions are made *about* them, rather than *with* them, thus not creating an understanding of the dynamic in ethnically segregated residential areas.

Furthermore, the reformation of the existing social policies is another requirement that is essential to the implementation of interculturalism in society. This translates into the recognition of the accommodations that immigrants are required in society and not be treated as a threat to majority culture with the risk of it being perceived as such inducing anxiety and fear. This includes support for immigrant organizations for instances that can help these groups integrate and interact on a higher level.

The fifth requirement is directed towards urban planners, with an emphasis on how urban policies and urban planners can and should act according to cultural differences. The design and planning for public and recreational spaces can differ depending on different cultures, meaning that planners should develop a better understanding on how to design and plan for such cases. As of the sixth requirement, it involves the reaffirmation of newly immigrated citizen's rights to the city to magnify their participation in society. By having an open mind to newcomers, one can increase their integration and interactions, to redefine cultural identities and to essentially create a common identity across all inhabitants.

Ultimately, the final requirement is for policy makers to understand and know how to deal with the feelings and emotions that may cause conflicts over integration and interaction. Having a critical lens and understanding the historical context when debating conversations regarding fear and anxiety towards the engagement of minority culture from the majority culture, but also the decreased aspiration of belonging and the fright of exclusion from the minority cultures.

4 Method

This chapter has an aim of introducing the reader to the methodology of choice in order to conduct this study with a compilation of the respondents. Furthermore, legitimacy of the study in the form of reliability and validity will also be brought up

4.1 Research Design

For the research to be carried out, it requires to determine and concretize the procedure in which the study intends on attaining the empirics and data to provide an answer to the research questions. These research questions presented above (*see section 1.2*) are *abductive* by nature. This approach entails a combination of the two following research approaches that Saunders et al. (2015) presents: *deductive*, where the expected results is originated from a theoretical background later to compared to the actual empirical findings and *inductive*, which is the opposite where the researcher develops a theoretical framework from the empirics. Therefore, one can describe an abductive research methodology with theory and empirics mutually functioning as tools during the study for the author to acquire the needed understanding of the investigated topic. By choosing this approach, the strategy of the research can, conditional to the potential changes subjected to the research throughout the process, be changed and improved (Saunders et al., 2015). This characteristic of the research approach proved to be a strength since the study had an initial aim of investigating the concept of *terroir* in correlation to urbanism and placemaking but could be altered when conducting the literature review since it gave an insight into the exclusion and nationalistic aspect of *terroir*.

The method for this study requires the ability to generate elaborately descriptive data driven by empiricism due to the expectancies of the results to be produced. Due to this, in addition to the nature of the research questions being subjective, Flick (2014) proposes a qualitative approach as most appropriate and relevant. Qualitative research has a wide range of methods which provides the researcher alternatives to implement, in this study however, semi-structured interviews will be conducted. The reasoning behind semi-structured interviews is based on the flexibility it allows for the researcher to further ask questions that might be important due to the answers the respondents specify and thus get more in depth with a profounder analysis (Bryman & Bell, 2011; Kallio et al., 2016). To avoid the interview losing

focus with follow-up questions and the respondent provided space to answer in an open environment, Alshenqeeti (2014) suggest a compilation of questions to be answered throughout the interview. These questions are presented in Appendices A-B.

4.2 Semi-structured interviews

There is a certain type of qualifications that estimate the quality of the interviews, that are required for the researcher to obtaining before the interviews are conducted (Barriball & While 1994). Primarily in what way and how the semi-structured interviews should be performed, which includes the proper selection of respondents as well as the organization of the questions to be asked. As semi-structured interviews are described as an appropriate method, it is also important to consider the risks of bias in the results (Saunders et al., 2015).

4.2.1 Collection of Data

The selection of respondents for the interviews were based on the aim of study where attention is on revealing the elements of the interactive urban ecosystem as a place with respect to the existing characteristics and distinctive qualities, leading to a random selection of people to interview with an attempt to capture the generic and public opinion. Since the study is furtherly based on the concept of *terroir*, which originates in rural France, three cities, Mulhouse, Toulouse and Dunkerque with different characteristics have been chosen in which a selection of in total 15 respondents were able to be interviewed. The three cities of Mulhouse, Toulouse and Dunkerque were chosen as a result of an extensive literature review which allowed the author to understand *terroir* in a French context. By incorporating peer-reviewed scientific journals and research, the study can guarantee a literature review that examines and pinpoints relevant key arguments according to modern research. In addition to the data collected by the semi-structured interviews, the information gained from the literature review is also perceived as a form of data. Saunders et al. (2015) state the functionality of the data collected literature review, describing it as secondary data that in this study will be cross-checked with the data collected through semi-structured interviews, defined as primary data. The difference between primary and secondary data is that the latter describes retrieving information that has been collected by someone else rather than the author themselves.

With another aim which directs focus towards the population in Stockholm, 10 respondents across different areas in the city expanding from the inner-city to the periphery areas of

Stockholm municipality were also chosen. The choice to address the entire geographical area of Stockholm municipality stems from the literature review and the continuous debates that exist regarding exclusion of the periphery areas in larger cities in terms of belonging to the city and the feelings that are invoked. Doing so, their opinions are used as a basis for defining *urban terroir* as a toolbox for architects, urban planners, politicians and developers, but also a discussion can be raised regarding authenticity and exclusion in the chosen cities in the two different countries.

Altogether, 25 interviews were carried through with the questions differentiating depending on the country the interviews took place due to the general understanding of *terroir* as a concept being widespread amongst the French in comparison to Swedes. The process of conducting the interviews depended on the chosen city. As for Stockholm, the interviews were performed after approaching people in different areas in the city, asking if they would be available for an interview that would take place through online platforms. As for the cities in France, the ongoing pandemic hindered an observational approach in the built environment, which required the utilization of social media and asking in different forums whether people would be willing to be interviewed. The social medias used were Twitter, using hashtags to reach out to people in said cities as well as Facebook groups of students living in the cities. One respondent was also available to reach out to that currently studies in Stockholm, originally from Toulouse. In the presented tables below (*see table 1 & 2*), the respondents are categorized due to their area in their respective city/region, age and ethnicity. Ethnicity was defined to either 1) native born 2) immigrant or 3) child to at least one immigrant parent. The respondents in *table 1* represent the respondents interviewed in the cities of France, categorizing them from A-O, whilst *table 2* lists the respondents interviewed in the municipality of Stockholm, categorizing them in roman numerals I-X. This is technique to help and ease the author as well as the reader when processing and reading the empirical findings since the respondents were many.

Table 1 - A table briefing the different respondents living in France with their respective city of residence, ethnicity and age

Respondent	City/Region	Ethnicity
Respondent A	Mulhouse	Native
Respondent B		Native
Respondent C		Native
Respondent D		Native
Respondent E		Child to immigrant parents
Respondent F	Toulouse	Native
Respondent G		Native
Respondent H		Native
Respondent I		Native
Respondent J		Child to immigrant parents
Respondent K	Dunkerque	Native
Respondent L		Native
Respondent M		Child to immigrant parents
Respondent N		Native
Respondent O		Child to immigrant parents

Table 2 - A table briefing the different respondents living in Stockholm municipality with their respective area of residence, ethnicity and age

Respondent	Area	Ethnicity
Respondent I	Södermalm	Native
Respondent II		Native
Respondent III	Östermalm	Native
Respondent IV	Östermalm	Child to immigrant parents
Respondent V	Skärholmen	Child to immigrant parents
Respondent VI		Immigrant
Respondent VII	Bredäng	Child to immigrant parents
Respondent VIII	Hagsätra	Child to immigrant parents
Respondent IX	Rinkeby	Child to immigrant parents
Respondent X		Immigrant

4.2.2 Ethics

Prior to the research, the researcher is required to confirm that the study is being conducted according to the frameworks and characteristics of ethical standards (Bryman & Nilsson, 2011). According to Bryman & Nilsson (2011), a study should follow four principles that can help guide the researcher throughout the process, which is what this research has followed when conducting the semi-structured interviews. Primarily, the researcher should inform the respondent of the purpose of the research and how the information that the respondent is giving will be used in the study. Once the respondent has been given the information, they need to give consent whether they would like to participate in the interview. Ultimately, the researcher should inform the respondent that the data that is being collected will be treated with confidentiality. At this state, the respondents can choose whether to be anonymous or not in the study. In the interviews that the author has conducted in this research, the respondents have chosen to be anonymized.

Bryman & Nilsson (2011) raises a guideline on the ethical standard, consisting of total 4 principles, that should be followed in the process of conducting a study. This guideline aids

the researcher in assessing whether the study is in alignment with the presented outline and qualities of ethical standard. First and foremost, the respondent should be informed regarding the study's purpose and how the responses the respondent is providing will be used in the research. Following the first principle, the respondent formerly has the option of either giving or refusing consent to participating in the interview. In addition, the researcher has the responsibility of ensuring the respondent that the collected data from the interview will be handled according to the standard of confidentiality. As a final principle, the option for the respondent to be anonymous should be given, which the respondents to this study all agreed upon.

