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City's Neighborhood Development

-False images and forgotten identities

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Abstract

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Key words: neighborhood, image, identity, neighborhood development, city development, sense of place, place marketing

Purpose: The purpose of this thesis is to identify and analyze how neighborhood development can affect the image of and the identity in a neighborhood.

Method: My standpoint was that an empirical study needed to complement the theory. The choice to do the field study in Helsingborg, Sweden is based on the fact that it is a city that is developing rapidly; it is working on being more attractive nationally. Helsingborg's position in the area of Öresundsregion might profit further development. Primary material was gathered through interviews with key persons in Helsingborg. I also carried out text analysis of secondary documents, and articles from the local newspaper Helsingborgs Dagblad.

Theoretical framework: The base of the study is theories in neighborhood, identity and image, city and neighborhood development as well as place marketing and the consequences concerning image and identity in connection to developments.

Conclusion: The thesis identifies the importance of working with image and identity within neighborhoods that are under development. Moreover the study adds a perspective to the research by showing how work done by the Urban planning office as well as housing companies affect how the residents meet the changes and how media decide to present them. I found that the main goal with neighborhood development in Helsingborg is to create physical attractive neighborhoods that are economic gaining. Another important conclusion is the lack of focus on soft factors such as image and identity when going through neighborhood development.

Thankyou,

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Renée Ohlander, president of the Resident Association of Laröd

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1. Introduction

City and neighborhood development, image and identity here I will give a background to the subject area. The challenge which touch upon those areas will be discussed and lead towards the aim of this thesis. In the end of the chapter I will present the disposition of the thesis.

”A city district can not be a city district if it is not a part of the city”
(Trygg och välmående 2010 p 7¹)

1.1 Neighborhood development crucial for city's identity?

Cities and neighborhoods today have to deal with several complex challenges concerning steering and development. They have to meet the demand from residents, and local business as well as industries, and tourist related business (Howies, 2003 pp 74; 1).

Throughout history, people have tried to make their cities and neighborhoods more attractive, to be able to differentiate themselves from others by creating special place identity (Thufvesson, 2009 p 13; Kavaratis & Ashworth, 2005 p 506). Today, as before, it is not just substantial to build the city to satisfy the residents, commercial and industrial life, but cities should also be concerned with how they are understood from the outside (Kotler et.al, 1999; Kotler et.al, 1999). A city is increasingly seen as a product whose message should be marketed and communicated (Ek & Hultman red., 2007). The problem is increasing when the complexity of a city and its heterogeneous content shall be connected in a clear identity (Von Friedrichs Grängsjö, 2003 pp. 427-448). The need to be seen is increasing in cities planning, esthetical shape and development (Smyth, 1994). The need to show economical welfare and a special city profile has therefore increased in cities' urban agenda (Abu-Ghazalah, 2007 pp 81-88). Cities around the world are competing on their uniqueness and attractiveness, to be able to put their name on the global map, and to attract competent workers, investors, residents and tourists (Ward, 1998; Kotler et al., 1999; Hall, 2001; Olofsson, 2006 p 5; Högdahl, 2007 p 17; Paskaleva-Shapira, 2007 p 108; Zhang & Xiaobin Zhao, 2009 p 245). To be able to do so, cities are more strategically working with developing and marketing their city images.

However, it is not just about competing as a whole city, but also a competition within the city and between its neighborhoods. It is also important for a city to have a collection of interesting and attractive neighborhoods to be able to create an overall good image. The neighborhood is an important part of the life of residents. Flexibility, multifunctionality, and diversity in the housing, social infrastructure, and public spaces are important to be able to react on future changes, and to attract different subpopulations (Valter & Zachraj in Schnur, 2008 p 325). Each neighborhood functions in its own way, having its own identity, but is still important for the total impression that a city gives. In 1961,

¹ All empirical quotations from interviews as well as documents are own translation

Jane Jacobs was talking about neighborhood and its importance in her book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Even though Jacobs provided an early contribution to the research area of neighborhood development, the general research base within the subject is still relatively thin. Therefore, there is room for further research.

Neighborhoods are constantly going through changes. Cities often wish to develop new areas as well as regenerate old ones to strengthen them or to create a new image of the area, as well as working with the city identity among the residents. When reading literature about neighborhood regeneration and development, the research is generally based on English or American research. There is a need to give the neighborhood more space in the research field outside the United States and England and to find out how cities are working with their neighborhoods. Therefore, a case study in the city Helsingborg, in Sweden, will be done. The result will function as an example on how a Swedish city, when working with neighborhood development, is affecting the image and the identity among its residents.

1.2 Purpose and research questions

The lack of research in the field described above has led to the purpose of this thesis that is to identify and analyze how neighborhood development can affect the image of, and the identity in, a neighborhood.

The questions that are to be answered are:

- ◆ How can a city work with neighborhood development to strengthen the identity and reach a new image?
- ◆ How does the city of Helsingborg work with neighborhood development in Laröd and Drottninghög?
- ◆ What kind of strategy are they using to create the “right” image of the neighborhoods?

1.3 Disposition

The remaining part of this thesis consists of four chapters. The first part includes **Chapter 2** that present the methods that I have used, and the mode of procedure throughout the thesis. The second part consists of **Chapter 3** that is divided into four subchapters presenting the main subjects, neighborhood, identity, image and place. Each subchapter first presents the theoretical discussion of the subject followed by the result of the empirical research. Thereafter **Chapter 4** presents an analysis and discussion on the phenomena both from a case specific and from a general perspective. **Chapter 5** contains final words and self-reflections over results, as well as a look ahead by giving recommendations to further research.

2. Methodology

What have I done and how did I do it? This chapter will describe the mode of procedure I had working with the thesis.

2.1 What has been done and why

Before the working process started I had some prior knowledge about the chosen subject. There was a wish to investigate this prior knowledge by doing an empirical analysis. The process started by going through literature. The subject has its foundation in the definitions, the debate and theories concerning neighborhoods, image, identity and development of places. Collection of data was done through interviews, text analysis, and studies of articles and books within the subject.

The aim of carrying out a case study was the wish to apply the theoretical information found in literature to reality. Also, I intend to further contribute to the literature since there is a lack of case studies done in Sweden as well as Swedish literature discussing neighborhood development. The case study was carried out with the foundation in qualitative methods with some statistics giving also a quantitative approach (Bryman, 2006 pp 64-69). Using Helsingborg as an example for my case has its base in the development potential the city has and the attention it has received during recent years. With its position as the biggest city in the north of the Öresundregion it gets considerable regional attention. The region is gaining attractiveness and a lot of research is carried out in the region. The biggest development project in the north of Europe is about to happen in Helsingborg with H+². This gives attention to Helsingborg as well as the development of a new super arena and plans for a big congress centre. Helsingborg got more national attention in 2006 when the book *Fjärde Staden*, written by Ola Thufvesson, was published by the city of Helsingborg. Thufvesson described Helsingborg as Sweden's fourth-biggest city according to several criteria. Nationally, it is seen to be the ninth biggest city according to other statistical criteria's. (Thufvesson, 2006 p 29)

Even though Helsingborg and its neighborhoods Laröd and Drottninghög are used as examples it does not mean that the result is representative to all middle-sized Swedish cities (Bryman, 2006 p 93). The purpose is, however, to show some aspects that can be recognized and the result of the thesis will give insight into how neighborhood development, image creation and identification can be done and thereby give general knowledge that can be transferred.

2.2 Collecting data

The literature acquisition (Bryman, 2001 p 21) proceeded by searching through academic article bases as well as non-fiction literature. The books have been

² a new neighborhood is going to be build in the south harbour on old industrial round when the railways have been submerged, more information on <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ke0R2RNHXT0>

complimented with academic articles to give a more up-to-date view. Also, documents received from the interview persons have been used, in addition to documents from the web page of the City of Helsingborg and articles published in the local newspaper, Helsingborgs Dagblad.

When collecting data I had both an inside and outside perspective. I have considered identity as an inside perspective and image as an outside perspective. This is also the way in which I have confronted the gathered data.

2.3 Interviews

In-depth interviews with key persons was one method. The purpose of using interviews was to get a deeper understanding of the thoughts behind the strategic decisions, and an insight in the reality of the planning process within the neighborhoods. The choice to use qualitative interviews is based on the fact that they are open in character and thereby gives space for broader explanations and analyzations from the interview person. (Kvale, 1997 p 82; Bryman, 2001 p 250)

2.3.1 Preparations

In order to retrieve highly relevant information in line with the foundation of the thesis, interview persons that have had prior or current contact with developments in Laröd and Drottninghög were selected. Shortly after starting the work with the thesis, interviewees were contacted. After making appointments with them through e-mail and telephone, the interview questions were forwarded to them. The intention in doing so was to give the people being interviewed the opportunity to look through the questions and make preparations if so desired. Since the knowledge I had about how the city of Helsingborg working with the neighborhoods was limited, the questions and themes were broad to provide direction throughout the interviews.

The interviewees were:

- ◇ Carl Welin, planning architect at the Office of Urban Planning Helsingborg. He is currently working with the development project in Drottninghög and had earlier worked with planning in Laröd.
- ◇ Marianne Dock, architect at the Office of Urban Planning Helsingborg. She is working with sustainable development in Helsingborg and is a member of the project group for the development of Drottninghög.
- ◇ Eva Westman, leader for neighborhood development in the housing company Helsingborgshem, currently focused on Drottninghög.
- ◇ Piia Lamberth, project leader at the housing company Helsingborgshem, currently working with development of the neighborhoods Dalhem and Drottninghög.
- ◇ Lena Åberg, project leader at the housing company Helsingborgshem, currently responsible for the development projects in Laröd.
- ◇ Renée Ohlander, president of the Resident Association of Laröd.

2.3.2 Interview situations

The empirical research was mainly done after studying the theory for some weeks. This ensured the ability to develop more relevant questions based on deeper theoretical knowledge.

Semi-structured interview guides were used (Krag Jacobsen, 1993; Kvale, 1997 p 95). The interview guides³ were partly adjusted depending on the person being interviewed. This way, the interviews provided as much information as possible within the work area of each interviewed person. The questions had their foundation in the thesis purpose and research questions as well as the background and position of the interviewed person. Attendant questions were used, where some of them were directional, to clarify the answers and strengthen the reliability (Kvale, 1997 p 146). Notes were taken throughout the interview even though the interview was recorded, to prevent loss of important information (Kvale, 1997 p 149). The interviews were all held in Swedish. The interview guides were then translated into English for the reporting of this thesis.

The transliteration was done as close as possible after each finished interview, to prevent the feeling and memory from the interview to fade as time passed. Also, by undertaking this task shortly after interviews, the validity and reliability of the transliteration will be higher (Kvale, 1997 pp 85; 46). In transliteration, redundant words and irrelevant parts to the result were taken away. As the interviews, all transliterations were written in Swedish.

