

“Where the new story of Malmö is”

- Urban development, the case of Holma and Kroksbäck in Malmö, Sweden

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Abstract

Holma and Kroksbäck are two socially vulnerable, enclosed neighbourhoods in Malmö, a city in the south of Sweden. There is a development plan to integrate and strengthen these areas. The aim of this thesis was to analyse matters of spatial segregation in an urban development project. How these matters were addressed and what factors might have an impact on them are questions this paper is trying to answer. The investigations were carried out with qualitative text analyses of an urban planning program, newspaper articles, petitions, and a written municipal response to the petitions. The results of the investigations indicate that there currently are exclusionary tendencies towards these areas. Mainly as Holma and Kroksbäck are perceived as deviating from the desired norms. The plans and the reactions to them contain factors that might enhance the exclusionary practices, through processes such as gentrification and spatial purification. But there are also indicators in the results for that inclusion and tolerance could be achieved within this development. Through for example investments in creating attractive public spaces for encounters with difference and involvement of the local population.

Swedish title: "Där Malmös nya berättelse finns" – Stadsutveckling, en studie av Holma och Kroksbäck i Malmö, Sverige

Key words: Neighbourhood development, urban planning, social sustainability, segregation, neoliberal planning.

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1 Chapter I – Introduction

In the 1950's thirty percent of the world's population lived in a city, in 2014 that number had gone up to fifty-four percent and by 2050 sixty-six percent of the world's total population is projected to live in a city (United Nations 2014:5). The number of how much of the world's population residing in urban areas has increased dramatically in modern history, and it is a development projected to proceed. My own experience when I have lived in cities has shown me injustices and inequalities in human life that my early years in a rural area in a welfare state sheltered me from. The city gathers people with different backgrounds and living conditions and concentrates them in a geographical spot, working as a melting pot for the diversity of the human experience. With an increasing amount of people living in cities globally, exploring the conditions of the urban landscape is therefore of growing interest for us geographers interested in understanding the everyday life conditions for people around the globe.

Malmö has in recent years gone through extensive changes moving from an industrial city towards one of the post-industrial “frontrunners in the neoliberalisation of urban Sweden” (Baeten 2012:22). This shift has caused several interesting objects for case studies in Malmö within the field of urban geography. The case for this specific project are the municipality's plans to reconstruct major parts of the residential areas Holma and Kroksbäck in the south of Malmö. The vision for the project is that the change in the built environment will work as an ignition for social change, such as creating better spaces for integration between residents in different neighbourhoods or ‘trickle down’ effects from surrounding more well-off areas, such as Djupadal (Malmö Stad 2016:7). The project is also closely connected to the neoliberal planning project of Hyllie. Holma and Kroksbäck are a ten-minute walk north of Hyllie and as Hyllie develops into the new southern centre of Malmö the location of the two neighbourhoods become more attractive. An integration of the now ‘closed off’ Holma and Kroksbäck with the rest of the city would link the old centres in Malmö with the new in Hyllie (Ibid. 2016:3, 19). Benefiting the development for the whole city. However, many of the residents in the concerned areas have protested the plans for different reasons, such as issues related to previous conflicts in the same area. This is one of the main factors I wish to look at in my thesis.

Studies of the neoliberal aspect in housing and development plans in Malmö have already been undertaken (Hedin, Clark, Lundholm & Malmberg 2012, Baeten 2012). My aim is to provide to that same field of research, housing, and neighbourhood development, but also adding other theoretical aspects to it than

the neoliberal one. I wish to uncover how development, in a conflictual area, aimed at minimizing residential segregation will be executed. And how the developers of the plan, in this case Malmö Stad, plan to address and handle the exclusionary tendencies in the neighbourhoods. Another purpose is to assess a critical perspective on a city development plan and its intentions. This will be done by focusing more on what tendencies of exclusion were already present in the area, and whether the new development plans addressed these or might contribute to an increase of them. Struggles over space is a key inquiry in human geography, and different angles of this concept are vital if we wish to completely understand the processes and forces driving them. Further attention in research regarding components of exclusion is important if we seek to cope with the unequal development in cities throughout today's world. Sweden as an old welfare state offers an interesting perspective with the mixture of old social-democratic values combined with today's modern neoliberal competitiveness of attraction.

1.1 Research question

- What are the essential features in Planprogrammet for Holma and Kroksbäck?
- What are the motifs presented by Malmö Stad for the reconstruction of Holma and Kroksbäck?
- How do the plans in Planprogrammet touch upon the conflicts over space present in the area?

1.2 Method & Material

In this paper a qualitative methodological approach is used, more particularly coded textual analysis. This decision is based on the aim to reveal underlying motifs and struggles going on in the researched area which requires an in-depth method enabled by a qualitative approach. One might ask, is it reasonable, and can anything come out of looking at a development plan in a city that has not yet been conducted? I believe so. How we speak of and define our plans and our dreams of society in the future are part of the shaping and creation of our world today. I believe we can reach an understanding of society by looking at what in fact are just plans. This paper is done in a post-structural spirit and builds upon "the simple perspective that nothing in the world is fixed or immutable, that things are grounded on moving foundations. And perhaps most importantly, post-structuralism questions the basis of any method that assumes a structure of signification and understanding that is not politically based" (Aitken 2005:248).

With that in mind I argue that combining research on the fixed parts of the lived world with more abstract things such as visions, language and dreams gives a deeper understanding of the human experience, since it can account for the moving and political foundations of society. This is highly relevant in the case for this paper, where physical change is combined with political values and emotional opinions. In conclusion, I believe that a qualitative approach is the most suitable strategy when attempting to analyse underlying drives and meanings in society. Since it allows to take into consideration the relative and abstract parts of human nature such as emotion, behaviour, and language.

1.2.1 Selected material

The texts that have been used as empirical data in this paper are,

- Planprogrammet for Holma and Kroksbäck.
- Two petitions from residents regarding Planprogrammets proposals.
- The municipality's response to the two petitions.
- Six newspaper articles regarding the reactions on Planprogrammets proposals.

The fundamental empirical data has been Planprogrammet of Holma and Kroksbäck presented by Malmö Stad. This document shows the municipality's wishes for development in the areas. It has been revised once – the fall of 2015 - taking in opinions from other actors, residents, construction companies and so on. The revised version, available now, will work as a road map for the making of the "detaljplaner", the detailed plans which are the final version of the development plans.

The other texts used for analysis, the two petitions, their response, and the newspaper articles, have complemented the material from the municipality. These offer a different view and nuanced picture over the processes going on in the area connected to the development plans.

1.2.2 Textual analysis

An analysis of a text can deconstruct and unfold the social and cultural meanings and production behind it, and like Bergström and Boréus I believe that our language, ideas, and the social reality are connected, and that they all affect each other (2005:305, Aitken 2005:241). There are many different actors in the case in this paper. Among these are residents, businesses and so forth, and it is the municipality's role is to create a long term sustainable development that meets all these different needs. Their role can be thought of somewhat of a coordinator, while keeping in mind that the municipality has their own prospects and visions towards the city's future. The municipality's Planprogram works as a good

leaping board towards seeking understanding of what struggles over space there might be. It is a profound document accounting for several actor's wishes and visions of the areas. Since this document might later lead to an actual physical change in the landscape I found it particularly interesting to analyse what desires and requests were heard and put forward in it. The other material has worked as a complement to Planprogrammet. All the texts have been processed in the same way, thoroughly read, and then coded and divided into the different approaches in the theoretical framework, see below for categories, and thereafter analysed.

