Lund University

Department of Sociology

Bachelor of Science in Development Studies

Cultivating a Social Neighbourhood

How access to public green space affects social interaction

between residents in the area of Seved, Malmö

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Abstract and key words

As urbanisation continues throughout the world, issues of sustainability have been raised. Discussing ecological sustainability is becoming increasingly common, where green space in urban planning, has been given a particular function. At the same time, this sustainability goes beyond the environment and nature, since it also relates to social interaction and trust between people. The city of Malmö, Sweden's third largest city, has in recent years been a hot topic in media and society overall,where two discourses arise; one presenting Malmö as a city of crime and immigration, and another emphasising the city's cultural diversity and sustainability. Through garden projects, green space could serve as a tool for supporting cultural diversity and social sustainability. This bachelor thesis will investigate the theoretical reasoning behind green space and its affects on the social neighbourhood, contextualised in an urban garden project in the city of Malmö. The thesis is based on participant observations and interviews conducted at Odlingsnätverket Seved ("The Cultivation-Network Seved") during April and May 2015, as well as a literature review that sets the theoretical framework. The results of the field study seems to validate the findings argued in previous literature to a large extent, where there seems to be a positive relation between green space and social interaction.

Keywords: Malmö, green space, public space, neighbourhood, cultural diversity, migration, urban sociology

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1. Introduction

Worldwide, the movement of people, due to economic, social, political or environmental reasons opens up for new possibilities and challenges. The urban sprawl, where the world is turning more and more urbanised, opens up for similar possibilities and challenges. A noticeable part of the research community that discusses sustainability and building green cities argue that green space in the city image is a crucial component for cities of the future. These green spaces should act as micro-climates, where its multi-functionality supports the reduction of pollution, increase biodiversity and provide green corridors and haven for animals and plants throughout the city landscape (Madureira *et al.* 2014:57). At the same time, green space has a very particular multi-functionality throughout the hours of the day, where people find space for recreation and relaxation, but could also face violence, crime or fear during the night.

Furthermore, the movement of people, between countries and regions, but also between cities and countryside, is increasing steadily. This increased movement of people can be argued to be one of the reasons for the simultaneously increasing issues of racism, but also discourses on cultural clashes and so called melting pots in culturally diverse societies. In the European Union, Sweden stands out as one of the countries with the most asylum seekers in total numbers of applying asylum seekers (Eurostat 2015). In Sweden, the city of Malmö has been of particular debate regarding migration, its potential possibilities and challenges. Once marketed as the city of parks, Malmö has more recently been known as the city of cultural diversity by some and the city of crime by others. The embracing of cultural diversity can be found in the official slogan of the local government: "Mångfald, möten, möjligheter" ("Diversity, meetings, possibilities") (Malmö stad 2006). Looking further into the notion of cultural diversity, some would argue that meeting across ethnicities and cultures bring a great value to the city and its vitality, others identify this as a source of social problems and destruction of the city, where the high percentage of migrants in the population tend to be blamed for various challenges. In total, 31% of the population of Malmö was born abroad (Malmö stad 2015) In the parliamentary election in 2014, every political party, newspapers and most persons had an opinion on the migration and its future in Sweden. As the results were in, the social-conservative party, Sverigedemokraterna ("the Sweden Democrats"), which argue for extensive restrictions on migration to Sweden, gained 13% of the votes, nationally, but also gained similar figures in Malmö (Valmyndigheten 2014).

Relating back to the green, sustainable cities, it could be argued that sustainability is not only about environmental policies, but also social policies. One could argue, that within both environmental

and social policies, cultural diversity will most likely have an impact, whether it concerns, for example recycling (Miafodzyeva, Brandt, Andersson 2013), trust between people or feeling safe in the streets of different areas of the city. The notion of feeling safe will be addressed through for example Listerborn, whose qualitative study indicate a correlation between ethnicity and areas which are deemed safe (Listerborn 2014). Previous studies indicate that green space and community gardening can contribute to several positive outcomes in a neighbourhood, such as increased networking and trust between neighbours or positively affect attachment and tending the local setting. It has also been proved to function as a method for addressing issues such as anti-social behaviour (Henderson, Hartsfield 2010). This study will focus on Seved, a area of Malmö with a migrant-dominated population. In Seved, there has been a gardening project since 2010, called Odlingsnätverket Seved ("The Cultivation-Network Seved"). This thesis will attempt to answer questions such as: In what ways has this project affected Seved? Does it bring people together and allow them to network across cultures and enrich social life as well as attachment to the neighbourhood? By studying the potential for social interaction and usage of common green space, through a literary review and contextualisation through participant observations in Seved, this thesis aims to address and reflect upon these concepts of green space, social neighbourhoods and cultural diversity. The participant observations were conducted at four occasions in a two-week period.

1.1 Significance and aim

As stated above, the purpose is to use the concept of green space as a tool for understanding the possibilities and challenges it might provide for a social interaction, trust and feeling of safety for residents in the migrant-dominated area of Seved, Malmö. Drawing upon previous research on the notion of neighbourhood and neighbouring, this study will combine theoretical frameworks and practical studies of everyday life of members of the Seved gardening project to address cultural diversity in a green space context.

It is important to recognise that green space could generate both positive and negative affects on a neighbourhood and its residents. Though green space (particularly at night-time) can be a public space that generates fear and anti-social behaviour since it is generally recognised as a physical space where crimes takes place, most residents still prefer to have access to green space. This can be explained by the varied usage of the particular space. Just as a restaurant could be an ideal place for families with young children at lunch and a popular bar with a lot of drinking and arguments between customers at night, a green space could, among other things, allow for children and parents

to use it during the day, business people at lunch, young adults in the evening and criminals at night (Jacobs 1961). Regardless of this these places are generally appreciated and anyone who would argue for a removal of them would probably be met with a great deal of resistance from those living in the neighbourhood. Nature and green scenery serve a very special purpose in most peoples' life, regardless of these effects as something one is aware of or not. A wide range of studies and research recognise the "power of nature" in people's lives. Relating specifically to green space as a part of the neighbourhood, Gidlow and Ellins (2011) argue that being able to go to a green space, is of importance, which is shown in their research. Even-though many of the participants did not use the green space regularly or particularly often (less than once a month), the notion of them simply having the possibility to use a local green space was important. The participants argued that with green space, came well-being and satisfaction with their local area (Gidlow, Ellins 2011).

1.2 Research questions

Drawing upon the aim of this study, the main research question will be "How does access to public green space affect social interaction and trust between residents in migrant-dominated neighbourhood of Seved, Malmö?", and the study will also address a secondary research question, which is formulated as "What components in a public green space support social interactions?".

2. Definitions and terminology

The study will be cross-disciplinary in that it uses theories and definitions from several academic disciplines and relates these to the sociological approach of the study. By using these different definitions and terminologies, it is also important to state what they mean in the context of the research at hand.