2.4 Text analysis

2.4.1 Choice of text analysis

By proceeding with a qualitative and quantitative text analysis the purpose is to investigate the image of Laröd and Drottninghög. By doing so, it was possible for me to create an idea of how the neighborhoods were presented in the newspaper as well as understanding the message of the public documents with information about the neighborhoods. Since the thesis discusses image and its effect on neighborhoods, text analysis can be seen as crucial to get an overall picture of the neighborhoods as well as to avoid creating potential preconceptions into universal meanings. People have been shown to construct places in their mind through perceptions and images, and thereby make sense of place. The image is created by different inputs such as newspapers, television, told stories, novels and films (Kavaratis & Ashworth, 2005 p 507).

2.4.2 Proceeding with the text analysis

Different texts can systematically be analyzed to determine if its content can contribute to realizations of discourses (Winther-Jørgensen, 2000). Texts and pictures can lead to categorization of happenings and thereby new realities can be created. Those new realities can affect how we understand our surroundings (Mills, 2003). During the implementation of text analysis, a critical approach has

³ see Appendix 1

been taken towards the texts, since an author of a text often has a predetermined idea or viewpoint that they want to communicate (Bryman, 2006 p 363). Therefore the following questions were kept in mind; where does the information come from? For whom and by who is it produced? Why is it produced? Further, a hermeneutist perspective (Warnke, 1987) has been applied, in order to closer gain understanding of the writers' purpose with the text.

By using the name of the two neighborhoods as the search word, in google.com the Internet was scanned. Thereafter, Helsingborg's urban planning office webpage was looked through to see what kind of information that was given in the text about the neighborhoods. In order to understand the broader public image, research was undertaken in articles dating back five years in time, from Helsingborgs Dagblad. Only articles with connection to Laröd and Drottninghög were used. When going through the different texts and documents, an analysis protocol was used⁴ to create a structuralized analysis of each text.

The text analysis was undertaken before the interviews so that the picture presented by the interviewees on the neighborhoods would not affect the analysis. Further on, the text analysis was related to the empirical information from the interviews, which enabled a further critical approach to the texts and documents. The amount of collected text data and the variety of the documents and articles that were used resulted in a high degree of validity in the thesis' empirics (Patel & Davidson, 2003).

⁴ see Appendix 2

3. Theoretical outlines and empirics

An introduction to the theoretical field of neighborhood development, image and identity will be given here; empirics will follow each theory section.

3.1 The neighborhood

Neighborhood research is quite young as a research field. It is a multi-sided discourse with no research forum of its own. It constitutes a discipline competition between the social sciences and planning fields. Neighborhood research is not just about space as physical space but rather a product of actions of different participants and where they interface. (Schnur, 2008 pp 10-16)

The neighborhood is in constant change: its residents construct it. The residents' "value system", their local and translocal social network, their life-cycle - style is connected to their housing place. The model conception of spaces in the city until today has its base in the theory of the Chicago School, the social ecology of the 1920s. The Chicago School model was not a neighborhood model but rather focused entirely on the city – or city-region model. But within this model exists a discussion about natural areas and segregated areas within the city and how they differ through social structure and position in city space. (Schnur, 2008 chapter 1; Bridge, 2005 p 719)

3.1.1 *The Neighborhood and its Building Blocks*

There are several suggestions on how to define a neighborhood; Jacobs (1961) discussed the neighborhood's space in research. She talks about neighborhoods as follows:

Neighborhood is a word that has come to sound like a Valentine. As a sentimental concept, 'neighborhood' is harmful to city! It leads to attempts at planning. It leads to attempts at warping city life into imitations of town or suburban life. Sentimentality plays with sweet intentions in place of good sense! (Jacobs, 1961 p 112).

George Galster, professor in geography and urban planning, does say that "Undoubtedly, there is a consensus that the neighborhood is a social/spatial unit of social organization, larger than a household and smaller than a city" (Hunter, 1979 p 270; see more of Galster at www.youtube.com). "But that is where the consensus ends." (Galster, 1989 p 243)

The most up-to-date definition of neighborhood is the one from the German geographer Olaf Schnur. He suggests:

The term of living neighborhoods refers to a vaguely defined center of external and internal social activities within any one given context, a place of everyday life and individual social spheres which intersect in a territorial interrelationship of identity within a defined residential environment. (Schnur, 2008 p 40, own translation).

By studying the three definitions above it can be stated that the viewpoint of neighborhoods differ significantly.

It is difficult to determine the actual size of a neighborhood but according to Schnur (2008 p 40) the size has to be humanly visible so that identity can be developed and the social landscape is constructable as well as reproducible. From this point of view, a neighborhood does not have to have a certain number of residents or a statically physical memorandum. The boundaries will rather be diffuse since a number of overlapping will create the center (Schnur, 2008 kap 1). In classical urban research, the classification of neighborhoods is connected with homogenization, where parts of the city are defined by its residents' ethnic and social backgrounds, as well as statistical or physical appearance such as a container definition. The logic of this description of neighborhood is as spaces of human trade and individual organizational principles functioning as recommendations for planning and reality. By doing so the residents are defined by having just one function, namely as carriers of detectable statistical material. (Drilling in Schnur, pp 55-56)

Suburban neighborhoods have often been seen as not containing social localized networks. But lately, evidence suggests this is not entirely true. The opposite can be seen in that suburban neighborhoods contain stronger social networks than urban ones. This can have its foundation in the fact that suburban neighborhoods often contain detached houses, they tend to be homogenous, socially and demographically, and residents often have the same preferences for social and leisure activities. (Knox & Pinch, 2000 p 252)

Jacobs (1993 pp 153-154) states that there are four physical factors that create a good, self-governed neighborhood. First, it shall foster living and interesting streets. Second, those streets shall be well connected to be able to create a good network. Third, parks, markets, and public buildings shall be used to increase and connect the street networks, complexity and versatility. Fourth, it shall strengthen the functional identity in areas that are big enough to function as city districts. The creation of centers consisting of shops or parks is important for the development of identification. If the center contains a landmark that can function as a symbol for the place, the identification factor of the neighborhood increases.

3.1.2 Description of the neighborhoods

Drottninghög

Drottninghög⁵ was built between 1966 and 1969 by the housing corporation Hälsningborgshem in a way that fits with the functionalistic Million Program (Högdahl, 2007 p 64; Thufvesson, 2009 p 57). The project was a part of the political goal in Sweden to build one million residences in ten years. Drottninghög was the first and, up until then, also the biggest construction undertaking in Helsingborg. However, these areas are often confirmed and reconfirmed as negative in the public. (Thomasson, 2005 pp 8; 13-14)

⁵ see Appendix 3 for a map of the area



PICTURE 1: ENTRANCE TO DROTTNINGHÖG FROM REGEMENTSVÄGEN IN THE WEST

Drottninghög is a green area situated about three kilometers east of Helsingborg centre. It is surrounded by important and much used roads. Some of the city of Helsingborg's most important industries and shops are located in its surroundings. As a result, non-residents often pass by the neighborhood, even if most pass by on the outside on the surrounding streets. (Thomasson, 2005 pp 11-13; helsingborgshem.se)

The neighborhood contains mainly three floor buildings with rental apartments. There are 1114 apartments and the houses were built with prefabricated concrete parts. It is divided into three areas that are connected through local streets. The houses are parallel in rows with joint courtyards. From the yards, you reach the entrance to the houses, the local streets and the parking lots. Between the courtyards, there are playgrounds and different green areas, and small streets connecting the different houses and their courtyards. (Thomasson, 2005 pp 13-16)

The neighborhood contains one elder's home, three kindergartens, and one public middle school, with connected schoolyard and a church. In connection to those is the neighborhood centre with pharmacy, local police office, grocery, library, pizzeria and so on (helsingborgshem.se). In the area, car traffic is separated from pedestrians and bicycles, and within the area no car traffic is allowed (Thomasson, 2005 p 15).



PICTURE 2: ONE OF THE BACKYARDS



PICTURE 3: ONE OF THE COURTYARDS



PICTURE 4: DROTTNINGHÖG CENTRE

Westman (2010-11-10) states that Drottninghög is a multi-dimensional area where some yards are calm with older people caring for their gardens, living a silent life with a cheap rent, while others are full of kids playing. There is a nice church with a community that, according to Westman, both works outwards spiritually and profanely at the same time. Lamberth (2010-11-10) states that Drottninghög has the best bakery in Helsingborg where people from all over town come to buy bread and pastry. In this way, the bakery functions as a meeting place. There is a library that is working hard to create activities for people with different backgrounds and ages. There is a big outside pool where people can meet and all the green areas offer good recreation space during the summer. In the winter, there is a lack of inside meeting places.

Laröd

Laröd⁶ is situated about six kilometers north of Helsingborg centre. The fact that it is located close to the city center and its proximity to nature has made it a highly attractive development area. The traffic and especially the intersecting traffic has an inhibition on the development, even though the area is easy to reach with public transport Laröd is surrounded by spinneys that give a protective character to the area; central-situated spinneys and parks between the houses link up the green areas as well as give character to the area. (Fördjupad översiktsplan för Hittarp och Laröd, 2002 pp 5-6; 17; helsingborgshem.se)

⁶ see Appendix 3 for a map of the area



PICTURE 5: THE DEVELOPMENT AREA IN THE WEST

Generally, the housing in Laröd can be seen as low and coherent, separated houses that mainly were built during 1950s and forward dominate the western part. There are also areas with row houses and apartment blocks. The east side is dominated by row houses from the 1980s and 1990s with exception of some older separated houses along the main road, Larödsvägen. On the east side of this road, the housing is built in enclaves separated by grazing land. Each enclave has its own character, and the entrances are often turned to an inner courtyard and are rarely car free. There are also still some old farmhouses left in the area. (Fördjupad översiktsplan för Hittarp och Laröd, pp 6; 9)

Horseback riding is popular in the area as a result of the three horse farms with connected stables and greenery that are situated within the area. Their presence gives a notion of living in the countryside, which is something valued by residents. (Fördjupad översiktsplan för Hittarp och Laröd, 2002 p 10)

Different services are offered in a small cluster with grocery store, kiosk, postal service, and a pizzeria. The neighborhood also contains a library, petrol station, medical health centre, and a gym with connecting spa, and sports center with a connecting football field. There are two schools in the area for grades 1-9, kindergarten as well as a youth leisure centre (helsingborgshem.se; Fördjupad översiktsplan för Hittarp och Laröd, 2002 p 11).



PICTURE 6: NEW BUILD HOUSES BY HELSINGBORGSHEM



PICTURE 7: BENGTSVÄG



PICTURE 8: LARÖD CENTRE

The bicycle and pedestrian streets are well-developed in the area, those can though be hard to find and use for non residents since they are not clearly shown. (Fördjupad översiktsplan för Hittarp och Laröd, 2002, pp 17-18) Laröd inhibits one of the largest groups of economically strong citizens (Högdahl, 2007 p 96).

