Mining the City

Urban Transformation and the Loss of City Space in Kiruna, Sweden

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Abstract

This thesis examines the urban transformation and deformation caused by the expansion of the local Kiirunavaara mine in Kiruna, Sweden. The local mining company LKAB announced in 2004 that rapid ground deformations had been discovered in central Kiruna and that buildings and residents would have to be relocated in order for production to continue. This thesis is an attempt to analyze the way that local relationships to space and place become relevant during processes of intense urban loss and renewal. By analyzing discourses and statements by residents, planners and officials, I aim to highlight the historical contingencies and responses to the loss of the urban environment and the implementation of the new city centre designed to replace the old one. More specifically, I argue that a social and economic dependency on mining preclude official contestations and alternatives to the transformation while residents find alternative ways of expressing concern. I analyze residents' relationship to the built environment and the mining company through focusing on discourses of affect and enactment. I furthermore discuss the elite visions of the new city that despite widespread dissatisfaction emphasize shared governance and sustainability and the ways they contribute to a depoliticization of the experience of displacement. Through ethnographic methods of participant observation and interviews this thesis contributes to an understanding of mining towns and urban anthropology of space and place in the northern hemisphere.

Keywords: Urban anthropology, mining, space, place, urban planning, affect

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1. Introduction

> We have two options: either accept what's happening and move the city so the mine can continue, or say: "No, we won't move" and realise that the mine will be shut down. The government wouldn't allow that. LKAB has been such an amazing cash cow for the state in the last fifteen years but without the mine most of the population would have to move since there wouldn't be any jobs anyway.
> (Karl, Kiruna resident)

I move through the thick layer of snow on the streets of Kiruna and down the main shopping street. Way off in the distance the towering Kiirunavaara mountain looms huge and almost ominous. The mountain's characteristic horizontal plateaus are covered with freshly fallen snow and the chimney on the top emits clouds of smoke. I make my way down the street to the only bookshop in town. Inside the cramped store shoppers are already stocking up on presents for christmas, only a few weeks away. In the middle of the shop a young woman sits behind two stacks of books, waiting to sign them for potential buyers. Upon closer inspection it's two children's books: "During the Night The Mountain Rumbles" [På natten mullrar berget] and "During the Day the City Moves" [På dagen flyttar staden]. The covers are full of colorful naivistic illustrations and both books tell the story of a seven year old boy whose mother works in the local mine. The boy has to confront the troll in the mine causing the physical rumbling of the city at night while the inevitable relocation of the city takes place so that the mine and life in the city continue as normal.

This thesis deals with the urban transformation affecting the town of Kiruna, Sweden and the way its inhabitants deal with issues of the loss of urban space. Kiruna is a place of roughly eighteen thousand inhabitants in the northwestern corner of the Swedish arctic region. This relatively peripheral city is known internationally for its proximity to the Jukkasjärvi Ice Hotel, its scenic vistas of the Kebnekaise mountain range and the magnificent Aurora Borealis. Most noticeable upon arriving in town is however the giant Kiirunavaara mountain flanking the western part of town. The mountain gets its characteristic appearance and importance from what goes on inside and underneath it. The ground it stands on contains an enormous deposit of iron ore which began to be excavated in the beginning of the 20th

century (Brunnström 1981) and is still today the largest underground iron ore mine in the world. The introductory vignette is telling of the way the mine and its effects are present in the everyday lives and consciousness of the city's inhabitants. The mine is run by the state-owned company LKAB (short for Luossavaara-Kiirunavaara Limited Company) which has extracted ore from the mountain since its founding in 1890. Kiirunavaara is visible from almost every corner of the hilly city and is a popular and iconic motif for amateur photographers, postcards and tourist pamphlets. The mine's omnipresent visibility also takes on a symbolic dimension since it is the main employer of Kiruna's residents and the history and future of the city is affected by it. In the past few years news of Kiruna's ongoing urban transformation has been broadcast worldwide through international media reporting on how the city's dependency on the mine is dramatically altering the urban landscape. At the same time, newspapers and magazines have continuously commented on the acquiescence of residents to the ongoing process.

In 2004, the municipal leadership of Kiruna announced that cracks had begun to appear in the ground of the city centre due to the expanded production of the mine. The ground in the city was rapidly becoming deformed. It soon became clear to everyone that the ground the city stood on had begun to crack at an alarming rate. If mining operations were to be able to continue safely, people and buildings would have to be moved. Iron ore was now being extracted at a depth which put a large portion of the western part of the city's houses, apartments and businesses at risk. This effectively meant that parks, cafés, libraries, hotels, monuments and other infrastructure that make up a functioning town is scheduled for demolishment in the coming years.

Aims and Research Questions

My aim with this thesis is to discuss how residents of Kiruna understand and view the ongoing loss of city space and to what extent this is informed by living in a society so dominated by a single company and industry. This thesis is thus about some of the effects that take place when an extractive industry radically alters the spaces people relate to as their homes and neighbourhoods in favor of local employment and state revenue. In investigating this I have adopted Setha Low's (2000; 2017) theoretical approach to the study of urban space in viewing the production of the material environment and the meaning-making

surrounding it as separate but interlocking spheres of interest. They both concern how people relate to and are affected by the urban environment that surrounds them and how it is changed and contested. I argue that living in such close economic dependence on the mine forces people to accept the realities that are created by a venture like an extractive industry where the survival of the dominant industry comes before other concerns. However, people simultaneously have strong ties to their material surroundings that are tied up with memories and their identities as residents. In writing about what is affecting Kiruna I wish to address larger questions of displacement and urban renewal and the way that affect and memory come to play a role in relation to them. In doing this my approach has been to discuss both the important relationship to a dominant company and to utilize concepts pertaining to affect and emotions. This thesis is thus situated both partly in anthropology dealing with urban space and place and to an extent the anthropology of mining. It contributes to an anthropological understanding of Swedish urban environments in the context of a company town, areas that have not been studied extensively anthropologically in a nordic context. I intend to fill a gap in the research on mining towns in the global north and more specifically on issues of displacement and residents' relationships to urban space shaped by mining.

In order to investigate the above issues I pose the following questions in relation to my research:

- How does the present and historical reliance on the mine and LKAB influence residents' ways of dealing with the city transformation?
- How is the loss of city space experienced by people in Kiruna, and how is this manifested in discourse and practice?
- What visions for New Kiruna are produced by planners and officials, and how are these experienced and/or contested by residents?

With these questions in mind, I intend to explore the issues of how company dependence, relationships to the material city and the planned relocation and construction of a new city centre are interconnected avenues for investigating what is taking place in Kiruna. I analyze and discuss Kiruna residents' relationship to their city by way of asking in what context people's relationship to the city is produced and reproduced and in what way these relationships express themselves in the context of urban change.

Organization of the Thesis

This thesis consists of six main chapters. In the first two chapters, *Introduction* and *Background and Minutiae*, I present an overview to my field, research questions, theoretical and methodological implications and a brief historical contextualization.

In Chapter 3, *Town and Company*, I discuss the multiple roles of LKAB in Kiruna and its relation to how residents experience the loss of the city landscape. I employ theories conceptualizing the historical dependence on LKAB and the transformation in analyzing the effects on opinions and critique in relation to this dependence. I argue that understanding the relationship to the mine and LKAB is important for understanding the discussions of the following chapters.

In Chapter 4, *Affect and the Loss of the City*, I analyze the affective and emotional dimensions of how residents experience the loss of the cityscape. I discuss the preeminent focus on the material and infrastructural to the exclusion of residents' fears of dislocation and loss and in what ways residents find alternative ways of expressing grief and loss.

In Chapter 5, *Visions of New Kiruna*, I discuss the contrasting discourses of planners and officials and those of residents regarding the new Kiruna city centre. I contend that the elite visions connected to New Kiruna employ a rhetoric of sustainability, egalitarianism and opportunity that clashes with many residents' voices.

In Chapter 6, "Conclusions", I summarize and conclude the preceding chapters analyzes and discussions regarding the urban transformation taking place in Kiruna. I also present some possibilities for further research.

2. Background and Minutiae

Background

As mentioned, what is now happening in Kiruna is that due to the increased extraction of iron ore, certain areas of the city are being demolished and transformed into industrial land so that the mine can ensure its survival for another decade[1][2]. In the central parts of town, an estimated six thousand residents (approximately thirty-three percent of central Kiruna's population), three thousand two hundred homes and the entire core of the central city will be affected (Kiruna.se 2017). Since the transformation affects public institutions and the entire commercial infrastructure of the city, all inhabitants will however be affected. The Mineral Law [Minerallagen] (Riksdagen 1991) regulating the extraction of resources in Sweden states that the state has a right to land that contain potential minerals that are considered economically important and has a right to expropriate land or negotiate with homeowners to acquire it.

LKAB announced in 2004 that the parts affected would have to be abandoned and turned over to the company for liquidation if the vital mining operations were to continue safely without stopping production. A plan was devised together with the municipality which outlined the demolition of a number of residential areas close to the mining zone, and eventually the entire city centre. This meant that a new city centre would have to replace the old one. New homes for the people affected would have to be built, together with a new city hall, hotels for tourists and guest workers, a train station. A relocation of many historically important buildings, mostly pertaining to the early history of Kiruna, was also subsequently planned. An entirely new city centre was subsequently envisioned and planned which would replace many of the functions and official buildings of the old one. A contest was announced in 2005 where a number of architecture firms submitted ideas that outlined their vision for what came to be called New Kiruna. Submissions in the form of sketches and 3d models were displayed to the public who could vote for their favored idea. The winning submission,

[1] Plans to extend production beyond 2033 have not yet been established or made official by LKAB.
[2] Development plans for Kirunas future development and reorientation extend to 2100.

named “Kiruna 4-ever”, was developed by Norwegian architects *Ghilardi + Hellsten* and Swedish *White Architects* and featured a cylindrical new city hall (designed by *Henning Larsen Architects* and decided on by a jury in 2013) and a focus on sustainability and public spaces, according to themselves. During the time of my stay and fieldwork during the months of November and December in 2017, New Kiruna had yet to be finalized, and all that had been erected on the new area at the time of my departure was the new, unfinished, town hall. The space affected will progressively be turned into an industrial park buffer zone between the mine and the city to ensure a distance between living spaces and industrial production (LKAB b). Since moving the city was a necessity for continued iron ore production, LKAB has been responsible for reimbursing tenants and homeowners and for financing the construction of the new city centre and public services. City planners hired by the municipality were responsible for developing a new city plan and its implementation.

Sections of the town will thus be continuously dismantled between 2017 and 2033. Some older buildings deemed to have an historical and aesthetic value, like the iconic wooden church, will be disassembled and moved to new location. Some will be moved to the Luossavaara area, north of the current city centre, and a few moved closer to the new city centre, three kilometers east of the old one. The last buildings of the residential area *Ullspiran* were demolished in the first half of 2017 and represented the first major step in the city transformation. The Ullspiran block was completed in 1968 and consisted of one hundred and forty-eight apartments housing many families. By the end of 2017 there were virtually no traces left of Ullspiran except for some markings showing where the buildings had stood and the dismantled area had been turned into one part of the mine city park. In an effort to memorialize the apartment complexes a section of the mine city park was turned into an art installation which physically outlined the previous structures of the buildings, allowing people to see where their homes previously stood.

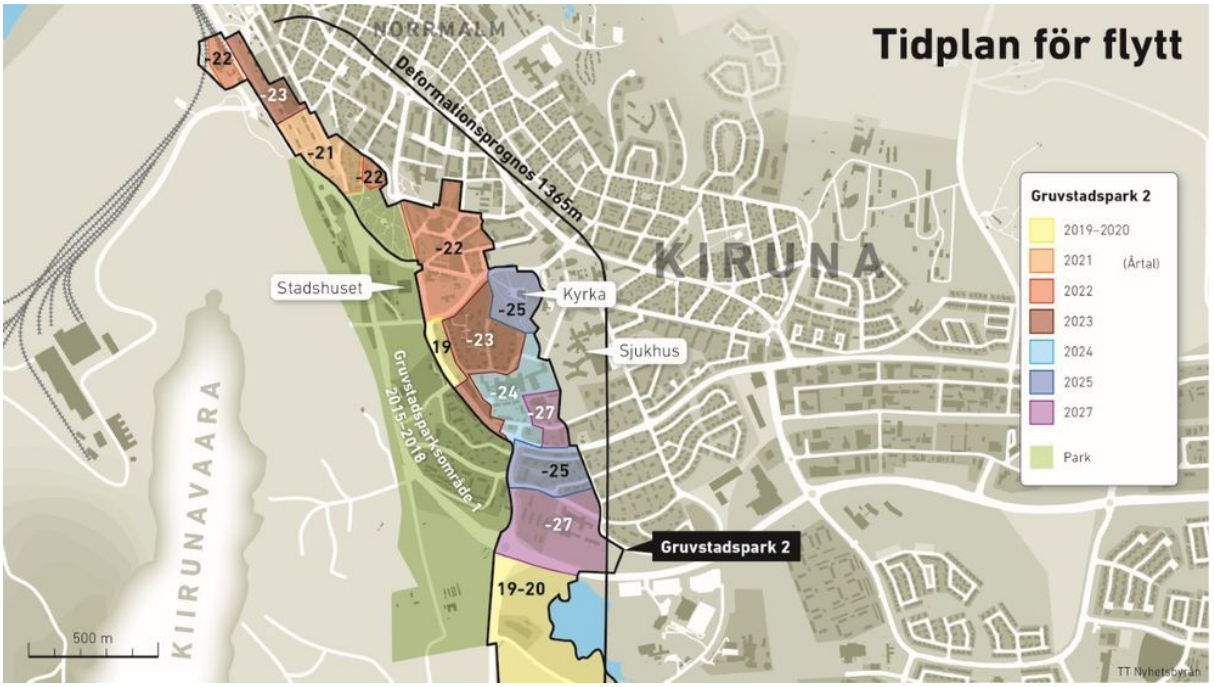

Figure 1. (LKAB b). Map of the scheduled relocation timeframe and numbers indicating the planned year of demolition. The green area shows the residential areas closest to the mine already demolished and turned into a mine city park. The numbers in the colored areas indicate intended year of demolition. The outer black border shows the expected eventual total extent of the demolitions at the mine's current haulage level at 1,365 meters depth.

Methodology

I was initially drawn to the issue of Kiruna's urban transformation by way of searching for environmental conflicts and specifically through wanting to explore the issues involved in the anthropology of mining. Kiruna caught my interest through newspaper articles describing the perceived uniqueness of the current urban transformation process. Inevitably, the questions arouse as to how people deal and feel about such a dramatic ongoing process. I also saw it as an opportunity to apply ethnographic methods and anthropological insights to a Swedish context and to a part of the country normally fairly neglected in mainstream consciousness in the rest of the country. This to an extent made me both a simultaneous insider and outsider (Rabinow 1977) in the way that I shared a national and linguistic background with the people I came to know but simultaneously struggled to understand the implications of living in a mining town in the far north.

I had no previously established connections upon arriving in Kiruna. I recruited interlocutors and interview subjects continuously through a snowballing effect where people were recommended to me by previous interviewees or through contacting people through the Facebook groups *Kiruna* and *We Who Mourn the Destruction of Kiruna* [Vi som sörjer att Kiruna rivs]. I would simply present myself on one the the groups' message boards and present myself and my purpose, asking if anyone was interested in an conversation. Facebook-based member groups thus became an important tool during the course of my fieldwork, both for getting to know interlocutors and interview subjects, but also for observing discussions around some of the contentious issues that otherwise would have been difficult to gain knowledge of. Since it was difficult to find "real-world" public forums such as official meetings and discussion groups where people discussed issues related to the city transformation amongst themselves, these online forums offered a welcome access to a sphere which not only focused on issues related to my research but where people seemed at ease to express their sometimes conflicting sentiments or interpretations. As my research progressed I subsequently relied increasingly on residents that had been more directly affected by the relocation, such as residents of demolished and soon to be demolished buildings. I have also relied on interviews of officials and those responsible for formulating visions for the city, such as representatives from LKAB, city planners and politicians. Two were representatives and officials from LKAB, and two were employed at White Architects, the firm responsible for developing the aesthetic and functional vision for New Kiruna. My selection of informants thus cuts through a number of people from different positions and attempts to target the oftentimes contrasting discourses by both "studying up" (Nader 1972) and "sideways" (Hannerz 2003) as well as looking at published material relating to the transformation and New Kiruna.