2.1 Neighbourhood and neighbouring

To address the headline of this section, one could ask, what is a neighbourhood and how is it built? As argued by Gottdiener and Hutchinson (2011), a neighbourhood is the socio-spacial area whereas relations between neighbours are being made, but the borders of the neighbourhood might not be particularly clear or "natural". Rather, the borders of the neighbourhood are subjective, where residents, the city and policies define borders (Gottdiener, Hutchinson 2011). However, in the use of the concept of neighbourhood, the thesis will mainly focus on a range of attributes that positively affect neighbourhoods. Vitality can be identified as one of the main contributors in such effects. Vitality is addressed by Jacobs (1961). She argues that a vital neighbourhood is a neighbourhood of diversity, where people throughout the social spectrum live and meet, and where commerce,

housing, offices and other types of habitation intertwine and mix the scene and use of a neighbourhood. The same arguments are then applied to public spaces, especially parks, where Jacobs argues that even a well-designed park might end up a failure if there is no diversity, no vitality, no life (Jacobs 1961). Along with vitality, Gottdiener and Hutchinson stress the need for connectedness between people in a neighbourhood in order to make it a neighbourhood. The authors describe the concept of neighbouring as, residents enjoying friendship circles and connectedness among each-other in an area, generating community involvement and the notion of caring for the local neighbourhood and one's neighbours (Gottdiener, Hutchinson 2011). The authors refer to Squires and Kubrin, who argue that if a neighbourhood and its community is well-functioning with safe streets, well-kept housing, useful contacts and other benefits the community can bring by working together, residents will experience positive outcomes throughout their lives.

In some countries, like the US, urban planners address the ambition to create a small-town feeling in the city. The reason for this desire, according to Jacobs, is the fear of strangers in a more dense area, such as urban neighbourhoods. Meanwhile, in other countries, the notion of strangers is what makes many people appreciate the city lifestyle (of anonymity). Disregarding a positive or negative approach to strangers, Jacobs argues that the presence of strangers themselves is not the challenge urban neighbourhoods face (in a city, strangers are inevitable), but rather that the "[...] attribute of a successful city area is that a person feels safe and secure on the streets among all these strangers" (Jacobs 1961).

Further dissecting the concept of vitality, de Certeau (1984) argues that the growing seclusion (minding your own business) amongst city residents obstruct the positive attachment these residents could have for their neighbourhood by anonymisation, due to lack of memories and connectedness between the residents. De Certeau quotes the classic novel "The Sleeping Beauty", where after waking up and walking out to the streets, the memories lead the princess to state: "Here, there used to be a bakery. That's where old lady Dupuis used to live". De Certeau argues that these memories, seemingly trivial, ties a person to a place, making it personal and interesting – something to value and care for. This form of attachment further gives a neighbourhood its character (de Certeau 1984). As argued by de Certeau, the attachment to a physical space seems to lead to a sense of community, which Arnberger and Eder (2012) relate to green space. Community attachment is defined as a resident's connection to its local neighbourhood, indicating the rootedness and emotional attachment to the community. A high level of community attachment increases the willingness to care for and support the development of the local community. Relating this attachment to access to

green space, they argue in their study that green space-related factors seem to have a higher effect on community attachment than for instance socio-demographic factors (Arnberger, Eder 2012). In their conclusion, Arnberger and Eder argue that greater community attachment also increased people's concern for their local neighbourhood.

Relating these concepts to the research at hand, vitality could be argued to be an indicator for willingness to socialise between residents and community attachment generate trust between residents.

2.2 Space

Gottdiener and Hutchinson present the concept of space with help from Lefebvre, which divides space into social space and abstract space. Abstract space is basic real estate, which address size, width, area, location – and profit. In addition, individuals use the space of their environment as a place to live. Lefebvre called this interactively used space of everyday life "social space." To him, the end-use of a space, proposed by government and business for abstract space, such as in the planning of a large city or suburban development of new houses, may conflict with the existing social space, the way residents currently use space. Lefebvre argues that the conflict between abstract and social space is a basic one in society and ranks with the separate conflict among classes, but is often different (Gottdiener, Hutchinson 2011). In this research, the notion of abstract space will be mentioned as physical space, as defined by Bourdieu (1996).

To further dissect the concept of space, the thesis will depart from Bourdieu (1996). Bourdieu argues that humans are social agents (position) interacting in a world of physical space (location). The social space consists of invisible sets of relationships that regulate one's position to others' positions. Physical space, can for example, be the distinction between down-town and suburbs, and within these physical spaces, one could identify several social spaces (ethnic enclaves, social constellations such as associations and so on). The physical space shapes the social space, but the social space also shapes the physical space. In a more practical matter, Bourdieu argues that though physical space (e.g. a park) has been built for a purpose, the usage of the physical space might be other than what was first intended (e.g. crime instead of recreation) (Bourdieu 1996).

Simply put, through social behaviour, people can appropriate physical space into new uses. Guided by Budruk, Thomas and Tyrell (2009), this thesis will use the definition of green space as "natural or human-modified urban outdoor environments containing significant amounts of vegetation" (*ibid*

2009).

Carmona, Heath, Oc and Tiesdell (2003) discuss how abstract and social space are interrelated, where people create and modify spaces, whilst being affected by the spaces themselves. It is argued that social interaction can be constituted through space, constrained by space or mediated by space. Examples would be that site characteristics influence the settlement form (constituted), physical space facilitate or prevent human activity (constrained) or perceived distances facilitate and develop social practices (mediated). In a classical theoretical perspective, Maslow's five steps of human motivation, can, according to the authors, also be reflected upon functioning public spaces, where a public space should provide comfort, feelings of safety, sense of belonging, support for each-other and finally allow for creative or fulfilling activities (*ibid* 2003).

2.3 Cultural diversity

Guided by Colding and Barthel and UNESCO (2013), cultural diversity will be defined as something that "[...] encompasses a diversity of social relations among people of different ethnic background, age, or gender, and less visible attributes such as education, technical abilities, socio-economic background, personality characteristics, or values". Furthermore, the authors notice that cultural diversity tends to supports the generation of new ideas and innovations. This is motivated by the generated shared knowledge and experiences exchanged between people and cultures, which could support the adaptation to changes, but also support institutions that deal with these challenges and opportunities the changes might bring (Colding, Barthel 2013).

3. Previous research and literature review

Though several projects are undergoing in Malmö concerning gardening and building bridges between cultures, the academic documentation is limited. Ongoing gardening projects through, for example, Odla i Stan ("Cultivate in the City"), is expanding and offer a great arena for studying. However, the lack of literature, will most likely change, as urban gardening is becoming more and more popular in Sweden. As my study was conducted, two other researchers (independent from each-other) were studying the Seved gardening project as well. One of the researchers' focus was similar to mine, but at a smaller scale. The other had a biodiversity focus. My conclusion on the possible problems this presence could make was that their research and presence will not disrupt my study. Rather, it is a positive thing that other researchers' show interest in the garden project. The members of the project did not seem distracted or unhappy with this presence.

3.1 Social dimensions of green space

The social dimension of green space has been addressed by several authors, both in the context of green space itself but also as being a public space. Guided by Alaimo, Reischl and Allen (2010), interactions between locals in public green spaces generate attachment and with it comes feelings of safety and trust in others. Furthermore, it also leads to a more positive attitude towards the local neighbourhood and community (Alaimo *et al.* 2010). The importance of public spaces for socialising and meeting is further elaborated by Hickman (2013). Hickman presents three levels of places where social interaction takes place between people. First comes the home, second comes the work and in third place comes public spaces in the neighbourhood that serve as meeting points. These meeting points can be shops, pubs, restaurants and parks, simply put, spaces that enhance the quality of life and comfort of the local population. When interviewing people in several "deprived" communities in the UK, Hickman concludes that most people rank the need for social interactions high and value it as important (Hickman 2013). This conclusion will be considered when investigating the reasons for participating in the garden project.