3.1.3 Neighborhood Problems

Welin (2010-10-14) and Åberg (2010-10-26) suggest that Laröd does not really have any problems. The two problems that they do see is the lack of commerce and shopping, and studios for small-scale businesses, and that the capacity on the main street cannot be increased since it is already over dimensioned. Welin (2010-10-14) states, “an area that has socioeconomical advantages seldom has problems”. Ohlander (2010-11-30) thinks that there is a traffic problem. Too many people drive through Laröd to get further up north rather than driving on road 111. She also mentions the area around the grocery store as problematic: “people park here and there and it is hard to pass by”. The residents’ association has communicated this to the Ministry of Urban Planning but without results other than more meter men giving out parking tickets.

Drottninghög, on the other hand, has a deeper problem that, according to Welin (2010-10-14), lies within its structures. There are no natural passing roads through the area. It is very monotone, and hard to get there with public transport and Drottninghög as well as Laröd, is lacking studios for small businesses. Also Westman and Lamberth (2010-11-10) see a problem with the structure of Drottninghög, which they claim to be built like a bottleneck. This has led to the lack of natural paced through flow of people, which is a problem for potential

commercial activities. Lamberth also stated that it is an issue as an outsider to orientate within the neighborhood. It can hardly be seen as a part of the city as well as not being inviting. She means that it is all about the holistic thinking. "It has to be inviting and exciting to go in there and you have to know where you end up, which is not obvious when you get into those isolated areas".

Dock (2010-10-28) can see a problem with Drottninghög being on the wrong side with its back facing the area, and one of the best public transport lines passing on the other side of the neighborhood. Another problem is the high number of unemployed and that teenagers are lacking places to meet. She also sees a trend in that the residents in Drottninghög to a high extent tend to stay in the neighborhood and do not use the rest of the city. They go from home to work and that's it. This leads to a lack of interacting with other people.

3.1.4 Forward Planning

The new Masterplan 2010 has the aim to densify the city of Helsingborg. One way of doing so is to work with the areas from the 1960s and 70s that often have low density. Drottninghög is one of them. Welin (2010-10-14) explains that there is a project group within the ministry that is doing a pre-study, working out how Drottninghög can be developed in accordance to the Masterplan. One good prerequisite he mentions is the fact that the city and the housing company Helsingborgshem hold a 100 percent ownership of the grounds. They are investigating qualities and how they can deal with the big roads now isolating the neighborhood. It is important to get all material without rushing. He claims that Drottninghög's 1114 apartments are in big need of renovation and if necessary, if renovation is impossible, they would be torn down. This is confirmed by Westman and Lamberth (2010-11-10), who also state that the houses are too old to be renovated. However, it is a sensitive process since they'd have to tear down houses where people live. The evacuation process is hard Westman (2010-11-10) says, "It is not just about what you do in areas like this but much about how you do it".

In Laröd, the ministry has been working on developing the area into the east direction towards road 111 since year 2000. Initially, a draft plan was made to see how they could build an elders' home, and deal with the horse industry. Keeping the horse industry and still developing parks is a problem. There is a wish from the people to cut up the land plots since they are expensive and thereby also fit in more houses. But the ministry has always tried to keep the measurements from the original plan of the area; the ground plots should be 600 square meters and 20 % of the ground can be built on. But now it is harder to stick to this. The Masterplan 2010 is aiming to develop a tram between Helsingborg and Höganäs, which will pass by Laröd along road 111. The plan is to build towards this infrastructure and along it. (Welin 2010-10-14)

According to Åberg (2010-10-26) there are several reasons for Helsingborgshem to build in Laröd. One is the detailed plan created together with the Ministry of Urban Planning in 2002 which specifies what grounds can be built on. It was also possible to get a project that would function economically; without this they

are not able to build. Since state economical support was cut off there has to be a really good market to be able to build.

We know what level of rents that we have to get in and to then build in unattractive areas is not possible, the new build area in Laröd is attractive and we have had many candidates. It is very important that the people want to live in the area. (Åberg 2010-10-26)

She thinks that Helsingborgshem has a big impact on the areas where they are building as well as a responsibility “what we build people have to live with in many many years”. Ohlander (2010-11-30) believes it would have been better if the city did not build on such a big area at once. The residential association would rather see a successive development so that the services have a better chance keeping up with the development.

Dock (2010-10-28) is working together with the local library of Drottninghög with a project, which imitates the “Idea Store”, a neighborhood library development in London. The concept is creating libraries to be used as natural places for meeting and learning. The project, Idé A, wants to transpose the London way of working into a Swedish context and then learn from it. In the beginning of the project, a study was done with the residents to see what they want their meeting places to be like in their neighborhood⁷.

3.2 Identity

The creation of a neighborhood identity is a complex and multisided social-cultural process. It contains both physical and social factors and can be externally as well as internally defined. (Robertson et.al, 2010 p 258) Many residents, as well as visitors, governments and business owners value an individual and unique identity in a neighborhood. The local identity is of importance for formation of personal identity, marketing and investment. Neighborhoods and their identity though have to face challenges such as gentrification, migration and minoritization. (Douglas, 2010 p 178)

Urban planning for a living city has to stimulate diversity and quality among people and businesses. It has to decrease borders and strengthen identity among the residents within neighborhoods (Jacobs, 2004 p 438). The persons living and operating within a neighborhood are a part of creating its identity. The identity is the sum of the local history, today's businesses, and residents. It is the collection of the quantitative and qualitative factors in the neighborhood and it can be both positive and negative (Olofsson, 2006 p 6). Identity is also about self-understanding how we place ourselves in the world and how we understand ourselves in relation to the surroundings. Also, how we are understood by the surroundings are of importance. The identity of a neighborhood is used as an identity strengthener. (Högdahl, 2007 p 16) Therefore, it is of importance to take the people around us in consideration when talking about identity since the conception about identity is always in comparison to what you are not. It has its foundation in social relations; this means that others construct us to some extent.

⁷ see chapter 3.2.3 Survey among the residents of Drottninghög

(Högdahl, 2007 p 21; Knox & Pinch, 2000 p 211) Quality of life and felt value are seen as having a connection to the place environment and to the neighborhood. When people feel needed and have the possibility to be a part of shaping the neighborhood, it provides meaning in life (Landry, 2005 pp 36-37).

Often it is assumed that marketing; branding or image making manipulates the social meaning, culture and history of places. Therefore it is important to align the identity of the residents. The residents create their own identity of the neighborhood through their perceptions such as feelings, imagery and evaluations. The development of an identity is a result of internal and external interactions. This is also a strong foundation for taking both the authorities and the experience of the residents in consideration while developing a neighborhood and its image. (Johansson & Cornebise, 2010 p 189; Zhang & Xiaobin Zhao, 2009 p 246; Robertson et.al, p 560)

3.2.1 Neighborhood as a social field

The neighborhood is a social field where a subjective, collective identity and actions integrate with one another and are embedded in the politics of the city. It should not be forgotten that the local, in this case the neighborhood, is affected by the wider concept, in this case the city (Drilling in Schnur, pp 57-59). “In other words, local societies are constructed of both, lived and imagined reality.” (Martikainen, 2004 p 62) The neighborhood is not just affected by its residents but also by the people that do not live there but are visiting the area or have contact with the residents (Drilling in Schnur, 2008 p 60).

Perception and identification should be understood as action impulses that are in direct contact with the social and physical structure of a place. The people and the place are connected. The physical environment is a mirror of social and symbolic structures then it is a result of social actions. Place makes the people and people makes the place. (Vogelpohl in Schnur, 2008 pp 73-74; Thomasson, 2005 p 8)

The neighborhood can be defined through the place concept as a place or a locale where social relationships are developed through the daily life of the residents. It is a material and social context where cultural, political processes together exclude, marginalize, include, stratify and hybridize peoples' daily lives from social constructed variables such as gender, class and ethnicity (Ek & Hultman, 2007 pp 18-19). The social behaviour can be seen as affected by something called the neighborhood effect where residents conform to what they see as local norms to be respected and be a part of the neighborhood. (Knox & Pinch, 2000 p 285)

3.2.2 Publications from the City of Helsingborg

When the Masterplan identifies an attractive living environment, it describes the physical conditions for the places where the people live as well as the social conditions in the same area. It covers the relationship between the people as well as between the people and their physical environment. Attractive living environments provide good conditions for raising children have access to

important services and offer possibilities for recreation and cultural activities within the area. Also, it should give a feeling of identity and of belonging (Översiktsplan, 2010 p 26). “Helsingborg shall offer living environments where a good weekday can be lived; there shall be space for flexibility and action for the future“ (Översiktsplan, 2010 p 27).

The city of Helsingborg coordinates the planning of neighborhoods and development of services. The Masterplan mentions the importance of working together with public services to be able to create spaces for schools and elder homes. They want to take care of the small neighborhood centers, public transport and bicycle roads. The offer of services is a part of the neighborhood identity and creates movement and possibility to spontaneous meetings. Through physical planning, a feeling of safety and togetherness will be built. This shall be done through conscious positioning of entrances, windows and clear differences between the private and the public. (Översiktsplan, 2010 p 28)

The city of Helsingborg wants to work with the identity in different neighborhoods by cherishing and developing the qualities in the local areas. Deep analyses of areas shall be done, and each area shall be able to develop its identity from its preconditions, history, cultural and geographical scale and situation. They want to catch and make the local identities more visible since all people experience their area differently, and the identity is characterized through experiences and pictures – a neighborhood often have several identities. Residents often have a strong opinion about local identity but are not able to communicate it. Therefore, Helsingborg wants to work with capturing the residents' opinions to increase the trustworthiness within the urban planning. Densifying means added value through addition of built environment, green areas, functions, and activities. (Översiktsplan, 2010 p 30) The Masterplan states that the identity is created in the function of the place, the meeting between people, the history and in the ways it is developed (Översiktsplan, 2010 p 18).

The publication Safe and Prosperous through Infrastructure and Identity focuses on changes in the Million-Program-Area. Mainly these changes concern the physical environment in order to increase the social environment such as safety and positive identity (Trygg och välmående, 2010 p 2). The publication states that the Million Program's building style did not consent the need of small-scaleness and human meeting places. Thus, those areas are less safe than others. The publication also states that good infrastructure is missing which isolates the neighborhood from the other parts of the city. The big scale of the area has affected its identity in a negative way. Places with a feeling of privacy that belong to a smaller group of people are lacking.

Identity has a lot to do with memories as well; therefore it is of importance that the people living there, who knows the area, get to be a part of the process of change. (Trygg och välmående, 2010 p 3)

“Surveys show that citizens moving in to Million-Program-Areas have lower economical circumstances than the ones moving out” (Trygg och välmående, 2010 p 4). The oft-isolated Million-Program-Areas have a bad image as a result of this. Without ever having set a foot in one, you know what it will be like.

Even though some of the houses are tower blocks build with tree flours, terrace houses, and freestanding houses, those areas often have the image of large-scale concrete ghettos (Trygg och välmående, 2010 p 5).

