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Controlling, exploiting and claiming diversity

Analyzing the role of multiculturalism in Rosengård's development



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ABSTRACT

Postindustrial Malmö relies heavily on stories and images as engines for economic growth. Cities use place marketing strategies to attract capital, investments and affluent residents. The evident focus on economic growth has led to a significantly polarized city in which people with low-incomes, usually ethnic minorities, live in segregated areas such as Rosengård. Segregated and poor areas become undesirable for the city's image. The following thesis analyzes the role of multiculturalism in Rosengård's ongoing development in light of the desire to market the area as part of Malmö's image and combat the undesirable perception of a polarized city. The aim is to discern how multiculturalism is treated in order to understand 'who' the development is planned for. A qualitative content analysis was conducted on two crucial planning documents which revealed that multiculturalism was referred to in terms of 1) being part of the city, 2) meeting places, and 3) investing in people and their abilities/cultures. Meeting places were chosen to be further analyzed in relation to the research question through theories of multiculturalism as well as modern and postmodern planning. The analysis gave rise to three different arguments; multiculturalism was controlled, exploited and claimed - hence revealing its role as a mere **tool or process** in Rosengård's development. Ultimately, multiculturalism's role allows us to understand that postindustrial Malmö markets and develops Rosengård for affluent residents such as the creative class, where the area's diversity is used as a tool to attract these residents as well as achieve other goals that might not benefit the minorities. Since the development is still ongoing, future research is needed to discover the real impacts of the finished project.

Keywords: Urban planning, place marketing, multiculturalism, Rosengård, Culture Casbah

1. Introduction	4
1.1 Background	4
1.2 Research question and aim	5
1.3 The empirical case	5
2. Previous research	6
2.1 A change in how place marketing policies view multiculturalism	6
3. Theory	8
3.1 Classical urban sociology and the loss of community	8
3.2 Urban planning and the significance of community	8
3.3 Ethnic kitsch	10
3.4 Institutionalization of difference	10
3.5 Postmodern historicism and the continued modern project	11
4. Method	11
4.1 Material	12
4.2 Document analysis	13
4.3 Analysis approach	14
<i>4.3.1 Coding the documents</i>	14
<i>4.3.2 Choosing a category and analysing the role of multiculturalism</i>	15
5. Analysis and results	16
5.1 Overarching strategy	16
<i>5.1.1 Public interest</i>	16
<i>5.1.2 Social sustainability through physical planning</i>	17
5.2 Processes	18
<i>5.2.1 Culture Casbah</i>	18
<i>5.2.2 Cultural activity</i>	19
<i>5.2.3 Diversity</i>	21
5.3 Goals	23
<i>5.3.1 Security</i>	23
<i>5.3.2 Street life</i>	24
<i>5.3.3 Democracy</i>	25
<i>5.3.4 Economic activity</i>	26
6. Concluding discussion	27

7. References

30

Appendix

32

Introduction

Background

Malmö's postindustrial transition to a 'knowledge city' emerged in conjunction with the fall of manufacturing and mining industries (Holgerson, 2017, 155). Malmö's previous industrial identity was the main economic focus of politicians and urban planning (Ibid, 117). As a new form of capitalism, neoliberalism brought with it concepts such as new public management and the market orientation of the public sector, and thus a new way of planning the city (Ibid, 103). Instead of industries; stories and images are now the engines by which cities accumulate economic growth (Ibid, 152). Place marketing is a postindustrial policy that is used to attract capital, investments and residents to a city (Landgren, 2008, 56). With the desire to be promoted as an ordered whole, segregated and polarized cities experience a 'crisis of urban representation' (Ibid.). Clearly, the presence of the 'bad' side of the city, which are usually poor areas with a high concentration of ethnic minorities such as Malmö's Rosengård, becomes undesirable and shameful for the city and its image. In light of this, Rosengård is experiencing a development that seeks to market the area as part of Malmö's image and combat the undesirable perception of a polarized city. This raises the question on how multiculturalism, which was once attributed to the 'bad' side of the city, is incorporated into planning.

In 1995, Malmö's former municipal chairman Ilmar Reepalu started the project 'vision work' along with diverse stakeholders and agents to transition Malmö from an industrial city (Ibid, 133). The project included 8 themes; economic vision, enterprise vision, educational vision, environmental vision, city building, social vision, youth vision (Ibid, 135). Holgerson sheds light on the neoliberal character of the project, and states that economic growth was highly prioritised to 'solve' societal problems such as welfare through the trickle down effect (Ibid, 136). Cities began to compete to attract capital and affluent residents, a strategy that Holgerson calls 'grow or die'. The author also points to the order of the project's themes and states that it was not a coincidence that economic vision was first and highly prioritized, while social vision and youth vision were last and weakly implemented (Ibid.).

The human geographer Guy Baeten states that Malmö's different neoliberal project such as Västra Hamnen, Öresundsbron, Citytunneln and Hyllie are all interconnected but constitute only one side of postindustrial Malmö; the other side being places that are isolated from these areas such as low-income neighbourhoods and precarious jobs (Ibid.). In fact, Holgorsen argues that postindustrial issues such as segregation are a direct result of the success in economic activity and growth (Ibid, 182), hence implying that Malmö's polarization is not due to distributional issues such as welfare, but due to the production of 'rich places' that cause 'poor places' elsewhere.

However, with the shift to postindustrialism and the idea of trickle down effect, Malmö focuses on building for the affluent class. This results in expensive apartments in Västra Hamnen that are up to par with the latter group's taste (Ibid.). The economic and spatial segregation in Malmö is manifested in that the city's population has increasingly been living along other households with the same socioeconomic and cultural (ethnic) background (Ibid, 154). Furthermore, Malmökommissionen shows that richer and poorer areas are diverging in terms of health and life expectancy (Ibid.). Rosengård's development is therefore to combat this undesirable perception of a polarized city and market the area as part of Malmö's image.

Research question and aim

In light of the above, this thesis seeks to answer the following question: *What is the role of multiculturalism in Rosengård's development?*. The aim of the study is to contribute with a theoretical understanding on how multiculturalism is treated in conjunction with the desire of marketing Rosengård as part of Malmö's image and to combat the undesirable perception of a polarized city. Moreover, understanding the role of multiculturalism will allow us to discern 'who' the development of Rosengård is planned for.

The empirical case

The case of Rosengård was chosen in light of the emerging place marketing policies in postindustrial Malmö. As earlier mentioned, the city's image is of significant importance to its economy, and the presence of Rosengård devalues Malmö's image and leads to a perception of a polarized city. Based on this, Malmö seeks to incorporate Rosengård, and its

multicultural identity, into the city's image. In fact, Rosengård's planning program (2015) clearly states in the preface that Rosengård's isolation is connected with the areas 'unhealthy' character - both literally and figuratively (PP, 2015, 3). The document also states that the people of Malmö and Rosengård should feel welcomed in each others 'spaces' (Ibid.) This is further emphasised in the planning program's four main goals; 1) a Rosengård connected with its surroundings, 2) a clear and accessible city structure, 3) a mixed Rosengård with lively street space, and 4) a Rosengård for everybody (Ibid, 6-7).