It is, however, also important to address and recognise negative affects that public spaces might generate. Jacobs (1961) describes the problem of absence of people (the opposite of vitality) in public green spaces. If there is not a constant flow of people and a combination of adults, youth and children, several negative affects and activities might occur. Referring to crime rates and statistics, Jacobs argues that parks (in the US) have a rather high frequency of reported felony, ranging from robbery and abuse to bullying and vandalism, as well as other variations of anti-social behaviour. Though this fear of anti-social behaviour is based on the reality of parks in the US, where Jacobs conducted her studies, the feeling of insecurity in public green space is not seldom a problem for users of parks in Sweden as well, which is supported by Jansson, Fors, Lindgren and Wikström (2013). Jacobs successfully pinpoints the relation between neighbourhoods and green space, stating that:

> The more successfully a city mingles everyday diversity of uses and users in its everyday streets, the more successfully, casually (and economically) its people thereby enliven and support well-located parks that can thus give back grace and delight to their neighbourhoods instead of vacuity.
>
> (Jacobs 1961)

Some environments seem to be, and are, safer than others and public green space can work both in favour and against safety and feelings of security. This is addressed by Maas, Spreeuwenberg, Van

Winsum-Westra, Verheij, de Vries and Groenewegen (2009). The authors state that green space could work against feelings of safety if it, for example, facilitates hiding places for perpetrators and enable criminal activities. But green space can also work in favour of safety, where access to public green space decreases feelings of anger, stress and aggression amongst its users and local population. In the concluding remarks of the study, the authors further argue that people will, generally, still feel safer if they have access to green space in their living environment than if not (Maas *et al.* 2009).

Specifically addressing public spaces, and well-functioning, good public spaces, Gottdiener and Hutchinson review Jacobs and present three preconditions that could work as a check-list for good public spaces. The preconditions state that public spaces should; constitute a learning environment for children, allow for parents' surveillance of the neighbourhood and the children, and finally, a good public space should facilitate intimate, primary relations among neighbours, resulting in a strong sense of community (*ibid* 2011).

Previous research discusses the notion of functional green space. Carmona, Heath, Oc and Tiesdell argue that this functionality can be used to validate the level of success of the Seved gardening project. The quality of the green space can be tested through five components. The first component investigates the length of visits and stays in the green space, which the authors call comfort. Secondly, the exposure and access to natural environments and greenery is important, this is labelled relaxation. The third component investigates passive engagement, where people-watching and looking at greenery and nature make up the core element. In relation to passive engagement, the fourth component is active engagement, where gaining direct experiences with the public space and the people in public space is reviewed. This fourth component could also be called opportunities for social interaction. The last component tests the level of discovery. Discovery could be that the public (green) space allows people to reflect and see different seasons of the year (perhaps how trees and plants change colour or wither), but also more direct opportunities for discovery such as arranged activities and perhaps festivals or events hosted in the public green space (Carmona *et al.* 2003). A successful green space meets the requirements of all five components. However more interesting for this study would be to see if the green space can provide different levels of social interaction and various ways of engagement, as well as the added value it might bring to the local neighbourhood and its residents.

3.2 Migrants and cultural diversity in Malmö

Introduced by Ouis and Jensen (2009), Malmö has since the Medieval ages been a place of commerce and trade between people of different ethnicities and cultures. More recently, many migrants come from the Middle East, Eastern Europe and the Balkans. The authors argue that Sweden moved a policy of assimilation (melting pot), where differences are supposed to blend and finally disappear, to policies of cultural diversity (Ouis, Jensen 2009). The notion of cultural diversity, which recognises cultural differences as a state of post-modern society, argues that differences should be accepted in society, and to some extent, celebrated. The authors recognise the criticism of the concept by arguing that there are a great many contradictions and conflicting interests to the concept where "both phenomena – or ideals – are today held up as the basis for sustainable development (another politicized and deeply contested concept). In a post-modern society, diversity is 'all things good', and ideal that cannot be questioned" (*ibid* 2009). Though Malmö is a culturally diverse city, the authors also argue that the city also struggles with implementing this notion of cultural diversity.

This struggle, in this case focused on migrants with an Islamic faith, is addressed by Listerborn (2014). She argues that in public spaces, the existing socio-spatial order (power relations) indicates, according to the author, a city with ethnically segregated residents. The author further argues that in public spaces of central Malmö such as streets, shops, parks or on public transport, Muslim women face threats and verbal abuse from predominantly elderly white women regarding their veils and presumed way of life (Listerborn 2014). The author notices that these acts take place in the inner city rather than in migrant-dominated suburbs. Developing this further, it seems that there is a disagreement in the discourse between residents and non-residents of migrant-dominated neighbourhoods, realising that:

> [...] the Muslim women define the urban outskirts as safe, while other neighbourhoods, in contrast, which is regarded as 'good areas' or 'Swedish areas' such as the high income area of Limhamn in Malmö, are perceived as threatening by the Muslim women.
>
> (Listerborn 2014)

It can thus be claimed that the "goodness" of an area is subjective, and dependent on the situations the individual can expect to find in the area. As the data collection for this thesis, as with the authors above, is gathered in Malmö, it could be interesting to investigate if the previous research in the same area will correspond with the findings of this research.

3.3 Green space in migrant-dominated areas of Malmö

While studying the outdoor recreation habits of immigrants in Malmö, Ouis and Jensen argue that parks and green space not only used for barbecues and picnics, but rather, the authors note that a large proportion of the migrants seem to desire to cultivate the green space for growing vegetables and flowers (Ouis, Jensen 2009). As previously argued, the design and its desired use might not always be the actual use once the green space has been opened to the public. The concept of allotment gardens, where the local government lease plots of land for cultivation has been successful in several neighbourhoods of Malmö, Seved is one of these. There, possibly different from most parks, these garden projects actually serve the function they were designed for, creating a green space of recreation and cultivation. Ouis and Jensen further argue that these allotments support the household economy and nutrition, but also serve as a bridge between cultures and migrants and people of different backgrounds. One of the migrants, who was in the gardening project Ouis and Jensen studied, explains how it brought him closer to ethnic Swedes as well as other migrants. He gives the example of another member, considered an ethnic Swede, who brought him a rose to proclaim their friendship. Furthermore, in the allotment gardens, the notion of cultural diversity is showcased by how participants use their own traditions, species and plants to cultivate but also open up to try new plants. The exchange of crops and seeds is common, which further suggest an interest in bonding and sharing with each-other across cultures (*ibid* 2009).