4.3 Thematic Analysis

With the methodology to carry the study chosen and detailed selection of respondents demonstrated, a method on how to analyze the data is required. Incorporating thematic analysis, one can produce patterns of meaning in the form of themes by systematically classifying and arranging a set of data (Braun & Clarke, 2012). In practice, this translates into acknowledging and pinpointing a collective or mutual meanings and experiences across a data set, thus resulting in an understanding of the way a certain theme is discussed about. Braun & Clarke (2012) stress the importance of categorizing patterns of meaning deemed relevant to the actual topic with the research question being investigated in the study and further highlight the coding qualities that generates a systematic overview of qualitative data to be analyzed. This method is implemented due to its abilities to provide accessibility and flexibility to the researcher. Although there are clearly identified advantages, it becomes important to consider the errors that might arise due to the use of this method in order to avoid and remediate them in this study. These include overlooking the relevancy between the data and the research question, directly using interview questions as themes rather than identifying the themes using the collected data, using incoherent themes, lack of data in the themes and ultimately falsely analyzing (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2012).

How the thematic analysis is conducted consists of several steps, primarily coding the data by summarizing and describing different portions of data. With the codes identified, Braun & Clarke (2006) mention the construction of *themes* defined as a concept capturing the essence of the data relevant to the research question whilst illuminating a certain level of *patterned* answers. The researcher should be able to equally argue for the uniqueness of each theme

whilst representing a relation between the different themes, allowing them to build on each other. Once reassured concerning the legitimacy of the themes classified, the deep analytical work can begin by processing and explaining why different themes were chosen with an interpretation of the content presented within the different themes.

4.4 Reliability and validity

Reliability and validity are both concepts that originally address the precautions of quantitative methodologies, rather than qualitative research. As Flick (2014) mentions the appropriateness of qualitative research when research questions are subjective whilst semi-structured interviews fail to offer a constant object but rather human objects that are exposed to different momentums, these factors result in answers being possible to fluctuate (Svensson & Starrin, 1996). Validity is a complex term with many definitions, the one used in this study as the dependability of the mechanism that is meant to measure a certain characteristic which it is intended to measure (Polit et al., 2001). By measuring the validity, one avoids the implementation of false empiricism which may be unsafe or damaging (Long & Johnson, 2000).

Firstly, a remedy for a potential low degree of validity was the use of triangulation (Saunders et al., 2015; Svensson & Starrin, 1996) which was implemented when the primary data from the semi-structured interviews was validated with the literature review consisting of documents, research and scientific journals. The secondary data obtained from the literature review included all peer-reviewed journals for an increased validity. This can be seen as a strategy to determine the credibility of the results and further strengthens the study and what the study generates. Furthermore, the interviews were, upon received approval from the respondents, recorded to minimize loss of information. The questions from the interviews were at best ability formulated in a way to be easily understood in order to avoid imaginable misinterpretations. Ultimately, anonymity being granted to the respondents is a form of strategy to ease them into comfort and safety since some of the questions reveals political affiliations which will allow them to be as honest as possible with their answers.

5 Empirical Findings

The empirical findings are meant to provide insight on what the study has gathered through the semi-structured interviews and what the respondents described as terroir in regard to authenticity with their city and region in retrospect

5.1 Authentic Places

5.1.1 Across Regions in France

Respondent M, currently living in Lille which is one of the largest cities in France but raised in the city of Dunkerque resonates authenticity with activities that can trace back to what exempts it from other cities. They bring up the understanding authenticity in the two cities having lived for a longer period of time in both of them. In regard to Dunkerque the authenticity includes festivals derived in the city and gastronomy such as Moules Frites and different beers that have originated from there. The respondent, in line with respondents K & L explains Dunkerque as a smaller rural commune with the population and politicians having a high interest in preserving cultural traditions that are rooted in the area to uphold the heritage for future generations. What is interesting is that Lille is described to experience a similar cultural situation, where preservation and conservation is of importance to the population although it is has undergone an urbanizing process and is one of the biggest cities in France. The respective cities request for a continuity of their historical practices since it is seen as a unifying factor of the inhabitants.

Respondent F, from Toulouse now living in Sweden, however, adds another element of authenticity where they involve the streets that are formed from a specific type of red-pink bricks – giving the city its name as the “Ville Rose”, translating to the “Pink City”. The respondent was raised and lived in the inner-city with these bricks characterizing the whole city and accounts therefore the place to be unique in comparison to other places. Hence, the architecture and urbanism of the city is considered to be of significance in forming authenticity. Furthermore, respondent H and I mention that the city is built to enjoy leisure with small streets crowded with bars and restaurants emphasizing on enjoying life. According to all the respondents in Toulouse, this creates a sense of security within the city and a belonging since it stands out when considering other parts of France that might not have similar distinct qualities.

Respondents B and C, both from the region of Mulhouse, describe the authenticity as historical, with a feeling of pride due to its regional language and many traditions. Respondent A from specifically Mulhouse in the region of Mulhouse is also described to have traditional architecture that makes it unique. The famous vineyards, “*routes des vines*” in French translated into “*wine road*” distinguishes itself from other regions. The city of Mulhouse in the Alsace region according to the respondents maintain an authentic feeling despite the industrialization and modernization that Mulhouse has undertaken. Respondent C mentions the different qualities and feelings that are emitted in Mulhouse that separates it from the rest of France, creating a sense of belonging that is quite strong.

In alignment with respondent M, respondent G also sheds light on how the unity amongst the population of an area is dependent on the region itself rather than the feeling a sense of belonging to the nation of France. This is illuminated in respondent G mentioning the fact that their parents are from Paris, not originating in Toulouse and therefore in that aspect not necessarily feel a sense of belonging to the products stemming from the region. The sentimental feeling of belonging to the region is heavily connected to the gastronomy, comprising of different wines, cheeses and beers that are local to each region, separating themselves from others. They can be seen as a product of heritage, which both define as *terroir*. Both agree that *terroir* and this form of authenticity can have a positive impact on the region since it acknowledges the need for local development in the area, respondent D mentions. Throughout France, many regions consist of larger agricultural fields and can supply its inhabitants with products for consumption. Respondent O relates this concept as to how France even during the colonial empire was not in great need to be supplied by its colonies in terms of agriculture, but rather could suffice on its own production of many products.

Respondent O continues by expanding the concept of *terroir* in France to the formation of the Appellation d’Origine Contrôlée (AOC) that would exist to grant French certifications to certain agricultural products such as wines, cheeses and butters that would indicate from which French geographical region they originate from. The certification is supervised by the French organization The Institut National des Appellations d’Origine (INAO). This is according to both respondent O and B a method to reinforce the notion of *terroir* and geographic protectionism, where inhabitants are encouraged to buy products from their own *terroir*. This is visible through advertisements in media such as TV that promote products that

are marked with AOC of their own region. It further extends to the creation of Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) in 1962, which resulted in France receiving subsidies by the European Union to pay France's farmers for supplying produce to Europe.

5.1.2 Across Districts in Stockholm, Sweden

What unites the collected empirical findings from the respondents located in Stockholm, Sweden is that they did not have the same perception of *terroir* and what it entailed in comparison to the French respondents. However, the concept of authenticity did arise and what their perceptions of Stockholm is. Respondents IX and X, living in Rinkeby, situated in the periphery of the region of Stockholm, mention how the cultural identity differs across suburbs, groups of suburbs and the inner-city across the city. Respondent VII, residing in Bredäng, located in the periphery of Stockholm amplifies this belief and mentions how there is a distinct quality that makes a suburb authentic in comparison to other suburbs, although sometimes a quality can be found in several suburbs that are closely geographically located and directly share common areas such as facilities and public spaces. What the respondent from Bredäng also emphasizes on is the attachment to sports, in particular basketball in Bredäng and its neighboring district of Sättra, which mutually brings people together. The fact that the youth from an early age join the basketball team JKS and grow up feeling connected to it is a sign of authenticity.

Respondent X brings attention to their definition of authenticity and the meaning it has to them, explaining it as a unique quality that you instantly associate to a place. For them, authenticity cannot be recognized in terms of something physical such as buildings and architecture, but rather than culture in the form of music that has been produced from this area and its impact in the Swedish music industry generally. Artists such as Cherrie, Erik Lundin and Yasin Byn are examples of such contribution that the area has generated and are considered to embody authenticity to Rinkeby. Despite their own perception of the area itself, they also shed light on how the area is probably perceived by people living outside of it with stereotypes since it is socioeconomically weak with a high criminality rate. This is something that respondent V, VI and VII also further elaborate on, mentioning what makes their respective area, sharing the same reputation, authentic and unique is the cultural identities that exist in these areas. The population is majority immigrants or children to immigrant parents

with a variety of origins and although the cultures are different at core, they have shared values and norms that exist within the areas.

The respondents living in the periphery of Stockholm showed a great understanding of the creation of the existing cultural identities that distinguishes the suburbs from each other throughout Stockholm. The respondents living in the inner-city however, had a narrower understanding of distinctive qualities that exist in suburbs and had a clearer image on what characteristic/s that make the different parts of inner-city authentic. The perception of the inner-city as a whole was mutual describing it as being vibrant, lively and eventful. However, respondent I, a journalist living in the southern district of the inner-city named Södermalm, views their district with a strong distinctive authenticity in comparison to the rest of Stockholm.