Previous research

A change in how place marketing policies view multiculturalism

In her 2008 article, Dalia-Mukhtar Landgren analyzed Malmö's place marketing and wrote that the city had two different readings, a knowledge city and a multicultural city (Landgre, 2008, 69). Moreover, Landgren stated that each reading was associated with an attribute; where the reading of a knowledge city was juxtaposed with utopian descriptions in which aspects like progress and opportunities were emphasised (Ibid.). On the other hand, the multicultural city reading was juxtaposed with dystopian descriptions where phenomenon like crime and unemployment were highlighted in conjunction with Malmö as a multicultural city (Ibid.). Landgren argued that such discourses led to the devaluation of not only multicultural spaces such as Rosengård but also minorities as not belonging to the 'progressive' side of the city (Ibid, 71). Despite place marketing's initial negative view on multiculturalism, it is important to note how postmodern planning and the creative class changed the view on multiculturalism.

From a planning perspective, and in line with the above mentioned socio-economic transitions, there has been a shift from modernism to postmodernism (Simonsen, 1990, 58). In critiquing the modernist era, postmodern planning emphasises historical eclecticism and design based on local conditions and traditions (Fainstein & Campbell, 2012, 12). Postmodernism's rejection of modernism's metanarratives, universalism, functionalism and with the former's focus on epistemological relativism and the heterogeneity of experience results in the 'celebration' of diversity (Ibid, 109). Multiculturalism, which was usually found

in the 'bad side' of the city is to be included in the postindustrial city as an element of diversity.

Richard Florida (2004) writes about how the creative class, which is the group that postindustrial cities want to attract, chooses their place of residence. From a spatial perspective, Florida explains that the creative class looks for different factors that constitutes a quality of place; what is there, who is there, and what is going on there (Florida, 2004, 231). Most importantly, the creative class looks for identity, authenticity and uniqueness in a place; hence their dislike of the monotonous middle class suburbs (Ibid, 228). An important attraction for them is diversity, open-mindedness, as well as outdoor recreation (Ibid, 226). In light of this, it becomes clear that inner city areas characterized by diversity (such as Rosengård) become desirable for the creative class.

Based on this, cities began using multicultural heritage as a theme of inner city development to attract the creative class from other parts of the city or even globally. Göta Arvastson and Tim Butler's work examined whether this type of development benefitted low-income residents and small firms, or caused their displacement (Arvastson & Butler, 2006, 44). They also examined whether the process of re-imaging actually celebrated cultural and ethnic diversity, or whether the re-branding implied editing out and disinheriting some cultures (Ibid.).

The authors argue that not only are these areas made safer for larger 'audiences', their exotic character is also highlighted to allow for tourism and leisure (Ibid, 53). Clearly, although such a development may increase the vitality of the local economy and increase the local pride of the area; it might also alienate the original residents due to the risk of being excluded (Ibid.). In fact, ethnic minorities might end up being objects of exoticism and excitement instead of being equal to the desired creative class (Ibid.). Also, the complexity of interpreting the 'ethnic' experience results in homogeneous spaces for mere consumption (Ibid.). Lastly, and perhaps the most important pessimistic scenario is the increase of property values which might lead to gentrification (Ibid.).

Theory

Classical urban sociology and the loss of community

In his famous essay about modern life, the individual and the city, Georg Simmel argues that the psychological foundation of metropolitan life is based on an intensification of stimuli (Kasinitz, 1995, 31). A protective ‘organ’ is developed to balance out the fluctuations of city life, such as the emphasis on intellect rather than emotion; which is the opposite to a small town (rural) person (Ibid.). Thus, a city dweller becomes more blasé and less empathetic towards other people in the city (Ibid, 35). Here, Simmel argues that metropolitan persons are more reserved and seek to reduce human interactions, which also stands opposite to that of a rural person (Ibid, 32). This results in a greater personal freedom for the metropolitan person who is not bound to a specific community like that of a rural setting (Ibid, 39).

This loss of community is also found in Ferdinand Tönnies’ work on *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. Tönnies argues that *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society) are two ideal types that describe the social system in rural and urban settings respectively (Scott, 2014). *Gemeinschaft* is found in rural / small scale communities characterized by intimate relationships between people, in which the social control is based on traditions and group norms (Ibid). On the other hand, *Gesellschaft* is found in large urbanized societies where the aforementioned cohesiveness is dissolved due to the rise of industrialization (Ibid.). Such societies are characterized by impersonal, contractual relationships between individuals and where the social control is based on written laws and on an institutionalized norm system (Ibid).

Urban planning and the significance of community

In her 2012 work, Landgren writes about urban planning as an ideological process as well as its modern and postmodern implementation. Firstly, planning as a political process has three main criteria; action, knowledge, and vision (Landgren, 2012, 37). Throughout the three planning criteria, the concept of ‘public interest’ works as the main legitimizer for the practice of planning (Ibid, 49). Landgren further divides planning into two bases for

legitimization; a planning object and a planning subject. She argues that the planning object (i.e the city) should achieve two concepts; progress and community (Ibid, 54). These two concepts are based on the vision criterion, where planning seeks to not only continually progress but also do so within the framework of public interest; or the “collective moral imperative that transcends particular or private interests” (Ibid.). On the other hand, the planning subject (i.e the planner) should practice planning in two concepts: democracy and rationality. Likewise, democracy and rationality are respectively based on the action and knowledge criteria, where planning should achieve the aforementioned progress and community through being representative and having regulatory political institutions (Ibid, 50).

Landgren focuses on planning as an object (the city) and argues in line with Simmel and Tönnies in regards to the loss of community in cities (Ibid, 144). However, despite this loss, Landgren argues that planning seeks to limit ambivalence and re-create a community due to the centrality of public interest in planning (Ibid.). Clearly, since a community does not encompass all ambiguous varieties, it constitutes a collective interest or goal. Therefore, a loss of community would also imply a loss of public interest, which is a threat to the legitimization of planning.

In light of this, both modern and postmodern planning seeks to create a community. While modern planning seeks a homogenous community based on a national monoculture through assimilation and conservation strategies, postmodern planning seeks a heterogenous community with an open stance towards ambivalence and diversity (Ibid.). Despite their differences, Landgren writes that both use strategies of exclusion and domestication in the creation of a community (Ibid.). Namely, modern planning and its desire for homogeneity (social engineering) would use exclusionary strategies like surveillance, barriers and anti-immigration policies to control the presence of undesired heterogeneity and diversity (Ibid, 152). Modern planning would also use domestication strategies such as meeting places, museum and world exhibitions to morally educate the public to be more civilized (Ibid, 151).