It seems that this functionality of green space, where people do not only recreate and relax but also use the green space as a space for cultivation, give an added value to the presence and access to green space in migrant-dominated neighbourhoods. Investigating allotment gardens further, Colding and Barthel argue that the Swedish system of allotment gardens, historically based on the need for food provision whilst experiencing mass migration from the countryside, can play an important part in social interactions between people and cultures, where gardening works as a facilitator for a common interest. The authors further argue that recent studies indicate that these gardening projects work as a "promising subset of physical spaces in cities that promote a multitude of desirable social and ecological objectives" (Colding, Barthel 2013).

In Malmö, several allotment garden projects have been started in the last five years, most of these are coordinated through the social entrepreneur Odla i Stan ("Cultivate in The City"). In the migrant-dominated area of Seved, a combined allotment and community garden project has been going on since 2010 and was the first garden project Odla i Stan organised. This study will include participant observations and interviews with members of this garden, now a stand-alone association

with around 100 active participants (of which 60 are members) and one employee. The name of this association is Odlingsnätverket Seved ("The Cultivation-Network Seved"). The garden project in Seved consists of two low-fenced areas with "on the ground cultivation", a green wall, crate plantations in several apartment complex inner-yards and a small venue with an office, some storage rooms and a conference room with table and chairs as well as a small kitchen. The presence of the gardening project in the area is well-noticed with murals and hand-painted signs. The association is also responsible for a second green space, called Enskifteshagen. The field studies were conducted in both Seved and Enskifteshagen. In recent years, the garden project has attracted media and researchers and as mentioned before, the first time I paid a visit to the garden in Seved, two other researchers were present to conduct studies.

4. Methodology

Guided by Bryman (2012), the literature review will be narrative in the way that it is stated by Bryman, namely "a means of specifying what is already known in connection with a research topic, so that research questions can be identified that the reviewer will then examine" (Bryman 2012).

To contextualise the need and uses of green space and how it affects social interaction and neighbouring, participant observations, in which the role of the researcher can be defined as partially participating observer, was conducted at four occasions in a two-week period. Following Bryman, this definition involves participating in the association's activities and interacting with the members without the researcher being a full-pledged member. But it also includes some interviews and documentation, where a mix of unstructured and semi-structured interviews was conducted. These interviews followed the notions of feminist framework of interviewing, recognising power relations, where gender, ethnic background, academic background and such will affect how we interact with each-other. Bearing this in mind, I used my own experience of socialising the context of civil-society movements, but also showing a genuine interest in their cultivation, as well as, for example, adapting language to come across as a distant academic. Due to the participating nature of the observations, I also worked with removing power relations by helping with the cultivation and the on-going activities (for example, digging, removing weeds, handing out seeds during the carnival). The unstructured interviews was a two-way communication where experiences and ideas were exchanged in both directions (interviewer-interviewee) (Bryman 2012).

The study applies triangulation, which is discussed by Bryman as a method of combining different sources of data to cross-check and validate each-other. In this research, the literary review will be

cross-checked with empirical findings from conducted interviews (*ibid* 2012). By applying triangulation, the aim is to strengthen the data gathered and enhance the findings. Though triangulation tend to suggest mixed methods, this research consisted of qualitative studies of literature and interviewing as well as participant observations.

4.1 Sample

The sample consists of around 30 people with whom unstructured interviews, observations and interactions such as gardening work were conducted, both between persons in the sample and the researcher and the members of the garden project (the sample). The length of these interviews varied (minimum of five minutes, maximum of 30 minutes), as some were more open and approachable than others. All of the persons in the sample were identified by attending cultivation meetings and the cultivation carnival, arranged by Odlingsnätverket Seved. As the research was conducted in a migrant-dominated area of Malmö, namely Seved, the ambition was also to reflect this cultural diversity in the sample. This was a somewhat misguided assumption, and a slight flaw of the study is that the active members who came to the cultivation meetings, there was a non-migrant dominance, perhaps a 60/40 ratio between non-migrants and migrants. The term migrants, in this research, is used for describing first and second generation of migrants, where the reasons for migrating could be both voluntarily (such as work migration) or forced (for example refugees from conflict areas).

4.2 Interviews

In order to further enhance the understanding of the local neighbourhood, usage of public green space and potential gardening projects, a selection of interviews was made. The interviews served to give a local context and experience, both as an observing researcher but also for the input from local residents with first hand data. The interviewees were identified through participation in the Seved garden projects. Following the guidelines of Bryman, it was important to catch the interviewees' genuine notion of the local setting and social life (Bryman 2012). The interviews followed a rather unstructured approach, but were however based on a semi-structured interview guide, where the interviewees spoke freely in the context of a selection of topics. The design of the semi-structured interviews follows the guidelines by Bryman. The interview guide can be found as an appendix 1. As briefly mentioned above, the interviewees were approached in an informal manner during the naturally occurring socialisation at cultivation meetings and the carnival. Thus, the interviews were rather spontaneous and similar to a conversation (*ibid* 2012).

4.3 Participant observations

Aside from the literature review, data was collected through participant observations at four different occasions. The observations, following Bryman's concept of partially participating observations (explained above), was conducted during the given dates and hours in which the collective cultivation meetings and the carnival took place. In these observations, I participated with the gardening and activities as if I was a member, conducting the unstructured interviews as regular conversations between me and other participants. As these conversations usually started with "So, are you also cultivating here or..?", I made sure to explain my presence and intentions as a researcher and observer. The documentation was conducted by taking notes at the occasion and by writing down my thoughts and reflections directly after leaving the garden project and heading home. These observations gave a good insight to how the public green space (the garden project) was used by both participants and bystanders, as well as how social interactions took place. During the observations, unstructured interviews were conducted that gave further detail to data. The aim of the interviews was to relate the literary analysis and conclusions to an actual setting and try and verify the claims, which can be found in the literature to empirical data. Guided by Kvale and Brinkman (2014), interviews focused on human experience of neighbourhood, neighbours and green space. The interviews followed their notion of an explorative interview (Kvale and Brinkman 2014).

4.4 Data analysis

As the ambition of the research is to identify themes within the answers of the interviews and relate these to the research made in the literature review, thematic analysis was used for dissecting the interviews. For the literary review, elements of the thematic analysis, guided by Bryman, were used to identify themes and sub-themes (Bryman 2012:578-579). The thematic table worked with five components: comfort, relaxation, passive engagement, active engagement, discovery. These components were identified in the literary review (Carmona *et al.* 2003).

4.5 Researcher's bias

Though the research is aiming at being objective, it would be naïve to say that there is no subjectivity involved in the process. The focus on the migrant-dominated area of Seved, part of a rather large city is not my personal background, being a white male from the countryside having no neighbours but nature to relate to. This is in many ways a negative aspect or perhaps critique to me, especially being white and not facing the struggle of racism and violence many migrants face in Malmö. However, I would argue that the difference in background between my informants and me

is what actually led me to this study. The fascination of access or non-access to nature, neighbours or no neighbours, it could perhaps be argued that this study will test my idyllic idea of the urban life. Finally, the interviews were conducted in Swedish, which is my mother-tongue but not the mother-tongue of most of the interviewees, where I then, most likely, will have the upper-hand for both asking and interpreting the discussions. As mentioned above, the feminist approach to interviewing was kept in mind, using a language that did not come across as distant or academic to the interviewees.