In several Million-Program-Areas, streets, backyards and places don't even have names, which emphasizes the lack of character. To be able to be proud of one's own neighborhood, liking it and experience positive experiences, the character and identity of it, has to be strengthened (Trygg och välmående, 2010 p 5).

Resident participation in the process of change in the built environment is fundamental for being able to strengthen local identity...those that are already living in and being active in the neighborhood are carriers of the local identity and thus have to get the opportunity to contribute with their images and knowledge about the area. (Trygg och välmående, 2010 p 6)

The Department of Sustainable Development argues, "Safety and well-being contribute to positive meetings and a good social climate". They also state that the feeling of safety is affected by having the possibility to control their everyday life.

The people's commitment is the answer to many questions on how to control disagreements in society. Planners cannot give the people control or commitment, but they can make it easier for them to be so (Trygg och välmående, 2007 p 3).

According to the document, the English architect couple Alison and Peter Smithson underlines place's connection to identity. "The more opportunities the residents have to put their own mark on their surroundings and houses, the more enjoyable places there will be." The opportunity to be a part in the planning or decision-making that is taking place is also important. This affects the credence for the society and the commitment to the surrounding (Trygg och välmående, 2007 p 5).

3.2.3 Survey among the residents of Drottninghög

In connection to "IdéA Drottninghög", the committee for Helsingborg city wanted to do a residents' survey among the residents of Drottninghög to find out how a natural meeting place could be developed. 35 residents between the ages of 13-74 were gathered in five groups to discuss, one of the groups contained professionals with knowledge about meeting places. The starting point was that no work within the public sector will be as good as the one where the residents are giving input. (Hur och var vill medborgarna träffas på Drottninghög, 2010 pp 3-4)

The survey results suggest that a meeting place where everyone is welcome is missing, a place both lively and quiet. A community youth club in combination with a café is a wish for many. Teenagers want it to be a unique place to be proud of. "I think you would be proud if there is a meeting place where everyone can go". (Hur och var vill medborgarna träffas på Drottninghög, 2010 p 10) The groups also think that it is important to have good people working at the meeting place – preferably, people that live in the neighborhood. There is a wish from the younger people that everyone can work there to spread the workload, and the

steering shall not just be done by the commune but rather by the residents. (Hur och var vill medborgarna träffas på Drottninghög, 2010 p 11)

The survey shows that there is a need for rooms that are available for different people with different purposes. The authorities and other social functions shall not be associated with the meeting place but they should be available for help. (Hur och var vill medborgarna träffas på Drottninghög, 2010 p 16) “There is a pride in the area that is worth backing up”, and residents want to wash away the negative image of the neighborhood. Well-said words in the publication include “stop presupposing the problem: make something unique that everyone can be proud of instead. Create space for opportunities instead of perpetuating the problems” (Hur och var vill medborgarna träffas på Drottninghög, 2010 p 17).

3.2.4 Statistics

Drottninghög

TABLE 1: DROTTNINGHÖG – STATISTICS, POPULATION, INCOME, HEALTH, WORK

Population		Helsingborg	Income, health, work		Helsingborg
Population in total 2010	2960	128 359 (2009)	Unhealthiness for ages of 20-64 2008	58,1-69,1 %	35,2 %
Change in population 2003-2008	20,0-29,9 %	5,5 %	Medium income for men aged 20-64 in trk 2007	245,0-345,9	345,4
Residents with immigrant background 2008	53,4-64,6 %	24,5 %	Medium income for women aged 20-64 in trk 2007	200,6-220,0	250,5
Nr. of residents that have reached the age of 65 2008	300-499		Working women age 20-64 2007	45,0-42,7 %	71,1 %
Nr. of school kids aged 7-15 2008	355-491		Working men age 20-64 2007	60,2-67,4 %	76,1 %
Nr. of teenagers aged 16-19 2008	182-248		Unemployment rate ages 18-64 2008	6,0-7,1 %	3,2 %
Nr. of kids aged 0-6 2008	282-393		Nr. of cars per 1000 residents 2008	221-271	353

(Helsingborg.se)

TABLE 2: DROTTNINGHÖG – RESULT OF ELECTION 2010

Result of election 2010			
	Drottninghög west	Drottninghög east	Helsingborg
Vänsterpartiet	6,3 %	4,7%	3,3 %
Socialdemokraterna	63,0 %	67,8 %	28,7 %
Miljöpartiet	4,8 %	5,3 %	8,6 %
Centerpartiet	0,3 %	1,1 %	2,3 %
Folkpartiet	1,5 %	1,8 %	7,4 %
Krisdemokraterna	1,2 %	0,5 %	3,0 %
Moderaterna	8,3 %	6,0 %	33,4 %
Sverigedemokraterna	10,3 %	10,5 %	10,5 %
Kommunistpartiet	1,7 %	1,1 %	
Sveriges Pensionärers Intresseparti	1,9 %		1,8 %
Remaining	2,4 %	0,2 %	0,8 %

(hd.se)

Laröd

TABLE 3: LARÖD - STATISTICS, POPULATION, INCOME, HEALTH, WORK

Population		Helsingborg	Income, health, work		Helsingborg
Population in total 2010	4604	128 359 (2009)	Unhealthiness for ages of 20-64 2008	14,5-25,3	35,2
Change in population 2003-2008	10,0-19,9 %	5,5 %	Medium income for men aged 20-64 in tkr 2007	489,0-598,0	345,4
Residents with immigrant background 2008	19,2 – 30,5 %	24,5 %	Medium income for women aged 20-64 in tkr 2007	278,6 – 298	250,5

Nr. of residents that have reached the age of 65 2008	700-899		Working women aged 20-64 2007	76,2 – 84 %	71,7 %
Nr. of school kids aged 7-15 2008	629-765		Working men in the aged 20-64 2007	82,1-89,6 %	76,1 %
Nr. of teenagers aged 16-19 2008	316-381		Unemployment rate, ages 18-64 2008	1,4 – 2,4 %	3,2 %
Nr. of kids aged 0-6 2008	394-505		Nr. of cars per 1000 residents 2008	237-424	353

(Helingborg.se)

TABLE 4: LARÖD – RESULT OF ELECTION 2010

Result of election 2010			
	Laröd west	Laröd east	Helsingborg
Vänsterpartiet	1,9 %	2,4 %	3,3 %
Socialdemokraterna	7,3 %	18,6 %	28,7 %
Miljöpartiet	6,9 %	7,4 %	8,6 %
Centerpartiet	1,4 %	2,0 %	2,3 %
Folkpartiet	11,3 %	7,8 %	7,4 %
Krisdemokraterna	3,6 %	2,3 %	3,0 %
Moderaterna	60,2 %	50,9 %	33,4 %
Sverigedemokraterna	4,7 %	6,5 %	10,5 %
Kommunistpartiet			
Sveriges Pensionärers Intresseparti	2,3 %		1,8 %
Remaining	0,4 %	0,2 %	0,8 %

(hd.se)

3.2.5 Safety

According to Welin (2010-10-14) the feeling of safety is often high in Laröd while it is generally low within Drottninghög. Welin (2010-10-14), as well as Åberg (2010-10-26), state that Laröd does not share the safety issues of Drottninghög. In Laröd, safety often concerns children's safety such as a pedestrian crossing or a road has to be safer. In Drottninghög however, there are several fires, and car break-ins as a result of the separation of cars and housing. Welin (2010-10-14) suggests there are problems when houses are not facing the streets and natural pedestrian roads through the neighborhood do not pass the centre, school and church.

Dock (2010-10-28) and Welin (2010-10-14) have different views on the concepts of safety and feeling safe. Dock (2010-10-28) suggests that physical safety is high in Drottninghög and that there is not much to do. It is now a matter of social work preventing crimes and increasing the feeling of being safe.

3.2.6 Integration and togetherness

Welin (2010-10-14) means that the ministry of urban planning put a lot of work into integration and feeling of togetherness within the neighborhood. For Drottninghög, it is important to get an understanding of the physical connections that Drottninghög has to the city and where the connections fail. The next step is steering the socioeconomic preconditions by working with both rental and privately owned apartments as well as houses, shopping centers, offices, healthcare and schools. These should be well connected to the public transport system. The goal is to create areas that give the opportunity to live in different housing options, from renting to owning a house or apartment, within the same area, this idea is shared by Westman and Lamberth (2010-11-10).

Welin (2010-10-14) notes that there is a mix of housings in Laröd. But the togetherness is not just created by a physical mix. Social and structural aspects are also involved. Welin claims authorities are trying to attract services such as schools, shops, and a district healthcare center, all well connected to good infrastructure. Ohlander (2010-11-30) states that there is a collective identity in Laröd. The people there care for "the village" as they choose to refer to it. In other words, Ohlander notes that residents care about creating a clean and organized neighborhood where the older residents tell the kids to pick up their garbage if they see someone throw it away.

The Swedish national board of housing's definition of integration is that everyone shall have the same opportunity to reach services. It is impossible for all neighborhoods to have their own district healthcare centre but it shall be equal for everyone to reach them (Dock 2010-10-28).

3.3 Image

Image can be seen as the collection of impressions that people have when imagining an area. The creation of image tends to be influenced by word of mouth rather than advertisements in newspapers or television. (Olofsson, 2006 p

6; Kotler et.al, 1999 p 160; Kotler, 1993 p 141; Johansson & Cornebise, 2010 p 188)

Two varieties of images can be found. First, the organic image, which is a result of passive information about a place through, for example, discussions with friends and family or news in television or newspapers. The second one is the created image. This is the result of strategic advertising or events. While working on regeneration or change of image it is important to include both images. (Howie, 2003 pp 103-108; Falkheimer & Thelander in Ek & Hultman, 2007 p 134)

The character of a neighborhood can be rooted in the lifestyle and value of its residents (Knox & Pinch, 2000 p 277). It should not merely be regarded as a place that statically accepts new facilities or architecture. A neighborhood carries a specific history, with meanings and local specificities. Therefore, neighborhood development requires development connected to its own sense of place (Lui, 2008 p 225).

Hopefully, the image of a neighborhood presents the neighborhood in a positive way. A good image is good for the neighborhood but an image that does not correspond to the residents' identity loses its function. Image is about the pictures of a place that can be sold and communicated to the surroundings where as the identity is something deeper that also embraces the residents of the neighborhood. (Högdahl, 2007 pp 16-18) Högdahl (2007 p 18) makes the conclusion that the image is about what the city "wants to be" and the identity is about "what the city actually is".