Postmodern planning and its desire for heterogeneous community places more emphasis on domestication strategies. However, unlike the modern equivalent, postmodern domestication considers heterogeneity and diversity either through reconciling it and establishing common grounds, or preserving it and integrating it as a value of the community (Ibid, 154). However, Landgren argues that postmodern domestication strategies contain

paradoxes (Ibid, 188). Clearly, the postmodern perception of diversity as an asset and the ‘forgeriners’ as a resource for the city’s progress implies that the forgeriners are outside of the community, since their outsider position is what constitutes their exotic nature (Ibid.).

Ethnic kitsch

In light of postmodern planning, Henriette Frees Esholdt writes in her 2005 article about Mehmet Necef’s concept of ‘ethnic kitsch’. Esholdt argues that the use of ethnic kitsch in planning is prevalent in neighbourhood regeneration projects with the goal of integrating minority- and majority cultures through the place’s multicultural identity (Ibid, 36). Ethnic kitsch implies the use of different exotic, romanticized and aesthetic elements to express a nostalgia for a premodern society (Ibid.). With the goal of creating a local ‘community’, planning may for instance use vegetable markets to sell different ethnic foods and products to enable the experience of the ‘entire world’ (Ibid.). Esholdt argues that such nostalgic aestheticization of premodern society and values does not correspond with the real lives and experiences of ethnic minorities (Ibid.). Ultimately, using ethnic kitsch to create a multicultural identity through premodern values reveals the essentialistic view that planning has on ethnic minorities, due to the ‘static’ identity that’s being ascribed to them (Ibid.).

Institutionalization of difference

Bo Pettersson and Katharine Tyler (2008) argue that multiculturalism’s practical consequences is close to apartheid. Clearly, and in line with the former theory of ethnic kitsch, the authors argue that the implementation of multicultural policies institutionalize differences by ascribing certain collective ideals and traits to individuals and/or minority groups (Pettersson & Tyler, 2008, 232). This institutionalization of difference further leads to a risk of creating parallel societies and thus a lack of integration (Ibid.). They argue that multicultural policies bring heterogeneity and diversity in the open, which contrasts assimilation policies (i.e during modern planning and social engineering) where difference was addressed and suppressed (Ibid.). Pettersson and Tyler further argue that the power to define society’s norms regarding what is normal and deviant will always be at the hands of the majority (Ibid, 233). In fact, the authors claim that the majority culture subconsciously

treats its own people (the inside) as the norm, while ascribing other ethnicities, countries and nations (the outside) as deviant and dangerous (Ibid, 228).

Postmodern historicism and the continued modern project

Nan Ellin (1996) writes in line with Simmel and Tönnies and argues that postmodern related concepts such as pluralism, the obscuring of power, fluidity of identities and fragmentation lead to a sense of insecurity (Nan, 1996, 143). To achieve security, Ellin writes that postmodernism historicism is used to imitate pre-industrial elements and create concepts such as neotraditional urbanism (Ibid, 156). This neotraditional style is based on the desire to place everything close to home in hopes of creating a “return to the street movement” (Ibid, 188), where the natural, the historic and the exotic are all close by (Ibid, 166). Landgren argues that historicism is prevalent in hegemonies that seek to preserve their status and group identity by developing a nostalgia for an authoritarian past (Ibid, 129).

However, Ellin claims that this historicism invents traditions and does not resurrect real ones (Ibid, 130). Clearly, since they are invented by hegemonies, they contain both manifest and latent political intent (Ibid.). In fact, Ellin argues that planners possess political power since they are able to highlight certain histories while hiding others; a phenomenon similar to that of modern elitism (Ibid, 182). Clearly, although postmodernism considers social diversity and heterogeneity, it continues the modern project in its economic, political and technological pursuit (Ibid, 186). More specifically, despite its symbolic break from modernism, postmodern planning’s elitist ideology and its desire to follow finance and profit making resembles a continued legacy of the modern project with the exception to being more socially/culturally inclusive.

Method

This section will present the study’s method in linear form, hence including how the study was conducted, the material used, the analytical approaches, techniques and choices that enabled the understanding of multiculturalism’s role in Rosengård’s development.

Material

The study's material was based on publicly accessible secondary data in the form of official planning documents found in Malmö stad's website. Clearly, in order to understand the role of multiculturalism, planning documents allowed me to systematically analyze the policies upon which the development was based (May, 2011, 227). As mentioned in the introduction, planning as a political practice is able to implement certain ideologies or interests into the city. Therefore, planning documents become significantly important in the search for these underlying interests.

Although this thesis is written in English, I chose to present the data in Swedish to show how multiculturalism is referred to in the document's original language. In line with the study's case, *Planprogram för Törnrosen och del av Örtagården i Rosengård i Malmö* (2015) (henceforth planning program) was used along with *Översiktsplan för Malmö* (2014) (henceforth master plan). Together, these two documents comprised of 157 pages in total. I chose to include the master plan in the analysis due to the nature of the planning program as a land-use document with lacking information on social/cultural aspects. The master plan encompasses a larger policy spectrum and is one of the main documents that Rosengård's planning program is based upon. The other two documents upon which the planning program is based, *Kommission för ett socialt hållbart Malmö* (2013) and *Rosengård strategier för hållbar utveckling i en stadsdel* (2008), were not used since their information overlapped with the former two documents.

In assessing the quality of documents, Alan Bryman (2012) mentions for criteria;

1. **Authenticity.** Is the evidence genuine and of unquestionable origin?
2. **Credibility.** Is the evidence free from error and distortion?
3. **Representation.** Is the evidence typical of its kind, and, if not, is the extent of its untypicality known?
4. **Meaning.** Is the evidence clear and comprehensible?

According to Bryman, since this study was based on official state documents from Malmö stad's website, they are considered authentic and containing meaning (Ibid, 550). Likewise, ethical considerations are less relevant here since these documents are publicly accessible

and do not disclose classified information or identities. In regards to credibility, these documents are not free from distortion since they are based on certain interests, which is why they are analyzed in the first place (Ibid.). In other words, they are not depictions of reality due to their ‘political’ nature and their desire to achieve something. The documents are also representative since both the master plan and the planning program contain extensive and ‘typical’ data and need not additional information.

Since validity and reliability are usually measures of trustworthiness in quantitative research, their qualitative counterpart are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Ibid, 390). However, since this thesis is solely based on document analysis, I used Jared Wesley’s three concepts to achieve trustworthiness; (1) triangulation, (2) intense exposure and thick description, and (3) audit trails and discrepant evidence (Wesley, 2014, 146). Firstly, triangulation implies the use of other types of sources and/or methods in order to make findings more substantial (Ibid.). Although I only used one source type, I would argue that the use of Malmö’s master plan was a form of triangulation since it was used to expand on Rosengård’s planning program that lacked certain elements. Secondly, thick description entails the immersion of the researcher in the texts in order to extensively examine everything in detail (Ibid, 148). Thick description was also achieved in this study due to the limited amount of documents and pages which allowed for greater immersion in the texts. Lastly, audit trails implies providing detailed presentation of the analysis process, such as coding, which enables the reader to assess the precision of the analysis (Ibid, 152). A forthcoming section named ‘analysis approach’ contains a thorough presentation of the analysis process.