“What makes Södermalm authentic is that it has not lost its history of being an area that consisted of majority working class, keeping the architecture but making sure it is well connected to the city central to make it attractive” (Respondent I)

They mention that Södermalm is a result of gentrification, forcing working class out of the district to house an upper middle-class that seemingly have common interests. This has further developed a strong cultural identity with the inhabitants of the district, which continuously attracts enterprises, activities and events that are in according to their interests consisting of arts, music and film. This is in alignment with the understanding of the area that respondent II has, a lawyer living in the same district. They also mention how this cultural identity in Södermalm is not only exclusive to people residing in the area, but also to the people from other parts of Stockholm that make their way there to enjoy leisure and different events that are going on. Additionally, both respondents comment that the people residing there and the people who spend time there are perceived in a certain way from other parts of the city and have a predetermined opinion on their political beliefs, their opinions and interests. Respondent I critically underlines that the cultural identity of the district can be seen as an extension of the history that precedes it being inhabited by working-class citizens with older buildings into its current state whilst maintaining a general political belief leaning to the left in favor of the working-class.

Moving to the northern part of Stockholm, respondent III, a teacher living in Östermalm, mentions that what constitutes their district as authentic is the fact that it stands out as a more luxurious district whilst offering proximity to all sorts of services and well connections to the rest of the city. Similar to the respondents from Södermalm, respondent III also highlights the existing cultural identity of the area and how it is acknowledged by people living in other parts of Stockholm.

“In terms of fashion, music taste and interests – these are all qualities that people predetermine and can connect to Östermalm” (Respondent III)

Due to the lack of the development of the concept *terroir* in Sweden, the respondents unified in the absence of focus on products that are nationally or locally produced that could constitute itself as authentic to the region or country. Respondent X and I do mention that Sweden has national dishes, not only national but also dishes that have a special linkage to each region, but that it is not emphasized on enough to count as an item as authentic to a place. More importantly, it does not have an impact to the extent that it creates a cultural identity based on the products now allows the population or politicians to react in a protectionist manner. Respondent X, II and I mention that the protectionism of the culture that pervades the country in a Swedish context resurfaces in other circumstances, such as when the majority culture is threatened by minorities.

5.2 Places Lacking Authenticity

In terms of places that lack authenticity, respondents accentuate impact that tourism has on the perception of authenticity in a city. Respondent K exemplifies by mentioning Paris and how it compared to smaller cities that are not subjected to tourism to the same extent has a less cherished relation to the concept of *terroir*. Since *terroir* is linked to agriculture, the existence of fields of production are out of importance, which might not be the case for metropolitan Paris that is urbanized and comprises of attractions that appeal to a large number of tourists. By catering to a variety of people from different backgrounds that might come from all corners of the world for a specific cause such as the Louvre, adaptations are needed. This takes its form in for instance restaurants altering menu's and traditional dishes that contain pork or alcohol to accommodate to religious groups that are not able to eat such meat nor liquor. On the contrary, in smaller cities that are not popular with overflowing tourists

might not see the need to make such changes and rather stick to their authentic products of *terroir*. Although Toulouse is considered to be one of the biggest cities in the country, respondents F, G and J mentions that it is more isolated and that the minor tourism has not had the opportunity of decreasing the authenticity and takes pride in its heritage.

As for Stockholm, respondent III does mention that with an increased globalization followed by a rise in immigration to the country, there is a risk of authenticity not being entirely felt since the environment becomes dynamic rather than static. Respondents X and VI, however, underscore that immigration is not a factor that results in a lack of authenticity to a place with the argument that immigrants are not a direct threat to the maintenance of products or qualities that signify a place. Rather, in alignment with respondents A and K, immigrants contribute with something in the form of culture that does not have to invalidate the authenticity of a place. However, what all respondents collectively agree on is that in bigger cities with larger groups of immigrants there is a larger supply of products that not of the characteristic of *terroir*. Respondent J points out that this is the case in bigger cities and not in smaller cities because migrants are usually not located in those areas and are therefore more inclined to preserving their products of *terroir*.

Respondents F and N mutually agree that the size of the city is a factor that affects the authenticity of a city, in which a larger city is perceived less authentic. Respondent C also believes that authenticity in a city is dependent on the perseverance and respect of traditions connected to architecture, implying that smaller cities due to their size have it easier to remain authentic over time. In contrary, respondent D disagrees and mentions that a larger city does not necessarily have to be less authentic, but that the authenticity is concentrated to different neighborhoods with their own identity whereas smaller cities as a whole is perceived as authentic. However, respondent B believes there is a closer linkage to the difference between the more central parts of the city in comparison to the periphery of the city. As for Toulouse, they mention how new development areas in the outskirts of the city that from an architectural perspective neglect the authentic pink bricks in the buildings, thus making it difficult for the inhabitants in such areas to form an identity in line with something that is otherwise very unique to the inner-city and what characterizes the entire city. This is something that respondent J agrees with and mentions that authenticity in larger cities lay in the historical city center, as:

“suburbs often develop a tasteless architecture without authenticity” (Respondent J)

Respondent G argues that there is a clear preference in who are included in the planning process of cities and how authenticity is reserved for the inner-city. This is something that respondent M also brings up, the fact that areas in the periphery that house socioeconomically weak groups of people, often immigrants, are less motivated to include those groups in the qualities that make up the cultural identity of the city. Respondent O further elaborates on the notion that urbanization will only affect the minority cultures since the majority culture will be surrounded by people from the majority culture and will continue to be part of an authentic place. On the other hand, minority cultures will be surrounded by other minority cultures in the periphery of the city, thus not partaking in authentic qualities in a place.

In retrospect, when interviewing respondents from Stockholm they had mixed views depending on which part of the city they are inhabiting. Respondent IX and VII who both are residing in the periphery of Stockholm are critical in terms of architecture and the built environment to how the majority of buildings in Rinkeby and Bredäng were a subject to The Million Programme, thus losing character instead of creating an identity specific to their area. Although they mention that the areas being part of The Million Programme could be a quality that separate themselves from other areas in the city. They also reflect on how planners have the ambition of producing unique and outstanding buildings that are meant to attract attention making it authentic to the place, serving as an indicator of what and who are and are not prioritized.

5.3 Exclusion Through the Concept of Authenticity

Respondent M resonates in relation to their own experience as a child of immigrant Muslim parents into France, where their identity affects their sense of belonging and the perception of authenticity to the region they were born and raised in. They first and foremost raise the issue of not completely sensing a feeling of belonging to Dunkerque nor Lille due to not being able to participate in traditions and customs since they nearly always involve the consumption of alcohol.

“In the north they have beer, in the south they have wine, in the east they have champagne and the events that are hosted are always in regard to alcohol so instantly that excludes Muslims” (Respondent M)

They continue by mentioning that they are indeed allowed to go to the events, but that there is a sense of not fulfilling the requirements crucial to obtaining a validation that you are within the premises of the shared cultural identity. Due to these circumstances, it becomes problematic for the respondent to feel an attachment to the cultural heritage of the region. The authenticity is something they can recognize, but that the authenticity does not automatically result in a sense of belonging, or even the need to feel a sense of belonging, something that respondents J and E also mention and relate to although they are from different cities in France. Respondent G is in agreement with respondent M although they are part of a majority culture themselves being native to France. They say that since *terroir* is a concept that is static dating to historical procedures, it requires association to the cultural heritage of a nation to feel as if you are part of a unified city. The respondents native to France, consisting of the majority population touch upon this subject and mention that *terroir* does not inherently manifest itself in exclusion of minorities, but rather that the exclusion can arise due to inhabitants in an area not being welcoming to minority cultures.

“The concept of cultural heritage rather brings people together on a common basis, and takes into account the culture of the minorities willingness to integrate” (Respondent C)

Respondent D, in conjunction with respondent N, both remark that areas characterized by *terroir*, a significant amount of popularity of populist right-wing parties is often observed notorious for rejection minority cultures. They believe it is due to a lack of understanding and something that can be dealt with rather than blaming the nature of *terroir* and cultural heritage.

In addition to differences in beliefs that cause a divide in gastronomical tendencies in France, respondents M and O also pinpoints the problematization of Carnaval de Dunkerque, which is an important part of Dunkerque history and is authentic to the city. The problematization stems from it containing some traditions that are inherently racist, such as using blackface, saying the N-word and overall mocking black people in stereotypical behavior. Due to the nature of this carnival and the implications it has on minority groups in the country, the

respondent chooses not to participate in it. As they recall, when resisting against this carnival in a school environment they were received with backlash from the majority of the class who belong to the majority culture being native to France as well as the teacher. The main argument as to defend the carnival stems from their *terroir* – “Our traditions, our *terroir*, we can’t change”. The respondent broadens the perspective of this topic and mentions that the possibility of them and their family organizing and being active in the carnival with assistance would not even be possible since the people who are holding it have been for generations and is linked to having cultural roots to the land.