3.3.1 Negative image of a neighborhood

The image of a place cannot strictly be controlled by the place itself – it is affected by several external forces (Kotler, 1993 p 155). The creation of a negative image in a neighborhood is a complex and multidimensional process that often has been developed over a long period of time. Even when the foundation for the bad image has changed to positive, the negative image often stays longer in the public. The negative image can contain three dimensions. First, it is based on the face of the neighborhood that has been developed in the collective mind of the residents. This can be based on sporadic happenings such as cases of criminality. Second, it is also founded in the physical appearance and the physical position in the city. The third dimension is the social composition, the social position and the social status of the neighborhood's residents. The image also changes depending on the perspective from which the neighborhood is viewed – usually differences there are difference in image between insiders and outsiders. The inside image is often better than the outside. The outside image does have a true core but the information reaching the surrounding world is often reduced and highly affected by the media. (Fasselt & Zimmer-Hegmann in Schnur, pp 234-236)

A negative image does not just stigmatize the space but also the residents living in the area (Schnur, 2008 p 14). Changing a negative neighborhood image is a long process that is based on a basic changing process of objective conditions. It

is important to find the root causes of the negative image to be able to work with them (Kolb, 2006 p 227). Changing public consciousness requires long-term effort and cannot be accomplished by simple, short-term marketing campaigns. (Fasselt & Zimmer-Hegmann in Schnur, 2008 pp 234-236)

In several cases, a physical revaluation and social stabilizing arrangements through positive image campaigns help to improve a neighborhood's image outside the neighborhood and thereby decrease the discrimination and stigmatization from outside (Farwick in Schnur, 2008 p 120). A common misbelief is that addressing a few criteria of renewing housing, parks, and schools, for example, will automatically create a well-functioning neighborhood. However, merely adding or removing physical elements is not enough as social factors also play a big role. (Jacobs, 1993 p 137) Only when the residents feel comfortable in their neighborhood and gradually start developing a stronger identification communicated within and outside the neighborhood, the image can change (Fasselt & Zimmer-Hegmann in Schnur, 2008 p 239).

A well-functioning neighborhood according to Jacobs (1993 pp 137-138) is the one that is pretty much self-governed by its residents. A well-functioning network between the people, shops and the public daily life creates trust and social control. The resources shall be on the level of the residents and there must be a will to solve problems on a neighborhood level without the government stepping in taking control.

Neighborhoods situated in the peripheral area of the city with no special resources or attractions can often get a weak image as a result of lacking in marketing strategy with a clear message. These areas have to work with their images to not stay anonymous (Kotler et.al, 1999 p 52).

3.3.2 Image communicated by the newspaper

News articles published about Drottninghög and Laröd in Helsingborgs Dagblad between 2005-2010 (2010-10-11) provides information on the media image of the neighborhoods. The articles have been divided into three categories: First, there are articles containing negative information – the usage of negative words such as “bad” and “insecure” – concerning crimes or unsatisfied residents. Second, there are articles containing positive information, referring to pleasant events and happenings and when residents or others say good things about the area. The third category is neutral and informing and concerns for example public postings and opening hours.

Drottninghög

TABLE 5: DROTTNINGHÖG – ARTICLES IN HELSINGBORGS DAGBLAD

	2010	2009	2008	2007	2006	2005
Positive	43.56 %	39.29 %	42.7 %	31.2 %	33.3%	39.5 %
Negative	51.49 %	50 %	51.2 %	47.3 %	46.7 %	55.8 %
Neutral	4.95 %	10.7 %	0.6 %	21.5 %	20 %	0.5 %
Total nr. of articles	101	140	82	93	60	43

As can be seen in the table above, the number of articles communicating a negative image is higher than the positive ones. The negative articles paint a picture of a neighborhood in need of help. Drottninghög is presented as a neighborhood that has fallen victim to the typical functionalistic apartment blocks and the low economic status of its residents, the high number of immigrants and vandalization from teenage gangs. The number of published articles has increased the past years. This can be seen as an effect of greater focus being placed on the neighborhood due to the Ministry of Urban Planning's development plan and increased focus from the police to decrease gang crimes.

One article tells about the board for development together with Helsingborgshem putting new money into the neighborhood in a two-year project to help unemployed immigrants with work opportunities. Helsingborgshem will give 25 women and men the opportunity of an internship program at the company. (Henriksson, 2010-01-03, hd.se) In another article, the locals get to give their opinion on the project and they all believe it to be a good idea. In their opinion, it is important to give more immigrants a chance. One resident says "I was raised in Drottninghög and then I have been living in a house and now an apartment here. The area has always had a bad reputation, but I never had any problems with that" (Henricsson, 2010-01-03, hd.se)

Several of the articles are discussing the constant reoccurrence of vandalization and fights in the area where teenagers were fighting and vandalizing so that the police had to be called in. (Fern, 2010-01-11, hd.se) The local police claims there is a problem with teenage gangs in Drottninghög. There have been discussions with gang members and their parents but it is often hard to connect individuals to specific crimes (Berkemo, 2010-01-19, hd.se). The police mapped a suspected gang leader. The person was arrested and placed in an institution in another city. "It has big signal value for the young ones on Drottninghög that he is gone" (Carlsson, 2010-01-23, hd.se). "There was a risk that the situation would turn into unmanageable if no strong resources were put in", said the local police chief. The police are working with other networks in the area such as the school, the church, library, social services and Helsingborgshem. "There is a lot of vandalization and the car burnings have been in focus; also, hash addiction is spread out among the teenagers" says one of the policemen in the local teenage group created to work against local problems. They also say that there is big alienation in the area as a result of the big number of teenagers with immigration background. (Carlsson, 2010-01-23, hd.se)

When studying the large number of articles concerning car burning, the dissatisfaction expressed by residents is constantly returning. "There is so much violence and then this happens. There was a fire in number 8 in the summer and not too long ago...there was a fire in an apartment here. It is very unpleasant". The resident expressing these words has been living there since 1995. She claims that it was a peaceful area back then. (Schön & Hansson, 2010-01-28, hd.se) Another article mentions the same problems in connection to the car burnings. Residents believe that the area is turning unsafe, with too many robberies, break-in and fires. A woman remembers Drottninghög being a nice area to grow up in as a child. Now she has told her mother who still lives there that it is time to get a new place. Another resident living there since 1974 says:

I want to move...I am tired of everything that is happening here. Many persons in my house want to move. There are too many teenagers hanging around in the evenings. Too many fires, and you cannot go outside alone when it is dark anymore. (Sköldqvist, 2010-01-29, hd.se)

The fact that the lack of living space is increasing can also have an effect on image and identity. Drottninghög is one of four areas sharing this problem in Helsingborg. The statistics show that between 2004 and 2008, 352 people have moved into the neighborhood but no new apartments were built. Helsingborgshem has, until 2009, had no complaints as a result of this lack of living space. (Gravlund, 2010-04-12, hd.se)

There are not only negative articles about Drottninghög. A big event in 2010 where different parts of the city got the chance to compete in a choir competition gave the area some positive attention as one of the participating areas. (Olsson, 2010-01-09; Jacob, 2010-01-05, hd.se) Also, the fact that Drottninghög has a lively active library helps spread positive information. The library focuses on creating meetings. They offer different themed activities such as information nights and TV-nights.

More and more people find their way here as a result of us working with others in the area. One of the most popular events is the potluck meetings, where everyone brings food and sets the table. That is when cultures are meeting.

says one of the employees of the library. (Schön, 2009-01-21, hd.se)

In the autumn of 2010, the police took a new method into practice; aim to decrease the criminal youth gangs within Drottninghög and two other areas in the city. The police fly a heat detector-equipped helicopter over the areas, to identify groups of people during night. They are also adding more patrol cars to circulate the areas. Initially the work led to an arrest of a drug-influenced youth on a stolen motorbike (Frisk, 2010-10-4, hd.se; Lichtenstein, 2010-10-17, hd.se).

Laröd

TABLE 6: LARÖD – ARTICLES IN HELSINGBORGS DAGBLAD

	2010	2009	2008	2007	2006	2005
Positive	42.8 %	44.1 %	48.2 %	25.3 %	39.8 %	37.3 %
Negative	40.5 %	36 %	33.9 %	46.8 %	43.4 %	43.3 %
Neutral	16.6 %	19.8 %	17.9 %	27.8 %	16.9 %	19.4 %
Total nr. of articles	84	111	112	79	83	67

The articles about Laröd give the feeling of a wealthy neighborhood, where a lot of money is put into building new houses of different types. The schools are good and it is a place for families that want their children to grow up in calm surroundings. When reading articles that have a negative tone, it often concerns something that irritates the residents such as new buildings under construction, the lack of information, traffic accidents or house break-ins. The number of published articles has increased the past years. This can be seen as an effect of more focus being placed on the neighborhood due to the development project where a large amount of new houses have and are being built.

Laröd's kindergarten Skogsglantan received the "green flag" award in the beginning of the year as a result of them working with garbage recycling. "Yes we got a green flag for recycling our garbage and growing beetroot" says a four-year-old boy going to Skogsglantan. The children also get the chance to pick the grown beets and cook them. (Linqvist, 2010-10-01, hd.se)

Several articles discuss the rapid growth of Laröd. One of the latest plans is that Helsingborgshem will build three-floor apartment houses and also terrace houses that are to start as rentals but after a year; there is a possibility for the tenants to buy the house. The rent however is high, about 13 000 SEK per month and the price for buying it is calculated to be about 3.5 million SEK. People have already handed in applications and the city of Helsingborg believes this to be perfect for a neighborhood of this kind (Nilsson, 2010-09-12, hd.se). Another article discusses the rental buying of houses and suggests that it is an attractive option for young families that have not had the chance to save enough money to buy yet or the ones that want to try out the neighborhood before they buy something. (Själänder, 2010-08-05, hd.se)

Laröd is counted into one of the most well off neighborhoods in Helsingborg. It is characterized by a low number of unemployed and unhealthy, high levels of education and high middle income, where few have social economic support. The crime prevention council says that "How people feel socially, if they have a job, and how they succeed in school are connected to the level of crimes in the area". "Young people look for identity. The ones that do not get a job or good grades compensate in another way." (Gravlund & Svensson, 2010-09-04, hd.se) Connected to this reasoning can be the fact shown in another article the primary school in Laröd is one of the schools in Helsingborg where most children graduate with a pass in all subjects. 95 percent and 97.6 percent qualified to

apply for the university. (Ågren, 2010-08-29, hd.se)

Several articles are based on the residents' criticism against the city. One example is when the residents did not get any information about how the street outside their houses had to be dug up to give space for new pipes and cables for new houses. As a result of this, the residents have had problems with the garbage pickup, turned off water supply and telephone lines, and computers that have not been working. (Lindqvist, 2010-07-19, hd.se) Another case was when one couple had their garage flooded as a result of heavy rain, this being a result of how the streets were built. (Bergstrom, 2010-08-18, hd.se)

Another negative, often returning, aspect in the articles is house break-ins. One article shows that Laröd/Hittarp was the area with the highest number of break-ins (7 %) in Helsingborg during 2009. The police does not want to state that there are specific reasons for the number of break-ins occurring here but rather suggests that it goes in circles and that almost all neighborhoods will be affected by this during some time (Ekdahl, 2010-03-31, hd.se). Regardless, Laröd it is still seen as one of the most attractive areas to live in. (Liliedahl, 2010-01-26, hd.se)

3.3.3 Image as the planners sees it

Welin (2010-10-14) suggests that Laröd has a very attractive image. "It is a wealthy suburb where successful people live". The image also reflects the closeness to landscapes and water, "the green and the economical, the good life". Drottninghög on the other hand, he claims, has a bad image. When appearing in media it is almost always from a negative perspective. It has a high level of immigrants in comparison to the rest of Helsingborg. However, he suggests that Drottninghög does not deserve this bad image. "The public image is bad, containing problems, crime and fights. But at the same time, the people living there likes it, despite some problems with fires and so on".