The relation between the interviewees and me, in my experience, was very friendly and I felt accepted by the members and the project rather easily. This could perhaps be a potential bias, where I might disregard negative aspects or data gathered, however, this friendliness also meant a level of trust in which the answers given felt genuine and honest.

Relating to Kvale and Brinkman, the standard critique of using qualitative interviews is the notion of non-scientific and subjectivity. I would address this by arguing what the authors themselves argue, there is no ambition to do a quantitative, traditional scientific study, but rather a personal, contextualised exploration of people's ideas and lives. Thus, the interview themes and research questions could be argued to be biased, however, the focus and leading questions of the interviews are beneficial for the goal of the study. Relating back to Kvale and Brinkman, leading questions will aid in testing the validity and enhances reliability of the interviews (Kvale, Brinkman 2014). In the results, the quotes will be translated from Swedish to English.

4.6 Ethical issues

Four main areas presented by Bryman relates to the potential participants in the research, namely "1. Whether there is harm to participants; 2. Whether there is a lack of informed consent; 3. Whether there is an invasion of privacy; 4. Whether deception is involved" (Bryman 2012). The gathered data should represent the point of view of the inhabitants and will not divide the opinions into e.g. good or bad opinions (on common green spaces). Furthermore, the anonymity of the interviewees was deemed relevant, especially due to the small size of the sample. Having noted this, it is also important to recognise the ease and friendliness that was present during the observations and interviews, both from my perspective as a researcher but also in how others acted around me. By asking for gender, ethnicity and age in the process, the research hopes to identify or regard any potential homogeneous features that will have a significance in the data analysis. The anonymity of the interviewees are ensured by using fictive names of the persons in the upcoming sections of the

thesis.

4.7 Source criticism

The participants I met and had time to talk with consist of a sample of around 30 different people in total. This is a fairly decent amount of people for an association of around 60 members, however a rather small proportion of the around 4000 residents the area of Seved has. I perceived their answers as truthful and honest, however, this can never be guaranteed. Regarding the literary review, the absence of literature on the specific correlations and context this research has focused on could be argued problematic. Whilst keeping this in mind, it should be argued that the research at hand has worked thoroughly and consistent with trying to avoid biases and make assumptions that would be difficult to validate with the literature at hand. The amount of data generated by this study, despite all biases, can still be argued to have drawn attention to and added meaningful understanding to a subject that is indeed under-studied in Sweden so far.

4.8 Limitations

The aim of a qualitative study is not to be able to generalise (validity), but rather tell the story of a specific context and lives of a selected sample. My rather small sample of people from the migrant-dominated area of Seved can only speak for themselves, as can my research only answer the limitations of my questions. The notion of green space and how it affects people's social life and notion of neighbourhood is an area of study with rather limited previous studies, especially in the context of Malmö and migration. The results cannot be argued to represent the reality of everyone in the migrant-dominated area of Seved in Malmö, neither can it be argued to reflect similar situations in other parts of Malmö, Sweden or the world. Thus, this study has given a voice to people living in the migrant-dominated area of Seved and has included them in the knowledge production within the field of study, where green space is present through, for example, the gardening project, and how they perceive their lives in a neighbourhood in Sweden. All interviews were conducted in Swedish, which is my mother-tongue but not always the mother-tongue of the interviewees. This means that the depth of the interviews and ensuring of full understanding of each-other is limited.

Though the garden project is organised in a migrant-dominated area, several of the people interviewed for this research were not living in the specific area, others were not migrants. It seems that active engagement in gardening projects attract people from other neighbourhoods as does it attract non-migrant people. This could influence the research, but I have deemed the non-migrant

part of the sample not big enough to cause larger disruptions to the research. Worth mentioning is that a fairly large passive engagement by migrants was noticed, were for example people slowed down while walking past the gardens. This divide would be interesting to investigate in future research.

5. Results and analysis

As presented in the previous studies section, the multi-functionality of green space also implicates the understanding of the actual affects of green space. It seems that public spaces do have a rather significant effect on people, as well as the neighbourhood in which they live. The positive feedback people get from familiarity and recognising people and their lifestyles is one aspect, where a mutual feeling of connectedness brings people together without direct social interaction.

Policy-makers and urban planners often have intentions for certain usages of public space in general, but perhaps particularly for green space, a public space that is not mainly concerned with traffic flows and commerce, but rather ambitions of well-being and healthy exercise for the population. The discourse of sustainable cities or green cities use natural elements and green space as a tool for biodiversity and climate control, but the social level of these public spaces is increasingly discussed in literature and studies. The appropriation of physical space into social space, discussed by Bourdieu (1996), further confirms that policies alone do not control usage of such spaces.

5.1 Participant observations

The result of the participant observations are, in the understanding as a researcher, successful. A variety of data was gathered as well as a variety of people interviewed. Reflecting briefly on the occasions I conducted participant observations, the following is an extract from my notes whilst sitting on the bus from the first occasion:

> I find myself smiling at people around me as I leave the garden project and walk through Seved towards the bus stop. The overwhelming feeling of genuine kindness and interest to learn more each-other and discuss both gardening and trivial things as the weather has filled me with a sense of content. I arrived to the garden rather indifferent and perhaps sceptical to whether I would manage to extract enough valuable data. But now, I am confident that the research is going in the right direction. I need to come back several times to fine-tune and validate the findings so far.

The notion of friendliness and openness from the members of association will be addressed further in the following sections. The efforts to interact and genuinely participate in the project during my observations is best confirmed by the response I got from one of the members, Laura (in her 50s), who, as we reached the final destination of the carnival, stated:

> Viktor, isn't this just great? Can you feel how we are changing the lives of or children and grandchildren for every seed we sowed on the way here? Believe it or not, you came here as a researcher and now, now you're an activist!

This would suggest that despite being a researcher and perhaps, to some extent, a foreign element to the project and its participants, the notion of inclusion and "everyone is welcome" is one of the most successful aspects of the garden project. Even as a researcher, I was allowed to feel ownership of and participation in the project.

5.2 Functionality of the Seved garden project as a public green space

In the Seved garden project Odlingsnätverket Seved, as mentioned before, two green spaces are involved. On Tuesdays, the Enskifteshagen garden has a cultivation meeting for two hours, where members can come and work on both individual and collective projects. The same concept is used at Seved on Thursdays. This means that regardless of the amount of time people choose to spend there during their spare-time and week, at least two hours each week is, to many members, devoted to meeting up and socialising as well as doing gardening. Relating this to the component of comfort, most people that participated when I was present chose to spend around the two hours in the garden of Enskifteshagen when I visited. As the two scheduled hours were over, several remained after the scheduled time for the cultivation meeting was over. During this cultivation meeting, people worked collectively with each-others' gardens and the collective plantations, as was the case at most occasions I observed. Though it is a session of work and activity, the atmosphere is relaxed and there seems to be a general agreement on that everyone can participate on their own terms and in their own ways. An example would be a woman who did not actively cultivate within the project, but enjoyed helping out with the collective gardening at times, as well as preparations for the carnival, by cutting card-board hearts and writing poems. Another example would be that as the carnival was about to take place, Janina (in her 70s), who actively cultivates within the project, came by to show her support and socialise, but did not want to walk with the carnival to its destination. She stated that:

> I'd rather stay here with my plants, I'm not really into the face painting and such. I'm too old for that, it's for the children. But I will see you all on Tuesday at the cultivation meeting. Let's hope the weather will be nice.