Moreover, respondent G reflects on how the sentiment of belonging from the perspective of immigrants or children of immigrants is greater in larger cities in comparison to other parts of France. Minorities are more likely to reside in larger cities, they form a different kind of belonging that doesn’t necessarily resonate with the authenticity of the place itself. Respondent M brings up the same argument and further highlights the issue of minorities not being given the opportunity to express the *terroir* linked to their country of origin. Since these groups of people live within their own communities in the periphery of cities, attempts have been made to throw events or festivals celebrating their own native culture. They have instead been met by authorities not allowing such occurrences and accuse them of communitarianism, distancing themselves from what is truly authentic to the cultural heritage of their region, city or country. Both respondent A and E argue that this is a sign that such practices that are authentic to other groups of people are not be a part of France, thus excluding them what is truly authentic to the place they live in. Respondent G believes that this sort of reasoning, in which one actively excludes minorities from truly feeling a sense of belonging to the region and country is rooted in fear of things that are different but also seeing different cultures as a threat to their own. Respondent M vividly remembers and quotes what the Minister of Interior said regarding communitarianism linking it to products from other countries being sold in big supermarkets, calling for political actors to recognize that “*capitalism sometimes has to be patriotic*”. This, according to the respondent, reenacts that capitalism should act in favor of their own *terroir*.

Respondent X and V share different views on exclusion through the concept of authenticity in comparison to the previous respondents, claiming that the authenticity that emerges as cultural identities in their respective suburbs are inclusive to the people who live in the regions that to a majority consist of immigrants and children to immigrants. However,

respondent X stresses that one cannot disregard the fact that these suburbs are excluded in participating in the political arena; whether it be regional or municipal, which pushes the inhabitants to create a mutual cultural identity without the equipment's that areas in the inner-city are provided by more investments in the public sphere. Respondent II does not share the same experience but rather reestablishes Södermalm as a place with a strong authenticity that welcomes different kinds of people from different areas of Stockholm through activities in the public space. Rather than exclusion, they believe that Södermalm is a place of inclusion to people that share the same interests. Respondent IV provides a critical insight to the perception of inclusivity and argues that Östermalm is a place with certain qualities that distinguish it from other places in the city of Stockholm and raises the question as to why it then should be focused on including people from other parts of Stockholm. The people who live in Östermalm can afford the lifestyle that is promoted in the area, thus proving it to be an already well-functioning district in regard to the residing inhabitants.

5.4 Creation of Authentic Places

5.4.1 Cultural Roots vs. Cultural Regeneration

Authenticity is a concept that respondents X and VII believe can be created rather than it being an entity that arises from nothingness and remains static. The understanding of their respective suburbs demonstrating authenticity stems from the cultural identities that have formed throughout the years, hence making it something that has been transformed and altered with consideration to the different groups of people that migrate to the different suburbs and districts. Respondents A and K do however reinforce the idea that locally produced products can be a measurement of how authentic a place is, since it deters from the negative consequences that follow due to globalization with a higher immigration and emphasizing on the products of *terroir*, one merely acts in a protectionist matter.

Respondent J, that is similarly to respondent B from France, discusses the potential concept where one attempts to create a mutual culture in between the majority and minority cultures. They both question whether the political climate in the country would allow for such transformation, especially considering the fact that the far-right party is the 2nd most popular, leading to a majority of the ministers in the parliament consisting of members from the conservative's party. The far-right party as well as the leading center-right party heavily emphasize on the need for the sanctuary of the traditional French culture and its cultural

heritage with a great tie to the *terroir* of each region ([see section 5.3](#)). Respondent I and C both continue to emphasize the importance of their cultural heritage to each region and that the protection of the cultural roots is crucial to the authenticity of the respective region. A cultural regeneration is less preferred, and they promote the idea of minorities integrating to the existing cultural identity of the region without abandoning their previous culture.

“I really think that making different cultures co-exist can only make the next generations more tolerant” (Respondent I)

Respondent A believes that a cultural regeneration with its foundation in creating a mutual culture, the French would have to include immigrants in conversations regarding what is authentic and not. They specifically point out that they feel as if the authenticity of the place and culture would be lost if both majority and minority cultures would have to give up certain aspects of their customs and traditions. Rather, they argue that one should focus on fostering an environment where all cultures are considered equal and not prioritize one culture above the other.

Respondent VIII mentions that a cultural regeneration is not an impossibility and describes the cultural identity of Hagsätra as fluid, fluctuating depending on the background of the majority of residents that locomote into the area. Hence, newly proposed development projects with a specific target audience have an effect on the cultural identity being fostered. In this sense, they argue that there is not a *specific* authenticity to the area but rather that the residents *collectively characterize* Hagsätra according to the cultural identity that arises naturally amongst the inhabitants. Throughout the last 20 years of living there, the respondent has sensed a feeling of gentrification due to renovation projects, resulting in a rent increase. This is however through time negated for instance by the building of module houses that directly target low-income families and most often immigrants. What remains intact in the form of cultural identity to the area is the different minority cultures that make up the area, but that those minorities can change depending on the stream of immigrants that arrive to the country.

“I feel at home when I’m in the center of Hagsätra, hearing families and children speak different languages, 5-meter away of two older ladies native and part of the majority population smoking a cigarette complaining about the political climate” (Respondent VIII)

Respondent V, in line with the previous statement of respondent VIII, suggests a sense of belonging to Skärholmen dependent on the rich diversity that is instilled in the area and that the cultural identity can change, but what is stagnant is the feeling of inclusion with the remaining residents. The area has gone through different cultural regenerations through time, which the respondent explains is visible through the supply of services and shops in the center. The supply of shops, with products that are in direct link to what is being demanded by the residents, has developed into a majority of Syrian origin which the respondent explains is dependent on the increased flux of immigrants from Syria the last few years.

“Skärholmen is an area that not only the people living here find to be culturally enriched, but we have people that come to buy products and eat in local restaurants from other suburbs in Stockholm” (Respondent V)

5.4.2 Process of Assimilation

The majority of all respondents express a critical view of assimilation of minorities as a means to achieve a unified nation. Out of the respondents in Stockholm, respondent III is the sole one to argue for assimilation, voicing that the Swedish identity is being lost due to an unwillingness from minorities to correctly partake in traditions that unite Sweden as a nation, but also Stockholm as a city. As for Östermalm, the respondent mentions that there seems to be a consensus that the defining cultural identity of the area is maintained and wishes for it to continue that way. Respondent IV continues to mention that although assimilation is not the ideal ideology to implement, Östermalm has a certain character that forces anyone to adapt a persona that is in align with the cultural identity of the area.

“One can notice if someone isn’t from Östermalm by the way they dress and act in public and people try to match that level of standard, it sorts of forces assimilation with the fear of standing out” (Respondent IV)

The majority of respondents from France hold a negative view of assimilation whilst all of them collectively raise assimilation as a strategy that is heavily stressed in French politics as well as everyday life. However, respondent D proposes a different form of assimilation, in which the majority population is expected to welcome minority cultures as minority cultures

are presumed to be introduced to the “*original culture*” of a region. Respondent M mentions that assimilation is something that has been projected upon them already from an early adolescence with an aim of adapting to the cultural identity present in Dunkerque, replacing the own cultural identity linked to their origins in Algeria. Assimilation is promoted to the point in which participation of events or festivals linked to minorities’ own native cultures are frowned upon by the French ([see section 5.3](#)). Respondents J and O, with also an immigrant background explain that these instances are perpetuated in the name of assimilation in order to protect the cultural heritage of each region and is something that is supposed to unify the nation.

Respondents M and G both critique assimilation as a process since the displacement of immigrants in certain areas of larger cities make it difficult for minorities to assimilate. This is a discourse that the interviews in the suburbs of Stockholm also reflect on. Respondent VIII comments on ethnic segregation as an active systematic choice by politicians, mentioning research that supports their argument by Irene Molina (1997) which illuminates the racialization in the housing market. The respondent continues to mention that this results in people being limited in where they are able to allocate, forcing them to certain areas in the city. The exclusion from the rest of the city has an outcome in minorities forming their own cultures, neglecting the already existing one.

“What culture are they supposed to assimilate into when immigrants only live with other immigrants?” (Respondent VIII)

Respondent M develops this reasoning by stating that France fails with assimilation since there is an imbalance in social capital in the country overall between the majority culture and minority cultures. As long as the majority culture possess a hierarchical power over minority cultures, which exhibits itself in areas with solely minority cultures, assimilation cannot be realized. By bringing up Overseas France, respondent O reflects on how the territories that France administers outside of Europe, have their own cultures that are accepted and not forced into assimilation. They believe assimilation is not enforced on these territories since they are not within any geographical proximity, meaning the French do not have to mix with them. Allowing them to maintain their cultures becomes easier to accept, for instance how they during Miss France are tolerated to present something associated to their culture without being questioned by authorities. The respondent then asks the question:

“if these territories are defined as French, why are we not asked to assimilate into their culture?” (Respondent O)

6 Analysis

This section aims to use the presented empirical findings and connect the collected responses to the literature and theoretical framework

It is vital to view cities from a lens where they attempt to strengthen their sense of uniqueness, identity and authenticity. Not just by considering their visual image, the design of their urban environment in the form of physical structures, but also by viewing the social practices and cultural identities embedded within the city. The semi-structured interviews presented findings unique to the urban context of different cities in France, sharing a connection to their *terroir*, as well as different areas with different socioeconomical characteristics in the city of Stockholm. With the support of the literature review and the theoretical framework of interculturalism, one can further analyze the results. Since interculturalism sheds light on the different paradigms of a country, it can help generate an analysis of various policies to possibly implement on different levels.