1.3 Theory

Three theoretical approaches within human geography provide the analytical base in this thesis, *exclusion/inclusion*, *neoliberal planning*, and *neighbourhood consequences*.

1.3.1 Exclusion and Inclusion:

This approach focuses on behaviour and relationships between people and people and place. It looks at how and what social structures and differing interests affect these behaviours and relationships. Below I present four useful terms, *sense of place*, *spatial purification*, *self-segregation*, and *tolerance*, for explaining this approach.

Sense of place is flexible and it can vary depending on who is describing it, the person's social position and/or reason for talking about it in one way. If one connects these three, *the message* (sense of place expressed), *the messenger* (who is saying it), and *the origin* (where is the messenger coming from, what is the background for the message) 'sense of place' can be used to understand wider social processes. The sense of place can explain why there are certain boundaries of places, and also reveal power structures that together with other social relations co-create space and place (Massey 1995:69).

Cities often contain a diverse population. This means that a lot of different social relations overlap, and a public place might need to provide several functions to satisfy the need of all. Clearly it is not always possible to create such a place, and this in return means that at times public policy must decide what group/s deserve/s recognition and representation. And since the feeling of who is belonging and not, is a moving rather than static condition this is of course a difficult deliberation to do without suppressing or subsuming the differences (Young 1986:85).

Spatial purification is a cultural process, in hegemony a deviant other is created to border the self. In the western culture of consumption, the sense of the self's border is encouraged through consumerism. Capitalism has created centres

of consumption and consumption, is promoted as something good. An affluent consumer is identified as “pure”, belongs to the social space, and in extension creates feelings of abjection are created towards the other, ‘dirty’, consumer who is without means, and seen as not belonging to the space in question (Sibley 1995:39, 77). The self can be different actors, an individual, a company, a city and so on. The purification process is a part of social life and is often also represented in the built environment. For some it embodies values that give them access to power and therefore they have a wish to maintain it, while for others it becomes a landscape of domination.

Self-segregation is a phenomenon most of us probably take part in, both at an individual and structural scale, by tending to surround ourselves with people similar to ourselves. In academia the term self-segregation is used to describe when the urban elite, often white upper-income-groups, disaffiliate themselves for several reasons such up-keeping of status, fear and concerns of safety and so on (Bannister & Kearns 2013:2703, Atkinson 2006:823). Self-segregation does not need to be problematic, but when institutions, individual exclusionary tendencies and social control correlates it can lead to an undesired development of society where one or several groups are marginalized.

Tolerance for the different and alien can be both active and passive, but it is a choice and thereby fundamentally different from indifference even if it results in not taking any action. To tolerate is selective and intentional. In today’s modern cities the encounter with difference is inevitable. This difference can add to the richness of the urban experience, however it is crucial how we encounter it. Social encounters play an important role for tolerance, but the eradication of spatial boundaries between different groups does not necessarily automatically lead to engagement (Bannister & Kearns 2013:2703). Tolerance for the ‘other’ also requires us to be able to negotiate the shared use of space. Isolating behaviour, such as self-segregation, and the support for it by urban policy and private developers causes us to lose the ability to negotiate. It is common today to confuse negotiation towards common ground with imposing our own values on the ‘other’ (Ibid. 2013:2713). When our tolerance thresholds are lowered it tends to lead to an increase in demand for conformity to the majority view. So a public policy for tolerance needs to show respect to less valued and less visible social groups.

1.3.2 Neoliberal planning

The second theoretical approach is something called neoliberal planning, which is as the name tells connected to neoliberalism. Neoliberalism was in its early phase a belief in the market and a desire to increase the ‘freedom’ for capitalistic enterprise by decreasing the power the state had over market issues. But neoliberalism today is not just an anti-state ideology, it is also a way of thought towards the individual, the society and also the city. The market metaphor is used

to create a mentality of competition, and this is indeed also having effects on urban planning where a more top-down, competitive and quantifiable approach is taking form (Baeten 2012:24, 25). This could at times lead to cost-benefits and prestige being prioritized, and/or obscure the need for social goals of equity and welfare by creating a power structure between the different needs in a city (Sibley 1995:84, Young 1986).

Economic restructuring is common in the developed world, and is one example of how this new type of neoliberal planning takes form. It is a term used for describing when a lot of effort and capital is spent on presenting a place as attractive to the outside world in order to attract more capital and innovation (Rose 1995:100). This type of investments can come from both the public sphere, such as city councils, and the private, such as development cooperation.

This neoliberal idea of planning has a belief that it is possible to build away social deprivation. There is a thought that economic growth in one place will trickle down and spread equally throughout the city. But research shows that this economic focus creates social polarization and fragmentation through processes such as gentrification (Hedin, Clark, Lundholm & Malmberg 2012:454, 458, Atkinson & Easthope 2009:66). Even though research consistently comes to this conclusion, the idea of ‘trickle down’ is put forward as a serious strategy for social equity.

1.3.3 Neighbourhood consequences

In the third and last theoretical framework I will present theories on what consequences exclusionary, inclusive and economic factors could have on a neighbourhood scale. There are three types of concepts and processes that I will bring up and discuss below, *social mixing*, *gentrification*, and *segregation*.

There is an assumption in urban renewal debate that a harmonious community consists of a well-balanced **social-mix**. Current policies that promote social mixing to revitalise inner urban neighbourhoods often use arguments such as the middle-classes being stronger advocates for public resources, or that it is a way to create social- networks and capital.

Today there is little known about the advantages and disadvantages of different kinds of social-mixing on different scales, but there is research that shows that on to small scale social mixing can create more tension than peacefulness, contradicting the belief that social-mixing creates a harmonious community. There is also research that argues that promoting architecture and design that encourages encounters and offering social interaction for people from different backgrounds in other spaces than neighbourhoods might be more successful (Lees 2008:2464, 2465, Anderson & Musterd 2010:25). One reason for that could be that social-mixing is a one-sided, top-down strategy, it is only advocated in low-income areas. Even though high-income areas might be equally

socially homogenous, it is seldom intervened in these areas to attract a more diverse mix of residents and income groups (Lees 2008:2460).

Social-mixing policy can hence lead to a spatial purification agenda, and start processes such as **gentrification**. Why that is could be explained by the fact that even though diversity is viewed as an asset in the city, the desire for social-mixing is often combined with a wish not to take any risks, and with the possibility to cut the ‘unknown’ out (Atkinson 2006:829, Lees 2008:2458). Gentrification is a somewhat contested term because of the class constitution of the process, and therefore to avoid criticism, many public policy agendas avoid the term and instead use terms like “urban renaissance, urban revitalization, urban regeneration, and urban sustainability” (Lees 2008:2452). Contemporary research on gentrification argues that movement of middle-income groups to low-income areas leads to socio-spatial segregation where low-income and minority residents steadily are priced out of the area.