The five components of a functional green space will now be addressed (Carmona *et al.*2003). As the environment consists only of soil and plants, the exposure to the natural environment and greenery is significant. An important part of the project seems to be the notion of curiosity and openness, one does not have to be a professional or experienced gardener to fully enjoy the activities and projects. The project in Enskifteshagen is about to start up a children's group, focusing less on "professional gardening" and more on learning and having fun, involving discussions on the ecosystem and recycling of rain water and organic waste. The employee proudly describes the effects gardening might have on pre-school children, stating that:

> Some of them are afraid of touching the soil, to get dirt on their hands, when they first visit. At the same time, the playfulness of discussing how worms make the soil healthy by pooping always triggers the children's laughter and curiosity. I love when you can see the spark in their eyes as they put one and one together to see how things relate. By involving children, we want to bring them closer to nature and see that a tomato comes from a plant and the plant grows out of the soil.

Relating the garden project as a learning environment ties together with the findings of Jacobs (1961), who argues that the public space should constitute a learning environment for children. One of the more important parts of the project that I can identify is the passive engagement. People are curious and supportive of the project, smiling at the members as they pass by. Others get off their bike and have a brief chat with someone working in the garden. Though these people are not active members of the project themselves, their support of the project is confirmed by the willingness to socialise and show positive reactions when passing by. At the majority of the occasions I am present, new people join the project by taking the step from standing outside of the fence to entering the gate and grabbing a shovel, they are invited and treated with interest and support from the existing members. The members living right next to one of the gardens describe the beautifying effect the garden has had on the view from their windows and balconies, Marc (in his 30s) described his view:

> It's really great actually. Now that we have a green wall as well, I can see both the plantations and the [green] wall. It's best during spring-time, when all of the plants pop up and gaze for sun. The local preschool is coming by to plant herbs in the [green] wall you know. That's why one corner of it is still empty.

During the unstructured interviews, it seemed that the local landlords were very supportive of the project, as it brought people together, beautified the area and offered meaningful activities for residents. Anna (in her 40s) argue that:

> I've never seen vandalism during the years I've been active here [in the garden project]. I think one of the older members said that there has been no vandalism at all during the five years actually. Last year, we had really nice squash growing in the collective plantation. When it was time to harvest, no one dared to do it on their own, because they didn't want to come across as stealing from the garden. So we had to decide a time and place where we picked all of it together to split up the harvest.

In my interpretation, the strong sense of ownership from members but also from locals supported the absence of vandalism in the gardens and the rare occasions of theft.

A majority of the members argued that they joined mainly for socialising and meeting people in their neighbourhood, perhaps even romance. Emil (in his 20s), who just recently joined the project, described how he enjoyed having more people to greet on the streets when walking in the neighbourhood, arguing that:

> I joined the project because I wanted to get to know more people. I live right over there, and I want to be able to greet people when walking from the bus stop. So I guess I joined mainly because I wanted to socialise. But I really like gardening and being outdoors, and this relates to my [master's] studies as well. I want to learn more about cultivation and this is just next-door. So, you know, why not?

The willingness to socialise between active members during the cultivation meetings found several interesting paths. As with the findings of Ouis and Jensen (2009), the sharing of seeds and plants between participants is present at every occasion, as is the interest in looking at each-others' plantations, giving advice and offering help with various tasks. By being in the garden, this physical space seems to support all kinds of social interactions and experiences. Janina invited me to a guided tour of her plantations, stating that:

> Here, I have two kinds of parsley, try them, they're really good! Around them, I have planted some beans I brought from [my] home [country]. And then over here, I've planted corn. Last year they rose up this high. I really like the kind of potatoes I planted here, let's hope for a good harvest. Do you like kale? I planted that over here.

As Janina presents her different crops, I notice the notion of pride. Both in the work and effort she

puts into the cultivation, but also for the selection of crops. Similar guided tours are made by other members as well. They feel proud of their plantations, but also of each-other and what is accomplished collectively in the garden project. It seems that this is further strengthening their ties to and appreciation of the garden project.

Odlingsnätverket Seved has, as mentioned before, one employee. This person greatly helps in the process of involving more people in the project by being available for answering questions, spreading the word in social media and documentation of the activities, but foremost has the time to organise activities aside from the regular cultivation. I attended the cultivation carnival (the first one that the association organised) which will most likely become an annual activity. The cultivation carnival is one of many festivals and social events the association organises, which strengthens the ties between members, but also the presence in the area as well as opening up for new members to join in. The carnival starts with face-painting and making flower coronals, some prepare wheelbarrows with plants and soil. When everyone is feeling decorated and ready, we start walking from Enskifteshagen to Seved. On the way, we help each-other out with "guerilla gardening", planting flowers and seeds along the streets, leaving a small heart-shaped sign as a business card. The carnival is colourful and loud with drums, people passing by get small packets of seeds and the carnival ends with a pot-luck dinner in the small venue belonging to the project. Two weeks earlier, there was a small party to celebrate the installation of the green wall. Though these methods of implementing the discovery component are, in a way, temporary, the change of seasons intrigues several of the members. One member, Johan (in his 30s), describes the fascination of how green Enskifteshagen has turned since he last visited, stating that:

> Wow, have you seen how green it is? It's amazing how quick things change. The last time I was here, just a couple of weeks ago, the trees were still brown and few plants had popped out of the ground. I can even see some flowers we planted earlier this spring.

The fascination for nature and possibilities to follow the change of the seasons within the garden project is present in most interviews conducted. As the members participate on their own terms, some are not present as often as every week or occasion arranged. Still, they find themselves feeling at home and connected to the project weeks or perhaps even months later. This could be argued to be another strength of the garden project. People that participated weeks earlier can see results from the work they put into the collective garden, and their work is not in vain as others have tended to the cultivations whilst they were gone.

5.3 Neighbourhood and cultural diversity

As mentioned in the methodology, the division of non-migrants and migrants had a slight dominance of non-migrants, however not deemed significant enough to cause major errors in the data. The garden project seems to work with neighbouring on several levels, where different kinds of participation positively affect the neighbourhood and its residents, as well as it adds value to the neighbourhood by beautification. According to Bourdieu (1996), the physical space and social space is interrelated and affect each-other, thus the garden project seem to have a positive function in merely existing physically and the presence of this green space brings qualities to the neighbourhood. By this presence, a social space that brings people from different backgrounds together is created. At the same time, this kind of socialising in a public space seems to work very well for embracing cultural diversity. People from different backgrounds are invited to participate on their own terms without specific expectations or qualifications. The existing socio-spatial order, described by for example Listerborn, seems less present in the garden project, where the mutual interest in cultivation and willingness to socialise brings people together towards a common goal. The members are of varied ages, gender and ethnicities. There is a notion of a collective family, where participants look after children and dogs collectively, as well as trust each-other in watering plantations when away or unable to attend. This was argued to be a huge benefit for using a collective cultivation approach and the organisation through an association, one member, Camila (in her 30s) described it as:

> It's really great that we are this many people involved. I could go on vacation for a week or so and still know that my plants would survive. We take turns, using a watering schedule and always inform our friends within the network if we will be away.