Document analysis

This study’s analysis was based on qualitative content analysis (QCA), which is a prevalent approach in analyzing documents to discover their underlying themes (Bryman, 2013, 557). This approach was chosen due to the research question as well as the study’s material. Both manifest and latent themes of ‘multiculturalism’ was sought after in the planning documents (Graneheim & Lundman, 2003, 106). Manifest content implies the visible ‘form’ of a theme, thus including keywords such as multiculturalism, diversity etc (Ibid.). On the other hand,

latent content implies the discrete and indirect reference to a theme; which is found in words such as everybody, all of Malmö, cultures, all people, all lifestyles, etc.

QCA is evidently based on interpretivism, where underlying truths and narratives were brought up to the surface through hermeneutics (Neuman, 2014, 103). Interpretivism also considers the context in which the documents are created, thus enabling a deeper understanding of its 'contextual reality' (Ibid, 104). However, this contextual focus may also be a weakness due to my limited experience as a human instrument and researcher (Carson et al, 2001, 13). However, being a Malmö resident enabled me to understand the context in which the documents were created and the described area. In light of the above, it is clear that the theoretical perspective of this study's analysis is constructivism. Clearly, a constructivist perspective views documents as texts that contribute to the understanding of a certain aspect or phenomenon. More specifically, this perspective constitutes that certain 'phenomenon', such as multiculturalism's role in Rosengård's development, is in fact contingent constructions (Justesen & Mik-Meyers, 2010, 112).

Analysis approach

Coding the documents

A systematic approach has been created in order to analyse these documents. This includes a coding scheme that enabled the extraction of themes of multiculturalism in the planning documents. More specifically, I have analyzed the documents in 4 steps. However, it is important to explain some terms that are used in my coding scheme.

Meaning unit: An original quote (sentence or paragraph) from a policy document (Graneheim & Lundman, 2003, 106).

Condensation: Reducing the length of a meaning unit while preserving its core meaning. Especially useful in longer sentences and paragraphs (Ibid.)

Abstraction: Interpreting a condensed text into a higher logical level, ie the creation of codes/coding (Ibid.)

Code: A heuristic device that labels a condensed text (Ibid, 107).

Categories: A group of codes that are internally homogenous and externally heterogeneous (Ibid.).

Subcategory: A smaller group of codes found in the same category.

The first step included highlighting meaning units, i.e original sentences/paragraphs, that contained manifest and latent references to multiculturalism. This step also constituted condensing meaning units into shorter sentences in order to make the coding process easier. Both documents were read, highlighted and condensed in their entirety. The second step involved re-reading the highlighted, condensed texts as well as abstracting/coding those into larger categories. Three different categories were created in relation to how multiculturalism was mentioned in the planning documents; 1) making Rosengård part of the city, 2) the creation of meeting places, and 3) investing in people and their abilities/cultures.

Due to the diverse empirical data in some categories, the third step included the creation of subcategories. The first category; ‘Making Rosengård part of the city’ only had one subcategory; 1) Solving segregation. The second category; ‘The creation of meeting places’ did not have subcategories due to the homogenous nature of its data in relation to how multiculturalism is referred to in the documents. Further analysis of this particular category is found below. The last category; ‘Investing in people and their abilities/cultures’ had three subcategories; 1) Diversity, 2) Participation, and 3) Identity.

The fourth and last step of the analysis was to organize and place meaning units (note the use of original quotes from the documents and not condensed texts) according to their respective subcategory and category. Also, since every category contained meaning units from different documents, each meaning unit was referenced to its original source (See figure 1).

Choosing a category and analysing the role of multiculturalism

Due to the limited length of this thesis and the large amount of gathered data, it was important to focus on one category in the further analysis of the role of multiculturalism in Rosengård’s development. ‘The creation of meeting places’ (henceforth ‘meeting places’) were chosen to be further analyzed mainly because of its substantial nature in both documents.

The analysis approach for the category ‘meeting places’ followed a different scheme than the former one. In order to analyse the role of multiculturalism in the category, all the meaning units that belonged to the category were firstly coded and organized in subcategories that ‘summed up’ or ‘described’ what the meaning unit was about. A total of 9 different

subcategories were found; public interest, social sustainability through physical planning, security, Culture Casbah, street life, democracy, economic activity, cultural activity, and diversity.

The first two subcategories; ‘public interest’ and ‘social sustainability through physical planning’ acted as two underlying themes that were present in the rest of the subcategories. Infact, ‘public interest’ acted as an overarching strategy in which ‘social sustainability through physical planning’ was its plan of action. Further explanation to these two categories will be found in the analysis section. The 7 remaining subcategories were labeled in two different codes; goal and process. In this context, a goal is a desired outcome that the planning of the meeting places was ought to achieve. A process is a means by which these goals are achieved. After re-reading the subcategories, it became evident that meeting places used the following process; *Culture Casbah, cultural activity and diversity* in order to achieve the following goals; *security, street life, democracy, and economic activity* (see Figure 2).

Analysis and results

This section includes the analysis of the chosen category ‘meeting places’. The goal is to analyze the role of multiculturalism in this particular category by linking the different subcategories with the relevant theories. The analysis and its presentation will follow the same scheme of Figure 2.

Overarching strategy

Public interest

Malmö’s master plan clearly state how public interest, or the generalization of interests (collective interest), acts as an overarching strategy in the city’s planning.

“Olika grupper i samhället har olika livsvillkor och behov. Den enskilde individens behov stämmer inte alltid överens med en större grupps krav och den (70) strategiska nivå som en översiktsplan omfattar medför att en generalisering är nödvändig”. (ÖP, 2014, 71)

According to Landgren, public interest acts as a main legitimizer for planning as an institution (Landgre, 2011, 127). Public interest in turn constitutes that a city is perceived as a community with common or collective interests. Basing Malmö's master plan on public interest is directly related to the next point in the empirical analysis, in which Malmö seeks to create a sense of community and cohesiveness.

Social sustainability through physical planning

In conjunction with public interest, the master plan seeks to solve the city's unequal development and polarization through physical planning. Clearly, the plan views the physical environment as a framework for social interaction, hence pointing out the importance of streets, parks, and meeting places for good societal development and a socially coherent and cohesive city.