It became apparent that Kiruna had received a large interest from national and international media reporting on the uniqueness of the transformation. It is reasonable to assume that being a white, Swedish male in my early thirties pursuing an academic degree probably made access easier due to the white and male dominated nature of Kiruna. I could be situated comfortably together with the growing number of inquisitive journalists and students visiting the city. Soliciting people for interviews via Facebook or sms' or phone calls were generally received enthusiastically and favourably and people were generally happy to devout some of their time to talk to me or invite me into their homes. Due to the heavy media

presence, being interviewed about what was taking place was not uncommon but rather something that some people took pride in.

Prior to entering the field I had assumed there would be an abundance of political rallies or public meetings organized for discussing the transformation of the city but to my surprise very few took place. Due to this, and the nature of my research problem, I therefore came to rely fairly heavily on semi-structured interviews and casual conversations during my time in the city. My days were thus spent interviewing people in their homes or in cafés, visiting political meetings and soup lunches at local party headquarters, volunteering at the local film festival, or simply observing the city through observation and walking. Much of my time was spent observing how people moved through the city, what places were frequented and how the city appeared architecturally and structurally to a newcomer like myself.

Many, if not most of the people I spoke to in their roles as residents had backgrounds in working for the mine in some capacity, or if they did not personally, their spouses usually did. Altogether I conducted twenty-three semi-structured interviews. Most of the informants that I interacted with most frequently and conducted interviews with were between the ages of 40 and 70 and most of them identified as Swedish, although I did not always ask how they specifically identified themselves ethnically unless the topic came up in conversations. Three identified with having a Tornedalen background and two as having a finnish background. Most of them were born in Kiruna or in a neighbouring area or had lived there for most of their adult lives. In terms of gender, the distribution of men and women was fairly equal. One group that I had wished to include to a larger extent were members of the Sámi villages of Laevas and Gabna. These villages' reindeer herding activities and pastures are affected in various ways by the transformation of the city and several attempts were made to establish rapport and conduct interviews. The stated reason for this was that the people in the Laevas and Gabna leadership had previously spoken frequently to reporters about the situation in the preceding years and were unable or unwilling to volunteer more of their time. Apart from a short interview with the head of the Laevas village, no further rapport was established.

The main methods used during my research period were participant observation, interviews, and to a more limited extent, online ethnographic observations. Most interviews were semi-structured in the way that a time and a place were set up but that questions were open-ended and allowed for an continuous exploration of themes without a rigid structure

(Davies, 2007:106). Material in the form of information pamphlets, websites and placards, both in town and online, published by LKAB and the municipality has also been part of my gathered material.

Multi-sited fieldwork famously emerged a methodological concept during calls for a methodological approach that better reflects the interconnectedness of sites and things (Marcus 1995). It was argued that there was a need to grasp these phenomena by not restricting fieldwork to one location but to follow things and flows across multiple sites. Hannerz has similarly captured the same in the equally famous phrase of "being there… and there… and there' (2006:30). I have to an extent adhered to this and attempted to move across different locations of the city and established rapport with officials and politicians. The purported multi-sitedness of ethnographic fieldwork has however in my opinion been overused as a reaction to the point of fashion. Even though my research was concerned with number of people across the city, from people in neighborhoods affected by demolition, to politicians, city planners and LKAB representatives, I do not consider it multi-sited per se due to its confinement to one locale and relatively small focus.

All names of my interlocutors have been anonymized when they appear as residents, friends and acquaintances. I have kept the real names of people interviewed in their capacity as politicians, planners and officials. Throughout the thesis I have opted to let my interlocutors' own voices in our conversations take as much space as possible in explaining the situation surrounding Kiruna and have used quotes extensively. I have of course however been responsible for the selection and arrangement of what people had to say.

Literature and Previous Research

The literature on the anthropology of space and place is vast and multifaceted and presents no coherent body of work. Anthropology has relatively recently been influenced by what has been termed the spatial turn (Low, 2014). As Low states, urban anthropology has gone through a process of death and rebirth where it died because of its inability to conceptualize the city in its entirety and the transformations that were taking place in an increasingly globalized economy (ibid.) It was later reborn through a number of authors incorporating social theorists like Lefebvre (1991), Foucault (1991) and dealt more explicitly

with material space, power relations and theories of social construction of space for investigating the city.

Anthropological perspectives on Kiruna are still lacking but in the past decade several authors have approached Kiruna from a social science perspective and dealt partially with the city transformation. Three accounts following a space/place perspective from the discipline of geography stand out in relation to Kiruna: Nilsson (2009; 2010) discusses the process of the relocation of the city of Kiruna and analyzes people's conceptions from an ideology perspective - as a system of beliefs that are widely recognized but not always conscious. He is concerned with how the city has been presented and 'thought' about and what ideological and rhetorical strategies have been prominent. According to Nilsson, elite actors in Kiruna portray the move and rebuilding of the city as both necessary and positive, as both the 'ideal city' and the unquestioned necessity of the move. Nilsson conceptualizes the technical rationality employed in the city move as a form of masculinity that takes precedence over 'soft' issues of belonging, identity and uncertainty (2010:438-39).

Granås' (2012) short study of place meanings in Kiruna reaches somewhat similar conclusions to Nilsson's but adopts a different approach to people's relationship to place and nuances these through a discursive analysis. By focusing less on the town as a place in and of itself and more on people's lives, she regards people's lack of political opposition and resigned attitude to the city transformation as indicative of their dependence on industry. Granås contends that Kiruna is intimately tied up with LKAB and the mine and that the city's survival and development is dependant on them. This would cause interviewees to opt not to outright criticize the town transformation.

Sandberg and Rönnblom (2016) have in a short article dealt with the urban transformation from a emotional geographies framework and discuss several themes similar to the ones found in Chapter 4. They have however exclusively focused on interviews with officials and planners. They argue, similarly to Nilsson (2009, 2010), that a hegemonic discourse surrounding the transformation produces only consensus positions regarding the move.

In the recent decades anthropologists have taken an increasing interest in large-scale extraction ventures and their impacts on local populations and scholarship have focused mostly on mining ventures by transnational companies in mainly Indonesia, South America and Papua New Guinea. Due to the lasting colonial legacies and environmental issues they

have dealt largely with the transformation of indigenous societies and livelihoods (Nash 1993; Taussig 1980; Golub 2014). Recently there has been an increased focus on the practices and strategies of mining companies themselves (Ballard & Banks 2003:290). These accounts offer a take on capitalism that is not mainly focused on production and consumption but on the practices of corporations in managing international relations and reputation and is useful for a discussion on how companies are increasingly oriented towards public perceptions. Increasingly common in this perspective on the corporation is a focus on the practices of 'corporate social responsibility' (CSR) where corporations increasingly employ the rhetoric of social improvement in combination with "responsible capitalism" to promote policies of social welfare combined with profitable activities (Kirsch 2014; Rajak 2011, 2014). These new approaches couch their efforts along moral lines of "doing good" and extend mechanisms of control and governmentality into the highly personal spheres of employee lives. These examples are different to my context because LKAB is state owned and have no specific programs of CSR but they offer useful examples for understanding the embeddedness of the corporation in local society and as a contrast to the nordic model and LKAB that I will discuss later. The Nordic model is in many ways different from the neoliberal model that centers around the adoption of voluntary CSR measures to obtain so-called social license to operate. The Swedish welfare state generally enjoys a high level of trust. Due to the perceived role of the welfare state as the provider of social services, Swedish mining companies tend to not pursue community development or CSR to any significant extent but still tend to be well-regarded as being transparent. (Tarras-Wahlberg 2017:656). Due to the high acceptance of the welfare state, newly established or private mining companies attempting to secure social license among communities may instead be regarded with suspicion (Tarras-Wahlberg 2014:146).

Theoretical Framework and Concepts

I have adopted Setha Low's (2000; 2017) theoretical approach to the study of urban space in discussing the issues of urban transformation in this thesis. Her approach combines the aspects of the production of the material environment and the construction of meaning-making surrounding it, viewing them as separate but interlocking spheres of interest. Low in this way makes the distinction between the *social production of space* and

the *social construction of space* (2017:1).They both concern how people relate to and are affected by the urban environment that surrounds them and how it is changed and contested. The social production of space perspective refers to the social, political and economic aspects that produce a particular material environment. The social construction of space, on the other hand, refers to how people construct and use a given space in various ways. The former could include the way the architectural layout of a city reflect a colonial history of control and its political and economic history. The latter could include the way that physical space is encoded along ethnic or gendered lines that in turn has consequences for how that space is utilized, related to and contested by various groups. Low (2000:127) writes:

> The spatialization of culture and human experience must integrate the perspective of social production and social construction of space, contextualizing the forces that produce it and showing people as social agents constructing their own realities and symbolic meanings. But it must also reflect both of these perspectives in the experiences and daily life of individuals.

The social production framework often takes on a political economy framework in discussing the material effects of concentrated capital and inequalities. Thus in a social production framework can be defined in Low's terms as the "processes responsible for the material creation of space as they combine social, economic, ideological, and technological factors" (2003:20). One example of a social production of space framework is King's (1980) discussion on how the advent of industrial capitalism, the increasing surplus capital and the economic and ideological developments of leisure time eventually led to the popularization of the vacation house, with its novel countryside location and layout. The economic changes of industrialization thus led to changes in space and architecture.

Most social production of space perspectives owe a debt to Lefebvre's Marxist approach to the built environment and his concept of the production of space (1991). Space for Lefebvre was invoked to scientifically analyze how space was produced under the ideological conditions of capitalism in ways that seemed neutral and self-evident but in fact contained highly politicized circumstances. Lefebvre, following Marx, maintains in this way that space is not a void waiting to be filled with things but a social product and that each mode of production produces its own space of for examples towns and architecture. He posits a triadic definition of space containing: 1) Spatial practice 2) Representations of space, and 3)

Representational spaces (1991:40-42. *Spatial practice* refers to the daily routine, the routes and networks that are neatly separated for work, leisure and private life under, for example, capitalism. *Representations of space* refer to how planners and engineers and others conceptualize space in numbers and signs like maps and blueprints - a form of reduction of reality into conceptual schemes. Lastly, *representational space* refers to the way that the physical space can be appropriated and changed through the imagination and a redefinition by individuals and movements (ibid.).

As the name implies, the social construction of space framework is inspired by the social constructionist approach in the social sciences where meaning is inherently constructed through social interactions. The meanings attached to the built environment are not give but negotiated and renegotiated. A few examples could for instance include how different ethnic groups utilize physical spaces in different ways, or how discourses can be mobilized to draw on heritage and history of a place in order to affect change in relation to exclusion. In contrast and conjunction, Low (2003:20) defines social construction of space as the "experience of space through which peoples' social exchanges, memories, images and daily use of the material setting transform it and give it meaning." Meaning in other words and in contrast to the social production of the material setting how people construct meaning out of the material environment.

I also turn to theories of affect and emotions in the anthropological literature since much of discussions with my interlocutors dealt with the strong emotions people felt in relation to the city transformation. I place this discussion within the social constructionist perspective. In doing this I draw from Low's (2017), Thrift's (2004) and Barrios' (2017) discussions on affect in relation to space and place. There is no agreement exactly how to distinguish between the concepts of 'emotion' and 'affect' and different authors have treated these concepts differently (Barrios 2017:5). Low distinguishes between emotion and affect and calls affect pre-ideological, "transcorporal, inhuman and contagious" whereas emotion is "an individual and personal experience or feeling" (Low 2017:152). She states that a focus on affect is better suited for ethnography (ibid.). Similarly, for Barrios, affect and affective states refer to a physical reaction to sensory stimuli, whereas emotion refers to the culturally mediated naming and narrativizing of such experiences. Barrios' discussion on affect takes place in sites of post-disaster sites where where residents directly and indirectly refer to affective states to speak about attachments to neighbourhoods and evaluate governmental and

non-governmental recovery work. By *affective ecologies* Barrios refers to how affects and emotion are not universal and objective reactions to external stimuli but rather structured culturally and politically and unique to people's life experiences and circumstances (2017:6). *Affective regimes* on the other hand refers to city planners' vision as part of a logic of governmentality (Foucault 1991) that refers " to the expert planners' visions of urban recovery … imposing a system or planned way of feeling and emoting in relation to specific kinds of urban environments, a regime that can be contrasted with New Orleanians' ecologies of affect." (2017:123).

Furthermore, I employ Welker's (2014) concept of *enactment* in attempting to deal with how the company, in this case LKAB, can be analyzed as an actor that is interpreted in various ways by my interlocutors. Welker attempts to get away from analyses that view a company as a metaphysical unit that is rational, clearly bounded and acts with intentionality. Instead, argues Welker, NGOs, villagers and officials view and represent the social responsibilities and actions of the company in various ways. Welker brings up the issue of what a corporation is and how it can be variously conceptualized as both a patron and a disruptor, among other things. Welker prefers the notion of the person as 'relational' and 'multiple' over the notion of the liberal subject. Persons have multiple identities, personalities and roles:

> We might fix on Newmont's waste disposal practices, freshwater consumption, destruction of mountains and forests, and release of airborne pollutants to enact Newmont as an environmental threat that people should oppose and governments should restrain. But another shutter may open to reveal the company's employment of local people and construction of schools and clinics in remote regions, enacting it as an important source of income and development, deserving of local and government support. (2014:6)

I also make us of Li's concept of *equivalence* (2013, 2015) that she employs to discuss environmental conflicts and conflicting conceptions of the consequences of mining and compensations. Li has shown how the loss of resources and mitigation initiatives in Peru are made out to be equivalent by officials and experts. Through rational and scientific calculations of costs, the expansions of mining could be cast in terms that it would contribute to development and against which opposition would seem counterproductive. Expertise and

scientific rationality thus transforms alternative ontologies and conceptions into authoritative knowledge. Thus, "equivalence refers to forms of expertise and technical tools used to make things quantifiable and comparable; second, … a political relationship that involves constant negotiation over what counts as authoritative knowledge." (Li, 2015:23-24). In Li's example water pumped from a treatment plant to replace "lost" canal water for villagers rests on a number of assumptions regarding its replaceability. One, that natural water can be replaced with treated water. Two, that the chemical composite of the water judged by scientific standards held the same value. Three, that compensations by payments and development could reimburse residents for water lost (2015:27).

Historical Contextualization

The history of Kiruna is important for how the new issues facing the town are dealt with by both residents and its leadership. Its founding myths and historical backdrop are highly relevant for how people experience the transformation. So called "company towns" sprang up in strikingly similar versions during the industrialization of Europe, North- and Latin America during the 20th century (Borges and Torres 2012). Borges and Torres contend that company towns were established to provide a stable labor force and efficient mineral extraction in places that were relatively inaccessible geographically and remote from urban centers (Ibid. p.13). What defined the company towns were the extended influence of the company into workers' lives beyond simply employment and production and shaped the political and social life of towns. Housing was often provided by the company as a way to limit workers' movement and maintain a stable workforce. The control of space was often designed on communitarian and utopian ideals, often by paternalistic entrepreneurs, and seen as superior to other urban centers with their concomitant social problems (ibid. p.19). These accounts provide a historical backdrop to the city of Kiruna that in many ways originated as a company town, dependant on and defined in relation to the mine and its founders. The town also displays many of the characteristics of other company towns with the myth of the benevolent company patriarch as the founding father, and the rationally planned town to provide housing and accessibility to workers (Granås 2012:133-134).