Welin (2010-10-14) admits that the Planning office does not regard the image. They focus on the landscape and the structures. He is aware that the physical environment has an effect on the image and they perform analysis of the areas to find the suitable preconditions for each area. He admits that a good image is important for the residents of the area, but place higher importance in creating a good city than working with image-related questions. "Image can be created but it is not sure that it is a true picture". He thinks that it is more important for the ones working with the direct area, the landowners, to be concerned with image.

Åberg (2010-10-26) shares Welin's opinion of Laröd as a high status neighborhood. The image attracts people with organized economy that appreciate trouble-free quality housing. She also believes that the image communicated to public matches with the identity of the residents. Ohlander (2010-11-30) says that the image of Laröd as being a posh neighborhood with very high income is not always the best way to see it. She would like to see this image fade a bit. She is however aware of the positive image that Laröd has and that it is attractive to live there. (Ohlander 2010-11-30)

Åberg (2010-10-26) suggests that an attractive image is very important, everything is connected and a good image generates investment in the area. Vandalization and graffiti can be decreased in neighborhoods where people care about their area. Pride of one's own neighborhood is very important. She further claims that residents moving into the new area are proud of living there. "The people I have met want to live in Laröd. They have not chosen the area because there is lack of housing elsewhere or they have not found anything else. They want to live there".

Dock (2010-10-28) suggests that the image of Drottninghög is not good and that people living in Helsingborg have a bad image of the area. She does not think that this image corresponds with the identity of the residents in the area. With the developments there will also be positive images presented and thereby the negative opinion will change. "I have to believe that there can be a difference. Otherwise, the work would be meaningless". She mentions that the easiest way would be to renovate or tear down the housing of today so that the rents will be higher and new residents would move in, which is a way often used. "But it is for the people living in Drottninghög that Drottninghög shall be created to something better".

Lamberth (2010-11-10) mentions a survey done by teenagers and kids in Drottninghög. They asked people in Helsingborg center their opinion of Drottninghög. "And they came back crying". It is seen as a problem area. But then she suggests that if you ask the children what they think "they love their neighborhood and write lovely poems about it in school". Westman (2010-11-10) thinks that the media is consciously finding and creating a neighborhood to hate. She argues that there is an irresponsible description of some neighborhoods in the media, and if the residents in Drottninghög were left alone for a while they would have the chance to recover and create their own image. Lamberth and Westman (2010-11-10) believe that the image is inconsistent with the identity of the residents. People living in Drottninghög like their area even though the image is not the best. They partly think that a positive image is good for a well-being neighborhood but it is not the only factor.

3.3.4 Attractivity

According to Welin (2010-10-14) attractivity has several components – socioeconomic advantages, the scale of the built environment, and a mix of housing, to name a few. But a neighborhood can have all those components without being attractive. Likewise, a negatively regarded neighborhood does not imply the residents find it unattractive: "When you start building on plain ground, you can try to create attractiveness but when developing an area that already exists, you have to be very sensitive before starting to change structures."

Welin (2010-10-14) mentions the scale of the built environment and the greenness of Drottninghög as attractive elements. The problem is that it is surrounded of big streets that screen off connections to the surroundings. Also, the centre was initially built to serve 10 000 people but today only 3000 live in the neighborhood. There is no natural flow through the centre, which decreases

the natural meeting points. But he claims that the residents think of it as an attractive neighborhood.

Regarding Laröd, one attractive element is the structures from the 30's and 40's. It is simple but still planned with big gardens where the houses are in good proportions to them. It is a green area with closeness to nature and the view over the sound between Sweden and Denmark. There are also horses in the area, which, however, does create problems with today's environmental and health laws. Other problems are the lack of shopping (Welin 2010-10-14). Welin (2010-10-14) calls it a "sleeping town" where not much is happening during daytime. But this is also one reason for its high attractiveness. It has good public communications, bicycle roads, and it is easily accessed from the inner state road 111. He mentions that the street system has its flaws. The intersecting main street often has heavy traffic and it can be hard to navigate within the street system.

Åberg (2010-11-26) mentions the good mix of residents as important for an attractive area and accentuates a mix of old, young and families. She also thinks it is important to have good infrastructure, communication possibilities and schools. "Laröd also has this fantastic geographical position surrounded by nature, but still close to the city and the water." Also Ohlander (2010-11-31) mentions proximity to nature and the possibility of enjoying spare time activities in Laröd as attractive elements.

Dock (2010-10-28) states that there has to be opportunities to have experiences in the neighborhood as well. What creates those experiences differs from place to place but often concerns street life: "It does not have to be a huge magnet in every neighborhood, it can be attractive just in itself". "Attractiveness is important but an attractive image is different from area to area. One neighborhood is attractive since it is calm and nothing happens, another because it is lively".

Dock (2010-10-28) thinks that Drottninghög is attractive because of the greenery, the library, the local swimming pool, and its well-known bakery. It is a small-scale neighborhood that is well structured with the entrances of the houses facing each other as well as the backyards, too.

Lamberth and Westman (2010-11-10) state that the identity of the residents is the main component for an attractive neighborhood. They state that it is important that the people living in an area want to live there and have chosen it themselves. The identity of the neighborhood will then be attractive to different people.

3.4 Making Sense of Place and Place Marketing

In marketing, the focus is often laid on the importance of being consumer-oriented. When it comes to marketing places instead of products, the consumer orientation is towards existing or potential residents in the neighborhood. According to Kavaratis and Ashworth (2005 p 507), people makes sense of a place mainly through three types of inputs: first, urban design and how the planning is done; second, impressions from different kinds of media as well as

novels, paintings, and films and; third, their own perceptions and images they get when visiting the neighborhood or talking to friends. They further discuss the importance of mental maps. These maps are the result of how people navigate through their complex reality, a way to simplify reality and thereby make better sense of an area. One of the main tasks while marketing a neighborhood or city is therefore to influence those mental maps to suit present and future plans.

Sense of place is, on one hand, the result of experiences in the neighborhood and therefore stands for the identification with it. On the other hand it roots in the local atmosphere and the system of symbolics (Vogelpohl in Schnur, 2008 p 71). Sense of place can be seen as the relationship between people and place and the attachment that people feel to their home area (Knox & Pinch, 2000 p 304). "Human places become vividly real through dramatization. Identity of place is achieved by dramatizing the aspirations, needs, and functional rhythms of personal and group life" (Tuan, 1977 p 169).

Johansson and Cornebise (2010 p 188) argue that the image a person holds of a place is based on the experiences but also can be influenced by how the built environment is staged. Kavaratizis and Ashworth (2005, p 512) suggest "stories need to be built into the place, not least by planning and design interventions".

Place marketing has according to Kotler et al., (1999) four main activities. The neighborhood or city has to be able to create an attractive image and position itself. It has to offer attractive incentives for the businesses and residents of today as well as potential buyers and users. The services in the neighborhood have to be accessible and efficient. It is important to promote the attractiveness and benefits of living and operating in the neighborhood. The work should be done both by public and private representatives. Merely focusing on branding and promoting a place tends to leave out a big part of the process. It should be about designing and creating a place that can satisfy its residents and businesses as well as visitors and investors (Kotler, 1993 pp 25-30; 99-100; Thufvesson, 2006 p 7; Kavaratis & Ashworth, 2007 p 522).

Many of today's modern neighborhoods lack diversity and are too much of a residential area or office block. Often they are lacking the typical main streets that are to be found in small towns and where residents and visitors meet. Public meeting places are of importance. In order to create a more complete neighborhood out of residential or working areas, the inter flow of people is of high importance. Just adding houses, working places and more services, cannot create this. A street that opens up for flow through will be more successful than a centre or marketplace functioning as a dead end where you can not get any further. A good flow through also increases the willingness to establish new services. It is also of importance that practical power will be transformed from the city centre to the neighborhood (Söderlind, 1998 pp 44-47). As Jacobs (2004 p 177) puts it, "Neighborhoods can not be copies of one another, they differ heavily from one another, and should do so."

Place marketing is partly about communication through chosen pictures of a special geographical area often addressed to a specific group of people. It is a positive picture that is attempting to communicate a new positive image or to

replace an old negative one (Ek & Hultman, 2007 p 28). Marketing a place is about purposefully showing some characteristics of the place to make it more attractive while communicating the sought after image (Hultman in Ek & Hultman, 2007 p 147; Kavaratis & Ashworth, 2006 pp 20-21). It thereby increases the local pride in the neighborhood (Sparvero & Chalip, 2007 p 17).

Other arguments for creating good place marketing emphasize looking for solutions and answers leading to as many happy and satisfied people as possible. The residents should be engaged in and feel as a part of the neighborhood; new residents are important as they can function as “engines” by supporting not just themselves but the whole area as entrepreneurs, investors, educated working people, cultural persons and so on. They bring impulses and perspectives from outside. As place marketing should happen through different media channels, visitors of an area can be used as marketing tools. Residents and visitors spreading a positive picture is one of the most important marketing tools for a place. (Thufvesson, 2006 pp 7-8, Thufvesson, 2009 p 30)

3.4.1 Helsingborg making sense of place - sustainable development

The plan for sustainable development in Helsingborg is supposed to be a knowledge base to help the city use its resources where they are needed. The plan identifies, follows up and analyzes with the help of indicators, what goals are reached within different areas and groups in the city. (Plan för hållbar utveckling Helsingborg, 2010 p 3)

The improvement areas have been taken from the vision program of Helsingborg (Översiktsplan, 2010 pp 4-5). The aims consist of seven interdisciplinary areas: work and education, growing up conditions of children and youth, housing and city development, health and living conditions, growing old with health, environmental quality, and security and safety. They are all working together to create a well-functioning life in the city and its neighborhoods. To make this work, it is important to have a common formulation of goals for all stakeholders involved. “If we’re supposed to improve the life quality of the residents we have to put focus on the tenants and their life quality, and we cannot do it by ourselves. It is a big collective mission” (Plan för hållbar utveckling Helsingborg, p 6). As a part of the sustainable development scheme, main problems that are dealt with are unemployment, housing shortages and alienation (Plan för hållbar utveckling Helsingborg, 2010 p 12)

Dock (2010-10-28) highlights the importance the public school in Drottninghög has for creating a good neighborhood with a feeling of togetherness. “The first thing you search for or ask about before you move to an area if you have or want to have children is if the school is good. If the children are put in a school in a different area you lose the neighborhood feeling.”