“Den fysiska miljön är ett ramverk för social interaktion i en stad och är därmed en grundläggande förutsättning för stadens liv. [...] Stadens fysiska struktur – dess rumsliga organisation – samt utformning av gator, torg, parker och bostadskvarter, placering av mötesplatser och så vidare, ska bidra till en god samhällsutveckling. Den fysiska strukturen och bebyggelsen påverkar boendemönster och det finns möjligheter att genom fysiska åtgärder – i samverkan med andra initiativ – skapa förutsättningar för en socialt bättre sammanhållen stad.” (ÖP, 2014, 16)

“Att planera för ett mer socialt sammanhållet Malmö har hög prioritet. Det främjas av fler rörelser mellan olika delar av staden, fler och bättre mötesplatser.” (ÖP, 2014, 22)

“De ojämlika förhållandena som råder mellan olika platser i Malmö kan avläsas i ett flertal indikatorer. Genom att i enlighet med översiktsplanen prioritera insatser kan dessa förhållanden motverkas, exempelvis att överbrygga barriärer, skapa samband och sammanhang och verka för ett mångsidigt utbud av mötesplatser.” (ÖP, 2014, 71)

In light of the aforementioned connection between public interest, planning and community; the loss of community implies a loss of public interest and thus planning's main legitimization (Landgren, 2011, 145). In fact, both modern and postmodern planning seek to create a community (Ibid, 155). Landgren writes that planning's desire to create a community goes against the loss of community mentioned by Simmel and Tönnies (Ibid, 144; Kasinitiz, 1995, 39; Scott, 2014). In fact, Landgren writes that planning uses meeting places, which is a modern domestication strategy, to regulate people's behaviors and make them more civilized, and to ultimately harmonize them with the community (Landgren, 2011, 168).

Processes

This section will further analyze the processes by which the meeting places in Rosengård are planned in relation to multiculturalism, and in light of the above mentioned strategies of public interest and community creation. Meeting places uses the processes of Culture Casbah, cultural activity, and diversity to ensure the achievement of the project's goals; which will in turn be analyzed in the next section.

Culture Casbah

Culture Casbah plays an important role in Rosengård's development project. According to the planning program, the building will be the symbol for the area and act as an open and accessible public space and meeting place for everyone. Not only will this building attract people from the area, but also attract people from the rest of Malmö and even internationally by having elements such as a theater, cinema, library and apartments. The planning program also mentions that the intent of the building is to alter the image of the area and city, as well as bring with it aspects like communal services and shops which are evidently lacking in Rosengård.

“En hög byggnad planeras inom Culture Casbah centralt i planprogramsområdet, en signalbyggnad med mångfunktionalitet, som ska vara öppen och tillgänglig för allmänheten”. (PP, 2015, 8)

“Den höga byggnaden upplevs som något som kan komma att bli en mötesplats för hela staden och locka människor från hela Malmö, men kanske framför allt från andra delar av Rosengård. Detta förutsätter dock att det finns lokaler att hyra i tornet och (42) som är öppna för allmänheten och att människor bjuds in till aktiviteter. Då finns det en chans att tornet kan bli en mötesplats för många. Kanske en internationell filmfestival? En förutsättning för att attrahera människor är även att tornet innehåller sådant som saknas i Rosengård, till exempel kommunal service, affärer eller ett kulturcentrum”. (PP, 2015, 43)

“Den kompletterande bebyggelsen kommer att ha en mer småskalig karaktär för att tillföra och öka variationen av bebyggelse. Tornet med sina 22 våningar kommer att påverka stadsbilden avsevärt och kommer att ge området en tydlig signalbyggnad”. (PP, 2015, 48)

It is clear that Culture Casbah project is based on a postmodern conception of heterogeneity and diversity since the word Casbah is arabic for fortress or medina (city). The emphasis on the areas context, and more specifically on its multicultural identity in the creation of Culture

Casbah as a symbol for the area might lead to other outcomes. Firstly, Landgren writes that planning uses a postmodern domestication strategy to create a sense of community by using elements from the minorities' exotic 'character' (Landgren, 2011, 142).

Pettersson and Tyler argue that multicultural policies institutionalize differences, which leads to ascribing some traits to individuals who are then pressured to identify with them (Pettersson & Tyler, 2008, 233). The nostalgic aestheticization and marketing of minorities' culture is called ethnic kitsch, which according to Esholdt is a strategy used to integrate minorities and majorities with a goal of creating a local community (Esholdt, 2005, 36). However, drawing on romanticized premodern elements, which in this case the ancient and uncontemporary arabic 'Casbah', reveals how planning views ethnic minorities in an essentialistic manner (Ibid, 37). In fact, the arguments of Landgren, Pettersson & Tyler, and Esholdt show that postmodern planning has an essentialistic view on ethnicity and multiculturalism, since it tends to ascribe certain attributes to the area and create a 'static' (premodern) identity through its emphasis on exoticism and kitsch.

Ellin writes that postmodern planning's historicism, or the random borrowing from history hold an elitist ideology (Ellin, 1996, 187). Clearly, the planning program does not show why Culture Casbah was given that name and whether it was something that people actually wanted in the area, hence revealing the project's elitism despite its 'inclusivity'. Ellin writes that although postmodern planning is more sensitive towards social diversity, it actually continues the modern project in the technological, political and economic sense, due to its elitist ideology and the desire for finance and profit making (Ibid, 186). Clearly, although postmodern planning is contextual and embraces cultures and histories, planners' work is inevitably political since they can chose certain histories, contexts and cultures - hence falling into the same modernist trap of elitism. (Ibid, 182).

Cultural activity

Cultural activity also plays a significant role in the theme of meeting places. The city's space is perceived as an arena for culture. In fact, the planning program juxtaposes public meeting places with cultural activities and seeks to ensure that every citizen, regardless of their social/economic/cultural background, is be able to participate in cultural creation and consumption. Cultural activities are also seen as an important aspect of social sustainability since they bring people together. Furthermore, the program encourages cultural sustainability,

which is the promotion of cultural diversity as well as the preservation of cultural heritage such as openness for difference.

“Det är viktigt att det finns ett brett utbud av platser och lokaler för kulturell aktivitet jämnt fördelat över hela Malmö. Offentliga mötesplatser – parker, torg, idrotts- och lekplatser, bibliotek, museer med mera – fyller viktiga funktioner.” (ÖP, 2014, 22)

“Kultur i bred bemärkelse är en viktig del av ett socialt hållbart samhälle. Ett rikt kulturutbud bidrar till möten mellan människor och en stad som lever dygnet runt. Kulturell hållbarhet innebär såväl bevarande och främjande av kulturell mångfald och respekt för nedärvda värderingar och traditioner (kulturarv) som öppenhet för det nyskapande, det annorlunda och avvikande. I kulturpolitiken betonas alltmer att kulturlivet och kulturskapandet ska göras tillgängligt för alla medborgare, oberoende av faktorer som kön, ålder, utbildning, etnicitet, klass och så vidare. Den fysiska planeringen kan stödja ett allsidigt – och hållbart – kulturliv.” (ÖP, 2014, 35)

“Stadsrummet ska vara en arena för kultur i bred bemärkelse, en plats för aktivitet och evenemang, konst, installationer, ljus och ljud.” (ÖP, 2014, 38)

I would argue that juxtaposing meeting places with diverse cultural activities goes in line with Landgren's concept of domestication strategy. Clearly, although 'diversity' is considered here, the use of meeting places implies a modern domestication strategy where undesirable behaviors are regulated and heterogeneity is harmonized with the community (Landgren, 2011, 168). In other words, this entails the editing out of unwanted cultural activities that belong to minorities, while only including those that are unproblematic in the eye of the community. This is also found in Pettersson and Tyler's argument, where they claim that the power to define the norms and desired behaviors will always be at the hands of the majority (Pettersson & Tyler, 2008, 233), which is of significant relevance in this context, since meeting places are used to 'domesticate' the ethnic minorities.