Kiruna as a city fits the above description of the term company town in serveral ways. It has a historical reliance on a single industry, a narrative of the patriarchal founding father

and a history of social and urban engineering typical of such towns. The city of Kiruna as an urban phenomenon is only about a hundred and thirty years old and sprang up around the iron ore deposits that had been known since at least the 1700's (Brunnström 1981:10) but that proved largely useless until the end of the nineteenth century due to the high concentration of fosfor that reduced its quality and usability. With the advent of the Thomas-Gilchrist process, patented in 1878, that solved the problem of the removal of fosfor from large quantities of iron the large scale extraction of ore from Kiirunavaara could begin (Brunnström 1981:10). Norrland in general and Kiruna in particular became hailed as "The land of the Future" [Framtidslandet] and as "the America of Sweden" for its untapped mineral wealth and unexplored pioneer opportunities as the number of residents settled in Kiruna rose dramatically. Kiruna was from the beginning planned as an ideal society and saw a division between the company area - the area housing workers and headmen of LKAB - and and the city plan area, providing services. The town was also unique in the way that a profit driven company invested in shaping the aesthetic development of the society. Urban architects Gustaf Wickman and Per-Olof Hallman were appointed by LKAB's first manager Hjalmar Lundbohm, still credited as a benevolent renaissance man, to implement new european ideas of city planning as a reaction against the strict formalism and grid patterns of late 19th century city planning. Wickman and Hallman instead implemented a realist-romantic vision of the new city with a purposeful implementation of picturesque elements from the surrounding nature and streets leading to Kiirunavaara, supplying the mine with workers. (Brunnström 1981). Present day Kiruna is still very much informed by its history as a planned society and as the product of the mine and the patriarchal figure of Hjalmar Lundbohm. This can be reflected in the way that people still talk about Kiruna's founding as a "model town" [mönstersamhälle] and the widespread reverence for the historical buildings that housed important company personnel.

A note on terminology: I use the terms "city move" and "city transformation" interchangeably because I think that both are accurate in that the city is being transformed physically and socially but also that the people and part of the functions of the old city centre is moving to a new site. To an extent the word "transformation" seems also to imply a less politicized meaning than "move" which conjures up connotations of displacement and demolitions, themes which I discuss in subsequent chapters. LKAB uses "city transformation" (samhällsomvandling) in their published material and their unit dedicated to

negotiating with tenants and planning the mine city park is called the “city transformation unit” [Enheten för samhällsomvandling]. I also follow residents and refer to the new city centre as “New Kiruna.” New Kiruna was in the process of taking shape during my fieldwork but still mostly consisted of stylized sketches and an unfinished city hall.

3. Town and Company

In order to understand Kiruna residents' relationship to the loss of the cityscape it is necessary to understand their relationship to LKAB and the role the company plays in contemporary Kiruna. As I will come to discuss, LKAB and the mine is inherently tied to people's conception of Kiruna as a city and its economic and historical importance negates much of the potential opposition to the city transformation. I find it necessary to begin this thesis with a chapter outlining peoples' relationship to the company as a preamble to the following chapters since this relationship is fundamental to Kiruna. It also highlights the social production of space perspective outlined in the background chapter. I argue that since the company is inherently tied to the foundation of Kiruna, while at the same time being the largest provider of employment, a form of identification with and dependence on LKAB takes place that has ramifications for how people deal with the partial loss the city. As outlined in the introduction, LKAB has also owned much of the land and buildings that are inherently identified with the cities heritage, thus linking the company with the urban space itself. At the same time, the ways the company is viewed and talked about vary. It is at times construed as a benevolent benefactor and the originator of Kiruna society, while at others set in an somewhat more oppositional role.

Down the Mine

A number of people lined up outside of the Folkets Hus community centre to be taken by bus down the narrow roads down under the Kiirunavaara mountain. In order to experience the depth of the underground mine we had all booked a guided tour to the mine's visitors' centre from the little tourist kiosk in the Kiruna Community Center. In the queue I spoke to Frédéric, a french engineering student who had come to Kiruna to hike and experience the elusive northern lights and related his fascination with the city move that had been featured in newspapers. Most of the fifty or so people who had paid for the tour was an international tourist. German, Chinese, Dutch and French voices mixed with American and Irish English as we took our places in an ancient bus. Up front, a woman in a bright security vest guided the

tour and recited facts and statistics through a microphone as we entered the company area and headed towards the Kiirunavaara mountain. The bus descended down into the dark and narrow tunnels that had been dug out underneath the mountain. After about ten minutes of descending down the winding tunnels we came to a stop at the visitors centre, an area reserved specifically to receive tourists and visiting groups. The area was complete with miniature models of the city and a massive ore body underneath it. Gigantic excavator trucks and containers with iron ore pellets on display in front of a board detailing processing processes and international exports. Our group obediently filed out of the tour bus, put on our hard hats and lined up in front of one of the models showing the depth of the iron ore deposit and the main levels throughout the decades. The guide explained mechanically how the tilted angle of the ore body and the excavation tunnels had been causing cracks in the adjacent landmass situated above ground, which in this case means the city centre in proximity to the company area. The current haulage level was at an impressive 1,365 meters (widely known and referred to as "thirteen sixty-five" by my interlocutors in everyday conversations). In the coming ten to fifteen years a decision will have to be made whether there is a possibility to go even deeper and prolong production for a number of years. The discussion quickly turned to the topic of the city transformation and our guide explained how the transformation is necessary for the continued survival of the city and highlighted the symbiotic between society and mine. She answered the question regarding residents' feelings about the process in a diplomatic and slightly evasive way, stating that some people are positive and others not so positive but that a fruitful discussion was constantly going on. Someone in the group raised the question of the railway station, a controversial issue between the municipality and LKAB where LKAB so far had refused to pay for a costly new station in the new city centre[3]. Our guide however glossed over the issue and according to her the underlying conflict between LKAB and the municipality had been resolved. The new railway station would be built in the new city centre. This however subsequently turned out to be untrue and the issue continued to be a source of conflict in public discussions. Our guide led us into a movie theatre where we were seated to watch a promotional film for LKAB's operations seemingly aimed at

[3] At the time of writing, in march 2018, the conflict had come to a standstill with LKAB threatening to halt or limit production if the municipality did not hand over the zoning development plans necessary for expanded use of city space. The municipality in turn refused to do so until LKAB had agreed to finance a new station. Most people were however convinced that LKAB had the leverage on its side and that it would be impossible in the long run to force production to a standstill.

international investors. In a slick promotional cinematic style the viewers were shown the history of the Sámi man who according to the lore amiably showed the way to the then unknown iron deposits. The viewers were transported to Kiruna which according to the narrator is the the very source of Swedish industrial development. The film quickly turned to the global interconnections connecting the Kiirunavaara mine and LKAB to international trade through its exports of iron ore pellets while a voice proclaims the necessity of quality steel and extols its environmental benefits. Images flashed of professional scientists and technology. Before we boarded the bus again and resurfaced at ground level we were shown to an exhibition room detailing the historical importance of the company in Kiruna's development through photographs, tools and objects of the past hundred years.

The tour of the Kiirunavaara mine highlighted a number of things about LKAB and its relationship to Kiruna. LKAB's strong interconnection to Kiruna's history and their symbiotic relationship was prevalent throughout. Not only was a visit to the mine a staple in the Kiruna tourist experience but during the guided tour visitors were continuously told of the active role LKAB and their mining activities played in the city transformation and of the company's historical importance. What became even more apparent during the tour were the global economic forces that links a peripheral northern town like Kiruna to international trade, emphasizing the economic incentives laying the foundation to the city transformation. The economic and political background shaping Kiruna's spatial production outlined in the introduction were here obvious. These global/local dynamics and the infrastructure that sustain them were constitutive of a "technological mega-system" (Storm 2014:24), meaning the vast infrastructural networks necessary for the operating of the mines, consisting of the underground mines, the railway system used for transport, the shipping ports and hydropower plants. The system is global in its reach from the visitors that visit the mine to the millions of tons of ore pellets that are exported to Narvik and Luleå for further international export. Apart from the local and global reach of the mine, the company and the global infrastructure, the tour also highlighted some of the more contentious issues that have arisen around the transformation and the demolition of the train station that carried sentimental and functional value for many residents which I will come to discuss later.

The oft-quoted saying: "When LKAB have a cold, the whole society sneezes" (Sandberg & Rönnblom 2016:50) is a testament to just how important LKAB is for Kiruna as its main employer and just how interconnected the well-being of the company is with the city

itself. My interlocutors in Kiruna continually emphasized the city's economic dependency on the mine as a reason for the general acquiescence to the demolition of the city and the resulting move. While this economic dependence is real, there is also an ideological component to the LKAB historical domination where it becomes difficult to voice critique and make it difficult to be opposed to the activities of the company without indirectly being opposed to the mine itself and thus the very foundation of the town. The prevailing sentiment among residents and my interlocutors was not one of excitement over the prospect of being forced to move from their homes and having their city demolished, quite the opposite, yet many accepted it with resignation due to the fact that it was perceived as a necessity. The Facebook user Margareta summarized this sentiment in one of her comments to an article link about recent demolitions in Kiruna in the Facebook-group *We who Mourn the Demolition of Kiruna* [Vi som sörjer att Kiruna rivs]:

> Yes, it's something that has to be accepted if any jobs are to remain in Kiruna. If LKAB dies, the city dies as the situation is now. Everything is dependent on the existence of LKAB, as long as there isn't another large employer in town. Maybe it's best to think about getting a larger industry, with a lot of jobs here. Everything is dependent on LKAB.

This sentiment was echoed many times during my fieldwork by virtually everyone I knew and functioned almost like a mantra when discussions of alternatives to demolitions came up. "What choice do we have?" as an elderly woman rhetorically asked when I at an early point somewhat naively asked how she felt about the relocation of the city. In conversations with people I would often ask if residents thought the public response would be different if the same fate were to befall other major Swedish cities. The answer was almost always the same, that yes, in other places the government and the public would never let something similar happen, but that Kiruna's situation was unique. The mine would have to continue operating for as long as possible for the sake of employment and the economy. The company was often cast in these terms, as the backbone of Kiruna and the entity that allowed the society to exist thus necessitating every sacrifice to allow for its continuation. This relationship, I argue, is imbued with a form of patronage and resignation that negates resistance and makes Kiruna as a city synonymous with its mine.

Development as a Gift

Policies of corporate social responsibility have come to play an increasing role in the strategies of mining companies worldwide. These are often part of a rhetoric where the companies aim to be perceived as working for the social good of the communities where they are present and they are often framed as benevolent gift of social development (Rajak 2011). As discussed in the Background chapter, policies of corporate social responsibility are based on economic models of private ownership where a so-called social license to operate is obtained through policies of development and sustainability. These may not be perceived by the public to be fit for the Nordic model where the municipality and welfare state are the expected providers of social and community development. LKAB's historical entrenchment and its connection to the Swedish state renders it more trustworthy than private actors that employs strategies of social responsibility but against whom opposition is more easily mobilized (Tarras-Wahlberg 2017:656). LKAB's relationship to Kiruna residents is also fraught with dynamics of patronage and paternalism which is also important for understanding people's relationship to LKAB and the city space.

Maussian and Marxian ethnographies extend the analysis of gift giving to the corporate sphere where corporate largesse are strategies to tie recipients in relations of obligations (Löfving 2017). This logic can also be extended to the above discussion on Corporate Social Responsibility where the implied altruism in such programs creates a relationship of giving and obligation. As Cross (2014) notes in relation to Rajak (2011), Corporate Social Responsibility in the form of healthcare programs can represent a more recent form of gift giving that necessitates the obligation to reciprocate that approximates Mauss' (2002) famous analysis. In the Kiruna case, the historical background and construction of the company as a benevolent provider of stewardship and development has produced a relationship of indebtedness and reliance on it. Godell (1985) analyzes gift giving from the perspective of a paternalistic state and its effect on corporate groups, meaning enduring groups with a common set of affairs, boundaries and a collective identity (1985:250). Godell's central contention is that state paternalism destroys these groups' autonomy and political incentive through instigating large-scale projects that under seemingly benevolent intentions of giving create a form of dependence. Irrigation systems, relocation schemes and health and education programs are examples of programs and initiatives that

under the pretense of the gift of 'development' has reinforced a reliance on the state and subdued resistance and autonomy. As Godell writes: "While these programs - as do many acts of paternalism - offer economic benefits in an often dire economic context, they also have political and social consequences." (1985:248) Although I am not inclined to follow Godell's argument to argue against a welfare state or one that strips people of autonomy, I argue that a similar form of dependence through uneven reciprocal relations can partly explain the relationship to LKAB and the ideological consequences of a lack of political dissent on any larger scale. LKAB's influence and economic importance for Kiruna can hardly be overstated. As already discussed, the city owes much of its existence and employment opportunities to the operations of the company. The relationship between residents and the company is symbiotic but there is also a ubiquitous sentiment among residents that the mine has provided Kiruna with the opportunity to exist at all. I argue that this notion puts people in a relationship of indebtedness and identification with the company that has the effect of stifling protest against the city transformation and facilitating acquiescence.

I met up with Pär, a local high school teacher, in one of the local cafés one day. Pär had previously been an active member in the local Green Party [Miljöpartiet] chapter, the only party that, according to him, that had been skeptical towards the city move. After expressing some of his views on the sadness and severity of the destruction of the city he turned to the view on LKAB and its relationship to residents:

> Richard: How do you think people view LKAB? Do people have a very positive image of the mine and the company?
>
> Pär: A very split image. It depends a bit on the perspective. Many have been able to be critical and so on of LKAB as an employer but there's also a very protective and bordering on religious idea of the company. It's almost as if one shouldn't disagree or try to hinder it because it's like the entire basis for our existence. Almost like some kind of reverence. But it's also gone in periods. When things went really badly in the eighties people could be very critical and think: "You just took the money to Stockholm and did nothing for us." But when things are good it's a god though, the company.

Pär´s comment reflected much of what other people told me at various times about the importance of LKAB. People are keenly aware of the history of Kiruna as a frontier society historically dominated by the founding company which has naturally come to cause a certain

reverence for it. The company is unquestionably the biggest employer and keeps Kiruna and the mine relevant in a time where the smaller towns of Norrland are increasingly being depopulated due to the lack of employment and industry. It was not the case that it was wholly impossible to critique the company or the process of dismantlement that was taking place, because people did in front of me all the time, but rather that the economic imperative of preserving the mine was reiterated again and again. Critique could be directed towards the company but its historical omnipresence throughout Kiruna's life had created strong form of dependence and identification among residents.

One of the first people to volunteer their time to speak to me about the issues facing Kiruna residents was local Center Party politician Gunnar Selberg. Selberg had become known as a very vocal critic of how the social democratic led municipal leadership had handled the city transformation. He felt that not enough demands had been placed on LKAB for reimbursement of the hotels that he and others were dependent on as privately operating wilderness tourist guides and that the building of new houses had not sufficiently been left to the operations of the market. However, despite being one of the few public figures with such an outspoken agenda, even he admitted to me in conversation that he was not against the relocation and destruction of the old city for that would be an impossibility in the situation that faced Kiruna and its dependency on the mine and the company. His dissatisfaction with the process had however led him to taking out a full-page advert in a local weekly newspaper criticizing, among many other things, the local social democratic leadership. Despite the obvious disliking of him by several of my interlocutors - one of them even referred to him pejoratively as a "professional pessimist" - his political belligerence seemed to have an effect. The Centerpartiet support soared under his leadership, from 3.64% in 2004 when Selberg joined to 28.55% in 2014 (Valmyndigheten, 2014). Even though these numbers are not necessarily directly correlated to the issue of the city transformation, his direct and anti-establishment style had become popular among some people. We sat down in the cafeteria of the widely appreciated city hall[4].