It seems that green space, in this case as a garden project, has the strength of bringing people together in a neutral way, where the varied usage (appropriation of its physical space) invites different kinds of people and groups to recreate and socialise. Interestingly enough, this physical space serves its pre-destined function and this function (to bring people together in the neighbourhood) is supported by the social agents (users) of the gardens (Bourdieu 1996). Relating back to the strength of the project, I would argue that the notion of neutrality is enhanced by the system of membership and, to some extent, selection of company. Thus, the garden project could potentially safe-guard people who might feel unsafe in some public spaces, such as ethnic minorities or women (Listerborn 2014). Though Seved is a neighbourhood struggling with crime and bad reputation, it is also becoming popular for associations and projects to start up in the area.

As Gottdiener and Hutchinson argue, the members seem to recognise a socio-spatial area that constitutes Seved (Gottdiener, Hutchinson 2011). These positive forces improve the quality of life for the local population, and a resident who has lived in the neighbourhood since before the garden project started in 2010, states that since the garden project and other projects started up. Reflecting upon Seved and its positive social forces, Camila further argues:

> With all of these projects going on, there is really no point to move somewhere else. We like it here and I enjoy seeing the changes that have happened since we first moved in. With the gardens and such, the area has really changed.

It could be argued that this quote is of particular importance, as it indicates that the garden project specifically has improved the neighbourhood. The green space generate attachment and positive feedback enough to be weighed in when considering moving somewhere else. The presence of the garden project and other associations working with projects within Seved (for example legal graffiti), is mentioned by several interviewees as a positive force in the neighbourhood. One of the members, that are members of the project but do not live in the area, describe the lack of such activities in the more central areas of Malmö in which she lives. Jenny (in her 40s), who first visited the area because of work, argues that:

> When I first came here, I had no idea what to expect other than the violence and crime media had described. I came to do an interview with a local graffiti artist and was surprised by activities associations and other groups were organising here. Since, I have joined several associations in the area, the garden project is one of them. Seved is more fun and interesting than where I live down-town.

Thus, the presence of the garden project and other associations seem to bring a positive force to the neighbourhood, strengthening the attachment to and care for the neighbourhood. Relating back to the UNESCO definition of cultural diversity, the garden project as a public green space seems to work well with supporting the sharing of knowledge and deal with challenges the co-presence of different ethnicities and cultures bring. These notions are corresponding to the claims of Jacobs (1961) but also the connectedness identified by Gottdiener and Hutchinson (2011). As with the findings of Colding and Barthel, the Seved garden project, in the local context, plays an important part in addressing "desirable social and ecological objectives" (Colding, Barthel 2013). When participating in the project, members share ideas and plants, help each-other out with various tasks and show a genuine interest in getting to know new people. At the same time, the challenges described by media and crime rates for Seved, seem to be addressed by the project as well. The

absence of vandalism could be argued to confirm the support of the local residents for the garden project. To some extent, the garden project then work in favour of feeling safe in the area (Maas *et al.* 2009). Furthermore, it also suggests that the local residents feel ownership and participation through the project, even-though they might not all cultivate themselves. It could be argued that this ownership is a result of feeling attachment, the neighbourhood becomes something to value and care for (de Certeau 1984). This further ties together with the findings of Arnberger and Eder (2012), where the Seved garden project strengthens the support for the local community. A more unexpected result, that is somewhat different to cultural diversity but interesting to address is the intergenerational interactions the garden project facilitates. The participants range from children to elderly, where some young adults participate on their own interest, others through sharing cultivation plots with parents or relatives. The notion of collective parenting or surveillance of adults (Jacobs 1961) that is present in the garden project has for example opened up for a young teenager, Amad, and his younger brother Sahir, to join the project on their own. They were given a plot to cultivate and as Sahir carries a watering can across the garden, Amad explains:

> I like nature and I wanted to grow food on my own. These seeds, my aunt brought to me from Iran. She said that she was not sure if they would grow here, because you know, Sweden is not as warm. I think it's some kind of melon, or maybe Irani cucumber. I've put some [fibre] cloth on it so it will keep warm. And then here, I planted potatoes and onions. Do you know how long they will take to grow?

It seems that even-though the two brothers are rather young for being members of the garden project, they are accepted and supported by the other members in several ways. They were curious and eager to learn, sharing seeds and knowledge with the other members. The common ground that the gardening and cultivation create seems to work well with bringing not only people of different cultural background together but also people of different ages. There is a tendency, observed both through interviews and how people behave, that the elderly are more interested in the cultivation and gardening and not as much interested in social activities such as the cultivation carnival and the younger generations have a greater interest in socialising rather than mainly cultivating. Bearing this in mind, it is still not causing a divide or disapproval of one or another age group, rather, it seems that the mutual respect and interests are still there.

The background of each participant is different, but many of the members express, apart from socialising, joining the garden project due to previous experiences. Two interviewees from the Americas describe how they, in different locations, were involved with community gardens and

rooftop gardening before moving to Sweden and how excited they were to find an arena for this in Sweden as well. One of them, John (in his 20s), who has lived in Germany for several years before moving to Malmö, describe the situation as follows:

> When I lived in Germany, there were no projects like this. I lived in a small, rich town and no one seemed interested in collective gardens. When I came here and found a garden project right next door, I was really happy and decided to join.

It is most likely so, that the positive attitude around the garden project and the expectations of the participants when joining the project affects the continuous positivity surrounding the project.

6. Discussion and conclusion

The access to public green space, in this research as the garden project of Seved, seems to add value to residents and the neighbourhood. Following the five components identified through the literature review (Carmona *et al.* 2003), the participant observations and unstructured interviews conducted seem to confirm the findings of previous research in several aspects. The project supports social interactions and connectedness between neighbours, interestingly enough not just members of the network (and thus active participants) but also for neighbours in general. This is supported by, for example, the interest in participating in social activities hosted by Odlingsnätverket Seved but also greeting and small talk when passing by the gardens. Furthermore, this increased attachment (e.g. de Certeau 1984), seems to increase trust due to the ways the project allows for socialising and networking. The research at hand has to a large extent confirmed the findings of previous studies, but also offered new insights on how public green space affects social interaction and neighbour relations. One of the main components to the success of the project in Seved is identified as the notion of openness and accessibility for people to approach and join the project. This notion of openness is not something addressed to a noticeable extent in the previous studies, and would be something to address for future research. The openness is not only regarding possibilities to start cultivating on your own, but also the inviting environment to residents that, among other things, the cultivation carnival and social events offers. Several of the new members described their first contact with the garden project as simply approaching the members and showing interest, and being given a crate or plot to cultivate in the same day. By projecting this openness and flexibility, both to people that just live nearby or are members of the association, the notion of ownership seems to be strong. Ownership indicates a grass-root approach to the project, and though financing mainly comes from the landlords and local government, the participants see the garden as their own. The

combining forces of ownership, trust and openness are confirmed, in the findings of this research, by the absence of vandalism and minimal levels of theft within the gardens. People seem to respect the existence of the garden and feel enough ownership to respect the hard work and projects the active members conduct.