6.1 Differences and Similarities Between France and Sweden

Focusing on the collected empirics from both France and Sweden, there are obvious differences and similarities to be observed and analyzed. This section sets to initiate the analysis and discussion by reflecting on the identified differences and similarities according to how respondents from France and Sweden perceive authentic places and qualities respectively places and qualities that lack authenticity.

6.1.1 Importance of Cultural Heritage

What significantly differentiates cities in France from Stockholm is that authenticity in French cities such as Dunkerque as well as Mulhouse in Alsace are deemed authentic defined by their history, traditions and architecture. Moreover, larger cities in France such as Toulouse is mentioned to have a seemingly unique architecture of pink tiles that creates an authenticity for its residents as well as Lille with its traditions and customs. Even Paris, the biggest city in France, is mentioned by respondents to have a distinctive uniqueness in the inner-city with its architecture and built environment. What unites the French cities to Stockholm is how respondents restricted to the areas in the inner-city of Stockholm also encompass architecture in the areas they reside into the feeling of authenticity. This perspective is in alignment with

the research presented by Norberg-Schulz (2013) where he raises the notion of incorporating the essence of a place with its physical character and identity into architecture when changing the built environment. By understanding a place's "Genius Loci", translated into essence of a place, one can give a particular meaning to an environment. Literature also highlights how this approach can be implemented in practice, with focus on Calvos, an agricultural place in Portugal that despite going through technical developments maintains its authenticity by planners and architects who consider what is essential to the place's characteristics (Carvalho, 2020).

Although the respondents themselves particularly discuss the magnitude of architecture in evoking a sense of belonging, respondent G mentions the negligence of Toulouse's historic pink tiles in the newly development areas. This is well supported by the critique that Norberg-Schulz (2013) assigns modernism due to its universalizing nature and qualities that are not place-based. On the other hand, one can also connect this negligence to the critique from Ingram (1998) which centers around the fact that the above-mentioned newly development areas are located in the periphery where often minorities and immigrants tend to reside. Therefore, the experienced authenticity is reserved for the population of the inner-city, leaving the periphery with a lack of authenticity that connects them to the city cultural heritage. Ingram (1998) sees this form of exclusion as an inevitable occurrence in a globalized world with a high level of mobility, a sentiment that Bouchard (2011) opposes and instead believes that ethnocultural diversity can be managed in society by using the model and framework of interculturalism where interactions are encouraged rather than reaffirming the segregationally societal effects. These segregationally societal effects are presented in people living in segregated areas that bear the negative consequences, thus being socioeconomically weak, are limited in the city with less social capital and not enough interactions with the majority population.

Additionally, a difference between French cities and the areas in Stockholm is the French respondent's proclamation of an identity centered around inherent traditions which also identifies a direct tie to the French soil, also previously described as *terroir* ([see section 2.1](#)). Authenticity thus becomes dependent on generational attachment as respondent D mentions, an idea that according to Rogers (1987) indirectly contributes to the exclusion of immigrants whose heritage cannot be linked to French soil in the same way. The response from respondent M which problematizes *terroir* and the linkage of *terroir* to the construction of

authentic spaces corresponds with the research of Karpiak (2016) who further establishes that terroir can be used as a form of critique to immigration which generates exclusionary politics. Schuilenburg (2011) develops this conception and argues that terroir in the form of authenticity should not exceed the right for minorities to feel included due to the risk of them not feeling as connected to the soil as the majority population. This is something that the respondents from France share mixed opinions about. The collected empirics from the respondents M, O and G follow the reasoning of Schuilenburg (2011), in which they both oppose racist festivals in Dunkerque respectively the exclusion of non-native residents in Toulouse in the city's cultural identity. They highlight the problematization that can arise due to the mindset of terroir; however, respondent N interprets terroir from a rather positive point of view simultaneously pointing out that the addition of new cultures can be an enormous asset rather than a threat. Respondent D shifts focus on the minority cultures and their willingness to integrate into the "*original*" culture as a means to ensure that terroir does not result in exclusion.

Taking interculturalism into account, Bouchard (2011) mentions the reasoning above and how respondents D and N view immigrants as add-ons to an already existing system, instead of encouraging connections and adjustments on all levels of society. Norberg-Schulz takes into account the rise of such dilemma, in which he contends that environments should be created for all in an age of high level of immigration and mobility (Møystad, 2016). Although the practicality and execution of including minorities amongst the French respondents differ, they all agree that immigrants have the right to be included and *the right to terroir* which falls in line with Schuilenburg (2011) contextualization of *terroir* in regard to Lefevbre's "Right to the City" (1996). That contextualization is of significance since it opens the door for an alternative to the exclusionary political implication that terroir is a driving force of, where immigrants are encouraged to feel attachment to the cultural heritage of an area despite not being native.

6.1.2 Authenticity Connected to the Inhabitants

The investigated areas in Stockholm in majority underline authenticity in relation to the citizens and the cultural identity that presents itself in the respective area. The conception of terroir as more than the character of a physical space, therefore adding the element of interaction among the social diverse groups that reside in the space by Zukin (2009) is

therefore aligned with what the respondents reflect on. The creation of a cultural identity in the likes of Zukin (2009), such as the one in Rinkeby centering around music and the local artists that have given the area its characteristics mentioned by respondent X, has been more prone to be identified in a Swedish context than a French throughout the study. This can be explained by literature and the way the French have ties to *terroir* in a way that Sweden does not. Barham (2003) explains *terroir* as a concept in France that independently has the capacity of raising a cultural identity. Additionally, according to Seguin (1986), possibly no other culture than the French have developed a robust commitment to recognize, value, and protect the specificity that a geographical location provides in relation to food and wine. Although the soil and its particularities remain as a key element, the human know-how is also embedded into the definition of *terroir*, thus forcing an inclusion of the people behind the different products of *terroir*. By using the framework Zukin (2009) presents, the unwillingness to include minorities in the cultural identity from the French citizens in rural areas and cities with ties to *terroir*, these places are evaluated as lacking authenticity rather than the authenticity that the field of viticulture deems these areas to be.

Rather than including minorities in the cultural identity, France, as brought up both by the respondents interviewed as well as literature (Karpiak, 2016) assumes a process of assimilation to validate the immigrant's citizenship. Although Stockholm as a city in Sweden, does not have a similar asserted vision of assimilation, instead underlining integration, respondent VIII and VI perceive the ethnic segregation in Stockholm as an institutionalized one. Respondent VIII refers to the research conducted by Irene Molina (1997) where she raises awareness about the systematic discrimination on the housing market due to an evident racialization where it is more difficult for ethnic minorities to have access to housing in the same extent native Swedes have. Thereby, segregation and the exclusion of immigrants is seen as a result of structural discrimination with little to no vision of connecting it to architecture and the urban design. In addition, respondent M and G, as mentioned before, address how the displacement of immigrants in certain areas in larger cities makes the assimilation process difficult. The research of Karpiak (2016) supports these beliefs in which the author suggests that assimilation in the form of imposed values onto immigrants can be viewed as a means for France to intentionally exclude people who fail to uphold the values. The exclusion of minorities also presents itself in the way the respondents from the periphery areas of Stockholm claim a cultural identity based on the mixture of minority cultures within their areas separate from the majority population.

Respondent J argues that a sense of belonging from the perspective from immigrants or children to immigrants is more likely to be identified in larger cities since they are larger in number in urbanized areas. This is something that respondents from both France and Stockholm agree upon. In summary, the emphasis on *terroir* and authenticity is greater in smaller rural regions with agricultural fields and a static built environment, rather than in bigger urbanized cities. However, respondent M refutes this argument with their statement connected to Lille, although being one of the largest cities in France, where they still feel excluded as an immigrant without a specific sense of belonging. A sense of belonging that they can identify exists amongst the majority population native to the city.

In retrospect to respondent I providing a detailed background on the process of gentrification that Södermalm underwent, forcing the working class out of the district to provide housing for an upper-middle-class, their reasoning can be connected to Zukin (2009) who argues for the importance of the previous inhabitants in defining what's truly authentic. She continues to claim that since *terroir* includes the people behind the winemaking (*see section 2.1.2*), *terroir* as a concept applied on an urban scale becomes impossible if the inhabitants are no longer involved in the process. However, respondent I and II, both from Södermalm, interpret and perceive Södermalm today as regenerated from the past in terms of the cultural identity with the maintained uniqueness of older architecture. This thought is supported by Lynch (1967) who provides a temporal legibility to the characteristic qualities that stipulate urban environments their individuality and distinctiveness. The temporal legibility is described by the author as the embodiment of time in an urban environment which provides the opportunity to sense its past periods, the present, and the future. In that sense, Södermalm presents a distinctive cultural identity authentic to its current residing inhabitants.