[4] Designed by Arthur von Schmalensee and erected in 1963, Kiruna's City Hall soon became one of the most iconic landmarks of Kiruna and once considered one of Sweden's most beautiful public buildings. Initially protected as a historic building according under the Heritage Conservation Act in 2001, the protection was lifted in 2001 due to impact from the mine. The asymmetrical clock tower, until recently located on the roof, is one of Kiruna's most revered landmarks and was relocated to the ground next to the new city hall in 2017.

It soon became apparent that Selberg had much to say on the issue of the city transformation and only shortly after we had introduced ourselves he fired off a dizzying number of statistics and parties involved in the process. I soon realized that Selberg's strategy as an politician belonging to the opposition was to talk to as many reporters from the press as possible in order to voice his critique as effectively, and widely, as possible. Our conversation soon veered into the question of power and the past and Selberg spoke of the relationship to the LKAB in the past:

> Gunnar: Kiruna residents views on power, LKAB and resignation and so on, that's probably multilayered in many ways. On the one hand it's a fact that LKAB has carried this town. My father worked for LKAB and when my mother said she wanted to move my old man said: "Sure, if you can take the mine with you, of course we can move." When I was a child you went to tuesday meetings here. Every tuesday the whole summer LKAB had Sweden's best performers here at the public park. Everything was free, LKAB paid for everything. They opened hospitals here in the twenties, thirties and forties and ran them down there. The entire population of the town, it wasn't that large but they got their healthcare from LKAB down there. They paid the police force into the fifties. When I went to high school I got my summer job at LKAB, not because they needed me but because they helped the families of employees. When I went to university down in Lund I had a scholarship from LKAB.
> Richard: So they've always been present along the way, you could say?
> Gunnar: It's been almost like Mom [Morsan]. She's really carried this society and footed the bill for everything, and that's something that still resides with Kiruna residents. But when they moved the head office to Luleå something happened. That's when Luleå became *the* place up here, the favoured one. They sponsor the hockey in Luleå, the theatre in Luleå, the basketball, the cultural scene, dance, everything. Luleå has become the new priority while up here, we only get a pittance, but people still have that feeling for LKAB left; It's Mom, see. You can't criticize LKAB.

Gunnar Selberg's memories of what LKAB used to mean for Kiruna is an illustration both of the importance that LKAB had had historically, and the resulting inability to criticize the company, but also how the narrative of benevolence has shifted slightly in recent years. Both Pär, quoted above, and Selberg related how there was a widespread dissatisfaction with how LKAB had opted to establish themselves socially in Luleå through investing in local life rather than Kiruna. This despite the fact that Kiirunavaara was still the main source of revenue. The sentiment was thus based on the fact that people felt that LKAB had partly retracted from the reciprocal relationship between the public and the company that Kiruna had always experienced and which the city was founded on. The patronage that people had

relied on for generations was now experienced by many to be lessening but as evidenced by the lack of opposition to the city transformation, their standing was still strong and considered important for the city. My interlocutors' statements above point to the fact that on the one hand there still exists a form of entrenched dependence and patronage in Kiruna, an effect of unequal gifting, but on the other hand they also point to a tension in this relationship that I explore below.

Enacting the Company

While the mine and the company provided a source of pride and identification there were also conflicting ways of relating to the company present. Kiruna, LKAB and the Kiirunavaara mine are synonymous with each other in many ways. In conversations, several of my interlocutors brought up themes of strongly identifying with the company. Two of them, Karl-Gustav, a retired mine worker and his wife Erika who I had met through one of my first interviewees had had to relocate from the now demolished Ullspiran neighbourhood. They now lived in a temporary house in what is known as "the Company Area" [Bolagsområdet], the land and houses owned by LKAB. As we sat in their couch in their living room I brought up the issue of LKAB as a source of pride and identification and asked if it was something they recognized:

> Karl-Gustav: Yes, absolutely! Many people work in different places but I usually say that at some point everyone should work for LKAB before you retire, because it's pretty unique. I have worked under ground for forty-eight years and a lot of people say: "How the hell can you work under ground like that?" But I say that I've never had a thought to change and work above ground. Since LKAB is so big you don't have to be under ground if you have a problem with it, but under ground is unique.
> Erika: [To Karl-Gustav] You've always been proud to be at the company.
> Karl-Gustav: Yeah, sure I have. It's been a stable employer, except during the eighties, '82 when they almost shut everything down. A disaster! They fired two-thousand men. Everything has to do with the economic situation and in 2010, '12, '13 the iron ore prices where incredibly high and that was thanks the expansion of China, but times have been somewhat worse now in 2014, '15, '16.
> Erika: [To Karl-Gustav] But they've been a good employer.
> Karl-Gustav: Yeah, that's definitely the case.

During the same interview Karl-Gustav discussed the company in several different roles: as the originator and benefactor, as the antagonist in a battle with the municipality and as the representative of the Swedish state and a extractor of resources that unfairly go to Stockholm. This duality was continually emphasized in my interactions in Kiruna. On the one hand the company is iconic, synonymous with the city and revered for its contributions. On the other people would often critique it for its shortcomings. The company was in Welker's (2014) words 'enacted' in various ways. Rather than seeing LKAB as a unified actor the perspective of the enacting of the company allows us to see the different roles in plays in the Kiruna transformation.

Throughout my interactions in Kiruna I noticed nuances and contradictions in the relationship to LKAB and the way people conceptualized their role in regards to it. On the one hand the influence of the company was noticeable everywhere in the layout of the city and in people's lives. Most people had at some point in their lives been employed in the mine or by LKAB or had had close family members who had been. It often struck me how differently the company was talked about in different situations. In certain situations it was talked about with pride as being the backbone of the entire city and, like Karl-Gustav above, something that was essential to experience as a resident of Kiruna. Throughout other discourses the company was cast in an antagonistic light. Karl-Gustav for instance later in the conversation returned to how there had recently erupted a battle over the financing of a new railway station for the new city centre, or how how he and his fellow co-workers were "treated like animals" before the massive strike that occured in 1969-70. Several other interlocutors mentioned the conflict over the railway station and were critical of the way LKAB had refused to replace it. As mentioned above, the Kiruna municipality was in turn refusing to present the detailed development plan necessary for LKAB's planned demolitions before LKAB had agreed to replace the beloved station that was torn down in 2017 as part of the relocation process. During my time in Kiruna LKAB still refused and considered the current temporary station outside of town sufficient. Recently this protracted conflict caused LKAB to come out and state that if the municipality did not release the development plans for the city centre, the production in the mine would have to slow down and lay-offs were imminent.

Welker's (2014) treatment of mining companies as being "enacted" allows for a nuanced analysis of as variously a patron and a disruptor that does not rely on an

understanding of the company as monolithic or unified. As her indonesian example shows, the mining company Newmont was enmeshed in intricate social relations and expectations of patronage from local groups and sometimes competing narratives were mounted for and against the corporation. Where "Goodmont" was conceptualized as a promoter of sustainability, as an employer and an important economic motor, "Newmonster" was portrayed as a destroyer of the environment and a disruptor. Viewing LKAB less as a fixed, unified actor opens up new ways of how to look at people's relationship to it. As Welker (2014:3) states: "The challenge, however, is not simply to take such entities apart but to understand how in everyday life ordinary actors put them together … enacting them as collective subjects that actually exist and have interests, rights, and obligations." Similarly, the narratives surrounding LKAB are mobilized in different way, casting the company in different roles. The company can for instance from the perspective of the offices responsible for the city transformation be a purveyor of economic sustainability and employment opportunities, while from the perspective of somebody forced to move an extension of the state extracting revenue while avoiding its social responsibilities. As discussed in the introduction, due to the fact that LKAB is connected to the Swedish welfare state which enjoys a high level of trust (Tarras-Wahlberg 2017:655-656) it does not technically engage in practices of corporate social responsibility to seek social license to operate. However, as many of the statements from my interlocutors above point out, LKAB have achieved a social acceptance to operate through being involved socially in society and a tacit expectation of patronage. Anna-Karin and Erland offered the following when I asked them about how people in general saw LKAB:

> Anna-Karin: Like something of a benefactor [välgörare], I think. Almost as if the mine hadn't existed the city wouldn't have either. Those people who have worked in the mine have been proud to be miners and it's kind of a status thing, or I don't know how to put it, that it's been something good to work there. It's a dirty job, dark and miserable. I would never have wanted to do it. Never. My dad used to work there, and my grandfather, so I was always worried when they were down there. I was afraid every single day. People have been proud to have been working with mining, that they've done the right thing [gjort rätt för sig]. Obviously it's a lot thanks to the ore that Kiruna exists at all, so I think that mentality has always been there. People have been proud to have worked for the company.

Anna-Karin's statements confirm the sense of indebtedness to the company that I discussed above through the sentiments of "doing the right thing", of giving back to the mine and the company that sustained the family. In her conceptualization, work in the mine was also a source of pride. As Gunnar Selbergs statements above similarly pointed out, apart from the historical dependence on LKAB the enactment of the company takes different shapes. LKAB is simultaneously both "Us" as the backbone through a sense of historical pride, and "Them" as a state-actor and employer. On the one hand there is a strong sense of indebtedness to what LKAB has contributed to society and in building the society as I argue above, but there is also simultaneously a form of disappointment.

Resignation and Acceptance

As I left the popular Bjöhrns kafé one dark afternoon I spotted a group of about twenty people congregating around a clock on the square about fifty meters in front of me, carrying signs and amplifying their voices through a PA-system. I stopped a man in his thirties just passing me to ask what was going on. The demonstration, he informed me, was a manifestation against racism, commemorating Kristallnacht.The man turned out to be a dutch filmmaker called Rik who spent a large portion of the previous year making a documentary film about the city transformation. Rik was frustrated because his film was lacking "friction" in its current state, meaning emotional scenes where destitute people evicted from their homes offer a scathing critique of the company destroying their home environment. In his words, he had been unable to find people willing to assume that role and critique LKAB, which would now cause the film to lack the narrative of the people against the tyrant. Unfortunately for Rik, the Kiruna situation did not lend itself to a black and white portrayal like the David versus Goliath story that he had in mind. He and his partner were quickly running out of funding and he related his effort to find a destitute person willing to shed tears on camera. Residents in Kiruna were however unwilling to offer any kind of substantial critique of LKAB on camera as such, and had reiterated the need to adapt to the circumstances. In fact, people often emphasized the necessity of the move in similar ways to Anna-Karin:

Richard: I'm guessing that people think that without LKAB there would barely be a Kiruna at all?

> Anna-Karin: No, Exactly! It's necessary. They've interviewed us from many countries and many newspapers and things like that and we've always said that it's sort of self-explanatory [självklart] that we should move. Protesting wasn't an option. If Kiruna is to exist at all we have to adapt.

Anna-Karin's statement was not unique and most people I knew in Kiruna offered similar sentiments when asked bluntly. People would often offer accounts of the displacement and feelings of loss they were experiencing in the midst of what was happening to their homes and neighbourhoods but when I pressed them about any feelings of resentment towards LKAB or opposition towards the move itself they would emphasize the necessity of the mine and the company for the survival of the city. The dependency on the mining industry was emphasized again and again. Although as I discussed above, it was not necessarily the case that people had an uncompromisingly positive attitude either, simply that few people were willing to oppose it to the extreme extent Rik had in mind. According to most people in Kiruna the move was both necessary and inevitable if the mine was to continue operating. Much like Rik, when first hearing about what was taking place in Kiruna I had expected there to be organizations voicing their opposition, demonstrations and public forums to voice discontent among residents, but none of these things took place during my time there nor had they taken place during the past years. As I discussed above, due to the connection to the state and the historically engrained economic dependence, this situation in many ways go against the grain of classic ethnographic attention to mining ventures in the political ecology literature where private actors make new inroads into local economies (Ballard & Banks 2003; Robbins 2004). As mentioned, Gunnar Selberg was one of the few critical voices and he regularly took out a advert in a weekly free local newspaper criticizing the decision making process and the perceived lack of responsibility from the municipal leadership. Despite having gained significant popularity for his party in the preceding four years for his outspoken views on mismanagement, even he claimed the necessity of the transformation and move when asked about it:

> Gunnar Selberg: We make our living from the mine. If we have to make way for the mine we have to make way for the mine. There's nothing strange about that. It's self self-evident. That's one thing, some kind of feeling of shared understanding of the importance of the mine, but then you also have the other things that are related to that; it's that resignation that comes from all that's happening. That's something that has emerged, this resignation. It's just a total disaster.

Benson and Kirsch (2010) argue that much of prevailing contemporary feelings of political resignation stems from the way that corporations handle critique and actively disseminate a feeling of disempowerment to benefit from it strategically. Widespread feelings of resignation, they argue, legitimizes corporate power in making it seem inevitable (2010:461). The authors delineate how corporations utilize different strategies in three different phases of critique from the public. The first phase involves not engaging with critique at all or outright denying harmful effects while the second phase involves a recognition of the existence of a problem but the response tends to be limited to symbolic gestures. Phase three attempts to co-opt and appropriate critique and introduce regulatory and socially responsible measures and partnerships to promote an agenda of benevolence and compromise, "justifying limited rather than wholesale reforms." (2010:466). Benson and Kirsch's argument relates to the tobacco and mining industries and their negative impacts on people's health and the environment which arguably have more directly harmful consequences than the transformation of Kiruna's city space, yet there are parallels to be made regarding the political resignation and lack of resistance. In terms of resistance the authors argue that: "Even though people seem to accept the way corporations operate, this does not necessarily mean that they have given their consent; political resignation indexes discontent even if such sentiments do not spill over into more active forms of opposition." (2010:468).

I would argue that the case was similar in Kiruna where the lack of outright political opposition was substituted for subtler forms of resignation and discontent. Even though people recognized the economic necessities of allowing for LKAB to relocate the city and feel unable to formulate a critique of the company that has any traction and widespread feelings of loss suffused conversations about the future and the disappearance of the city space. At the heart of the issues lie the fact that criticizing LKAB was virtually impossible, because to criticize the company would be very much like criticizing Kiruna itself. In the face of increasing opposition to destructive corporate practices companies have adopted strategies of social responsibility to neutralize critique (Rajak 2011) and although LKAB does not engage directly with corporate social responsibility practices, the form of economic dependency on the company and the mine and its inherent connection to the foundational history of Kiruna effectively neutralized opposition and contributes to a politics of

resignation. As Benson and Kirsch states, the source of popular discontent is perhaps not the sense that capitalism works as a casino, increasing the gaps between rich and poor but "the pervasive sense that no form of critique has traction." (2010:474). This argument can be illustrated by Gunnar Selberg's thoughts on the conflict between the experienced importance of the mine and the loss of city space for residents. Any critique is virtually meaningless due to the perceived social and economic reality of the situation. Few, if any, residents had opted for the destruction and relocation of their city had they had the choice and the resulting lack of leverage over the situation created a form of resignation to the effects of the mine.

Conclusion

As I have argued above, the implications of the economic and historical importance of LKAB prevented opposition of the city transformation process, despite widespread dissatisfaction with it among residents. LKAB is synonymous with the urban environment in that it is historically responsible for the founding of the city, ownership of land and the erecting of many of its valued structures (Brunnström 1981). This dynamic thus affected how people dealt with the loss of space and produces a tacit understanding that allowed LKAB to be equated with the city space itself. Through this form of social production of space (Lefebvre 1991; Low 2017:34) LKAB was constructed and thought of as inherently interconnected to Kiruna as a place, which, coupled with the city's economic dependence on mining activities effectively invalidates opposition and critique (see Also Sandberg & Rönnblom 2016).