The research question asks in what ways access to public green space affect social interaction and trust between residents, the findings of this study suggest that it affects the residents and neighbourhood in great many different ways. Firstly, it contributes an overall positive atmosphere of the area, contributing to beautification and an arena for socialisation. These positive effects are described throughout the previous studies and findings. In this particular case, the socialisation that occurs offers different kinds of social interaction, where some choose to become active members of the association, others stop by to have a small chat with the members, or as observed, the activity of the participants spurs discussions between the passing by persons, who for example, look back and reflect upon who was present at the garden project and what activities were ongoing. During activities such as the carnival, new people approach the project and partake in for example face-painting of children. Furthermore, the continuation of weekly cultivation meetings at given times, allows people to approach the project if curious, but also confirms the steady presence the project has in the neighbourhood. Regarding the secondary research question, a successful component for socialising in the public green space seems to be the chosen theme of gardening. As argued before, nature and food is something most people can relate to and appreciate in one way or another.

The notion of tending and nurturing, could arguably bring people together across generations and cultures. Within the project, this was showcased by the willingness to support each-other in tending to the plantations, helping each-other out with watering, sharing ideas and seeds but also more personal issues such as looking after children. Parallel to this notion, the collectivity and mutual goals (we help each-other out to bring a good harvest) of the garden project successfully make people of different cultures and social backgrounds equal members within the project. It seems that these notions combined successfully address issues of racism and trust, which is supported by the results of previous studies as well (Ouis, Jensen 2009). Furthermore, previous studies, for example Hickman (2012), indicate that successful public space should enhance the quality of life and comfort of the local population. This seems to be the case of the garden project, as several interviewees pointed out the beautification and positive feedback the project generated. Further, as Hickman's findings pointed out, the members of the Seved garden project also ranked the social interactions as one of the most important reasons for participating in the project.

Several conclusions can thus be drawn after implementing triangulation of the literature review, participant observations and unstructured interviews. Access to public green space in the form of the Seved garden project Odlingsnätverket Seved affect social interactions by offering a forum for several levels of participation and interaction. Some choose to actively cultivate a plot of land, others enjoy the festivities and others prefer walking by or having a short conversation with people working in the gardens. Regarding trust, the key aspect would be the notion of ownership the project produce, where people feel attachment but also appreciate and care for the gardens and the neighbourhood.

The components in the green space that support social interaction seem to be a combination of easy but meaningful tasks, both individual and group tasks, where collaboration and trust between the members are key aspects. Though the research at hand is a rather limited study, both in terms of sample size and saturation, it seems that garden projects could work very well for embracing cultural diversity and bring people in a neighbourhood closer together. I would argue that the strength is in that in the end, it concerns food and nature, topics that most people have a positive approach to and can directly draw upon own experiences to appreciate. The Seved garden project is a successful case of using gardening as a tool for bringing people closer together and for the generation of added value to the neighbourhood and its residents. Some of the results of the observations, identified concepts not fully explored in the previous literature. The garden project seems to create intergenerational interaction and thereby does not only serve as a bridge between cultures but also between generations. The previously discussed notion of openness was another. As a final remark, I would argue that a noticeable part of the success of the project is based on the access to an employee, which ensures a continuous level of organising cultivation meetings, as well as social activities such as the carnival and other special events such as inviting preschools (since this is done during working hours).

For future research, it would be interesting to try and identify a model or framework to follow in order to expand the garden projects not only in Malmö but also in other cities in Sweden and migrant-dominated districts there. Based on my findings, it could be argued that cities can combine green space and social space into one for multiple effects of sustainability.

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8. Appendices

8.1 Interview guide

Neighbourhoods and neighbours

Vad tycker du om ditt bostadsområde?

> **Complimentary:** Trivs du med dina grannar? Brukar du hälsa på andra? Känner du till vilka mer som bor i ditt område?
>
> **Follow-up:** These will be based on what happens during the interviews
>
> **Probes:** Kan du berätta mer? När du säger … hur menar du då? Varför tror du att … påverkar din trivsel? Kan du ge några exempel?

Green space

Berätta om grönområden i ditt bostadsområde?

> **Complimentary:** Tycker du om att vara i grönområdena? När du är där, vad gör du? Brukar du gå dit själv eller med andra? Vilka träffar du i grönområdet?
>
> **Follow-up:** These will be based on what happens during the interviews
>
> **Probes:** Kan du berätta mer? När du säger … hur menar du då? Du nämnde att … är det något positivt? Kan du ge några exempel?

Green space as a tool for bringing people together

Vad tycker du om odlingsprojektet?

> **Complimentary:** Har du provat nya grödor från andra? Brukar ni hjälpa varandra (odlingstips)? Vilka odlar runt din lott? Vet du vad de odlar för något? Vad gillar du mest med odlingsprojektet? Vill du att fler ska vara med?
>
> **Follow-up:** These will be based on what happens during the interviews
>
> **Probes:** Kan du berätta mer? När du säger … hur menar du då? Du nämnde att … är det något positivt? Kan du ge några exempel?

Avslutning

Finns det något mer du vill prata om? Hur kändes intervjun? Vill du ställa någon fråga till mig? Vad tycker du är det viktigaste från intervjun?

8.2 Main interviewees and occasions (half of the total sample of 30)

Main interviewees					
Name (alias)	**Age**	**Gender**	**Local resident**	**Main involvement**	**Occasion (A-D)**
Amad	10s	Male	yes	His own plot	A,D
Samir	10s	Male	yes	His own plot	A,D
Emil	20s	Male	yes	Collective plot	A,D
John	20s	Male	yes	Collective plot	C
Marc	30s	Male	yes	His own plot	A
Camila	30s	Female	yes	Collective plot	B,D
Magnus	30s	Male	yes	His own plot	C,D
Michael	30s	Male	yes	His own plot	B,C,D
Malin	30s	Female	no	Collective plot	B
Employee	30s	Female	no	-	A,B,C,D
Johan	30s	Male	yes	Collective plot	B,C
Anna	40s	Female	yes	Collective plot	B
Jenny	40s	Female	no	Social activities	B
Laura	50s	Female	no	Social activities	A,B
Janina	70s	Female	yes	Her own plot	B,C

Of the main interviewees, the majority (around 70%) were local residents living close to either the gardens in Seved or Enskifteshagen. Of the total fifteen, seven were female. Regarding age, around half of the main interviewees were in their 30s. During the four occasions I conducted participant observations and interviews, ten of the main interviewees were present and participated at more than one occasion. Regarding collective/ private plot, the main interviewees are fairly equally divided in their "focus" in the garden project.

Occasions	**Main activities**
A: Cultivation meeting at Seved	Reorganising the green wall, work on private plots
B: Cultivation carnival	Guerilla gardening, socialising, handing out seeds to by-passers, pot-luck buffet
C: Cultivation meeting at Enskifteshagen	Establishing the children's plot, work on private plots, flower plantation
D: Cultivation meeting at Seved	Building a tool shed, work on collective plots, pot-luck "fika"

8.3 Maps

Bottom left: Seved Upper right: Enskifteshagen

Map of Seved

Center left: the cultivation lots

Map of Enskifteshagen

Bottom right: the cultivation lots