This might enhance or create **segregation**, a spatial division of different groups in the city. In the Swedish context, there is evidence that ethnic segregation correlates with income, since the majority of all poor neighbourhoods are also immigrant dense. This correlation is strengthened by an out-migration of people with a Swedish background from these areas. A process called ‘white avoidance’ or ‘white flight’ (Andersson, Bråmås, Holmqvist 2010:242). Welfare state arrangements, such as schools, allocations systems and health care services play a key role in these processes and less ambition in them gives resourceful households incentives to seek themselves to places with stronger social services (Ibid. 2010:244). Sweden has a social democratic history which is demonstrated in how neighbourhood and housing was planned, equal distribution of the welfare and social-mixing was for a long time important goals. The introduction of neoliberal planning has of course challenged those goals and today there is a combination of social democratic aspirations and new economic aspects in planning.

My argument behind the use of these theoretical approaches is that I see power claims expressed through economy and social exclusion as key factors to account for when researching urban development. I think all these approaches in different ways explain power structures in society, and that they can help to find answers to questions such as, who is in power over development? Whose voice is being listened to? Who is pushed off the grid and is there any inequality, if so why? I want to address the seemingly ever-present conflicts over space and decision-making. I argue that the three approaches complement each other and together give a good theoretical foundation to stand on when looking at this case and my research questions.

1.4 Ethical considerations

I think that research conducted with an ethical awareness contributes to a more socially valuable one since one must keep several aspects and power structures in mind (Hay 2003:49). This kind of awareness can be reached by just having simple questions in mind as guidelines such as: Am I showing respect to the subjects in the research? Am I contributing with this work in a good way or is it harmful?

In my case there are two things I have thought about to keep an ethical awareness. Research on urban development and struggles over space tend to be politically charged. The case I have chosen is no exception considering the many reactions and attention it has received from the residents and media. I therefore think that it is important for me to be particularly aware of making a clear distinction between established research/theory and the conclusions I draw from my findings when writing. So that I do not pose my own hypothesis and reflections as established theory and thereby diminish any opinion in my role as a scientist.

My second thought is concerning the material and the presentation of that. Even though all my data is secondary and officially accessible, I still see that I as a researcher have an ethical responsibility in how I handle it. For me this means trying to keep a neutral position in the text when presenting statements and proposals from individuals, so that I do not disrespect them as individuals. I will also choose not to write the name of the individuals behind the statements used. This is to make the text less like a gossip column. And I also do not find that the knowledge of which specific individual is behind a certain statement is necessary for the performance of the analysis.

1.5 Previous research

There is a lot of previous research done that is relevant for my paper. Some of the key scholars investigating the economy's influence and impact on the social- and built environment are David Harvey and Doreen Massey. Both have contributed a great deal in ways to understand how the global capitalistic mode of production take part in shaping our environment, non-the less the urban, as capital flows freely looking for new ways of investing and creating more capital (Harvey 1989, Massey 1995). This critical perspective on how a pure focus on economic development creates tensions and problems in society as other things are being overlooked has been discussed in academia for a long time and still is. Two recent investigations on this theme closely related to my case include one on neoliberal housing in Sweden, and one specifically looking at neoliberal planning in Malmö (Hedin, Clark, Lundholm & Malmberg 2012, Baeten 2012). Both conclude that

neoliberal urban development and short term goals for economic development have negative consequences for the social structures of the city.

This research and its findings correlates with research that focuses on the social tensions because of these processes, and explores how they create, maintain, or reproduce structures of power. Early influential scholars are Gillian Rose (1995), Iris Marion Young (1990) and David Sibley (1995). They have all found ways to describe exclusion and purification processes in society, related to both large structures of power, but also individual preferences and expressions of boundaries and control and the interlace between them. Some current research performed on these exclusionary processes connected to housing which is the aim for my research, is made by Loretta Lees (2007) Rowland Atkinson (2006) and Roger Andersson, Åsa Bråmås and Emma Holmqvist (2010), where the last mentioned have looked specifically at a Swedish context. They all argue that economic power structures are visible also in housing policies in the form of segregation, and that even though public policy speaks of mixed and socially diverse communities as something contributing to resilient and sustainable communities, it simultaneously facilitates disaffiliation in the city. So, there is some sort of discrepancy, and it is to this I hope to shine a light on and contribute with further understanding of.

1.6 Outline

The second chapter will give a background to the geographical area in question and then a brief summary of the development plans for the area and the process that followed the presentation of Planprogrammet. The third chapter presents Malmö Stads perspective and the results of Planprogrammet, and the fourth chapter brings up the findings in the material of the reactions to the development plans. Both the third and the fourth chapter try in their analysis to uncover social- and power-structures in the urban environment. After the fourth chapter follows a section of some reflections and concluding thoughts based on the results from the research.

2 Chapter II – The Plans and Context

In this section I present some basic statistics and characteristics of the concerned neighbourhoods. I then make a brief outline of the process that lead to the Planprogram I have studied which is followed by a presentation of the main features in Planprogrammet. This is to provide an understanding of the case and the context it is situated in.

The case I have studied is situated in the city of Malmö in the region Skåne in southern Sweden. The case study areas, Holma, Kroksbäck/Östra Kroksbäck and Djupadal/Västra Kroksbäck¹ are in the southern parts of Malmö.