Westman and Lamberth (2010-11-10) use the lack of youth activities as a negative factor in Drottninghög. More effort has to be put into creating meeting spots for teenagers that prevent them from meeting in the park. Lately the community youth centre has extended its opening hours a result of the Ministry of Leisure taking over. In the 1970’s, Drottninghög had plenty of activities for

the youth and they came from all over the city to join the local disco. This was unfortunately shut down.

The feeling of safety and security is another important aspect. However, these are difficult to define as notions of safety differ between individuals. Drottninghög has the highest reported crime rate and therefore the insecurity and risks of being exposed to crime are higher than average in Helsingborg (Plan för hållbar utveckling Helsingborg, 2010 pp 20-21).

3.4.2 2010 Helsingborg making sense of place - The Masterplan

The new Masterplan aims not only to create qualitative physical places and buildings but also to create milieus where people feel good and want to reside. Also, a constant upgrade to the identity that characterizes the city is important. (Översiktsplan, 2010 p 15) In order to achieve the goals, the city has especially considered six topics. There is *including*, meaning that the spaces shall be safe and attractive for all residents. The places shall be *flexible*, be able to be used in different ways by different people, public, private as well as non-profit. Public spaces shall be *tolerant*, experienced as inviting and open. *Dynamic* places shall give space for different tempos for movement as well as staying. *Flows* of people shall give life to the public spaces during day and night. *Experiences* in the city means spaces have different identity through their design, what they contain, as well as the experiences they give. (Översiktsplan, 2010 p 20)

The Masterplan states that Helsingborg city should work with the apartment block areas from the 1960s and 70s where they want to decrease barriers and create a better context. Through physical complement, the structure can be clarified and the spatial qualities increased. Drottninghög is an example where a vision and structure program is under work, “from a city part to a part of the city” which means higher density, more dwellings are planned, services and activities and development of the spatial qualities. One part of the program is to develop the social relationships in the area. (Översiktsplan, pp 30-31; 50) Welin (2010-10-14) mentions that developments in a neighborhood that already exist demand a broad perspective of people being included. “It is harder though to get companies to invest money in an area that has a bad image than in one with a good image”.

In addition, the new Masterplan is aiming to create city life outside the city centre by expanding public transport. Further, there shall be central functioning meeting spots in the neighborhoods, preventing them from merely turning into spaces for passing through. They shall be inviting and safe. (Översiktisplan, 2010 p 22)

When creating a special sense of place and common identity among the residents in Laröd, the residents' association can be of help. They organize several cultural activities for their 400 members each year, such as Midsummer celebrations at Sofiero Castle in June or the Valborgs bonfire on the beach in May. They are also aiming to create a neighborhood that satisfies the residents' suggestions and complaints by communicating with the city of Helsingborg. However, Ohlander (2010-11-30) claims that residents tend to get asked

selectively for their opinion. When the city believes the residents will be supportive of a proposal they tend to ask residents' opinions, while projects that are suspected of not being liked are not asked about.

4. Neighborhood development – Analysis and discussion

In the analysis the aim is to discuss the result of the empirical and theoretical findings with its base in the research questions.

4.1 Throwback to a problem

There are probably as many ways to view a neighborhood as there are interest groups viewing it. Neighborhoods are planned spaces. The city together with housing companies plan where people should walk, cycle, drive, park, play or exercise. The residents are given a preset “template” where they can live their lives and are told how to do so. Often residents are seen as having only a functional role without offering any experiences. Within those well-planned areas, activities develop that were not planned to be performed there. How the residents treat their neighborhood, what footprints they leave, will have effect on the local and individual identity of the neighborhood and can create a feeling of togetherness among the residents.

Research containing the connections between neighborhood development and how it affects image and identity is thin. Literature can be found concerning neighborhood development, image or identity connected to a place but it is rare for anyone to mention the connection to development of the area, even though identity can be found in the Masterplan as an area to work on. The interviews give just a general opinion about image and identity, but no direct connection is drawn between the planned or ongoing development and the possible effect on the image of and identity in the neighborhoods. Questions concerning image and identity are seen to be given rarely no space or thought. This further confirms the need of research investigating those questions.

In recent years, more attention has been given to place marketing and city branding. This could be a first step towards reaching the neighborhood level of place marketing. A quite new field of studies and tool in place marketing is neighborhood branding where neighborhoods shall be better known through a well-developed brand as well as creating a stronger identity among the residents. This tool, however, has still not reached Sweden. One explanation why, could be that Swedish neighborhoods are too neutral and small to be applied to neighborhood branding. Another explanation is that we are scared of the new way of thinking as we are realizing the risks of putting resources into one neighborhood in the city instead of the city as a whole. Neighborhood branding might be a good way to get started. Instead of working with the whole city containing several images and mindsets that contradict one another, working on a smaller scale can benefit the work and the final results of it.

4.2 The impact of neighborhood development

Neighborhoods create direct living space for its residents and thereby affect the quality of life in our cities. The attractiveness and the prospects of the future depend on the quality of offered housing supply in the neighborhood.

When going through such a prodigious development process as the one in Drottninghög, there is always a risk for gentrification or regeneration of the area. Current residents being exchanged for other more well-off citizens is a high risk. Local governments naturally seek gentrified areas, as they are socioeconomically strong. As can be seen in Laröd, although not a typical gentrification area, there appear to be few problems since the residents are high-income takers. As Åberg (2010-10-26) argues, it is hard to build new neighborhoods with good apartments and houses if they are to have low rents. This means that the city and Helsingborgshem have great power in deciding the residents in the area as a result of the supplied housing. Since it is not profitable to build small apartments with high rents, groups of single persons wanting to live in a small apartment, such as students, are excluded as well as low-income people. The houses in Drottninghög are seen to be stained by time and the interviewees argue that they are not in any condition to be renovated. It must be asked though, how it turned out this way? How can it be possible that houses built in the 1960s are in such bad condition? Shall we see gentrification as a possible risk here or maybe as a wish?

Neighborhood development shall not just be seen as a physical planning process creating a good neighborhood according to planning criteria. Identity is partly raised within the empirics, especially in documents, but there is no real aim with it. It can be seen as a fancy word among other words; whereas the plans and physical environment get the main focus. The main goal of the development projects in Helsingborg are the economical profits which tends to make the planners blind to soft factors such as image and identity. These are being stuck in-between different institutions with no responsible focusing on those issues, an aspect that will be important to work with in the future.

4.3 The importance of image and identity

Even though the projects are about rebuilding or expanding with dwellings in the neighborhoods, it is surprising none of the interviewees put any further focus on or importance into the image of the neighborhoods and the identity within them. To identify neighborhood development as a strategy for developing or strengthening the image and identity within Drottninghög and Laröd has not been possible to. As the empirics show, the focus has mainly been on the physical environment and partly on activities that take place or do not take place within the neighborhoods. Therefore, no strategy to create the “right” image is to be found.

As the literature says, the image of a neighborhood has big impact on the attractiveness of the neighborhood and thereby also the economic development of it. As can be seen in the empirics, it is difficult to develop neighborhoods with a bad image since investors are lacking and it is hard to build profit from these neighborhoods. It can also be stated that poor neighborhoods are more often connected to social problems and a negative image, even though as all of the interviewees argue, the neighborhood residents do not necessarily share this image. Even though the medial image is bad, the local internal image does not have to be so. This is something that can be used when changing the external

image and strengthening identity among the residents. The external image is also affecting the people living there. Regardless of their opinion that they're living in the perfect neighborhood, they might feel that they are not allowed to think so since this is not the picture painted by media and word of mouth.

One important fact obvious in the literature as well as in the empirics is that an attractive and good neighborhood is created when the image corresponds to and reflects the identity among its residents. Therefore I would like to argue that the foundation for an attractive image lays among the residents and in their place identity. When seeking to change a negative image, it is therefore important to first identify the residents' view upon their own neighborhood. The identity needs to be evaluated together with the positive factors, which then should be communicated outwards. Therefore, the positive internal image can affect the external. Not to be forgotten is the fact that the media plays an important role in shaping image. As an example, Helsingborgs Dagblad is constantly presenting negative images of Drottninghög.

Also, the way city planners present and view the neighborhood will affect the identity and image. If the planners consider an area as problematic the public and residents will adopt these notions. I would like to argue that this can be an issue in the neighborhood planning in Helsingborg. Several of the interviewees saw Drottninghög as a problematic area that had to be changed. Even though they also highlighted positive factors, the fundamental opinion was that the area has to be totally rebuilt and changed in order to turn it into a positive image neighborhood.

One problem I have discovered regarding Laröd is the constant returning opinion that the area does not have any problems. The statements are based on the fact that housing prices are rising. Rich and well-educated people want to live there and investors want to build and invest. But when digging deeper into the thoughts about Laröd, several problems appear. One is the image of a sleeping neighborhood during daytime. The lack of services is another issue difficult to solve. People tend to do their shopping in bigger supermarkets rather than going to the local store which is often pricier and has less supply. Offering services in the neighborhood attracts new residents and Laröd expresses the willingness to do so. The interviewed key persons agreed that it would be beneficial to offer more shopping services. However, there are no locations for them to be situated and there are no plans on building these kinds of service spaces.

Also, the traffic problems are not to be overlooked, especially since Laröd is an area that is going through a big development phase. The streets are narrow and tight as it is today while new houses are being built without streets and roads being expanded.

I would like to argue that there is a risk involved with overlooking or ignoring problems in an area like Laröd. The risk lies in the issues growing until they become expensive to handle. The area around the local grocery store is, according to the residents' association (2010-11-30), not sufficient and this creates problems when wanting to do shopping there or visiting the library located in the same building. Dealing with this issue would be something the

residents would appreciate more rather than having a new block of houses built. By working with the existing resources around the shop and turning it into a place people do not avoid, it will surely become more attractive and thereby generate the new desired services.

To create lasting images and identities that are changeable over time the sustainability perspective is of importance. We are not just trying to create an image for today or a stronger identity for now but rather an identity that will last and stay strong. The residents in a neighborhood are the creators of an identity and they are also its carriers. Different lifestyles mean different experiences and valuation of a place.

Has the city forgotten about the neighborhood as a result of being the best and most attractive? Are they forgetting about the locals and their importance, knowledge and willingness to create a safe and healthy living environment? Of course the physical environment has a big impact on the residents and the image on the neighborhood. But does it really affect the identity that much? It is of importance to work broader with image questions as well as detailed ones.

4.4 Neighborhood development or city development

When talking to Welin (2010-10-14) about neighborhood development, he mentions that he does not like the word since it implies that by working this way, different parts of the city are separated from others. He thinks that we should talk about city planning to prevent more segregation within the city.

I would like to argue against this and claim that by only referring to the city as a whole and the total identity and image of a city gives a perspective too wide and broad for people to accept and feel included into. The level of the neighborhood is important since this is the level of the people that create the city and their life spheres. The only way to be able to understand their feeling of identity is to understand the environment they are living in, why they live there, and how they live. Going down to the neighborhood level does not mean that it has to be isolated work, creating islands in the city. It should still be undertaken in connection to the surroundings and in relation to the city as a whole. A puzzle would not be completed if there were parts missing, how should you know what the picture should look like if not all pieces are there?