Due to LKAB's connection to the welfare state, its economic importance and its pivotal role in the foundation of the city, residents' relationship to the disappearance of the cityscape was one of resignation. The company's historical role as a founding entity, rationale for the city's existence and employment opportunities have established a strong relationship of patronage and protection. This, following Benson and Kirsch, establishes a "politics of resignation" which negates the traction of criticism of the company's actions. Yet, as I have shown, despite the perceived importance of the company for the city's economic survival, the narratives surrounding LKAB varies and it is in effect (following Welker) enacted in varying ways; as both "Us" and "Them". LKAB is at times perceived as the caring patron providing the social infrastructure of an entire society, to the morally

questionable entity that shirks its responsibility towards replacing infrastructure. However, as Low (2000:130-133) notes in relation to contested spaces, “resistance” do not always simply take the form of outright political demonstrations or overt disobedience but also through contestations of visions and appropriate behaviour. These contestations and affective strategies will be explored in the following two chapters.

4. Affect and the Loss of the City

The previous chapter discussed the economic and ideological implications of the dependency on the mine and LKAB and its impact on how residents dealt with the change of the city transformation. In the light of this, I discuss in this chapter how Kiruna residents find ways of expressing their views on the transformation and displacement through referencing and discoursing about their feelings of loss and worry. These sentiments and concerns become facets to investigate residents' views and how they at times come into conflict with many of the official accounts surrounding the city transformation. The emphasis on scientific rationality and technical expertise often take precedence over the experience of residents in relation to the destruction and relocation of the city. This analysis represents a social construction of space approach that involve "people's social interactions, memories, feelings, imaginings and daily use - or lack thereof - that are made into places, scenes and actions that convey particular meanings" (Low, 2017:68). It is important to note that a place is not only important to people geographically but also in the "relationship between people and place as encoded in objects, socially constructed places, and historically derived cultural practices." (Oliver-Smith, 2010:177). Thus, Kiruna is not important to people merely because of its conceptualization as a geographical place, that can seemingly be freely changed or relocated and still maintain its identity, but as a place where practices and relationships between people also exist encoded in buildings and spaces that are demolished. In the words of Pellow and Lawrence-Zúñiga (2014:84):

> The urban built environment is an obvious cultural production, intentionally expressing functional requirements and symbolic messages, but urban life's materiality also has a mutually reinforcing influence on city dwellers. Urban landmarks and pathways channel and delimit daily behavior in defining the boundaries and conditions by which inhabitants embody space and incorporate urban features into their own identities. These features give order to social relationships, reinforce concepts of the proper way to live, and motivate emotional attachments to the urban place. (Pellow & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2014:85)

Demolitions and Affect

The current plans delineating the liquidation of the city will swallow large sections of the city closest to the mine and many of these sections contain residential areas that house individual residents, pensioners and families. As the previous chapter outlined, there was a widespread sentiment that what was happening was a necessary evil for the survival of a city dependent on a mine, which in turn has consequences for how people related to the disappearance of the city. However, residents also faced huge uncertainties in the transformation process and mourn the expanding destruction of what had been their and their neighbour's homes, neighbourhoods and playgrounds for generations. A grand vision of a new town emerged in the discourse and sketches of planners, architects and officials while many residents remained skeptical and commemorated the old parts by talking about it and posting photographs in online forums. Although some residents reiterated the need for optimism and emphasized the economic necessity of the transformation the situation simultaneously confronted people with the saddening reality of loss while also not allowing for any real opposition or recognition of loss in the face of progress and reconstruction.

A traditional political ecology approach (Robbins 2004) that commonly outlines the destructive tendencies of private mining companies in anthropology is an awkward fit in the case of Kiruna. The company responsible was neither a private actor appropriating resources, nor an outsider to which political opposition could be mounted effectively. Instead, in order to investigate townspeople's reactions to the urban transformation affecting them I have opted for an emphasis on discourses and affective states that allow people to comment on what they are experiencing in the case of Kiruna. I follow here Low's (2017:145), Thrift's (2004) and Barrios' (2017) usage in seeing the concept of emotion as more private and personal than affect which is more pre-ideological, more socially contagious and able to transcend individuals. Both emotion and affect are however "key elements in the creation, interpretation and experience of space and a constitutive component of place-making." (Low 2017:146). Affect is thus a useful way to investigate ethnographically how Kiruna residents' relationship to place is situated and also a way of investigating sentiments that might not otherwise surface, especially considering the reluctance to oppose the transformation officially. Barrios' (2017) use of the concepts of "affective ecologies" and "affective regimes" is useful for discussing how the feelings of residents come to clash with officials'. As discussed in the Background chapter, affective ecologies refer to the way people have

particular ways of experiencing emotions socially and to the material environment while affective regimes refer to prescribed ways of experiencing emotions by elites. Similarly, people in Kiruna are subject to their own affective ecologies where their experiences are shaped in particular ways in relation to each other and the material environment. As mentioned in the background chapter, in the Kiruna case this affective ecology is shaped by the history of Kiruna as a frontier town and its history as a perceived ideal town with its foundational planning and architecture (Brunnström 1981). In Chapter Three I discussed how Kiruna residents' relationship to the mine and the company effectively precludes political opposition to the project of the city transformation and how residents perceived that what was taking place in terms of displacement and demolitions are out of their control. Thus, rather than viewing outright political opposition as the only way to show discontent and opinions, a focus on how emotional states and affect were narrativized and mobilized can reveal much about residents' experiences. In the Kiruna case, residents take great pride in their sense of history which was often channeled through to a focus on buildings and landmarks that make the connections obvious and much of residents' cultural identity reside in buildings, public spaces and structures. School teacher Pär (introduced in the preceding chapter) put it in the following way when commenting on the creeping desolation of the public life of the Kiruna city centre:

> Richard: Is it more obvious what's happening now when buildings have started disappearing?
> Pär: Yes, it has to be. I feel as I've been preparing for many years. It's been difficult to witness. I lived down there on Ullspiran, the first area that was demolished. So, yeah, now I live with a view of city hall and see the tower disappear.
> Richard: I can imagine that there are a lot of memories in a city, that people have a lot of connection to monuments and landmarks and things like that.
> Pär: Yes, yes, I think so, because that is much of what Kiruna is. For many of us, not everyone of course.

For Pär, and others, a melancholic awareness of what has been seen as a creeping inevitability is coupled with an increasing desolation of the city that is strongly connected to a pride in the Kiruna heritage and an identity as a resident.

The snowy streets of what is colloquially and historically known as "The Company Area" [Bolagsområdet] circles the housing area adjacent the Kiirunavaara mountain. LKAB owns the land and the houses that were located on it and many of the old wooden houses that used to house miners' families are part of the beloved built heritage of Kiruna. Local Company Area residents and married couple Anna-Karin and Erland welcomed me inside their two-story wooden house to talk about their experiences of the city transformation. The couple were in their sixties and Anna-Karin worked as a daycare teacher while Erland taught at the local high school Hjalmar Lundbohmsskolan. They were one of the first households to relocate from the first buildings demolished in the Ullspiran neighbourhood in 2009. Ullspiran (see Background chapter) was one of the first areas to be bought and dismantled by LKAB. I sat down by the kitchen table in the couples' kitchen and Anna-Karin soon turned to the topic of Ullspiran. "It was very sad when they started the demolitions" Anna-Karin started, turning to the emotional aspects of dismantlement. "We couldn't really understand it. We moved several years before they started tearing it down but it wasn't until they started the demolitions that you felt this deep sadness for the apartments as such." Erland sat down to join the conversation and we went on to discuss the difficulties involved in leaving a neighborhood and a home:

> Anna-Karin: It was melancholy at first and what I thought was the saddest... I still tear up sometimes. Our kids have grown up there but it doesn't exist anymore. You can't walk around and show the grandkids the houses but we went around there and showed Malte, our grandson, he's five now, while it was still there. And then we've been… They've built where the houses stood. So we've sort stood there in his mother's room, where the kitchen used to be and he's sort of run around there and he can sort of understand: "Now I'm standing in your kitchen."

Anna-Karin went on to comment on how the house where they were currently living in was much nicer materially but how it was not connected to the memories of raising a family. The disappearance of the social cohesion of the Ullspiran with its playgrounds, community gardens and recreational activities contributed to a sense of loss when the structures came down. However, despite grieving for the loss of their family home and a part of the city landscape, the couple, like many others I spoke to, were of the opinion that the city transformation had been handled well and professionally. Despite their experienced loss and their reluctance to move away from a neighbourhood that they had strong emotional

attachment to. The longer I stayed in Kiruna I understood that residents to a large extent evaluated the transformation in terms of how well the technicalities of relocation and reimbursement had been executed quickly and effectively rather than if the fundamental issue of their relocation was fair to begin with. Yet people consistently offered emotional stories of encroaching loss and desperation in private conversations. These offer alternative accounts of the prevailing official story that views the transformation and demolitions as desirable. Granås (2012:137) has argued that inhabitants by referring to the ideal town history and its historical precedent take care of the "affective needs" without threatens the rational logic of the place: "If we allow for the absent and the non-articulated to be considered part of politics, the inhabitants' lack of publicly articulated political engagement can also be identified as a manifestation of citizens taking political responsibility towards a place that may be 'in their hearts' but is still 'out of their hands'."

A few weeks later I spoke again with Erika and Karl-Gustav, Anna-Karin and Erland's closest friends and previous Ullspiran neighbours, about the loss of their old neighbourhoods and the increasing desolation of the city centre. Like their friends, the couple also emphasized the sense of community among neighbours and safety that made Ullspiran a memorable place despite its unassuming character. Besides feeling much the same way as Anna-Karin and Erland about the familial social cohesion at Ullspiran that had now been lost, much of the grief over the loss of the city environment in Erika and Karl-Gustav's statements revolve around the loss of some of the landmarks that Kiruna is famous for. Karl-Gustav commented on the bleakness of a disappearing city landscape:

> Karl-Gustav: It's difficult to understand. The first thing that happened when we came home from our vacation was that the clocktower had been removed from city hall. That's when you started realizing that things were being dismantled.
>
> Karl-Gustav: LKAB has basically cashed in the entire city centre. If you start looking at the city empty shops are starting to appear everywhere and things like that. Things are starting to look half desolate in a lot of places.
>
> Erika: It's sad to see.
>
> Karl-Gustav: It doesn't feel too good.
>
> Richard: I heard the block Ortdrivaren is going to disappear too.
>
> Karl-Gustav: Yes, and when that happens it's going to be very noticeable.
>
> Erika: When city hall's gone. That's when you'll start to realize that things are really underway.
>
> Karl-Gustav: Yes, yes. That's a big landmark for Kiruna.

Karl-Gustav and Erika, like many others during my stay in Kiruna, had begun to experience the city as slowly and depressingly fading away. During the time I was there, centrally located ICA supermarket had been forced to close and now stood boarded shut in the middle of town to the dismay of many residents. Several remaining shops were also planning closure in the near future and many, like Karl-Gustav, commented that with the disappearance of Ullspiran and the shops the disappearance of the city had become more palpable and direct than before. In the discussion with Karl-Gustav and Erika, the coming demolition of the iconic City Hall and the increasingly desolate city atmosphere becomes emblematic of the final death knell of Old Kiruna. On the one hand the mine and its economic opportunities presupposed a belief in a viable economic future and a desire to keep things going. In contrast however, listening to residents concerns and pessimistic estimates regarding the viability of the new city and seeing empty storefronts reinforced a rather bleaker view of the future. Many residents expressed a disbelief in the ability to replace the functions and commerce of the old city centre. As mentioned, despite their professed sense of loss and grief, when asked for their opinion on the city transformation as a whole, both spouses above expressed a sense of lack of choice in the situation and that their relocation had been carried out swiftly and economically correct. I soon realized that residents had been living for over a decade with the transformation as the only self-evident route to take and that its inevitability had since long been established. I take this to be indicative of how residents in Kiruna both have come to accept the transformation as an inevitability and how it is reduced to a preoccupation with economic variables and infrastructure rather than being able to take a position against the transformation. The discourses of loss and displacement are played down under the overarching narrative that the transformation is both economically inevitable and desirable in terms of a new, better, city. Affect and emotions were however recurrently mobilized through memories and stories to comment on the experienced loss in conversations.

Buildings and Rationality

As can be seen above, many of my conversations with interlocutors revolved around buildings and landmarks. Nilsson (2009, 2010) writes on the ideological factors surrounding the city transformation and the exclusion of “soft issues” of feelings of displacement and

grief for the favouring of a form of rationality. This rationality according to Nilsson emphasizes technical solutions to Kiruna's transformation which is framed as a technical problem rather than a social and emotional issue (2010:438-39). Thus, the physical transformation seems to be most important, and social issues are more or less ignored. Nilsson also discusses the ideological aspects and representations of the city transformation and shows that the portrayal from municipality and other powerful actors promote a vision of Kiruna as modern, changing and dynamic that contrasts with other more dejected voices among the residents. He writes: "The major focus on the central buildings of Kiruna can in itself be seen as an ideological force – especially as it has this technical character – because it means that other issues are neglected or subordinated. Not only have the central buildings become key symbols of the town of Kiruna; they have also become key symbols of a successful urban transformation and the new Kiruna." (2009:439).

Similarly to Ferguson (2006) who argues that poverty in development work gets reduced to a technical problem and "development" and thus de-politicized, the focus on infrastructure and development solutions in Kiruna de-politicizes many of the experienced fears of relocation by Kiruna residents. While Nilsson however is right from the point of view of the official preoccupation with technical solutions over residents' concerns, it is however overly reductive to simply reduce residents' concern for buildings and architecture to an imposed ideological force of modernism. In my experience, this is not only because of an experienced uniqueness of the city but also a reaction to the uncertainty of its future; what Sawalha (2010:43), , refers to as an idealized past as a refuge from an unpredictable future in relation to Beiruti resident's nostalgia in the face of urban renewal. This process and favouring of infrastructure over social and cultural issues was hinted at by LKAB representative Niclas Svanelöv during an informal interview:

> Niclas Svanelöv: If I were to summarize my five years at the city transformation offices it's that we know this thing with the technology. We know how to move houses, we know how to disassemble infrastructure. The challenge is really what we call "the living environment" [boendemiljön] - how people are affected and how to make our local environment attractive and how to keep our areas liveable during liquidation. That's the hard part. As soon as you have to deal with people it gets very…
> Richard: Complicated?
> Niclas: Yes.

As mentioned, a number of historic buildings that were deemed important for Kiruna's heritage, most of them in some way connected to the early establishment of LKAB and the company area surrounding the mine, and have begun to be moved to the foot of the Luossavaara mountain to the north of the city. Nilsson's argument about the official discourse focusing on buildings to the exclusion of social issues can be illustrated by Karl-Gustav and Erika's statements regarding the preservation of historic buildings.

> Richard: Do you wish they had preserved more buildings?
> Karl-Gustav: It's really difficult to move it. A house like this, it's not possible to move one of these.
> Erika: But they have had experts who've made assessments, so I guess we'll have to trust them. You could have opinions on preserving old houses I guess, but not everything is possible, you have to realize. It's about costs too.

In both Anna-Karin and Erland's and Erika and Karl-Gustav's words the demolition and transformation of the city were in the hands of experts whose technical expertise take precedence over personal feelings. As previously discussed, LKAB's historical role as founder and main employer has allowed the company to operate almost unopposed for a long time and the entire project of relocation and dismantlement is experienced by people to be in the hands of the company and the experts in charge of the technical operations. This relationship has created a situation where LKAB can continue operating virtually without any opposition from residents or organizations aside from individual instance. Indirect discontent and uncertainty regarding the future could however be registered in the way people frame discussions about what was happening to them.