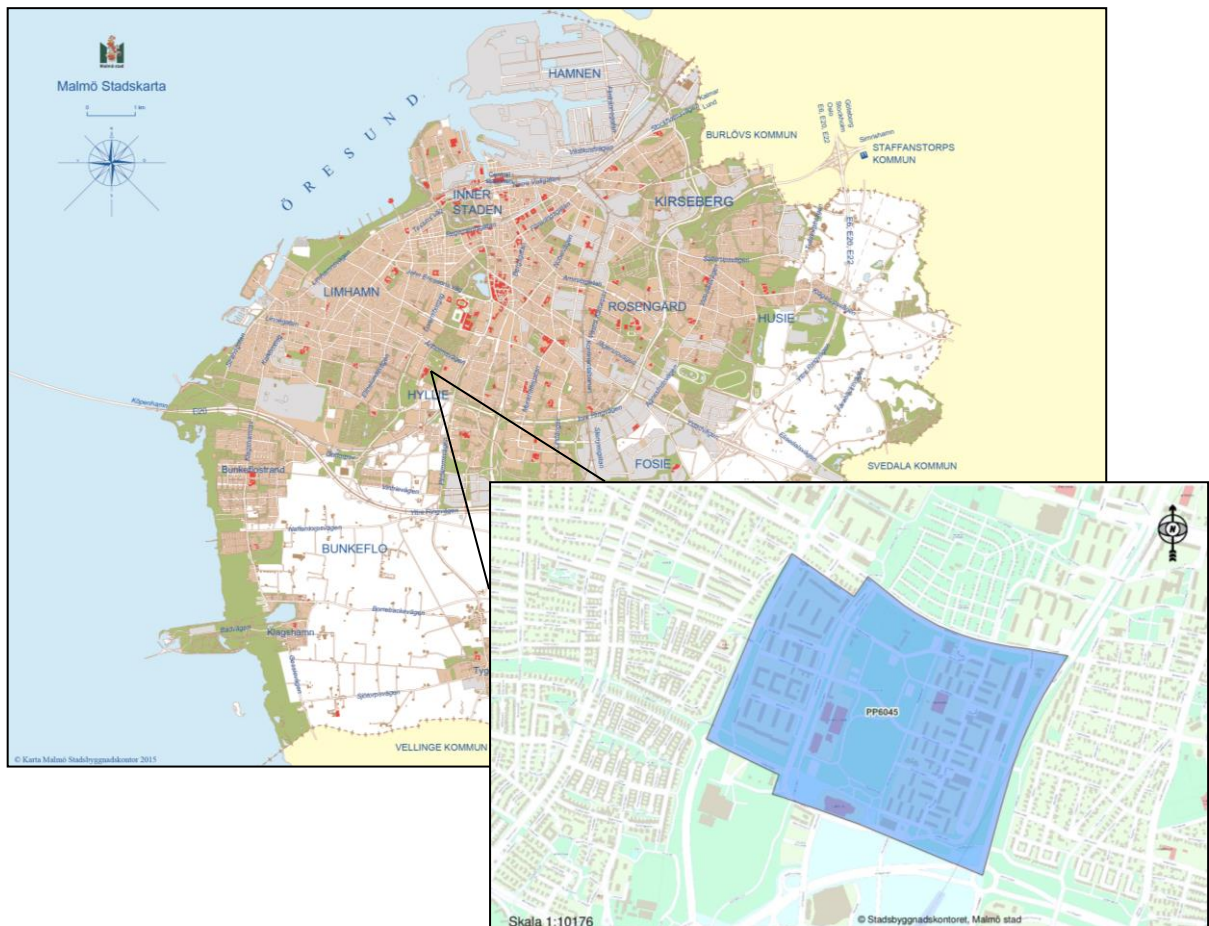


Figure 1. This are two maps, the bigger one is of Malmö city and the smaller one is showing the area where Planprogrammet is set

¹ In common language, the neighbourhoods are called Kroksbäck and Djupadal, however the municipality officially uses Östra and Västra Kroksbäck when referring to the two neighbourhoods.

The bigger map above shows Malmö as a whole and where the area of Planprogrammet is placed. The smaller map shows the neighbourhoods for Planprogrammet at a larger scale (the blue toned zone), the green field in the middle is Kroksbäcksparken, and the built area to the right is Holma and the built area to the left is Kroksbäck. Further to the left, next to Kroksbäck (but not in the blue field) is Djupadal. All three neighbourhoods deviate from the average in Malmö regarding population, employment and education. But while Holma and Kroksbäck are statistically similar to one end, Djupadal stands out in the opposite direction to them.

	Malmö	Djupadal	Kroksbäck	Holma
Population 2015				
Born Abroad	102,047	416	2,218	2,245
Total	322,574	4,168	5,254	4,049
Unemployment 2015, 18-64 y.o (actively seeking employment)	12,087	50	275	305
Disposable Income 2014, 20-64 y.o (in SEK)				
Median	195,560	307,497	172,056	131,000
Mean	211,618	317,505	195,147	135,913
Education 2015, 20-64 y.o				
Pre high school	25,865	68	580	561
High school	74,388	647	1,116	960
After high school	92,985	1,524	1,010	632
Population 2015, 20-64 y.o	200,540	2,256	2,830	2,294

Table 1. This is a table from Malmö Stad 2015, Statistikunderlag för Malmö 2007-2015, with some statistics over the concerned areas for Planprogrammet

The statistical figures in table 1 give the following description of the areas when calculated as the shares of the population.

Population born abroad

Malmö \approx 32%.

Djupadal \approx 10%

Kroksbäck \approx 42%

Holma \approx 55%

Compared to the average in Malmö the share of people born abroad is 22 percent lower in Djupadal, 10 percent higher in Kroksbäck and 23 percent higher in Holma.

Unemployment

It is not possible to make an exact comparison between the share of unemployed people and the general population as the age groups differ, unemployed is grouped 18 – 64 years old and the population is grouped 20 – 64. But it is possible to make an estimate since the total amount of the population aged 20 – 64 y.o. is quite similar between the neighbourhoods, but Kroksbäck and Holma have roughly around five and six times more people unemployed in the age range of 18 – 64 y.o. that the share of unemployment is higher in Kroksbäck and Holma compared to Djupadal.

Disposable income

Djupadal: median \approx 57% and mean \approx 50% above Malmö average.

Kroksbäck: median \approx 12% and mean \approx 8% less than Malmö average.

Holma: median \approx 33% and mean \approx 36% less than Malmö average.

Education, after high school / population

Malmö \approx 46%.

Djupadal \approx 68%

Kroksbäck \approx 36%

Holma \approx 28%

Compared to the average in Malmö the share of people with an after high school education is 22 percent higher in Djupadal, 10 percent lower in Kroksbäck and 18 percent lower in Holma.

One can conclude that these areas correspond with earlier research which shows that ethnic and income segregation correlates in Sweden (Andersson, BråmÅ, Holmqvist 2010:242).

Holma and Kroksbäck are both neighbourhoods built during Miljonprogrammet, a state supported project between 1965 – 1975 in which the Swedish government set out to build one million residencies in ten years. This was a response to the prevailing low standard in existing housing at the time but also to an increasing housing shortage. Well-planned, healthy and affordable housing was to be offered to everyone. To achieve this immense goal the variation of the buildings could not be too wide (Malmö Stad 2016:105). Quite early on the program received extensive critique. The critics meant that what had been won in quantity in Miljonprogrammet had been lost in quality (Ibid. 2016:112). Many of the addressed issues in Holma and Kroksbäck is connected to their physical structure and can be tracked to the idea of construction during Miljonprogrammet. The resulting low quality and un-variated environment is one of the reasons for the restructuring and development of the two neighbourhoods.

It is argued that a bigger variation in people, housing and employment will improve both equality and help children's development (Malmö Stad 2016:14, 30, 44). Two other important reasons put forward by Malmö Stad is that it is in line with Malmö Stads wish to increase social sustainability, and secondly it is to support the present development in Hyllie, an area a ten-minute walk south of Holma and Kroksbäck.

Holma and Kroksbäck are one out of five prioritised areas in Områdesprogrammen för Socialt Hållbar Utveckling i Malmö (Neighbourhood program for Sustainable Development in Malmö). This was a five-year plan in Malmö (2010-2015), and the goal was to improve the living conditions in the neighbourhoods in Malmö with the poorest share of welfare (Ibid. 2016:11). In dialogue with the residents a wish list was put together. The top three requests were the following; "a work to go to, good education for the children and the feeling of safety where I live" (translated by the author) (Ibid. 2016:8).

Different ideas about how to provide these services and fulfil the residents' wishes are brought up in Planprogrammet. Malmö has previously had success from working with the built environment to create positive effects on culture and economy (Ibid. 2016:14, 31). One idea regarding the built environment is to make Lorensborgsgatan more narrow and lead the connecting streets Sörbäcksgatan and Norrbäcksgatan into the bordering area Djupadal. This is hoped to have several positive social and economic effects. The opening up for new types of connections with less traffic and more people walking the streets is hoped to disturb the high criminal activity on Sörbäcksgatan, and hopefully remove some of the feeling of Kroksbäck being a separate enclave in the city (Ibid. 2016:64).