A major question arising from this study is whether we should discuss place marketing on a neighborhood level or rather take on a broader viewpoint and talk about city development the way Welin views it? Is the neighborhood development in Helsingborg undertaken in the most optimal of ways or is there a risk that these methods are separating soft factors and hard factors? Is not a big part of neighborhood development forgotten when issues concerning image and identity are not in the agenda? When working in different institutions such as the Ministry of Urban Planning, housing companies and the Board of Sustainable Development, there is a risk that the different groups are aiming for different things or have different views on how the common goal should be reached. One example is that Helsingborgshem has to have a more economical perspective than the ministry since they are, after all, a profit-driven company even though

they are also partly political affected and supported. This can lead to conflicts as well as a different focus when planning or working with a neighborhood.

A short discussion about place marketing and place making has been held in this thesis. I would like to argue that place marketing is a narrow term, and rather talk about it as place striving for both soft and hard factors within a city or neighborhood. I would like to argue that it is time for the planners of different institutions in the city to specifically identify what they are doing and what they are working for when looking at neighborhoods that are in development phrase. To give the process a more specific name can be helpful. In this case why not talk about place marketing or neighborhood development and then define what is meant with it? There could be interdisciplinary collaborations between ministries, collective formulation of goals and process planning to reach those goals. Since the definition on what attractiveness and "good" planning is differs from person to person, the neighborhood development process can gain advantages such as creating a less "shattered" process and it can help not to forget parts or views in between the levels or planning institutions – such as image and identity partly is today.

To combine and coordinate the different actors is one of the main aspects within destination development today, as Dock (2010-10-28) ends her interview. But it is not just about the relationship of people and perfect planning but also about the relationship between the different neighborhoods and their social contact.

6. Final words

I will here conjoin the research by presenting the most important learning and how they have contributed to the research field. I reflect over my thesis and give suggestions on further research.

This thesis has touched upon important questions concerning neighborhood development. The result is a result of the case study in the neighborhoods Laröd and Drottninghög in Helsingborg, though this does not mean that the learning's are place bound. The results can also help understand processes in other cities developing their neighborhoods.

One important conclusion is that the work within the Ministry of Urban Planning and the local housing companies affects how the residents meet the changes and how media decides to present them. Another important conclusion is the lack of focus on soft factors such as image and identity when going through neighborhood development. Even though modern research has started to treat these subjects in a broader sense, the work is not to be found in the practical neighborhood development. It is often believed that mere physical development will change a negative image to the better without regarding the context, identity and self-image of the place. An important question is therefore how the identity of a neighborhood can be captured so that it is coherent with the needs of the residents. Also how do we create an image of the place, which attracts the people, services, and investors that will develop the new neighborhood?

The thesis has contributed to the discussion on neighborhood development from a new perspective concerning the effect on image and identity. This study has provided a first sample but there are still areas where the theory can be further complemented. The research field is wide and has yet to be fully investigated. One possible area of investigation is the new concept of neighborhood branding where identities of the residents are brought together to create a new positive image of the neighborhood – it needs to be further researched how and if this can be done. Also, further research done at the neighborhood level together with residents – rather than on the planning level – is needed. It would be interesting to further investigate the concept of community building and why Sweden has not reached the goals in community building given by the OECD.

My conclusions are based on the finished research and not on my own understanding. Before I started the process I did expect to find a lack of work with image and identity in connection to neighborhood development as a result of lacking theory on this area. However, I did not expect the planners would disregard those topics enough to not even give them space for discussion. By performing this study, I have gained insight in the importance of well-functioning project groups containing coworkers with different backgrounds and expertise areas. A mixture of knowledge, and both physical and social factors collaborating, will ensure that the projects are aiming for the same results and agreeing in the method for reaching the results. Through the research I have gained a deeper understanding for the subject and it is my wish that it will

contribute to the individual knowledge areas of the professionals, researchers and students that take part of it.

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Helsingborg

Eva Westman, Helsingborgshem, 2010-11-10 15.00-16.00 Helsingborgshem
Helsingborg

Piia Lamberth, Helsingborgshem, 2010-11-10, 15.00-16.00 Helsingborgshem
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Pictures Of Drottninghög talken 2010-10-12 by Sarah Lundberg

Pictures of Laröd taken 2010-10-23 by Sarah Lundberg

Appendix 1 – Interview guides

(the interviews were held in Swedish, Part 2 was adjusted to the position of the interview person, the interview with the Resident Association of Laröd was different also in the other parts)

Carl Welin, Ministry of Urban planning Helsingborg

Introduction:

1. Could you please shortly present your self, what you have done as architectural planner and your primary working tasks for Helsingborg city.

Part 1

2. What does according to you make a neighborhood attractive and how is this attractiveness redeveloped in the neighborhoods Drottninghög/Laröd?
3. What kind of neighborhood developments are you doing at the moment in Drottninghög/Laröd?
4. What does inspire you in your development? Do you have any role models?
5. What kind of trends do you see within city planning and neighborhood planning?
6. Do you think that city planning today follow one similar pattern?
7. What kind of pillars do you think is important to build a neighborhood on/around?
8. Do you see Drottninghög/Laröd as a suburb, urban district or neighborhood?
9. How would you explain the urban planning of Drottninghög/Laröd? (wholeness, integration, shattered, divided)

Part 2

10. In what kind of a way do you think there is a good mix of different functions in Drottninghög/Laröd (such as housing, work, services, pleasure)?
11. How do you work to create a neighborhood impregnated by integration and togetherness?
12. What is your point of view concerning accessibility to/of Drottninghög/Laröd? Do you mean that there is a need of transportation possibilities?
13. If that is the case how do you think it will affect the flow of people?
14. How do you work with integration and cooperation of working places, housing, shops and different social groups?

Part 3

15. What is the biggest problem today in Drottninghög/Laröd?
16. How do you experience the safety in Drottninghög/Laröd? Do you try to affect it?
17. What kind of competition advantages do you think that Drottninghög/Laröd have? Do you work with strengthening this and how?
18. What importance do you think that the residents have for Drottninghög/Laröd?
19. How do you use the local knowledge in the neighborhoods?
20. What image do you think that Drottninghög/ Laröd have today? Is it according to you an attractive image?
21. Do you think that the image accord with the identity of the neighborhood?

22. What image do you want that Drottninghög/Laröd shall have in the future?
How do you strategically work for reaching this one?
23. Do you think that this new image will accord with the identity of the neighborhoods?
24. How important is it with an attractive image and cohesive identity for the wellbeing of a neighborhood?

Marianne Dock Sustainable planning board

Part 2

10. How would you explain Drottninghög with your free words?
11. What projects are you currently working on in Drottninghög?
12. In what kind of a way do you think there is a good mix of different functions in Drottninghög (such as housing, work, services, pleasure)?
13. How do you work to create a neighborhood impregnated by integration and togetherness?
14. How do you work with integration and cooperation of working places, housing, shops and different social groups?

Lena Åberg, Helsingborgshem

Part 2

10. In what kind of a way do you think there is a good mix of different functions in Drottninghög/Laröd (such as housing, work, services, pleasure)?
11. How much impact do you think you have on neighborhood development in the areas you are building?
12. Can you tell me about the building projects you are working with at the moment in Laröd? (house type, timeframe, way of working)
13. What is the reason you decided to build new housing blocks in Drottninghög and Laröd? What do you want to achieve by doing so?
14. What do you think is going to attract new tenants to your areas or what is attractive about your housing areas? What tenants do you wish to have there?

Eva Westman and Piia Lamberth, Helsingborgshem

Part 2

10. How would you explain Drottninghög with free words?
11. What development projects are you working with at the moment in Drottninghög?
12. In what kind of a way do you think there is a good mix of different functions in Drottninghög/Laröd (such as housing, work, services, pleasure)?
13. How do you work to create a neighborhood impregnated by integration and togetherness?
14. How do you work to create togetherness among the residents in Drottninghög?

Renée Ohlander Resident Association of Laröd

Part 1

2. What does according to you make a neighborhood attractive and how is this attractiveness developed in Laröd?
3. Could you please tell me about the work that Byalaget is doing?

4. What does inspire you in your work here in Laröd? Do you have any role models?
5. What kind of pillars do you think is important to build a neighborhood on/around?
6. Could you please tell me about Laröd in free words?
7. How would you explain the urban planning of Drottninghög/Laröd? (wholeness, integration, shattered, divided)

Part 2

7. In what kind of a way do you think there is a good mix of different functions in Laröd (such as housing, work, services, pleasure)?
8. What is your point of view concerning accessibility to/of Laröd? Do you mean that there is a need of transportation possibilities?

Part 3

9. What is the biggest problem today in Laröd?
10. How do you experience the safety in Laröd? Do you try to affect it?
11. What kind of competition advantages do you think that Laröd have?
12. What image do you think that Laröd have today? Is it according to you an attractive image?
13. Do you think that the image accord with the identity of the neighborhood?
14. What image do you want that Laröd shall have in the future? What can the byalag do to reach it?

Appendix 2

Text analysis protocol

The texts that are used in the analysis of the thesis are collected/gathered on the Internet, they have been searched on www.google.com (2010-10-07) with search words;

- Drottninghög (about 929,000 founds)
- Drottninghög Helsingborg (about 9,830,000)
- Laröd (about 870,000 founds)
- Laröd Helsingborg (about 1,090,000)

Medial articles that have been used are from the webpage of Helsingborgs Dagblad www.hd.se (2010-10-07);

- Drottninghög (662 founds) 2002-2010
- Laröd (780 founds) 2002-2010

To give as current picture as possible just the articles between from 2010 has been used in the written text in the thesis. Table 5 and 6 gives a broader picture when showing articles between 2005-2010.

Negative articles are identified as the ones containing negative words such as bad, scared, feel uncomfortable, it is often articles about crimes.

Positive articles are identified as the ones containing positive words such as happy, well-satisfied, or happenings that are positive for the residents such as the library organise activities, the youth club can hold open longer, internships are offered to the residents

Neutral articles are identified as the ones containing information such as opening hours

The analysis protocol below shows what aspects that has been reflected during reading the documents and media articles:

- What positive words occur in the text?
- What negative words occur in the text?
- What can be the reason for the positive angle?
- What can be the reason for the negative angle?
- Who express themselves in the text?
- Who is the source?
- Is the article about a specific happening?
- Is the news sensational or surprising?
- Is the neighborhood expresses as a negative example?
- Is the neighborhood expressed as a positive example?
- How is the neighborhood described?
- Does the text contain speculations?
- Does the text have a hard angle?

Appendix 3

Drottninghög



(Helsingborgs Stad)

Laröd



(Ortsanalys för Hittarp och Laröd Stadsbyggnadskontoret 3 maj 2007 p 5)