6.1.3 The Element of Scale

Ultimately, the element of scale of the city that Lynch (1960; 1967) adds can be used as a framework for analyzing the respondent's opinions regarding how they view their neighborhood in juxtaposition to the whole city. Lynch (1960) argues that the order of magnitude of each different scale changes the perceptions, representations, size and nature of what is being observed. The five scales of *nodes*, *paths*, *landmarks*, *districts* and *edges* (Lynch, 1960) is something that the respondents touch upon during the interviews. For

instance, respondent X believes that their *district* in the city of Stockholm have common identifying factors that make up the foundation of their cultural identity. Respondent IV agrees whilst respondent VIII further adds to this narrative and goes on to explain a fundamental difference that separates different districts within the area they live in, the *population*. Although the entire area of Hagsätra itself shares characteristics, it can be divided into two *districts* with two different socioeconomic groups residing in each. Respondent VIII explains that the sense of belonging that is invoked in one of the districts is lost in the other district, thus strengthening the belief that Lynch (1960) proposed.

Respondent C highlights important *edges* consisting of the unique variety of vineyards surrounding the city, creating a feeling of peace that is authentic to the city. Respondent G present a very clear *landmark* according to Lynch (1960) in the city of Toulouse consisting of the unique characteristics of the pink tiles on the buildings. Respondents in Toulouse also mention the narrow streets in the city, creating a sense of safety, which in conjunction with the remarking public transportation that respondent V says is unique to Stockholm in comparison to other cities in Sweden, make up the *paths* that affect an urban environments legibility. Finally, the *nodes* in respective French city examined by the responses by the respondents are composed by vineyards, specifically “*route des vines*” translated into “*wine road*” found in the region of Mulhouse according to respondent B.

6.2 Placemaking and the Legitimacy of Authenticity

In the sections above, the empirics validated with the existing literature and theory jointly form a collection of factors that can be taken into account when trying to answer the aim of defining *urban terroir*. The pinpoint of such factors with consideration to the framework of interculturalism makes it possible for urban planners and architects to develop an understanding of the possibility to generate authenticity into the built environment. A thorough analysis on this conceptualization in reference to placemaking will be further discussed below.

Authenticity so far has been analyzed in terms of the way inhabitants respond to the qualities and characteristics of an area. Deepening the analysis, respondent X considers authenticity as a concept that can be created rather than being an entity that arises in a vacuum. This belief is in alignment with the research of McGee & Patterson (2007) who suggest that terroir and

authenticity in such sense can be described as a marketing campaign and Moran (1993) who debates that authenticity can be understood as a tool that is strategically employed by certain actors to gain more privilege in an already imbalanced world. Discussing how place can be politicized in an urban context by using placemaking as an accelerator for the process will be further analyzed ([see section 6.3](#)).

Intrinsically, all respondents did present a certain aspect of authenticity within their cities and areas, however, respondents B and G both emphasize a stricter form of authenticity related to the inner-central districts of the city. Respondent B also lay the differentiation between larger cities and smaller cities since larger cities can have authentic neighborhoods, whilst smaller cities are authentic as a whole. This view is further brought up by respondents from the periphery areas in Stockholm who relate it to their experience of authenticity in their respective area. Respondent V believes that the lack of including unique elements to the architecture and built environment as well as placemaking in areas in the periphery with a majority population of immigrants is an active choice by higher institutions. This in combination with the institutionalized and systematic discrimination that characterizes the housing market in Sweden (Molina, 1997), respondent VIII pinpoints a debate regarding injustice certain areas are exposed to. The residents in areas belonging to respondent X, VII and VIII associate their areas to the fact that they were subjected to the Million Programme, which rather loses character with a generic built environment than creates an identity specific to each area. This sentiment would generate a non-existing attachment to their actual place, a specific form of placelessness as Relph (1976) identifies it with distinctive experiences that cannot be linked to a specific place. But as respondent X highlights, the existing authenticity in their area can instead be seen as a result of a shared cultural identity amongst the people living there. This association which focuses on the people within the area is also raised by Plumwood (2006) who views placemaking as a creation of relations rather than a specific place, which in turn can create a community with a cultural identity. What the detachment from the people to place illuminate is a process best defined by Friedman (2010) as the lack of urban planners personally connecting the lives of people to their urban area. By overlooking and isolating these groups of people, who are often minorities such as immigrants, one fails to develop a political and social attachment to the functionality of placemaking in practice (ibid). This becomes important to establish especially since placemaking, as resurfaced by researchers such as Lynch (1987) and Jacobs (1961), is meant

to achieve a sense of place through the cultivation of public urban space, adjusting to its authentic surrounding.

What respondent B, D and N bring up, that literature questions, is the linkage between traditions, customs and historical practices to authenticity. Literature are both in agreement and disagreement with the respondents. Primarily, Feagan (2007) & Hammer (2011) underline how consumers value community gardens and farmer's markets due to their alleged authenticity since these establishments include customary preparations and traditional practices of production. This form of reasoning is, as similar to McGee & Patterson (2007), also rejected by Sapir (1924) who argue that capitalism has a way of objectifying all experiences, thereby using marketing products under the gaze of authenticity for it to be consumed. Additionally, literature also argues that authenticity is hard to measure since traditions are always changing and that a community with authenticity can be shaped by using placemaking (Assi, 2020; Birkeland, 2008; Porciani, 2019).

The room for self-identification for immigrants as a collective in a Swedish context is not as noticeable in a French context based on the interviews and literature. As respondent M puts it, *terroir* which is a more widespread concept in France has an impact of creating a broader understanding in which immigrants are expected to cast away their culture of origin for them to appreciate the existing culture. Barham (2003) strengthens this where he views *terroir* to have the capacity of raising and reflecting an entire cultural identity. Bendix (2013) states that the search for authenticity is conjoined with the romanticization of nationalism, a statement that the response from respondent O further strengthens. In an attempt to celebrate the *terroir* linked to their country of origin, respondent M mentions that immigrants are faced with disapproval from authorities who allege them for practicing communitarianism instead of subordinating to the cultural heritage and identity of their region, city or country. This is the kind of insight that Rajko Mursic (Sapir, 1924) provides, in which he rejects the concept of authenticity due to its exclusionary politics that stems from nationalism and racism (Bendix, 2013). This can be further linked to the Carnaval de Dunkerque with racist contents and festivals solely containing alcohol that respondent M deems as exclusionary to minority groups, discouraging said minority groups to feel a sense of belonging to the area. The narrative that authorities promote in disapproving products that are not of the characteristics of *terroir* that larger groups of immigrants have a demand for since it detaches themselves from the cultural identity of the region can also be seen as exclusionary. Respondents G and C

however believe that larger cities with a larger number of immigrants face less exclusion since the community amongst themselves builds identity (Clark & Mills, 1993). Thus, both respondent M and G agree that the institutionalized idea of only embracing traditions, heritages and customs that are local to an area sends the message to immigrants of not feeling a sense of belonging to the area itself due to their own heritage.

Additionally, although respondents D and N respectively believe that *terroir* and cultural legacy is a foundation for the identity of an area and connecting it to placemaking, they still mention that immigrants should be able to celebrate their own culture whilst simultaneously integrating into the French identity. This problematization and exclusion of minorities is not solely limited to cities in France, on the contrary respondent X also views themselves as separate from the majority population if the scale of identity focuses on Stockholm as a city rather than only their district. One can understand the reasoning behind the respondents by analyzing Lepofsky & Fraser (2002) who use the framework of Lefebvre (1996) to discuss the *right to placemaking*. The right to placemaking according to the author initially involves who can claim space to the city and who the city belongs to, with the analogy of actively participating in placemaking legitimizes rights to the city and grants citizenship. This is further supported by what respondents X, VI and VIII bring forward on how society and planners have had the ambition of producing unique and outstanding qualities limited to the inner-city that are meant to attract attention creating a uniqueness to the place, whilst neglecting the periphery areas. In order for placemaking within cities to be realized, one needs to understand the meaning behind the cities as well as who they are for. As the majority of the collected responses conclude, the argument of Plumwood (2006) is heightened in which one needs to illuminate the necessity for placemaking to create sustainable interactions between the people living in the area. In this sense, place can be translated into community rather than the physical attributes of a place.

As mentioned in the sections above, placemaking as a means to create authenticity in relation to the characteristics in an area is expected to be implemented and realized with guidelines according to literature. The sustainable interaction is something that Leikkilä et. al (2013) believes can be achieved by installing a framework of respect for essential and fundamental values, somewhat resembling the cultural identity that respondent X and VII agree is recognizable in respective areas. By defining a belonging and identity through the course of interactions between diverse cultural groups, Landry & Wood (2012) believe society is

constantly changed and is dependent on these interactions. This literature supports the statement respondents with immigrant background bring forward in how they believe immigration should not be perceived as a factor that adds a lack of authenticity to a place. Rather, these groups of people can contribute with something in the form of culture that is not guaranteed to invalidate the authenticity of a place. With the observation of respondent VIII, different groups of people have through time moved into their area which has regenerated the identity of the area and the personal sense of belonging to it.