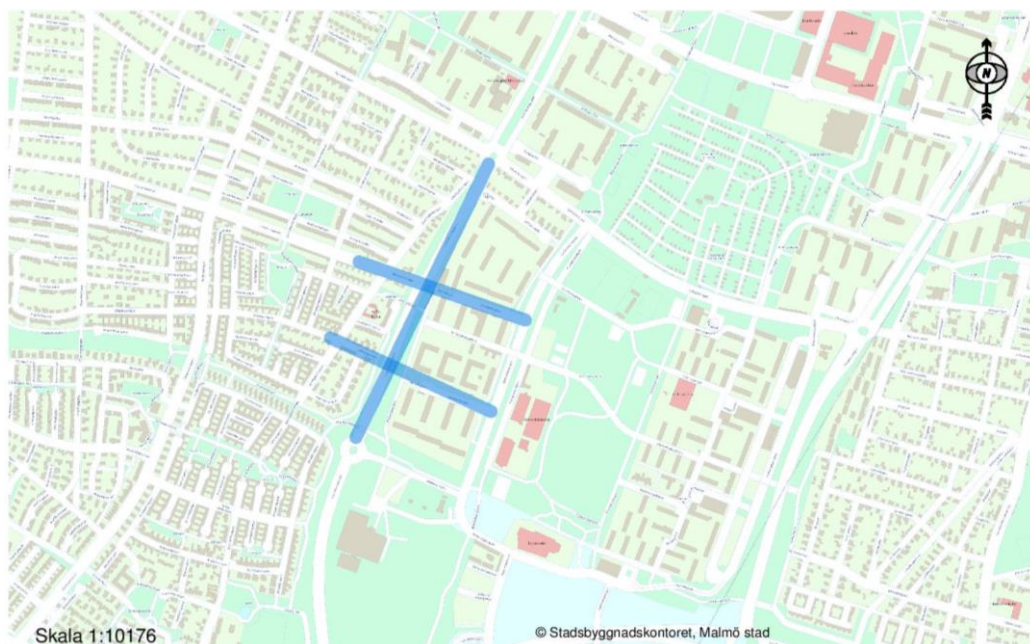


Figure 2. This is a map of Lorensborgsgatan, the long vertical line from south to north. The two horizontal lines crossing is Sörbäcksgatan (bottom) and Norrbäcksgatan (top)

As mentioned, Hyllie is an area a ten-minute walk south of Holma and Kroksbäck. It is also an area that in the last couple of years has undergone some major changes. Citytunneln, an underground railway, opened in 2010, and one of three stations was placed in Hyllie. This has induced a new southern centre in Malmö to develop. The shopping mall Emporia and the new natatorium that opened in 2015 is enforcing that development (Malmö Stad 2016:3, 115). This has led to a new central location of Holma and Kroksbäck which is interesting both for the municipality but also for property developers.

There are different drivers behind the plans for Holma and Kroksbäck, and the work has been processed during a couple of years. Throughout the work different actors have been involved to put forward their ideas and thoughts. Residents have taken part in meetings and enquires and in 2013 Malmö Stad, MKB² and Riksbyggen³ started a joint organization called Holmastan and created a value program for Holma. In the same year a future prospect was also presented within the aforementioned Områdesprogrammen för Socialt Hållbar Utveckling i Malmö. These two programs/visions are the foundation for the more extensive Planprogram (Ibid. 2016:8, 11).

Planprogrammet is not a legally binding document. Its purpose is to investigate appropriate use of accessible land, and to show the municipality's willed direction for an area. After being revised once, Planprogrammet will be used to create detail plans for separate projects within the more overall idea for the whole area. Planprogrammet for Holma and Kroksbäck was revised in 2015, and I have looked at the revised version which was published in 2016, where opinions from residents, the public, landowners and other institutions have been processed and taken into account for. What they want to do is to narrow down big streets to create more space for shops, housing and people to move around. This is to create a mixture of functions, as well as make it more accessible and increase the feeling of safety and community (Ibid. 2016:27, 48, 57). They want to build more permanent solutions for the schools in the area and build more and a variety of housing to make it a more attractive area for the ones already living there, and to attract new people to move there (Ibid. 2016:30, 34). The three leading terms for Planprogrammet is *relate*, *complement* and *stay*. This means that the provided development should relate to the positive features already existing. Complement on what is missing instead of focusing on what is not existing. And that the goal should be that those who are presently living there should have the possibility to stay (Ibid. 2016:97).

² Malmö municipality's real estate company

³ Market based real estate company

3 Chapter III – Planprogrammet

This chapter will present the findings and conclusions drawn from studying Planprogrammet. A document that can be viewed as the municipality's united voice concerning the development of this part of the city. I will discuss the different reasons presented for re-development in Holma and Kroksbäck made by Malmö Stad. I will also try to pinpoint the main features of Planprogrammet and with help of the theoretical framework reflect upon the content.

Firstly I would like to discuss the linguistic fact that the municipality writes Västra Kroksbäck instead of Djupadal when referring to the neighbourhood to the west of Kroksbäck (Malmö Stad 2016:8). I think this is interesting because in common language (and in this paper) Djupadal is used. The use of different names creates a distinction between the neighbourhoods that I think might be of importance for the residents' sense of place, stating clearly that they do not live in the same neighbourhood. I think it is out of the same reason that the municipality uses Östra and Västra Kroksbäck instead, they want to create a sense of togetherness to support their plans to integrate the neighbourhoods.

Planprogrammet mainly consists of projects concerning the built environment but it is clear that Malmö Stad intend for these changes to inflate positive changes in the social environment as well "the commission for a social sustainable Malmö lifts urban planning's possibility to be an engine for social changes" (translated by the author) (Ibid. 2016:7). The thought that a physical change in the landscape can drive a social change in the neighbourhood is key in Planprogrammet's vision for Holma and Kroksbäck.

Since the plans for Holma and Kroksbäck are still only in the making it is of course not possible to say in which direction this change will go. It could be a successful combination of upgrading the built environment and the social sustainability in the neighbourhoods. But knowledge rather says that segregating effects or gentrification processes start when an area classified as a socially vulnerable, is upgraded or integrated with a wealthier area for supposed "trickle down" effects (Atkinson 2006:824, Lees 2008:2457). So it could be that the new prospects end up forcing the socially vulnerable currently living in the area to move away. Planprogrammet includes ideas and thoughts that points in different directions. Below I will account for them one at a time.

3.1 Development promoting inclusion

There is an unquestioned belief in public policy that a diverse neighbourhood, population (income, level of education, ethnicity), buildings (available housing, shops) etc. leads to more equal opportunities for the residents. Social-mixing is one aspect that Planprogrammet point out as important for the development of the neighbourhoods (Malmö Stad 2016:14). But at the same time there is an awareness that the positive effects from social-mixing are questioned (Lees 2008, 2452) in Planprogrammet and it presents different ideas on how to involve existing residents in the changes. I believe this is important for programs in areas such as these, to try to prevent a top down perspective that excludes the socially marginalized.

One strategy the municipality use to make the development inclusive is by having an ongoing dialogue with the residents and trying to create a sense of ownership and shaping-power of the public spaces (Malmö Stad 2016:15, 17). For example the residents took part in identifying the existing qualities to keep in the neighbourhoods. The intention is to give residents a feeling that they have an agency to affect their area. Being included in the shaping of one's environment is of importance for the feeling of belonging to a place (Massey 1995).