Another interesting aspect of cultural activity as a process is the desire to preserve cultural heritage which, according to the program, is openness for difference. Since this point is not further elaborated by the program, questions are raised regarding what kind of cultural heritage are they preserving and why is it open for difference? It seems, I would argue, that this type of narrative could be explained through Ellin's view on how hegemonies use historicism and invoke certain pasts and traditions in order to preserve their status and secure their social and group identity (Ellin, 1996, 129). However, Ellin further argues that these traditions are merely inventions and are not real (Ibid, 130). Namely, the evocation of a certain 'past' is a way to disguise a political intent in the name of tradition (Ibid.). In this

context, I would argue that claiming ‘openness’ as a cultural heritage is a way for the majority culture in Malmö to claim power over ‘diversity’ by making it one of its virtuous traditions. Clearly, the planning program seems to push the idea that; not only is multiculturalism exotic and foreign, but also that its continuous presence is a virtue of the tradition of the majority culture. I would argue that this ‘narrative’ is part of the desire to claim Rosengård and make it part of the city’s image.

Diversity

Diversity is a prominent and an important process in the creation of the meeting places. From a multicultural perspective, both the the master plan as well as Rosengård’s planning program encourages the consideration of cultural diversity in the creation of meeting places. More specifically, Rosengård’s planning program seeks to create meeting places with a variety of characters to fit the different types of users. In addition to this, the master plan encourages the creation of meeting places that are accessible, free of charge and open for everyone. Furthermore, the master plan evidently advocates for mixing between cultures in a tolerant manner. They argue that such a mixing will expand people's perceptions of each others as well as their social capital. Lastly, the master plan also seeks to make the city space a place for community, democracy, cultural diversity and cultural heritage - with a goal to create a sense of coherence and identity.

“Genus- och mångfaldsapekter ska beaktas vid planering och utformning av nya mötesplatser”. (ÖP, 2014, 22)

“Totalt rör det sig om fyra större mötesplatser inom planprogramsområdet som är av stor vikt för att skapa en förstärkning av Rosengårdsstråket: Törnrosenplatsen(kvartersmark), Bennets plats, Örtagårdstorget och Rosens röda matta. Det är av stor vikt att de olika platserna erbjuder varierat innehåll och karaktärer som riktar sig till olika typer av användare”. (PP, 2015, 39)

“Det ska finnas väl fungerande mötesplatser på olika nivåer i staden, lokala och bostadsnära likväl som centrala gemensamma. En bra mötesplats är tillgänglig, välkomnande, gärna gratis och öppen för alla. Olika grupper av människor ska kunna samsas på samma plats av olika anledning. Närheten till andra människor främjar förståelse och integration”. (ÖP, 2014, 38)

“Malmö präglas av gränsöverskridande möten som föder nya idéer – mellan generationer och mellan kulturer”. (ÖP, 2014, 12)

“Möten måste präglas av tolerans och tillit – såväl människor emellan som mellan invånare och myndigheter”. (ÖP, 2014, 22)

“Ett blandat utbud av verksamheter, olika bostadstyper och upplåtelseformer, ökar folklivet och därmed tryggheten. Blandning underlättar också för möten mellan människor med olika bakgrund, och gör att fler förebilder och valmöjligheter blir synliga med vidgade sociala kontakter”. (ÖP, 2014, 40)

“Det [stadsrummet] kan också handla om mänskliga relationer som tar sig uttryck som gemenskap, demokrati, kulturell mångfald, kulturarv – ett gott stadsrum kan bidra till att skapa en känsla av sammanhang och identitet och förmedla humanistiska värden som öppenhet, tolerans och ansvar. Kommunen ska verka för att offentliga platser inbjuder till meningsfulla möten mellan olika människor”. (ÖP, 2014, 38)

“Delaktighet är avgörande för ett fungerande demokratiskt samhälle. Översiktsplanen betonar vikten av, och ger möjlighet att skapa arenor i stadsrummet där människor ur alla grupper kan mötas jämlikt och känna sig delaktiga i stadslivet. Med breda sociala nätverk ökar sannolikheten att stadens invånare känner sig som en del av ett större sammanhang. Översiktsplanen påtalar också behovet av att utveckla medborgarmedverkan i planeringsprocesser av olika slag”. (ÖP, 2014, 71)

The emphasis on diversity as a process and the desire to create a variety of meeting places to different types of users might fall in the same line of critique that was directed at Culture Casbah as an ethnic kitsch in the former section. Clearly, creating a meeting place with a certain character to attract a certain kind of user is an evident manifestation of the institutionalization of difference that Pettersson and Tyler write about. Like earlier mentioned, such practices might be ascribing certain ideals or essentialistic traits to individuals or minority groups (Pettersson & Tyler, 2008, 233). Pettersson and Tyler also argue that since the majority culture possess the power to define the norms, multicultural policies do not necessarily promote integration, especially in conjunction with their essentialistic views on minorities and their cultures, which differ from their actual lives (Ibid.).

It is important to note that creating a meeting place with a certain character to attract a certain kind of user could also be coupled with Landgren's modern domestication strategy. Clearly, the master plan's evident desire to create a sense of community (or “sammanhang”) and identity in the city is achieved through meeting places that will domesticate and regulate people's behaviors (Landgren, 2011, 168). Highlighting a ‘certain’ acceptable culture in these meeting places will exclude other types of behaviors by regulation and domestication, and thus creating the desired community and identity (Ibid, 144). Landgren explains that planning for a public interest, which is the main legitimization for planning, constitutes the existence of a community (Ibid.) despite its evident loss and the natural heterogeneity and diversity in cities according to Simmel and Tönnies (Kasinitz, 1995, 39; Tönnies, 2014).

Goals

The goals or the desired outcomes of the meeting places from a multicultural perspective includes security, street life, democracy and economic activity. The analysis of each subcategory will reveal the role multiculturalism in the meeting places of Rosengård.

Security

Security is an important aspect in Rosengårds development project. In fact, security in Rosengård is mentioned as one of the main goals of the development project, where it is juxtaposed with making Rosengård a place for everybody. Malmö's master plan writes how residential areas should enable neighbours to know one another and trust their surroundings. Rosengård's planning program mentions many strategies to achieve the desired security, such as having entrances to apartments and shops facing each other. Other strategies include increasing public activities and late night opening hours. The planning program also emphasizes the street as an important city space that is ought to be safe; more on the street in the next section.