In summary, the approach that Fincher et al. (2016) provide regarding how placemaking requires urban planners' involvement of ethnic and racialized disparities is crucial for creating inclusive cities as the responses from the interviews have also proven. The feeling of neglect and exclusion is driven by the lack of willingness to create interaction amongst different groups, and rather focus on the fear that the majority culture feel from minorities. This is a practical representation of the fourth paradigm of interculturalism that Bouchard (2011) mentions which analyzes the angst that majority culture feels in proximity to minority cultures since their expression of culture threatens the majority culture traditions and identity. Amin (2002) brings forward the requirement of "micro-publics" in the city where people from different cultures can coexist. This can be connected to respondent II talking about how public spaces need to be created where people from different backgrounds can share a common project to generate understanding and civility across cultures. Respondents M and VIII believe that there lies an inherent responsibility on politicians to facilitate a change with securing housing, providing strategies to work against segregation and ultimately developing initiatives of interaction. It becomes impossible to discuss policies for integration if the political climate does not acknowledge that certain groups in society face displacement. Zapata-Barrero (2015) agrees and further emphasizes on the need for interculturalism as a set of policies to be included by politicians but also the initiative from citizens. Bouchard (2011) adds to the process for interaction summing it to four categories comprising of the juridical system, the government, civil institutions and organizations as well as inhabitants.

6.3 Linkage to Planning Policies and the Political Climate

As previous section boils down placemaking as a form of political tool (Lepofsky & Fraser, 2002), it becomes crucial to also link it to the political climate of the two countries at hand: France and Sweden. With placemaking trying to achieve an authentic essence relating to the

current characteristics and qualities of a place, Bendix (2013) treats an analysis that neglects to link authenticity to the political economy of taste making as flat, thus lacking depth. By doing so, one fails to acknowledge that authenticity creates a power imbalance where local people can discriminate in situations where they possess some measure of power in relation to others. In terms of gastronomy, this can be mostly linked to French culture and the cities that have been of focus in this study since the respondents have collectively chosen to elevate their signature region-specific dishes, cheeses and wines. Respondent B romantically describes “*route des vines*” and the way specific types of wine from the region provides Mulhouse a certain uniqueness that attracts tourists for an authentic experience. The experienced authenticity by respondent B despite the region relying on tourism can be pitted against what respondents M, O and G mention in terms of touristic cities are less likely to be perceived as authentic. Rather than that, one could instead deem that authenticity lies in line with a valuation of the certification of AOC (Appellation d’Origine Contrôlée) that respondent M puts forward. A tool which ensures geographic protectionism by promoting products that are authentic to the region (Faegan, 2007). Furthermore, these region-specific qualities that according to respondents D and N distinguish their local products generates advantages for the region that become visible in social, economic and political value (Moran, 1993).

As Gade (2004) argues, *terroir* disguised as its finalization form in the practice of AOC holds a significance to especially the rural heritage that receive support from the existing politics within such areas that Rogers (1987) mentions is characterized by exclusion and preserves that what is authentic to the region requires a linkage to French soil. Such politics with a nationalistic basis that depends on universalizing values onto citizens as an ultimatum for immigrants to validate their citizenship, manifests itself in social practices such as AOC which ultimately results in exclusion (Gade, 2004; Moran, 1993). Shifting focus to French politics, it becomes inevitable to carry a discussion about the current political climate without including its colonial history. Respondent M relates their background identifying as an Algerian Muslim child of immigrants to the trials of not belonging in the age of post-colonialism and is an avid critic to the current French political representatives. The critique stems from a particular form of attachment to the preservation of culture which excludes them and other ethnic minorities, taking one of its form in the displacement of immigrants in periphery areas. In line with literature, Wadowiec (2014) brings forward an analysis of the political policy France implemented after Algeria gained independence, which in aftermath caused an influx of Algerian immigrants. The author states that the French state

systematically overlooked the arriving immigrants into the country, depicting them as unassimilable according to republican values. This notion is further strengthened by Sims (2015) who sheds light on the different ways that the French state have throughout history approached two different groups who were forced to migrate to France. The two groups are The Harkis, consisting of Algerians who joined forces with the French Army during the Algerian War of Independence, and the Pied-Noirs, settlers in Algeria of European origin. The main difference between these groups is the fact that The Harkis were of Algerian origin whilst the Pied-Noirs were of European origin, identifying an ethnical distinction that can explain the way they were separately approached. It is possible to identify an imbalance in power, resources and visibility due to their ethnical difference, which is demonstrated in the Pied-Noirs being able to construct the only museum devoted to the colonial era in France whilst The Harkis rely on information about their past being passed through generations (Sims, 2015; Crapanzano, 2011). The imbalance in power due to ethnic background, with basis in immigrants not having the same resources or capital lays the foundation as to why ethnic minorities are limited in the expression of their cultural heritage. This further relates to respondent O, also a child to immigrants from Tunisia, going into detail about how they have a hard time envisioning a time where their identities as both Tunisian and French can be equally valued, arguing that the nationalism is systematically rooted in all aspects of culture. This can be connected to the research paper by Van Der Valk (2003) where thoughts being inherently anti-immigration can be found not only in the far right-extremist, but also on the mainstream right. These thoughts are normalized to the extent where the cultural background of immigrants is solely characterized by problematic social phenomena, thus not compatible with the French identity.

Although France has a different history and present political situation than Sweden, the imbalance in power between the majority population and minorities is identified amongst majority of the respondents from Stockholm. Primarily, this idea reveals itself in the way that respondents who live in the periphery of Stockholm showed a great understanding of qualities and characteristics special to areas from the periphery to the inner-city, whilst the respondents from the inner-city presented a less viable image of the periphery areas. The little they were able to bring up were ideas formed around stereotypes about the periphery areas, explained by the fact that the residents consist of majority immigrants and children to immigrants. Respondent X brings attention to this by saying that there is certainly an image that people from the inner-city uphold about the people living in the periphery, due to racial stereotypes

and the influence of media. Stereotypes in combination with the systematic racism influencing the housing market (Molina, 1997), contributes to a skewed image and affects the residents living there. A strong cultural identity that all respondents mention can be found in their respective area in the periphery and what it entails for them in the form of a sense of belonging, authenticity and safety is involuntarily taken away due to the aftermath of political decisions stemming in exclusion and racism.

Thus, politicians with potential of implementing policies possess the power of contributing to interculturalism according to the theoretical framework by Bouchard (2011). The theory of interculturalism realizes the importance of politicians and the capacity they hold in promoting initiatives of integration as a goal in the city (Sandercock, 2003). They have the possibility of setting an agenda nationwide which can foster the development of cultural identities across different cities that emphasizes on mutual interactions. Moving from a national level to a regional and local level, Sandercock (2003) argues for workers within the government and municipality to undertake an education. The purpose of this is to gain an understanding for cultural differences, to minimize discrimination and to decrease the risk of implementing policies that further excludes already marginalized groups in society. This can be seen as a tool to work against the neglect of periphery areas with majority of residents being immigrants when it comes to urban planning and developing the areas, something that is mentioned by respondents from Stockholm with immigrant backgrounds and respondents M, G and O from the cities in France.

By understanding the political aspect of placemaking (Filippucci, 2004; Demossier, 2011; Karpiak, 2016) one can generate interactions deemed authentic (Norberg-Schulz, 2013). This becomes highly relevant when analyzing the response from respondent VIII, who provided an insight different from other respondents, mentioning how it has been evident that they will find a way to leave Hagsätra for something better. Although they feel part of a cultural identity with a sense of belonging, they find it hard to look past the socioeconomic disadvantages that characterize the area and what it actually entails for a future there. It started at an early age with choosing a high-school in a more privileged part of Stockholm after their experience in the local middle-school that was not good enough and could not provide her the prerequisites to succeed academically. Thus, it becomes important to highlight the impact that public policies have on instilling a behavior on the residents, whereas consideration need to be taken into account to the disadvantages that socioeconomically weak

areas are subjected to. Bouchard (2011) describes *accommodations* as a requirement for minority groups as a way to counteract these disadvantages, defined as norms or rules serve as a protection against discrimination. Sandercock (2003) further accentuates that these accommodations should not be seen as limited rights nor privileges which is a belief that would threaten the majority culture, but rather implementing support for immigrant organizations to help interact on a higher level.

7 Conclusion

The conclusion is meant to use the analysis with basis in the empirics, literature and theoretical framework to answer the questions of the thesis and ultimately the aim

7.1 Defining Urban Terroir – The Placemaking Qualities of a City

The purpose of defining *urban terroir* has been identified throughout the study with consideration to the interviews in concurrence with the presented literature and the theoretical framework of Interculturalism. *Urban terroir* can be defined as a compilation of elements and certain characteristics that collectively, with respect to the residents, make up the essence of a city. Below, the recognized elements and characteristics will be listed:

- Architecture
 - Providing unique characteristics
 - Capturing the Genius Loci, the essence of place
- Inherent traditions tied to the region
 - Guaranteeing that traditions are preserved amongst the inhabitants
- Temporal legibility
 - An embodiment of time in the urban environment, where one considers its past periods, the present and the future
- The elements of scale that altogether create individuality and distinctiveness in any urban environment
 - Nodes
 - Paths
 - Landmarks
 - Districts
 - Edges
- Inclusion of minorities
 - In placemaking, ensure to include minorities since their perception affects the authenticity in the urban environment
 - Create places for interaction amongst different groups to foster growth and a communal feeling with a specific cultural identity