Another strategy used to create an inclusive development is that many parts of the program speak about making room for encounters and spontaneous activities, which gives people more possibilities to meet and build networks in their everyday lives. The plans to change the traffic situation, lessen the traffic and give more room for bicycles and pedestrians addresses this demand for room for activity (Malmö Stad 2016:29, 42). This is to give people a feeling of inclusion in the sense that they are part of the bigger context, the city, through for example infrastructure.

Planprogrammet speaks of creating a 'vibrant-city' environment in Holma and Kroksbäck. The emphasis put on doing this together with the residents is one thing that I argue can make this program successful in its strive for a social sustainable development. Participation in the development can offer the people living there some control and influence over their situation. Which might give them a feeling that their voices are taken into account for and by that lessening the feeling of them being marginalized. I think that the inclusion of existing residents signals that the municipality values their opinions.

Two other important inclusive aspect of the program is that it is aiming to "lift" the whole area and not only build a few spectacular architectural buildings leaving the rest of the neighbourhood unchanged (Ibid. 2016:57, 76). They also speak of building in a way so that different facilities can be used by different groups at different times. Thereby making public spaces common grounds for difference.

I think that Planprogrammet brings up several good ideas on how to face the exclusive challenges that comes with this type of program. They focus on

tolerance for difference by creating spaces where encounters with difference comes natural, public spaces with lots of people in motion and facilities with different functions in order for people to meet. They also try to minimize the risk of spatial-purification and a top-down repressive development by including those socially vulnerable in the plans.

3.2 Development promoting exclusion

Many of the new projects is argued to make the area more attractive to new groups of people (Malmö Stad 2016:15, 19). At times the attraction of a new crowd seems more prioritized than the existing residents living in the area. For example the connection to the boarding wealthier neighbourhood Djupadal is viewed as more important than the connections between Holma and Kroksbäck (Ibid. 2016:77). This contradiction to the focus on inclusive development is re-occurring throughout Planprogrammet. One reason for it might be that the municipality wants to give them a better social identity in the city. But at the same time it signals that Holma and Kroksbäck are viewed as ‘bad’ neighbourhoods and Djupadal to the west and other surrounding neighbourhoods are viewed as ‘good’. Which I argue indicates a spatial purification idea. This type of categorization can be problematic and create a feeling for certain groups to be less valued. This feeling needs to be considered since there already is a documented and re-occurring expressions in Kroksbäck that society does not see or care about the neighbourhood (Ibid. 2016:121).

Today there is an experience that there is a division between the privately-owned apartments in the north and the rental apartments in the south of the neighbourhoods. The concentration of the socio-economic poor is greater in the southern parts (Ibid. 2016:120). If this is not addressed properly there is a risk that these divisions and prejudices become stronger (Lees 2008:2456). The project has good potential to meet both the neighbourhoods need for development and Malmö’s need for development overall, for example the housing shortage.

3.3 Segregation, gentrification and economy

The top three wishes by the residents in Holma and Kroksbäck are increased employment, good education for the children and a safer neighbourhood. To some extent these wishes can be met without focusing on economic growth in the area. This is shown in some of the parts of the program. They want to build more permanent school solutions and more attractive public places to make room for community feeling. A planning strategy that is focusing on increasing the social welfare in the area. Other parts of the program however are more focused on the

economic aspects of re-development, a more neoliberal planning strategy. Most of the planned construction is for new housing or renovation of the old and it is stated in the Planprogram that these actions will likely lead to raised living costs. It is stated that this economic restructuring for a more attractive area might start a gentrification process where financially weak residents will be forced out of the area (Malmö Stad 2016:8, 76). So, this is by no means an unknown risk to the municipality, yet they do not seem to have an idea on how to prevent it. They mention including social clauses in contracts with landowners and developers, for example promising a certain share of jobs to local inhabitants when building. This can of course be one way to improve individuals' economic possibility to stay (Ibid. 2016:73,76). But for the financially weak as a group there are few ideas on how to secure their possibility to stay in the neighbourhoods when new development attracts wealthier people and pushes the prices up.

Even though social sustainability is the primary goal presented in Planprogrammet, the economic development in Hyllie seems to play a crucial role for the plans as well. This is in line with how important the project in Hyllie has been for Malmö Stad and the neoliberal ideas in urban planning (Baeten 2012). It is to some extent strange that this is not more prominent in the program. One reason for that might be, that too much focus on economic growth and commercial development would increase the risk of segregation and gentrification since the areas are in a socio-economic vulnerable position. At the same time however, not taking the commercial development in Hyllie serious and making an analysis of how that will spread out geographically might create blind spots in Planprogrammet. And the consequence-analysis might be too naive in what will happen when you open up the streets that connect Hyllie with Holma and Kroksbäck for shops and entrepreneurial business. Planprogrammet brings up how market forces will be attracted to Holma and Kroksbäck for their new central location (Malmö Stad 2016:19, 29) but I think that this aspect needs further investigation on how it will affect the area.

Planprogrammet is talking about how measures should be taken that benefit businesses and entrepreneurial development, it is argued that this will attract more job opportunities to the areas (Ibid. 2016:78). That such an investment would result in more jobs is a probable outcome. But the question is if it will be jobs that are available to the unemployed in the neighbourhoods or if it will employ others not living in Holma and Kroksbäck.

Even though there are discrepancies in Planprogrammet, I do not believe that they are unknown by the municipality. I argue that these are inevitable when planning in a society where you have both social, economic, and environmental sustainability to take into account. From a political point of view it might be hard at times to state that one is more important than the other. Even though there is substantial evidence that social sustainability is more important to take into consideration than economic growth, if the desire is to create an equal, inclusive city (Lees 2008, Hedin, Clark, Lundholm, Malmberg 2012).

At this stage Planprogrammet for Holma and Kroksbäck is more focused on social sustainability and development than the economic growth. I base this on that it emphasizes the importance of having the residents involved, retaining the calm, green qualities in the areas and also by stating that culture and meetings across differences is to be supported with a well-prepared structure (Malmö Stad 2016:67, 89, 95).

4 Chapter IV – The wall, reactions on the plans

Reactions, even strong reactions, is common when it comes to major structural changes in peoples lived environment. The plans for Holma and Kroksbäck have not gone unnoticed either. One of the biggest regards the changes of Lorensborgsgatan (see chapter II for map). In 2002 Lorensborgsgatan was widened and connected to one of the roads circling Malmö, becoming one big entrance and exit road to and from Malmö centre (Celanders 2015; 3). The road became a geographical divider, with Kroksbäck to the east and Djupadal to the west. Planprogrammet suggest that Lorensborgsgatan should be narrowed down to become a calmer street. Less traffic, lower speed and room for new housing, shops, bicycles, and pedestrians. It is argued in Planprogrammet that this change will lessen the feeling of Kroksbäck as a separate enclave in the city. It is also argued that this will make it easier for Kroksbäck to establish a good relationship with the wealthier Djupadal and that, that in turn will spin off positive social effects. This proposal has received a lot of critique from both sides of the street. Several media have reported on the matter and two public petitions was sent to the municipality. Below I will account for the findings regarding these reactions. I believe it is a good example displaying the different experiences of and desires for the area. I also argue that it demonstrates an example of Holma and Kroksbäck's relationship to the whole city of Malmö.