Low (2017:156) writes on affective atmospheres suffusing disaster areas and neighbourhoods and the ability of a material environment to produce particular affective states. Similarly, writing on the melancholia experienced by Turkish-Cypriots forced to live in homes abandoned by Greek-Cypriots during the civil war, Navaro-Yashin (2009) asks where affect can be said to located in relation to inanimate objects. The melancholia felt by Turkish-Cypriots is generated by having to live in spaces left behind by refugees deemed ethnically other and thus rendered unable to be mourned, producing a generalized feeling of loss. Navaro-Yashin reaches the conclusion that affect is a domain that goes beyond individual subjectivity and can be generated and circulated by the surrounding environment

(2009:4). In this case finding themselves in the former dwellings of Greek-Cypriots a sense of moral violation and generalized loss is generated by the very spaces they occupy. In Kiruna a similar sense of spatially generated melancholia produced by loss is palpable. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the sentiment of economic necessity precludes political protests but it similarly also hinders mourning the loss of homes and neighbourhoods in effective ways. Much of it is limited to online forums on Facebook where people occasionally nostalgically post photos of structures or landmarks in remembrance. In Kiruna the focus becomes the lack of buildings, or on the demolition of buildings, in lieu of the ability to oppose the demolition itself. Living in and with a a town marked for destruction is an example of what Navaro-Yashin means when she refers to affect being generated and exuded by dwellings, objects, and spaces in an intertwinement of subjectivity and environment (2009:4). Marie-Louise, one of my earliest interviewees and interlocutors, put these sentiments in the following way when she joined me for a coffee and related her feelings about the move:

> Richard: What are your thoughts on the future for Kiruna? What do you think it's going to be like?
> Marie-Louise: I think it's going to take a long time, no matter what. I read that that city hall is going to be opened, or finished. It wasn't far away. 2018. Next year. The city centre itself is dying. You see empty shop fronts. It's hard for the ones that are still going. It's difficult and a lot of people want to move and I think a few thousand more will move actually, before you find that spirit again. A lot of people have moved down towards Piteå, or Luleå. It's hard to find some kind of… Why you'd want to stay sort of.

As told by Marie-Louise, Erika and Karl-Gustav and Anna-Karin and Erland, the experience among residents of the gradual disappearance of shops and their childhood neighbourhoods produce a distinct affective atmosphere of loss of identity and memories. The encroaching demolitions also contribute to the feelings of uncertainty and potential displacement that concern many residents.

Displacement and Malmberget

Many of the conversations with my interlocutors revolved around the experience of fear regarding the future and the distressing prospect of being forced to leave their homes.

The reimbursement plan during the beginning of my fieldwork was that renters were to be offered an incremental increase in rent during a period of seven years if they chose to move to a newly built rental and would retain the same amount of rent during the first year. Renters would in effect pay full rent for their new property after nine years. Those owning their properties would be reimbursed with a sum of money based on the size and state of the property. Vendors and business-owners forced to move will according to LKAB be compensated with replacement facilities, relocalization costs, loss of profits, and an increase in rents.. Several people expressed that they felt that it was a gamble to stay instead of taking the money and move to a city with a more viable future. These feelings were continuously downplayed by officials and planners as needless worries that would eventually be unfounded. Gunnar Selberg, the vociferous Centerpartiet politician introduced in Chapter Three, had begun to talk to the media about what he saw as a forcible removal of people from their homes:

> Gunnar Selberg: The municipality is in the process of transforming the local zoning plans to a mine industry area [referred to as the mine city park]. This is a mining industrial area where we are sitting now, and people are living here. I brought it up at the municipal board. We're at Stage 4 right now, but people are living here, in these houses, and the municipality is turning it into a mine industry area so that they're driven from their homes. It's so absurd it's insane really. People are forced to leave their homes. How can a municipality do that? People think I'm lying. They think it can't possibly be that bad. He's got to be exaggerating. But this is exactly what's happening. They're forced, and they don't know where to go.

Aron, a tenant of "Spottkoppen", one of the soon to be demolished buildings, put it in the following way:

> Richard: So most of the buildings will be torn down fairly soon now then?
> Arild Storeide: We've been given until about August 2022.
> Richard: Do you know where you'll go?
> Arild: Well if they haven't put us on the fire by then… It's five years until then and nothing's for certain.
> Richard: It's got to be stressful for people for a lot of people in these neighbourhoods?
> Arild: Yes, we have widows coming here crying and wondering if they have to move tomorrow. You try to console and explain that there's plenty of time left and things like that.

> Inger: We had one who lives on the second floor who looked out the window and we were there with a trailer to throw things away and she was devastated and thought: "They're moving out, what do I do?" The elderly are more worried.
>
> Arild: Sure, we've been given some money for this but we won't be able to afford renting an apartment. There are none on the market to rent. That's the sad truth.

On the evening of the nineteenth of November a meeting was organized in the meeting hall of Kiruna's Folkets hus. The main speaker for the evening was the Social Democratic Party [Socialdemokraterna] minister of finance, Magdalena Andersson. The stated purpose for her visit was partly to take an interest in regional issues as a representative of the state government (and thus also indirectly as a representative of state-owned LKAB) and to meet with the municipal leadership regarding the reduction of sales tax for homeowners selling their property and relocating to the new city centre. Approximately two hundred people were seated when Andersson took the stage and delivered a vague and predictable speech on the social democratic vision, speaking at length about widening income gaps and the negative impact of the previous liberal government of eight years. Despite the fact that the Kiruna transformation was one of the biggest issues facing Kiruna residents, Andersson did not explicitly discuss it in her speech except for mentioning "challenges" that "may seem difficult but are surmountable." After her speech Andersson opened up for questions from the audience and it became clear that the residents in attendance had questions relating to the city and the transformation process. Fellow Social Democrat and municipal commissioner of Kiruna, Kristina Zackrisson, received the microphone and suggested Andersson bring back to Stockholm as a topic of discussions of how to expand tourism in the area to break the heavy dependency on the mining industry. Andersson thanked her for her suggestion and the microphone travelled across the seated audience. The next question came from an elderly frail woman in her seventies. She stood up and introduced herself as "Gun, a very concerned tenant". She explained that she was from Malmberget in Gällivare and that due to the LKAB iron ore excavations was forced to move to a newly built apartment that would mean increased rent that she feared she would not be able to cover. She directed her question to Andersson with: "What does the minister think about this, and what rights do we have?" Thage, an elderly but energetic man who seemed to be accompanying Gun from Malmberget stood up right after Gun and explained that he had lived in a rental apartment for 56 years and challenged the audience to match that. He faced the minister and asked: "What

solution do you have for us tenants who can't afford to move?"[5] Andersson answered them both vaguely that rent levels is a concern for the government but that ultimately rents are negotiated between the Tenants' Association [Hyresgästföreningen] and the property owners. Gunnar Selberg from the oppositional Center Party was seated in the crowd and seemed intent on confrontation with a representative from Socialdemokraterna. He introduced himself and said that he wanted to continue on the theme of displacement and the effects of the city transformation. He continued: "Tenants are forced to leave their homes. LKAB keep making profits and the state keep taking the profits from here and people who don't own their homes are the worst affected." He ended by predicting that the media would soon being to write about how the people in Kiruna are adversely affected and inquired rhetorically who would then be on their side. Andersson repeated her answer that the rents are not controlled by the government but by the Tenants' Association and property owners and seemed reluctant to delve any further into Selberg's question. One middle aged man stood up and broached the subject of a new railway station the new city centre and stated that for many years there was a central train station in the city, now reduced to a paltry temporary one. To the applause of the audience he exclaimed: "We want a centrally located train station!" Lastly, a woman received the microphone and explained that she had a question on responsibility. Since the city transformation and the tearing down of buildings now affected the two cities of Kiruna and Gällivare, she asked, and since LKAB is owned by the state, how do you view the distribution of responsibility between the state and LKAB? Andersson gave the brief answer that LKAB has the responsibility but that of course LKAB is state-owned. The state, she stated, has a responsibility for how the company acts and appoints the board but the practical everyday handling is with the company. This marked the end of the meeting and for those who wanted, cake was available.

The meeting highlighted a number of issues that is central to the transformation of Kiruna and represents focal points of contention and conflict regarding the dismantlement of Kiruna town. The visit by the minister of finance shows that the government feels at least nominally responsible for LKAB as a state-owned company that brings enormous revenue to the state budget yet at the same time, as Andersson's answers revealed, the government does

[5] A few weeks after the meeting Tage had an opinion piece published in the debate section of Swedish daily Aftonbladet where he in a highly critical manner outlined his opinion that the complete destruction of Malmberget for its iron ore deposits was a form of forced displacement and the adjusted rent levels in reality meant nothing for their ability to afford new accommodation.

not accept any significant responsibility for the actions of the company or the transformation. The transformation poses somewhat of a dilemma for a minister there to address her constituency for it is obvious that residents are caught between the essential need for revenue and the continuation of the mine on the one hand and the de facto displacement and disconcerting worries regarding the future on the other.

The question about the construction of a new train station that received spontaneous applause by the seated audience also reveals the strong sentiments surrounding it. The old station which was a beloved landmark and previously a designated cultural heritage building was demolished in 2017 to make way for the planned mine city park as the other central areas. Kristina Zackrisson and the municipal government has so far declined to release the necessary zoning plans for the development of the mine city park until LKAB agrees to finance the building of a new centrally located train station. The issue represents an ongoing source of conflict between the municipality and LKAB who has stated that the current station, located a few kilometers outside of the city, is sufficient and have no plans to finance a new one in the new city centre. The old station was built in 1917 and represents a strong sense of loss of city space and an iconic Kiruna landmark to many people in the city. On another level, the scenes taking place in the meeting hall is a much more public exemplification of some of the issues I have been discussing so far.

It was clear from the questions asked and the audience reaction to them that many of the serious concerns of residents had been failed to be sufficiently addressed or solved by the current plans set in motion. People's fears of displacement and emotional reactions to the liquidation of public spaces goes against much of the efforts introduced to ameliorate them that does little to take people's grievances seriously. The introduction of the reduction of capital tax is one such step but only for a minority of people who are homeowners and only for a limited time. As the meeting also revealed, the company town of Malmberget, just north of the town of Gällivare, located eighty-three kilometers south of Kiruna, was going through a similar process of urban transformation, yet lacked many of the characteristics of the process taking place in Kiruna. Most significantly, no new city centre was replacing the old in Malmberget but residents were being relocated to Gällivare while Malmberget faced an extensive liquidation. Often when the topic of displacement and the loss of the environment surfaced in conversations, residents would downplay the severity of the Kiruna situation and compare it to the expansion of the mine taking place in Malmberget. The similarities to

Kiruna are many. Malmberget (literally "Ore Mountain") has extensive underground deposits of iron ore and the extended extraction by LKAB is now causing the destruction of the town. In comparison to Malmberget, Storm (2014:13) writes:

> The concerns of the local population, the miners and their families, are voiced but the responses are few. The contrast to the nearby town of Kiruna—where the same mining company is planning to move the whole town because of the needs of the mine, in a highly medial spectacle—is striking. The scar in Malmberget is the literally disappearing homes and places of childhood in the midst of a dying town, along with a negligent attitude from the mining company toward a loyal, yet hurt, local community.

When the discussions turned to the transformation and loss of space people would often emphasize that even if what was happening in Kiruna was disheartening it was less serious than what was taking place in Malmberget. Anna-Karin and Erland, who felt that Kiruna's transformation had been handled comparatively well expressed this in the following way:

> Anna-Karin: I'm also thinking about Malmberget where they're moving too. Not much is written about that. Almost nothing in comparison to here, really. We have friends there and it's really not the same.
> Erland: It's much more noticeable. The pit is in the middle of town. It's not far between the pit and people's houses.
> Anna-Karin: It's very close. It hasn't been handled as well as here, I think, maybe they've learned by their mistakes. I feel like people think here and try to do the best here. That's how I feel. I've never been afraid of falling into a pit.

Others, like Marie-Louise below, who expressed fear regarding the future, saw in Malmberget an example of a possible worst-case scenario where an encroaching mine caused distress among residents:

> Marie-Louise: People are kind of holding their breaths: "What if my house is in a place where they will start demolitions? Where will I move then? Will my reimbursement be fair?" I mean, LKAB, they might not want to pay, and that's happened too. Look at Malmberget, it's a terrifying illustration. They don't want to pay. They let people live in those apartments that are cracking. They have it much worse than here.

In this way, Gällivare and Malmberget were often used as counterexamples and to what was taking place in Kiruna, often to justify or downplay the severity of Kiruna's

situation. In Malmberget, an open pit mine owned and operated by LKAB is currently causing the nearest buildings to be demolished and the Malmberget residential areas to be slowly dismantled. Despite the many similarities between the two cities, Malmberget's fate was considered much worse and it was often constructed as an alternative mirror image to Kiruna. Where Malmberget was depressing and the victim of poor social conditions Kiruna was modern and enjoyed the benefits of its status as an ideal town through early planning and stewardship. The Kiruna leadership and planners have been much more prolific and efficient in promoting what is happening in Kiruna as something positive and desirable, and the building of the new city centre is constructed as an exciting opportunity for economic and social development (see Chapter Five). As previously mentioned, a large part of what I have called the affective ecology of Kiruna - the historical and economic context of how residents relate emotionally to the city - is based in its history as a frontier society and a planned model town. This point was often emphasized in conversations where Malmberget's purported lack of social engineering was used as an explanation for its demise. Eva Ekelund, head of land och development, explicated during a brief meeting:

> Richard: Malmberget often surfaces as a negative counterpart to Kiruna.
> Eva: Yes, and I think that's because of when these societies where founded. It was much like the Wild West so when people came to Kiruna they said: "No, let's build a model town." That thinking is still alive. It's a bit mean to Gällivare (laughter). It's a very nice town. Things have moved a much faster there. They're ahead of us when it comes to the liquidation. They lived next to the mining fence because they had nowhere to move. The people there were very resilient. They're losing people continuously while we're gaining. We've managed to slow the negative development. We're on the rise.

Similarly, Pär emphasized Kirunas superiority as a model town and connected it to how it had also been used in marketing the transformation:

> Pär: We have a history of saying, all the way from the beginning, that this is like an amazing place. It has sort of been included in LKAB's marketing of this. You had big problems in Malmberget when they started there nine years earlier because the living conditions were terrible. A lot of social problems and misery from the get go. So they had decided already from the beginning that they weren't going to make the same mistakes. "We're going to be a model society." That has sort of always followed the

> town, that everything we do is supposed to be the best and most northern and most fantastic. Most modern.

Eva's and Pär's statements further comment on how the development in Kiruna is informed by a historical pattern of "the model town". Kiruna and its transformation process can thus in official discourse be constructed as the positive inversion of Gällivare situation where the transformation process can be used to transmit values of innovation and change.

Conclusion

I have in this chapter argued that a focus on affect and emotions allow for an effective way of analysing in what ways inhabitants interpret and experience the loss of the city. I have argued that the official discourse has been strongly concentrated on infrastructural concerns and efficient reimbursement without taking into consideration of people's affective relationship to buildings and neighbourhoods. The reverence for buildings and public spaces are part of the cultural identity and affective ecologies (Barrios 2017) of Kiruna residents and they are referenced and remembered as part as a way of mourning the loss of space not sufficiently addressed by official discourse and actions. A fear of displacement is simultaneously experienced and referenced which is further compounded by the affective atmosphere of an increasing desolate city landscape. Furthermore, Malmberget is in popular discourse constructed as an "other" to Kirunas situation that both works to negate the seriousness of Kirunas situation and simultaneously hints of the potential negative effects of displacement and profitability. The referencing of Malmberget also demonstrates the historical construction of Kiruna as a model town, as different and superior to the social problems of Malmberget. I will also return to the concept of affective regimes and some of the official narratives surrounding the building of New Kiruna in order to promote a vision of a new and better city that is not necessarily shared by inhabitants.