The abovementioned factors have the ambition of being an essential toolbox when analyzing cities, thus contributing to the work of architects and urban planners and their mission in construction meaningful places and placemaking for human beings. Terroir and the political implications that follows has in practice been discussed thoroughly using the theoretical framework of Interculturalism, arguing that authenticity can be used as a means to exclude immigrants from a cultural identity distinct to different regions. Therefore, it is important for architects and urban planners to consider the inherent connotation terroir and authenticity has to being a driving force in developing a romanticized portrayal of nationalism. In majority, depending on the ethnic background of the respondents, the answers vary whereas authenticity is either understood as inherently tied to the soil or as a concept possible to construct in combination with a cultural identity. The difference in opinion is possibly explained by the political climate in which historical likewise present political decisions and continuously the majority population directly and indirectly actively exclude immigrants. Political decisions that Molina (1997) describes as actively excluding immigrants, comprising a large part of the socioeconomically weak groups in segregated areas, is for instance the privatization of the housing sector where housing for all groups has been neglected throughout the years. The majority population functions due to fear of the unknown supposedly threatening the values, traditions and identity of the majority culture. This phenomenon is something that theory recognizes and concludes the need for policy directions that simultaneously respect the fear of the majority culture whilst maximizing intercommunity activity to prescribe a common public culture with united values amongst both majority culture as well as minority cultures. In practice, this entails the consideration of the following policy directions:

1. A willingness from politicians to implement policies that promote integration and ultimately interactions as a goal in cities across the nation that foster inclusive cultural identities
2. The affirmative education for policymakers within municipalities and governments focusing on broadening perspective and understanding of cultural differences that may arise amongst different groups of people
3. Reformation of existing social policies in which one recognizes and intent on acting according to the accommodations needed for minority groups to avoid discrimination
4. It further becomes important for architects and urban planners to consider cultural differences when creating urban policies

5. Ensure to reaffirm newly immigrated citizen's right to the city and focus on redefining cultural identities within a city rather than imposing assimilation
6. Develop an understanding as to how to deal with feelings and emotions that have an outcome in conflicts in these interactive spaces that are meant to foster interactions

The political ambition can be implemented through policies that work against segregation, whether it be physical, social or ethnic which has previously been mentioned as policies that include meeting spaces between different groups of people to ensure interactions amongst them but also provide housing with different forms of tenure in segregated areas. Offering rental apartments in socioeconomically strong areas to promote a mixture of residents living in these areas would result in interactions that can aid in the construction of a cultural identity that is inclusive to all groups of people. Social policies also include redistribution to minorities in socioeconomically weak areas for instance in schools to develop their education that can ensure that accommodations are provided to groups of people that bear the negative consequences of segregation. By doing so, minorities can grow up with stronger circumstances that strengthens their sense of belonging to the area and city in general, with the foundation in politicians and decision-makers showing their willingness to include and empower them.

Ultimately, as placemaking can be perceived as a tool that urban planners are able to utilize in order to achieve a sense of place the 3rd policy direction mentioned above and following specifically become relevant to consider. Using what is available, deterring from the efforts that involve political decisions to secure housing, provide strategies to work against segregation and develop an agenda that promotes interactions, placemaking has the opportunity of fostering micro-public places in the city where different cultures can meet. The authenticity behind these places should, as presented, go beyond the physical attributes connected to architecture, soil as well as products and instead include the people living in the city. It becomes crucial to view the city as not limited to the inner-city, but also validate the right to the city and placemaking of inhabitants residing in the periphery by organizing initiatives that foster growth in such areas of the city. The limitation of placemaking to the inner-city not only further establishes exclusion but also diminishes the perception people have of areas in the periphery, thus antagonizing the majority culture and minority cultures which results in a continuous of stereotypes and exclusion. Thus, placemaking in socioeconomically weak areas in the periphery in the form of exhibitions, art centers focusing

on their cultural heritage and meeting spaces that promote interactions with other groups of people to break cultural barriers and rather focus on cultural regeneration instead of discriminatory practices that are presented as of today. An additional example is the maintenance of sports activity in Bredäng as the respondents brought up, which should further be fostered since sports facilitators can be a way of creating unity amongst the inhabitants but also inviting others to feel part of the authenticity within the area. By working against the identified current state, in the form of generating authentic interactions with a social attachment to minority cultures, urban planners are able to present an understanding of the inevitable political aspect of placemaking.

7.2 Reliability and Validity

What is of importance is an achieved analytical generalizability where the author is able to examine the conclusion based on the empirical findings to be applied in other fields. The study developed a general perception of how to incorporate the concept of terroir and authenticity in the fields of architecture and urbanism, with an added analysis of the precautions necessary to avoid exclusion of minority cultures. Although the ethnographic study was situational to cities in France and Stockholm in Sweden, the policy directions are able to be applied in other areas of interest. The validation of the collected data from the responses with the literature review and theoretical framework ascertained a high validity to the study. The discussions that were able to be brought up in relation to the results and literature, were in line with previous research which further strengthened the validity.

A higher validity could have been identified had the circumstances of the current ongoing pandemic allowed for observational interviews to take place on site in France rather than having to reach out to people online. This was the instance with the interviews in Stockholm, since the author is situated in the city and was able to observe and interview people from the different areas, reaching a more general audience. The obstacles that for instance an older generation have of being reachable through social medias hindered a wider range of respondents and the younger audience was more represented in the study.

7.3 Suggestions for Future Research

A number of restrictions were implemented in this study, which had an effect on the way the thesis was carried out. One of these restrictions was the geographical area, limiting the study

to Stockholm and three cities in France, Mulhouse, Toulouse and Dunkerque. Moreover, the practical boundaries of the thesis being limited to a time-period of 5 months have had an effect on the implications of the study and what it could entail. An important factor for a situational thesis of this character was the pandemic and COVID-19, restricting the author and the scope of the research in collecting qualitative material on site in France. This mainly affected the empirical findings and subsequently the depth of the analysis.

Additionally, a suggestion for future research within this field would be to conduct a study with emphasis on one city. Had the case study of terroir been able to be conducted physically in France and limiting the study to solely one city a greater analysis could have been presented with a wider range of value from respondents. Furthermore, the study identified a lack of studies and research in the difference between rural and urban parts of Sweden, where inhabitants of Stockholm who are originally from smaller cities in Sweden mentioned the lack of inclusion of this type of inhabitants. Ultimately, this study focused on the exclusion of immigrants, where future research could focus on how authenticity can be created for other minorities in a place where one considers for instance gender, sexual orientation and religious minorities.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Interview Questions Related to France

Introduction questions:

1. Primarily, would you like to disclose your name and age?
2. Which city in France are you from?

Perceptions of the City:

3. Do you believe that your city has certain qualities that make it unique and authentic?
Or a certain place in the city?
 4. If yes, what are those qualities?
 5. Do you believe these qualities portraits your city?
 6. Do you believe similar qualities or places can be found in other cities? What is it about these qualities or place that makes them represent your city?
 7. How do you feel when you are in these places/surrounded by these qualities? What do those places transmit to you?
 8. Do you believe the size of a city or the size of a place of a city can influence the authenticity of that place?
 9. Many times, people say that smaller places are more typical, much more authentic, more real, and that bigger spaces many times lose themselves. It doesn't mean this is true all the time, but what do you feel about it?
10. If this is a sensitive question you may choose to not disclose the information;
however, are you or your parent's immigrants in the country?
- **If yes**, do you feel as if that impacts the way you perceive the city?
 - o Furthermore, does it affect what you are entitled to feel regarding the city, and does it automatically affect your sense of belonging?
 - **If no**, do you feel as if the sense of belonging to a place (i.e., the city you live in) is determined by your nationality? In regard to terroir, one may feel as if it requires the cultural heritage of a nation in order to be part of a unified city.

11. Do you believe the concept of terroir and cultural heritage inherently leads to a nationalistic view and thus exclude minorities from a unified nation?
12. Do you believe that minorities need to be involved in the creation of culture or should they assimilate into an already existing cultural identity of a city?

Appendix B – Interview Questions related to Stockholm

These questions are translated from Swedish.

Introduction questions:

1. Primarily, would like you like to disclose your name and age?
2. Which area in Stockholm are you from?

Perceptions of the City:

3. Do you believe that your city has certain qualities that make it unique and authentic?
Or a certain place in the city?
4. If yes, what are those qualities?
5. Do you believe these qualities portraits your city?
6. Do you believe similar qualities or places can be found in other cities? What is it about these qualities or place that makes them represent your city?
7. How do you feel when you are in these places/surrounded by these qualities? What do those places transmit to you?
8. Do you believe the size of a city or the size of a place of a city can influence the authenticity of that place?
9. Many times, people say that smaller places are more typical, much more authentic, more real, and that bigger spaces many times lose themselves. It doesn't mean this is true all the time, but what do you feel about it?
10. If this is a sensitive question you may choose to not disclose the information;
however, are you or your parent's immigrants in the country?
 - **If yes**, do you feel as if that impacts the way you perceive the city?
 - Furthermore, does it affect what you are entitled to feel regarding the city, and does it automatically affect your sense of belonging?
 - **If no**, do you feel as if the sense of belonging to a place (i.e., the city you live in) is determined by your nationality? In regard to terroir, one may feel as if it requires the cultural heritage of a nation in order to be part of a unified city.

11. Do you believe the concept of authenticity and cultural heritage inherently leads to a nationalistic view and thus exclude minorities from a unified nation?
12. Do you believe that minorities need to be involved in the creation of culture or should they assimilate into an already existing cultural identity of a city?

TRITA ABE-MBT-21466