“Ett Rosengård för alla: En trygg stadsmiljö har entréer för verksamheter och bostäder vända ut mot stråk och platser.” (PP, 2015, 7) [One of the main goals]

“För att skapa en trygg stadsmiljö under dygnets alla timmar ska entréer för verksamheter och bostäder vara vända ut mot stråk och platser.” (PP, 2015, 19)

“Uppfattningen är att tryggheten vid stråket blir större ju mer publika aktiviteter som kommer dit, till exempel så har Bokalerna påverkat trygghetskänslan positivt.” (PP, 2015, 43)

“Det är positivt att Bokaltorget ofta har nattöppet. Det skapar trygghet då det alltid är någon annan ute på olika tider på dygnet.” (PP, 2015, 45)

“Gatan är en viktig del av staden, ett stadsrum som ska utformas så att det är tryggt.” (PP, 2014, 28)

“Den nära miljön vid bostaden ska bidra till trygghet och till möjlighet att lära känna sina grannar och får tillit till sin omgivning.” (ÖP, 2014, 40)

It is critical to note how issues of security only become relevant when the development of the area is initiated. Clearly, since people from other parts of Malmö are anticipated to move into Rosengård, security becomes a priority and a goal, which according to Pettersson and Tyler

reveals how planning sees minorities living in segregated Rosengård as inherently dangerous (Pettersson & Tyler, 2008, 228). In fact, Ellin argues that insecurity arises from the very heterogeneity of postmodernity due to the increased fragmentation, fluidity of identities and a loss of standards (Ellin, 1996, 143). This in turn explains the increased use of meeting places, which according to Landgren is a modern domestication strategy to regulate the behaviours of people and harmonize them with the community (Landgren, 2011, 166). This regulation will make Rosengård safer and more attractive for the influx of people from other parts of Malmö.

The master plan's desire to achieve security by enabling people to know their neighbours through meeting places could also be seen through Ellin's historicism, where the tendency to use pre-industrial concepts as in neotraditional urbanism to create a sense of security (Ellin, 1996, 156). As earlier mentioned, this planning tendency and desire to achieve security through community goes against Simmel and Tönnies' argument on the loss of community in the city (Kasinitz, 1995, 39; Scott, 2014).

Street life

As earlier mentioned, street life is also a desired goal in Rosengård's development. In fact, street life is mentioned in conjunction with a "mixed Rosengård" and the creation of meeting places. Furthermore, it becomes clear from the planning program that bicycling and walking are vital components for creating street life. Restaurants, cafes and other destinations will also encourage people to stop and meet in these areas.

"Ett blandat Rosengård med levande gaturum: Satsningar på offentliga byggnader och rum, skapar nya mötesplatser." (PP, 2015, 6) [One of the main goals]

"Stadsrummet ska inbjuda till gång, cykling och ha vistelsekvalitéer." (PP, 2015, 28)

"Förslaget förbättrar möjligheterna att träffa sina grannar och kanske människor från andra delar av Rosengård. Det upplevs som att de förändringar som tidigare genomförts i Rosengård har bidragit till att boende i området spontant träffar fler människor när de är ute. Något som nämns som avsevärt förbättrat Rosengård är Bazaarerna vid Bokaltorget. Innan Bazaaren byggdes upplevdes platsen som folktom, nu går folk ofta dit för att det upplevs som det alltid händer något där". (PP, 2015, 43)

"Vardagsservice och vardagsmåltpunkter kan bidra till att fler människor stannar upp och möts i området runt stationen." (PP, 2015, 47)

"Idag är Rosengårdsstråket ett unikt gaturum, där cykel- och gångtrafiken har skapat ett folkliv som gjort det möjligt att (52) bygga Örtagårdstorget och bokalerna. Om man även fortsättningsvis planerar

för en separat cykelbana bygger projektet vidare på denna tanke och möjliggör en ny typ av stadsrum i Rosengård och i Malmö”. (PP, 2015, 53)

Juxtaposing street life, meeting places and a mixed Rosengård is related to Ellin’s description of postmodern planning where encounters and experience of the exotic, the natural, the historic and the community should all be near to home in walking distance (Ellin, 1996, 166). Ellin describes this as postmodernism’s reaction to the functionalism and privatsim of modern planning (Ibid.). This is also evident in postmodern historicism and its focus on preindustrial elements to ensure a ‘return to the street movement’ through neotraditional urbanism (Ibid, 188).

Democracy

Democracy as a goal is also present in conjunction with the creation of meeting places. The master plan states that democracy constitutes that everybody should be a part of public space and that segregated public spaces is undesirable from a democratic perspective. The master plan also writes that due to the current societal fragmentation in the city, the city space has become a meaningful place for people to meet and stimulate democracy.

“Stadsrummets betydelse som gemensam kontaktyta för möten mellan människor och för att stimulera demokrati och delaktighet ökar i takt med att samhället på olika sätt blir allt mer fragmenterat. Planeringen ska med ett helhetsperspektiv på staden verka för det offentliga rummet som demokratisk arena – genom utformning och placering av torg, parker, gator och andra funktioner och genom att alltid beakta aspekter som jämställdhet, trygghet, tillgänglighet, folkhälsa och rättvisa.” (ÖP, 2014, 22)

“Tillgänglighet till och möjligheten att mötas i det offentliga rummet är grundläggande för ett demokratiskt samhälle. Offentliga platser, torg, parker och gator tillhör alla och ger möjlighet till möten och samtal.” (ÖP, 2014, 38)

“För att offentliga stadsrum ska kunna verka som demokratisk arena fordras att de kan användas av alla. Segregerade offentliga platser utgör ett hot mot en demokratisk utveckling.” (ÖP, 2014, 38)

Having democracy as a goal in the master plan could be coupled with Landgren’s argument that democracy is what legitimizes the authority of planners’ actions; such as being representative (Landgren, 2008, 50). However, since planning should be representative and in accordance with public interest, which in turn constitutes a community, it becomes obvious why democracy seeks to solve the city’s ‘fragmentation’ through meeting places. Clearly, as earlier mentioned, the loss of community that Simmel and Tönnies (Kasinitz, 1995, 39; Scott,

2014) refer to acts as a threat to planning (Landgren, 2011, 145). The creation of meeting places enables the creation of a community through its domestication strategy that regulates behavior, which further enables the legitimization of planning and its associated concept, democracy.

Economic activity

Lastly, economic activity or gain as a desired outcome of the project is also juxtaposed with multiculturalism and meeting places. The master plan writes that diversity leads to a dynamic and sustainable economy since it inspires the creation of new ideas, services and products. Likewise, the widespread creation of meeting places around the city also include bringing commercial property and workplaces into areas that lack these elements.