5. Visions of New Kiruna

While the previous chapter focused residents' experiences of the loss of the old city landscape, this chapter focuses on the construction of what is referred to as "New Kiruna", the contentious new city centre to be located a few kilometers east of the old one. The arguments and discussions from the preceding chapters are however important for understanding the relationship to the new city presented in this chapter. In conversations with planners, architects and municipal politicians, New Kiruna was often presented as a exciting opportunity to construct a new ideal city, one with carefully planned architecture and rectifications to the perceived problems affecting the old one. Some of my interlocutors opted for a form of careful optimism regarding the new city centre and often emphasized the importance of positivity regarding the transformation. Many others were however highly pessimistic about the ability of the new structures to replace their old city both architecturally and in terms of affordable and available accomodation.

This chapter focuses on the at times conflicting visions and opinions of residents and planners viewed the new city centre during its construction process. I am thus interested in "ways in which dominant ideals of the city interact with alternate visions, where case materials … counter the privilege of the planner's urban texts." (Macdonogh 1999:344). Following this, this chapter focus on the experienced contrast between the discourses of planners' and officials' visions and ideals and those of residents who were often less than enthusiastic about the new plans and often took the opportunity to talk disparagingly about the promoted egalitarian qualities of the new city centre. A focus on the ideological aspects of city planning often employ a Marxian political economic framework in the way that they demonstrate how capital (Harvey 2001; Lefebvre 1991) or colonial regimes (Rabinow 1995) and modernist planning (Holston 1989) shapes and reshapes the cityscape through the destruction and creation of space. The Kiruna example however presents a different case where discourses of public participation, shared governance and marketability presents an alternative form of governmentality where conduct is regulated by a de facto non-state entity (Foucault 1991). I outline how New Kiruna in the discourses of planners and politician becomes a bright vision of the future and a continuation of the idea of the ideal city.

A New and Improved City

In an uploaded recorded video entitled "How We Moved a City" (reSite 2016) a man appears on a stage in front of a crowd at what is described as reSITE, Prague, an international nonprofit platform who describes themselves as doing work at "the intersection of architecture, urbanism, politics, culture, and economics. and as "a catalyst for social action and innovative leadership." (reSite, 2016). The man on stage is Krister Lindstedt, an architect at White Architects and the person and responsible for developing the main vision of what is referred to as New Kiruna. He is in his fifties but retains a somewhat youthful appearance on stage thanks to his haircut and choice of clothes. Behind him a large screen covering most of the wall displays the words: "Moving Kiruna: A Community Reinventing its City", surrounded by subtly shifting emerald green Aurora Borealis and the Kiirunavaara mountain. Lindstedt shows a number of slides of aerial shots from the Kiruna landscape and gives the audience an introduction of the Kiruna situation and White's involvement. He details how their vision, co-produced with Norwegian architecture firm Ghilardi + Hellsten, won a 2012 architectural contest with their vision called "Kiruna 4-ever" and goes on to explain that the initial brief for them was to produce a new masterplan for the new town that would stretch for 20 years into the future and affect approximately half the city. The main question they asked themselves, according to Lindstedt, was: "How do you move a city, and how do you do it without killing it on the way?" Lindstedt offers the solution to the rhetorical question: "We have to talk to people, listen to people, find out who they are." Throughout, Lindstedt emphasizes that the architectural responsibility to combine form and function and to investigate what residents' opinions were have led them to employ anthropologists to be responsible for this qualitative work. Turning to the future visions for the new city centre Lindstedt comments: "The future town should offer a greater variety of lifestyle choices, broadening of the economy and diversity. We need to maximize its urban social qualities and the relocation gives Kiruna an opportunity to really reinvent its city. The success of Kiruna's move relies on it becoming and attractive and exciting place." Lindstedt wraps up the little over twenty minute long presentation by stating: "So the future of Kiruna depends on the commitment of its people and its potential to attract business and people from elsewhere."

Figure 2. A model of the vision of Kiruna 4-ever by White Architects. (Kjellander Sjöberg).

As mentioned by Lindstedt, the competition that allowed architecture firms to submit contributions for their visions of New Kiruna was finalized and won by White et al. in 2012. The outline for the contest was for the competing teams to produce a vision where the guiding words were sustainability, attractiveness and identity and where the vision should "embrace growth and new robust ways of life" (Sveriges Arkitekter). As was evident during the presentation community participation and a commitment to the social variables of a city were emphasized throughout. In the aftermath of elite implemented urban modernist experiments (for example, Holston 1989) local participation and shared governance have become increasingly popular keywords in urban planning (Barrios 2011). In ways similar to Barrios work on post-recovery work in New Orleans (2017:147), the presentation implies throughout that the local community of residents is in charge of "reinventing" the city through a process of creativity and voluntary innovation. In fact, as Lindstedt concluded, the ultimate success of New Kiruna was dependent on the commitment of inhabitants and the way that the city would be able to attract commercial interests.

While White Architects were the winners of the contest meant to produce a new town vision based on the popular choice, the Kiruna municipality is ultimately responsible and in charge of implementing parts of the vision into a functioning new city centre for its residents through appointing a team of planners. Göran Cars, professor of urban planning at the Royal

Institute of Technology, now in charge of the planning process of New Kiruna, received me in the offices of the municipality in Kiruna city hall, which at the time was only months away from demolition. Much like Lindstedt, it was apparent that the charismatic Cars had spent many hours with the media outlining the work that he and his team did to promote the vision of an inclusive city that had its basis in public outreach and dialogue:

> Göran Cars: This isn't your regular urban development project. If you do a development project in Stockholm, in some suburb and build a new neighborhood, then people can move there because they like it. That's it. If you don't, you don't have to, but here it's forced [med tvång]. "Sorry, you have to move." So the obvious starting point has been people themselves. "How would you like to live? How do you want the city to look like?" So a hell of a lot of dialogues about what constitutes a good urban environment and a good residential area and everything like that. Community dialogues have been enormously important. That's been an absolute starting point.
>
> Richard: I see.
>
> Göran cars: I was in an all-girl class at Hjalmar Lundbohm High School. It was amazing to be able to sit with young girls in this old-man culture that's everywhere around here, to talk about: "What is a good city for a girl?" So why do I want to talk to these girls? Well, a pattern in Kiruna has been that the guys stay at well-paid jobs in the mine and the girls become either housewives or move to Stockholm. That's a signal to me that if there's one group you have to find, it's these girls. What's a good city for them, that makes them want to stay? They talk a lot about meeting places, places to hang out in. They talk a lot about culture and architecture. They talk about the interplay between living and nature. I interpret it as wanting to break with a culture that is liquor and scooters and hunting, even if there are girls who are liquor and scooter and hunting, to have something else. So all these conversations, they offer a hell of a lot of knowledge.

Cars, in contrast to Lindstedt, comments more the fact that the new city is not a product of voluntary change and relocation but still chose to emphasize the somewhat utopian ideals of inclusion and egalitarianism as a progressive break from a patriarchal city and a dysfunctional layout. In both the above examples Kiruna's transformation is thus formulated and presented as mainly an opportunity for positive change instigated by the local Kiruna community through a conscious effort and as an opportunity to present people with a improved model city of progressive planning and layout. As I have discussed in the previous chapters, this framing of the Kiruna transformation as a voluntary creative process stands in contrast to the feelings of dislocation and displacement experienced by many residents who often rather chose to conceptualize the urban transformation with "what choice do we have?"

The presentation by White also highlights the future city as exciting, attractive, sustainable and diverse and as a progressive improvement over the old male dominated city. Instead of being a city defined by its mining industry and its turn of the century architectural heritage, Kiruna in White's vision becomes a place defined by being able to attract not only investment, but also the young and creative who are to favor innovative design and modern lifestyle choices. In a subsequent interview taking place in White's modern Stockholm office, Krister Lindstedt, and in-house anthropologist Victoria Walldin, admitted that part of their work involved working extensively to promote Kiruna to international media as part of a strategy to generate attention around the new visions to attract capital and attention. The branding aspect of the attention Kiruna had received was commented on by a few of my interlocutors who simultaneously took pride in the fact that Kiruna was receiving international interest and visitors of the press but also felt that the attention was exaggerated. For instance, Anna-Karin from the previous chapter had the following to say:

> Richard: When you read about the city move in international papers, you almost get the picture that they're lifting up the entire city all at once and moving it to a new place. That's it's completely unique. Where do you think that comes from?
> Anna-Karin: I don't know, it's the media, I guess, because the interest for this move has been enormous. To move a city isn't completely unique. It's happened before but there's a huge media attention surrounding this Kiruna move.

Earlier that week I had passed the the tourist shop on the ground floor of the Folkets Hus Community Centre and noticed a blue t-shirt on a hanger with a text that read: "Vi flytt'" [We're moving] put in the vernacular of the northern dialect. The words were a reference to "Vi flytt' int!" [We won't move!] a political slogan and a popular song by singer/songwriter Hasse Burman protesting the depopulation of Norrland in the 1970s. Now the negating "int" had been dropped and the text of the t-shirt could be read as a celebration of the uniqueness of the city relocation. The move had here been transformed from a process of experienced displacement and loss into a unique project that could further put Kiruna on the map as a modern and innovative city in the north.

Expanding on her opinion that Kiruna was able to attract people instead of seeing a depopulation, Eva Ekelund, head of land and development for Kiruna municipality and colleague of Göran Cars, had the following to say during an interview:

> Eva: I think it depends, partly anyway, that Kiruna has been trumpeted out all over the world. That we're moving a city. That makes a lot of people curious about the city. Gällivare hasn't been able to say: "Come to Gällivare, we're transforming our city!" But that we're moving, that was really transmitted all over the world.
> Richard: Yes, is that a conscious strategy from the municipality's side to convey this?
> Eva: To transmit that message? That was definitely a conscious effort when it happened, to get attention. I don't know if it was done specifically to get people to move here but yeah, in general to get attention for the city, yes. I think a lot of people are attracted here. You can see it for yourself. We have an insane amount of tourists; we have a lot of press here from different countries.

Along these lines the New Kiruna project could thus be promoted as an exciting opportunity for constructing an ideal modern and sustainable city where people are consulted about their views rather than displaced from the to-be demolished space.

In what is referred to as the rise of the entrepreneurial city (Harvey, 1989), where city governments must increasingly compete on global terms in attracting capital and investors, image-building to showcase attractiveness becomes an important activity (Spirou 2011:47). Tourism, albeit nowhere near as profitable as mining, has also become an important alternative industry in Kiruna and produces branding opportunities for a peripheral town.

In a private conversation, municipal commissioner Kristina Zackrisson admitted in an interview that she thought that Kiruna's tourism industry together with its space research station was one of the few alternatives available to Kiruna if the mine would have to close down in the near future. Tourism and Kiruna's marketability thus become important parameters and the city move can in the light of this be seen as a further opportunity to market Kiruna on a competitive global market through place branding. The city and the subsequent move can in this way be marketed as unique, as a modern egalitarian experiment that in the popular imagination has become even more extensive than it is. The contrast to Malmberget and Gällivare (discussed in Chapter 4) is also striking. Where the town of Malmberget is slowly being completely and quietly eradicated without much fanfare and positive spin, Kiruna's move had been highly publicized in national and international media.

Contestations and Mountain Views

When my fieldwork ended in late December 2017, the new city centre had slowly begun to take shape. Walking east for thirty minutes from where I lived, the new circular city hall, albeit still in the finishing stages, was so far one of the few visible structures in the vast barren landscape. Soon the iconic clock tower would be moved from roof of the old city hall and placed next to the new one on ground level. According to the official statements from the municipality the first block (referred to as "Block 1") with liveable houses were to be finalized the following summer. As the area stood now though, placed next to an industrial area filled with garages and small metal shops, it looked bleak.

Users on the Kiruna Facebook groups often consisted of divided opinions on photos posted of the new city hall or the illustrated vision of the new city centre. Debates often ensued online between residents who express that there is no viable alternative and that criticism and negativity are best left unexpressed in this inevitable trajectory. The most common criticism by far was that the new centre had been placed in a valley to the east of the city whose location deprived residents of the spectacular view of the Kebnekaise mountain ranges. Many Kiruna residents had come to equate Kiruna with the iconic view overlooking the massive, and the new location's lack of the scenic vistas and its location in a valley caused many people to refer to it disparagingly as "the Pit" or to its cold and windy aspects. Despite the proud proclamations of community consultations and participation by both Cars and his colleague Eva Ekelund, many residents felt strongly about the loss of the scenery.

During my research I rarely came across anyone that shared Göran Cars or White's optimism regarding the possibilities of New Kiruna. A few expressed an almost dutiful positivity in Facebook forums that emphasized the need to stay positive in times of hardships. Most of my closer interlocutors shared much of what Pär expressed in a conversation over coffee:

> Pär: Okay, it's almost certain that we have make way for the mine, but I would still have wanted some kind of open discussion in the community. Some kind of debate. But at the same time, there weren't really any debaters of opposing views anyway. When the Greens [Miljöpartiet] started voicing their opinion they were simply brushed away because the municipality and all the other parties had already made up their minds that this was the way to go. I think that it was also that the municipal leadership saw a fantastic opportunity to market Kiruna. It was like: "Wow, a city is moving!" They sent out press memos all over the world about it, and brought the press from everywhere. They organized seminars and got researchers of all kinds here too. Ever since the beginning they had an attitude of "Wow, this is

> something else!" And that's what a lot of people are critical towards. They think we should've moved to some other mountain.

Pär felt that Kiruna residents had not been included in the decision making process to any extent. He continued on what he felt were views that went against the optimistic official stance from the municipality and expressed a cynical view on the branding of the city move:

> Richard: What are your thoughts on what is happening in town? Around the relocation?
> Pär: Yes, my first feeling that I still have, I think it's very sad what's happened. Above all that it's a loss of urban environment and a location and many buildings and environments and memories and things like that. That's how I've felt all these years. And it's changed a lot. I can see that there are worries that have made me feel contrary to what many others view it as: "Oh, what an amazing opportunity." For a while it sounded almost like we should feel sorry for other cities who weren't moving their city centre. We were so fortunate. I think possibly that there's been too much optimism: "If everyone's just positive and pull in the same direction." But I think a lot of the basic conditions make it difficult to replace Kiruna today with something equivalent.

Local opposition politician Gunnar Selberg, introduced in the first two chapters, also expressed views that contradicted the inclusive process emphasized by both White and the municipality. Despite having gained a reputation as a professional naysayer as part of his political identity, he in my interpretation summed up the sentiments of many residents:

> Gunnar Selberg: The people of Kiruna haven't even been asked if they want to move there. We [the Center Party] suggested a referendum in 2006, for democratic reasons but also because if we would have had a referendum these different alternatives and their pros and cons would have been debated and analyzed. Now there wasn't a debate at all. First the municipality said: "We're putting in there" and then: "No, here". The ground is polluted and it's colder and there's no view. A lot of people in Kiruna wanted to keep the view of the mountain range. They think that defines Kiruna. That's part of Kiruna's character. We're supposed to live in the mountain range. The view. We should be able to see Kebnekaise!