4.1 There are many “us”

In the reactions, several groups positioning themselves against each other can be identified. The two main groups are the residents in Kroksbäck and the residents in Djupadal. But both Kroksbäck and Djupadal are divided in two groups within the neighbourhoods. Kroksbäck residents positive or negative towards Kroksbäck and the same division is made in Djupadal, residents positive towards Kroksbäck and residents negative towards Kroksbäck and the proposed changes. These groups are then projecting the municipality, the politicians, as another group. So, in total there are five different groups and perspectives present in the conflict over Kroksbäck, Djupadal and Planprogrammets proposal for Lorensborgsgatan. The existence of many opinions within a small geographical unit is today's challenge for urban planning. We must find ways to create common spaces in cities where

there is room for different utilization and interpretations of the same space (Bannister & Kearns 2013:2714). If it is not possible to combine different needs in the same space we must prioritize and whose and which need then comes first? I will continue this chapter describing the arguments and statements made by the different groups and then connect them to a bigger theoretical framework.

4.2 Djupadal residents negative towards Kroksbäck

A petition with 157 signatures was presented, where some residents in Djupadal demanded further investigation about the negative consequences of the suggested linkage between Kroksbäck and Djupadal. The reasons seem to be that the signers view Djupadal as a calm area and see Kroksbäck as the complete opposite (Öhman-Åkesson 2015, Celander 2015; 3). The voices raised in this group speak about Kroksbäck as being an area embossed by criminality, insecurity and violence (Mikkelsen 2015, Breitner 2015). These opinions are backed up by the picture of the area that statistics indicate and also studies made by Malmö Stad presented Planprogrammet. However, this group does not balance it out with bringing forward the qualities in Kroksbäck that Malmö Stad for example recognizes. Within this group there is a clear distinction of “us” and “them” and it is directly related to the place of living.

This group is opposing the idea that problems in one area could be solved by linking it to other areas with better social statuses. This indicates that barriers between areas cannot simply be solved by removing purely geographical obstacles. Barriers between neighbourhoods might very well be enhanced by physical obstacles, such as a road. But the barriers are also embedded in peoples’ mindsets which requires other measures. Tolerance and encounters cannot be made just by having different groups in the same place, it requires policies that take active precautions to support respect for the other. Where to goal is not to assimilate the other, but to find the common ground instead of the difference (Bannister & Kearns 2013:2713).

This notion is important in this case and other similar ones where you speak of one area as “better” than the other. Because there is a risk of marginalizing the “bad” area. Creating a hierarchal development where the socially and financially strong have bigger advocacy when it comes to urban planning (Sibley 1995:76). A tendency towards this un balanced view of power is present in this group. In the petition they are writing about them as presenting all of Djupadal. And that it is unjust to them to link the two areas together because they actively choose to live west of Kroksbäck (Öhman-Åkesson 2015).

I think that they with this argument claim that the individual right of where to live is more important than the city’s social development through networks. If Malmö Stad wish that good relationship is established between the two neighbourhoods this is something that they need to address. Yet there is nothing in

Planprogrammet discussing how to change this unwillingness from some of the residents in Djupadal. I find this interesting since I think this proves that there is a, even if it is a subconscious one, dysfunction in the power relations. The focus of change lies on the most vulnerable neighbourhoods and the wealthier areas are left untouched (Lees 2008:2460). One could imagine a program suggesting a bigger mix of housing and population in a wealthy area but that is rarely the case. And if Kroksbäck and Holma should be integrated with the rest of the city there is a need to address the intolerance towards these neighbourhoods.

4.3 Djupadal residents positive towards Kroksbäck

In this debate another group from Djupadal is presenting a different perspective. As a response to the petition negative towards the program another petition with 112 signatures was sent. It was written in the same manner, as if they were writing for all residents in Djupadal but instead they demanded further investigation on the positive consequences on a linkage between Djupadal and Kroksbäck (Rygaard 2015).

This group argues that a social-mix gives an enriching dimension to society. They mean that we have to consider our differences as natural but also allow ourselves to see the similarities between us. For this to happen they seek more possibilities for positive encounters not only in our workplaces and lives at home but also in culture, community and at different types of associations. They are backing up the program and think that if they become a little bit worse off but others become better off it is a good place to start (Celander 2015; 1).

This counter perspective contains some arguments that literature in this field points out as important for social-mixing and neighbourhood development. Tolerance is something actively exercised and public spaces are good and sometimes even more successful fields to practice tolerance and respect on compared to private spaces (Bannister & Kearns 2013:2707). In Planprogrammet there are aspects pointing out the importance of public spaces and common ground for this to be a successful social program.

This group still however is in some way placed above the groups in Kroksbäck, “they” are helping “them”. Which in some way manifests the unbalanced power relation between the areas. It is not viewed as a mutual exchange, where people in Djupadal get better access to the qualities in Kroksbäck. Something that the municipality at least to some extent is trying to point out.

4.4 Kroksbäck perspectives

Two groups in Kroksbäck have spoken negatively about the planned change of Lorensborgsgatan but for separate reasons. One group is concerned that this will destroy the positive qualities of Kroksbäck. They argue that the picture of Kroksbäck as violent is false and is an image created by outsiders. Their concern is that an integration with Djupadal would imply changes that takes away the calm and green areas in Kroksbäck (Jerbil & Örwall 2015).

The other group in Kroksbäck is similar to the negative Djupadals group. They see a lot of social problems in Kroksbäck and do not believe a structural change in the built environment is the right way to deal with it. One tenant in Kroksbäck called the plans "absurd" and stated that they will try to stop the plans (Mikkelsen 2015). Other residents in Kroksbäck are very critical towards the politicians and feel neglected. They mean that the kind of social problems that Kroksbäck suffers from are not solvable by building new. They argue that there is need for a different type of program where the focus lies on for example getting young people into work (Celander 2015; 2, Mikkelsen 2015). This is something that Planprogrammet brings up but the resident in Kroksbäck is sceptical since this was not done in connection with the development in Hyllie.

Some residents in Kroksbäck also confirms the picture of Kroksbäck as a criminal, violent area, separate from the rest of the city (Mikkelsen 2015). So the creation of "us" and "them" is just as present in Kroksbäck as in the surrounding neighbourhoods. But I think that the creation of "us" in Kroksbäck is partially made by them being "othered" by the surrounding society because it is not a normative valuable one. One resident in Kroksbäck says

"there has always been an invisible boundary between the houses to the west and Kroksbäck. I moved here in the beginning of the 80's, a long time before Lorensborgsgatan passes here, and already then you could hear some residents in Djupadal saying that their kids could not play with the skyscape-kids in Kroksbäck. Even though they lived in the area for Kroksbäckschool they wanted their kids to go to Djupadal- or Hyllieschool."

(translated by the author) (Celander 2015; 2)

I think that this shows that residents on Kroksbäck have for a period of time been viewed by the surrounding society as an unwanted deviation. I therefore think that it is of great importance that Planprogrammet focuses on developing Kroksbäck (and Holma, which has similar conditions) on their own terms. Including the local community, keeping the aspects that are viewed as valuable by residents vivid and seeing the program as a way to invite the rest of Malmö to an area they are excluding.