In a conversation with Lisa, a resident of the Ortdrivaren neighborhood facing demolition within a few years, she summarized some of the sentiments regarding New Kiruna which was often comprised of a skepticism of what was considered the modern aspects of its architecture and its less than ideal location:

> Richard: What are your thoughts on the new city?
>
> Lisa: It's not Kiruna. It's too modern. Far too modern for Kiruna, I think. We have plenty of snow here but the buildings they're putting up… They all have flat roofs. I don't know what they're thinking. Like City Hall - a completely flat roof. Where will they shovel the snow? They'll have to shovel straight onto the street. And the new Scandic Hotel has strange shapes. I don't know what they're thinking when they build houses like that. It's sad. Everything you've grown up with, all the schools, all the houses. Everything is gone. Everything is gone. There's nothing left.

More than a simple concern with excessive snow in the winter, Lisa's statement shows that she felt that the proposed visions and structures of the new city are alien to the climate and people of Kiruna. In our conversation she was also less concerned about the promised egalitarian nature and modern architecture of the new Town Hall, and more concerned, like many others, about the cost of the new accommodation she would have to seek when her current apartment building was to be demolished. Lisa also emphasized that she and others had not felt included in the planning process aside from being shown a number of sketches of potential city layouts.

Both Pär's and Lisa's statements touch upon many of the same issues that was repeated to me by other residents. Aside from commenting on the sadness over the loss of the city environment and more specifically the loss of city hall and other Kiruna landmarks, in Pär's understanding the enthusiasm of the local leadership and LKAB is not matched by him and others. On several occasions the municipality have promoted the relocation internationally as something unique and exciting to reinforce Kiruna's image and brand. As Pär and others related to me, throughout the project of the relocation there had been mobilized an atmosphere of excitement and positivity surrounding the building of a new centre that many residents did not share. While many residents grieved the loss of spaces that had emotional importance for them or worried about the future the leadership has had to create an excitement and an international interest in what was taking place. The international media attention for what is taking place in Kiruna has been extensive and the uniqueness of the move and the remoteness of Kiruna have been given much attention. Most of my interlocutors were however skeptical of and disappointed with the location of the new centre which is adjacent to an industrial area and does not have the same scenic view of the beloved mountain ranges that was initially promised when the new centre was to be located in the

northwest. Understandably, a great deal of effort has been put into generating a positive hype around the construction of the new city centre and the move and it has been important to come across as less of a dystopian demolition project and more like an sustainable vision of a city of the future. This is also why, as I discussed in Chapter 4, the development in Malmberget, which lacks the grand visions, a replacement city centre and international attention, comes to represent a counterpoint to the example of Kiruna.

In Barrios' terms (2017) the strategy to emphasize the new egalitarian and improved nature of New Kiruna can be conceptualized as an affective regime, a vision developed by elite firms and planners to promote certain values above others. The discourses from White and the planners of the municipality construct New Kiruna as a project that was established through community participation and dialogue and that will allow for a harmonious and egalitarian existence that was previously dominated by outdated ideals and patriarchal structures. The affective ecologies (Barrios 2017) of residents on the other hand were on the other hand based in their strong identification with Kiruna's scenic views and the strong feeling that they in fact had very little to say about both the location and the planning of the new city. New Kiruna was is in the words of Lawrence-Zúñiga & Pellow "imagineered" and fitted to a branding initiative where the destruction of old Kiruna has less to do with an expansion of unsustainable mining practices and more to do with an opportunity to create an ideal city. As they state:

> These proposals take on a discursive approach, anticipating the development by producing narratives framing the rationale and expectations for experiencing new urban forms. When Atlanta committed to hosting the 1996 Olympics, they used it as an opportunity to redevelop or, with the help of marketing and design professionals, to "imagineer" the city and render it safer, cleaner, and more "user friendly." (Lawrence-Zúñiga & Pellow 2014:98)

Development, Sustainability and Equivalences

Themes of sustainability and development were consistently promoted in the formulation of the urban transformation of Kiruna. From White Architect's own description (White Architects) of the project an innovative process was emphasized [translation mine]:

> The move means an unprecedented possibility for Kiruna to transform itself to a more environmentally, socially and economically sustainable city. The new buildings will be designed after a climate neutral agenda. A denser and more intelligent city plan, provided with meeting places and cultural facilities, will further public life and therefore lessen the demographic male dominance from Kiruna's past. This makes it possible for a more diverse population to settle comfortably in Kiruna.

LKAB has similarly been proactive in emphasizing that what is taking place is potentially a positive force in the city's history and an exciting development rather than a dismantling and destruction of city space. The Kiruna Folket's Hus which besides functioning as a cinema theatre, a restaurant, a tourist information booth and a gift shop also hosted an LKAB information area with a three-dimensional miniature model of the city and its underground iron ore deposits and placards detailing the city transformation. Under the heading "Development Before Dismantlement" [Utveckling före avveckling] the LKAB placards proudly proclaimed how residents' trust and cooperation is mutual and fundamental to the success of the company and the city transformation and that LKAB was a fundamental part of Kiruna [translation mine]:

> Vital societies emerge where city and mine meet. LKAB's activities are based on satisfaction of the people who live and work in our operating locations. The mining towns and LKAB exist in a symbiotic relations. We are dependent on the societies for competent labor and competitiveness. The societies benefit from the availability of jobs and the investments created by the mines.

Kirsch (2010) comments on the concept of "sustainable development" which has gone through a shift in meaning and definition going from growing concerns regarding biodiversity and ecological degradation to being primarily about protecting revenue. Sustainability in its original definition stemmed from a discussion on the relationship between economy and ecological concerns but has ended up being used by the mining industry in a way that ignores this original meaning. The meaning of the term sustainability has thus become fluid, "the meaning of which depends on how it is deployed and by whom. Strategic deployment of the term sustainability provides symbolic capital for a mining company whose practices are anything but environmentally sustainable." (2010:91). This is true also for the Kiruna case where LKAB's and the municipality's vision of development deals less with environmental concerns and people's loss of space and more about the sustainability Kirsch refers to where

it is defined by maintaining a stable workforce and continued production. Kiruna municipality's website (Kiruna.se 2014) similarly proclaimed the following [my translation]:

> Nothing is constant except change. A city is never completed but is in a constant process of change. Kiruna is facing an amazing opportunity in that it is forced to great changes in a fast pace. Our suggestions of how and where the city is moving is based on previous knowledge, what we have today, in conjunction with a strong vision forward. To reach true sustainability it is important to look beyond the timeframe of architecture contest of 2033. LKAB lacks a decision on extraction beyond 2033 but everything indicates that the demand for iron ore in the world in increasing beyond the available supply, while extraction is becoming increasingly cost efficient. It is highly probable that extraction and city deformation will continue beyond year 2033. Our vision gives Kiruna clear tools and strategies for flexible, long term growth. We have summarized our vision and strategy in three points: 1. Step by step. 2. Everyone aboard. 3. The model city 2.0! .

The sustainability of the city was in this memo strongly connected to global iron ore markets and a continued extraction by a mine whose lifespan is unknown beyond 2033. Sustainability in this case comes to refer to the way the urban development of the city can be shaped to support an activity that is fundamentally unsustainable and limited. As I have outlined, the creation of New Kiruna was seen as making up for the loss of the old city environment and demolished houses in a way that emphasizes sustainability and fair reimbursements. Li's concept of "equivalence" is situated where resources are measured and stripped of their social context in order to be replaceable. This produces a "dominant form of knowledge that disqualifies opposing viewpoints, making it possible to justify mining projects in the name of progress and development." (2013:26). Situated in the case of Kiruna's transformation, equivalence highlights how concerns over the loss of space and displacement are transformed into technical solutions where the dominant idea is that mining can be equated with the city's development and survival and that the physical structures and housing are replaceable with new ones. Thus the logic of equivalence establishes that: 1) the loss of city space is replaceable with the building of new structures, and 2) that compensation to homeowners and renters paid out by LKAB reverses the experience of displacement, and 3) the urban transformation can be framed in ways that equates the liquidation of the city with "sustainability" and "development". There are thus two diverging systems of knowledge that clash in Kiruna. On the one hand there is the logic of the economic imperative of continued

production, of the logic of the perfectly planned and equitable city, while on the other hand there are the local attachments that people carry to environments of history, memories and homes. On the one hand there is the scientific discourse of measurements and infrastructural developments and the rationally planned city and on the other local forms of celebrating the past and of relating to the urban landscape.

Conclusion

I have in this chapter discussed that in the discourses of planners, architects and officials, Kiruna can through the perceived economic necessity of the transformation be constructed (or reconstructed) as a new, modern, ideal city. The history of Kiruna and its foundation as a model city is reproduced in the discourses of New Kiruna. The people responsible for the vision emphasize and market New Kiruna as an exciting opportunity and as an implementation that rectify the social and architectural ills of the old city centre by incorporating new equitable spaces and carefully planned street grids. Yet these buzzwords of inclusion and shared governance did not persuade residents, partly because of their fears of unaffordable rents and experienced displacement and because New Kiruna was under construction out of perceived economic necessity, not out of choice. The city move can thus be conceptualized by the municipal leadership and LKAB as an extension of these characteristics and can both be used to attract foreign visitors interested in the relocation process but also add to the image of Kiruna as an outpost of technical advancement where technical ingenuity and sustainability are key characteristics.

I have also outlined that planners and officials heavily emphasize the purported shared governance and public outreach of the planning and implementation process, something that my interlocutors contested, expressing the overall lack of alternatives and the superficiality of their involvement. I contend that through emphasizing keywords as development, equality and attractiveness of New Kiruna de-politicizes (Ferguson 2006) the experienced displacement and the use of the old city as an extractable resource. Yet, the branding and rebranding of Kiruna becomes understandable in a increasingly competitive marketization of cities (Spirou 2011:47) and the opportunity to generate interest around Kiruna by the municipality is a likely a conscious strategy to present an alternative to the mining economy.

In this way the Kiruna can be increasingly branded as an tourist destination and a modern city of the future despite its size and peripheral location.

6. Conclusions

I have in this thesis attempted to bring together a range of ideas from the anthropological literature on urban space in order to investigate how residents of Kiruna deal with the loss of urban space and the experience of displacement. My aim has been to discuss how residents experience the Kiruna transformation and the loss of space. In doing so I hope to have shown how this relates to both the dominant LKAB, the present demolitions and the visions outlined for New Kiruna as they are all interconnected and intertwined.

I outlined in the introductory chapter that my guiding questions for doing so centered around in how the present and historical reliance on the mine and LKAB influence residents' way of dealing with the city transformation. Those questions concerned how the loss of city space was experienced and manifested in discourse and practice; and what visions for New Kiruna were produced, experienced and contested in relation to that. In answering these questions I have, following Low's (2017) appeal for a "spatialization of culture", brought together perspectives on the social production of space and the social construction of space to deal with how Kiruna's background as a frontier town and its economic dependency on LKAB and mining intersect with residents' affective relationship to the urban environment. In other words, a combination of peoples' relationship to the built environment and its material and political underpinnings with the way it is phenomenologically experienced and related to. I have in this way attempted to approach the current transformation of Kiruna from three perspectives.

Firstly, in Chapter 3, *Town and Company,* I analyzed the economic and historical dependency of the company and its effect on residents' relationship to the city. I contend that the implications of the economic and historical importance of LKAB prevent opposition of the city transformation process, despite widespread dissatisfaction. LKAB has in many way become synonymous with the city in that it is historically responsible its founding and many of its valued buildings (Brunnström 1981). The company's historical role as a founding entity, rationale for the city's existence and employment opportunities have further established a strong relationship of patronage and protection. LKAB is thus constructed and thought of as inherently interconnected to Kiruna as a place, which, coupled with the city's

economic dependence on mining activities effectively invalidates opposition and critique (see Also Sandberg & Rönnblom 2016). Due to LKAB's connection to the Swedish welfare state, its economic importance and its pivotal role in the foundation of the city, contributes to a "politics of resignation" (Benson & Kirsch 2010) which negates the traction of criticism of the company's actions and informs the way that residents' relate to the urban space.

Secondly, In Chapter 4, *Affect and the Loss of the City*, I have shown how despite the experience of being able to officially resist the transformation and relocation, residents find ways of commenting on the loss of the city through references to memory and affect. I have primarily done this through discussing and analyzing the affective discourses of residents through using affective ecologies and affective regimes (Barrios 2017) and Kirunas relationship to neighbouring Gällivare. I argued that the official discourse and efforts have been strongly concentrated on infrastructural rationality without taking into consideration of people's affective relationship to homes, buildings and neighbourhoods (See also Nilsson 2009). I contend that these buildings and public spaces are part of the cultural identity of Kiruna residents for historical reasons. They are referenced and remembered as part of a reluctance towards the new city and as a way grieving over the loss of the city. Furthermore, Malmberget is constructed as an "other" to Kirunas situation that both works to negate the seriousness of Kirunas situation and simultaneously as a ominous example of the potential negative effects of displacement and mining. The referencing of Malmberget also demonstrates the "affective ecology" rooted in the history of Kiruna as a model town, as different and superior to the social problems of Malmberget and with a continued strong presence. Although some reiterate the need for optimism and emphasize the economic necessity of the transformation, especially on public online forums, the situation simultaneously confronts people with the saddening reality of a loss of place while also not really allowing for any real alternatives or recognition of loss in the face of progress and relocation.

Thirdly, In Chapter 5, *Visions of New Kiruna*, I have through focusing on the envisioning and establishing of New Kiruna argued that in the discourses of planners, architects and officials, the new city plan was "imagineered" (Lawrence-Zúñiga & Pellow) as a continuation of the ideal city. Planners and officials heavily emphasized the purported shared governance and public outreach of the planning and implementation process and have sought to make the loss of city space and economic compensations equivalent (Li 2013). Yet

these buzzwords of inclusion and shared governance did not persuade residents, partly because of their fears of unaffordable rents and experienced displacement and because the city was relocated out of perceived economic necessity, not out of choice. New Kiruna is marketed as an exciting opportunity and as an implementation that rectify the social and architectural ills of the old city centre by incorporating new equitable spaces and carefully planned street grids. This was however contested by my interlocutors who expressed the overall lack of alternatives and the superficiality of involvement. The city move can thus be conceptualized as adhering to the global "marketization of cities" (Spirou 2011:47) to attract foreign visitors interested in the relocation process but also add to the image of Kiruna as an outpost of technical advancement where technical ingenuity and sustainability are key characteristics. I contend that through emphasizing keywords as development, equality and sustainability of New Kiruna de-politicizes (Ferguson 2006) the experienced displacement and the oxymoronic nature of "sustainable mining".

One obvious focus for further research would be to further investigate how residents use and/or contest the new city once it is fully established and how the continuing eradication of the old town affects people. It would also be interesting to research aspects of gender and non-european migration since much of the visions for the new city are focused on meeting places and progressive values of inclusion.

Seeing how LKAB is a state-owned company, and mining presents immense state revenue, it would also be interesting to approach Kiruna from a perspective of an anthropology of the state (Gupta & Sharma 2006) and investigate how people conceptualize and act on this relationship.

The current haulage level at the Kiirunavaara mine at 1,365 meters depth will not sustain production forever. Some of my interlocutors discussed this idea in relation to the future of Kiruna and believed that in ten or fifteen years time the current level would be depleted. There are at the time of writing no plans to extend production beyond 2033 which is a decision LKAB will make it the coming year. Needless to say, the discontinuation of mining would greatly affect the future of the city of Kiruna and its inhabitants. As discussed, in relation to this Kiruna has attempted to further brand itself as a tourist destination to move away from a complete economic dependency on mining and would likely function as an important sector in the city's economy in a future without a mine. The municipality has also attracted attention internationally for its space research program and and some, like municipal

commissioner Christina Zackrisson, think these alternative industries could be viable economic resources in the case of a closed mine. This possible scenario could also pose further research possibilities on the potential post-industrial situation of a future Kiruna and its transition into a diversified economy and its concomitant sociocultural effects. I hope however that the residents of Kiruna will not have to experience any negative effects of a defunct large-scale industry and intensive depopulation of their cherished hometown.

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