I propose a shift in the way of thinking, instead of seeing that Kroksbäck and Holma should integrate with the city, the city should integrate with Holma and Kroksbäck. I argue that this is of importance for the program to succeed. Since there is lack of confidence for the politicians and the sincerity of an actual

development in the area I think an active inclusion of the residents is vital for the social parts of the program. People need to be on board and believe in the project for it to work.

4.5 Malmö Stads response to the public reactions

Malmö Stad have welcomed and responded to the public reactions. They are firm on that a change is necessary in this area. They mean that Lorensborgsgatans location as a barrier between the neighbourhoods is part of an old way of planning and that they now think radically different. They mean that it is key for the development of the city to identify these barriers and then bridge over them both physically and socially (Jerbil & Örwall 2015, Mikkelsen 2015). The development in Holma and Kroksbäck are in the municipality's eyes, the sight for where "the new story of Malmö is" (translated by the author) (Malmö Stad 2016:2).

The municipality are certain that physical changes in combination with social actions can change an area. They point out that Lorensborgsgatan is a good project since it meets several needs of Malmö. It works towards a more socially sustainable city and it also offers a chance to densify the city without taking any green areas in appropriation (Andersson 2016). Once again however they write about what is to gain when Holma and Kroksbäck are opened up to the rest of Malmö. Dissolving them as separate enclaves with sometimes unwanted norms. Not saying anything about unwanted norms in bordering areas towards Holma and Kroksbäck. Indirectly pointing out Holma and Kroksbäck as the problem instead of seeing the identified problems they want to solve there as a consequence of several excluding aspects from all of society (Sibley 1995, Rose 1995).

5 Conclusion and Discussion

In my paper I have sought to answer the questions,

- What are the essential features in Planprogrammet for Holma and Kroksbäck?
- What are the motifs presented by Malmö Stad for the reconstruction of Holma and Kroksbäck?
- How do the plans in Planprogrammet touch upon the conflicts over space present in the area?

Essential Features

I think that I have found satisfying results to the first two questions and based on my analysis of Planprogrammet and the other texts I can draw the following conclusions concerning the first question. The essential features are new housing, better infrastructure for calmer traffic and easier access to and from the area and sustainable and attractive public spaces for people to visit.

Motifs

Regarding the second question I have found that there are several motifs for these changes and that they at times might create resistance towards each other. The grand motif is that the changes in Holma and Kroksbäck should lead towards a positive social change in the neighbourhoods. Holma and Kroksbäck are two areas statistically similar and they both have lower disposable income, lower levels of education and higher shares of population born abroad compared to Malmö average. So, the two neighbourhoods are in several ways more socially vulnerable than average. This is something that the municipality wishes to alter towards a more stable and sustainable social situation. Both for the residents in the neighbourhoods but also for Malmö as whole.

Another reason presented by Malmö Stad is that the feeling of Kroksbäck and Holma as insecure areas limits both the people living there but it also closes the areas off for the rest of the city. There are several qualities in the areas, for example access to green areas, that the municipality wants to open up for all residents in Malmö. Creating an attractive, safe environment where people want to reside is one step towards that.

Furthermore, Malmö Stad also wants to “heal” the city together by eliminating barriers between neighbourhoods, like Lorensborgsgatan. This is both to improve social sustainability and it is also a way to densify and link together old parts of Malmö with new, such as Hyllie, without eliminating green spaces.

Finally there are also economical motifs for the development. Hyllie as the new southern centre of Malmö would benefit from a clear link to Malmö and Kroksbäck and Holma are becoming central parts due to this change. Therefore it is interesting for the market to develop these now new central parts of town. Both areas need access to jobs and a commercial development close to them might create more business opportunities, that could benefit the residents in the area.

Conflicts

It is harder to draw any straight forward conclusions concerning the third question. I think that further investigation is needed to receive a sufficient answer. I think that the chosen method provided me with some answers but that the question would benefit from a complement of other methods. I would say interviews with different actors presented in the conflicts.

There are a few conflicts over space in the area, connected to the just written section is of course the conflict that might occur between wealthier and poorer individuals as the neighbourhoods are upgraded. In Planprogrammet it is stated that there is a likely risk of gentrification as the prices for housing probably will rise in the neighbourhoods as they are re-developed. The most substantial conflict that Planprogrammet touch upon is inevitably the one between Holma, Kroksbäck and the rest of Malmö, manifested mainly by the reactions concerning the plans for Lorensborgsgatan. It shows that there is a mental barrier both inside and out from Kroksbäck but also very much from the outside and in towards Kroksbäck. It creates tensions and exclusionary behaviour which is to some extent approached in Planprogrammet as it seeks out to create places for encounters and networking over differences.

Further thoughts

What I think is important to acknowledge is that the different interest for Holma and Kroksbäck is not necessarily connected. The search for a more integrated and socially sustainable and equal city is not depending on an economic growth supported by the development of Hyllie and its new commercial interests. But with that said, an economic focus on the development in Holma and Kroksbäck and the linkage between them and Hyllie does not mean an absence of social sustainability. They can co-exist and that is what I think Malmö Stad is trying to display in Planprogrammet.

However social sustainability and welfare and a more neoliberal focus need separate solutions, which in some parts overlap but not fully. If they are dealt with as having the same path for success I think the pitfalls for a failing urban policy is increased. At least if the urban policy is claiming to strive for equality and justice for all. This is what I would think is important for the future of this project and urban development overall. In many cases the economic growth is stated to spill over on the social parts of life and lead to a more equal society. Often putting economic- over social development. But research has yet been able to prove the common understanding of economic growth and its supposed “trickle down”

effects. Rather research has shown that economic growth without an anchor and respect for the social (and environmental) situations it is depending on, easily leads to an increase of inequality and bigger divisions in society.

I argue that this is one crucial point if this program is to succeed because the economic aspects of it is very present. We have the new commercial centre of Hyllie closely related to Holma and Kroksbäck. We also have, with a tragicomic reference to history, a manifested division between the poor east and the rich west through a big wall (isolating the sound) from Lorensborgsgatan.

The critique is raised from both sides of the road but as research shows there is a tendency that the voices of the less fortunate are not heard in policy making. I therefore think that there should be more active precautions taken to take in the opinions of the residents in Holma and Kroksbäck. I also think this is important since there is a documented feeling of neglect in Kroksbäck, not being heard or viewed as important in society.

This is an aspect I think would be interesting to further research on. Connected to this case, why are these plans made now? Is it true that there have been plans for development in Holma and Kroksbäck earlier and why then have they not been undertaken? How much does the new commercial centre of Hyllie mean for the plans?

I think that there is also a lot to be learned by performing deep interviews with residents in the different areas. I think that would open up for a better understanding for the exclusionary and of course the tendencies for tolerance in the neighbourhoods. I feel that my thesis has only scraped the surface of something that has deep roots in both peoples' behaviour, thoughts and the history and present way the built environment is created. It would be interesting to follow up on this program as it takes place, to see what the results of Planprogrammet will be when implemented in reality.

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