“Att konfronteras med olika tankar, idéer, livsstilar och kulturyttringar ger människor inspiration till att utveckla nya tänkesätt, ny kunskap, nya tjänster och produkter. En stadsmiljö som stödjer olikhet och oplanerade möten kan bidra till en dynamisk och långsiktigt livskraftig ekonomi.” (ÖP, 2014, 22)

“Mötesplatser ska med hänsyn till folkmängden finnas jämnt fördelade över staden. Stadsdelar utanför innerstaden, som ofta har brist på bra mötesplatser, kommersiella lokaler och ibland dåligt fungerande allmänna ytor, ska i samband med ny bebyggelse kompletteras med fler och bättre offentliga stadsrum, fler arbetsplatser och kommersiella lokaler.” (ÖP, 2014, 38)

The master plan's perception that diversity could lead to a dynamic economy and the creation of new ideas is embedded in Landgren's postmodern domestication strategy in which minorities are seen as a resource for the city's progress (Landgren, 2011, 188). Clearly, in a postmodern context, the idea that diversity is an asset enables minorities, along with their unique experience and character, to be incorporated into the economy to create something new (Ibid.). However, like earlier mentioned, the use of minorities due to their unique experience does not imply that they become part of the community, but only contribute to it (Ibid.). In fact, Landgren argues that their outsider position is what constitutes the exotic perception of minorities (Ibid.).

Concluding discussion

What is the role of multiculturalism in Rosengård's development?. In this thesis I have attempted to analyze and understand the role of multiculturalism in Rosengårds development in light of the desire to market the area as part of the Malmö's image and to combat the undesirable perception of a polarized city.

Two crucial planning documents were analyzed to discern the role of multiculturalism in the case of Rosengård's development. Due to the thesis' limited length, only the category of meeting places were analyzed in relation to the research question. The earlier phase of the coding as well as the in depth analysis gave rise to the conclusion that **multiculturalism is merely a tool or a process** in the development and is not seen as a desired goal. Clearly, multiculturalism's role was initially evident in the scheme of figure 2, where the subcategories of Culture Casbah, cultural activity, and diversity were to be used in order to achieve the goals of security, street life, democracy and economic activity. Also, the in-depth analysis of each subcategory further supported this conclusion due to the emergence of three different arguments that showed how multiculturalism was 'treated' in the planning documents.

Firstly, *multiculturalism is controlled* due to the significance of public interest as planning's main legitimization. Since public interest constitutes the existence of a community, planning uses meeting places as a modern domestication strategy to regulate behavior and harmonize people with the community and create a safer environment (Landgre, 2011, 168). This desire for a community goes against the prominent theories of Simmel and Tönnies who suggest the loss of community in cities (Kasinitz, 1995, 39; Scott, 2014). Since planning needs a community to plan for its public (and collective) interest, it becomes clear that any form of heterogeneity and diversity such as multiculturalism become controlled, along with its associated concepts such as insecurity and unwanted behaviors.

Secondly, *multiculturalism is exploited* based on the postmodern conception that diversity is an exotic resource. However, multicultural policies lead to institutionalizing differences and thus risk of ascribing certain traits to individuals or groups (Pettersson & Tyler, 2008, 233). Esholdt uses the term ethnic kitsch to explain the nostalgic aestheticization

and marketing of minorities' culture, as in the case of Culture Casbah, which is a premodern fortress or city (Esholdt, 2005, 36). This historicism, the authors argue, ascribes a 'static' and premodern identity to minorities that do not reflect their actual lives. This also supports Landgren's significant argument that although postmodern planning considers diversity, minorities do not become part of the community, since their outsider position is what constitutes their exotic character (Landgren, 2011, 161).

Thirdly and lastly, *multiculturalism is claimed* by the majority culture by inventing traditions such as 'openness for diversity' and calling it a cultural heritage. Since there is always a political intent behind the invention of traditions, I would argue that claiming 'openness' as a cultural heritage is a way for Malmö to claim power over diversity by making it one of its traditions (Ellin, 1996, 130). Clearly, this could evidently be part of the initial desire to claim Rosengård and make it part of the city's image.

In relation to previous research, this thesis acts as an additional indication to the evident change in how place marketing policies view multiculturalism. Clearly, Landgren's 2008 article showed how Malmö associated multiculturalism and its spaces with crime and unemployment, without considering its identity and diversity as an asset for the city. Although these dystopian associations are still found within the analysis of this thesis, such as the desire to achieve security in Rosengård, multiculturalism's role has changed from that of exclusion to that of inclusion. In hopes of attracting capital and Florida's creative class, Malmö seeks to include multiculturalism in the city's image and combat the perception of a polarized city. However, since this 'inclusion' implied using multiculturalism as a tool and not as an end goal, this thesis coincides with Arvatsson and Butler's arguments that policies of re-branding might lead to alienation and the use of minorities and their cultures as exotic objects.

Thus, and in line with the previous research, this thesis allows us to understand 'who the development of Rosengård is planned for'. Clearly, using multiculturalism as a tool by ways of controlling, exploiting and claiming sheds light on the fact that postindustrial/neoliberal planning plans for the affluent class such as the creative class. This group's interest in diversity and openness as well as place marketing's desire of combating the perception of a polarized city leads to developing areas like Rosengård in a manner where its own diverse identity (and residents) is used as a tool to achieve other goals that *might not* positively impact the lives of the original residents.

Due to the limited empirical material of this thesis, future research should consider expanding beyond planning documents and include interviews with Rosengård's residents. It is of significant relevance to understand the resident's thoughts about the development and their levels of appreciation (or lack thereof). For instance, it is crucial to examine the resident's thoughts on the use of their culture in the development, such as Culture Casbah, and whether its historical (and uncontemporary) name is an adequate representation of their identity as 21st century diasporic communities in Sweden. Furthermore, since the development is not yet finished at the time of writing this thesis, the above mentioned discussion regarding who Rosengård's development is planned for calls for future research on the *real impacts* of the area's development.

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Appendix

Theme	MULTICULTURALISM				
Category	Meeting places	Part of the city	Investing in people's abilities and cultures		
Sub-category		<i>Solve segregation</i>	<i>Diversity</i>	<i>Participation</i>	<i>Identity</i>
Meaning unit (examples)	I Malmö finns plats att uttrycka sig och det märkt i gaturummen. Stadsrummen är inkluderande och skapar trivsel och trygghet. Malmö präglas av gränsöverskridande möten som föder nya idéer - mellan generationer och kulturer. (ÖP, 2014, 12)	I ett Malmö som har så mycket att erbjuda, är det varken rimligt eller acceptabelt att växa upp isolerat från andra delar av staden utan möjlighet att möta andra kulturer och livsstilar (PP, 2015, 3)	I Malmö är det lätt att vara olika. Här finns det plats för alla och en flexibilitet att klara nya utmaningar. [...] ges förutsättningar för ett kulturellt liv [...] för malmöborna (ÖP, 2014, 12)	Möten med tre olika fokusgrupper från området har hållits under samrådstiden (PP, 2015, 42)	Malmö ska byggas vidare på de karaktärer som präglar staden. Upplevelserikedomen, variation och mångfald ska känneteckna gestaltningen (ÖP, 2014, 56)

Figure 1 - Initial coding that shows how multiculturalism was referred to in the two documents.

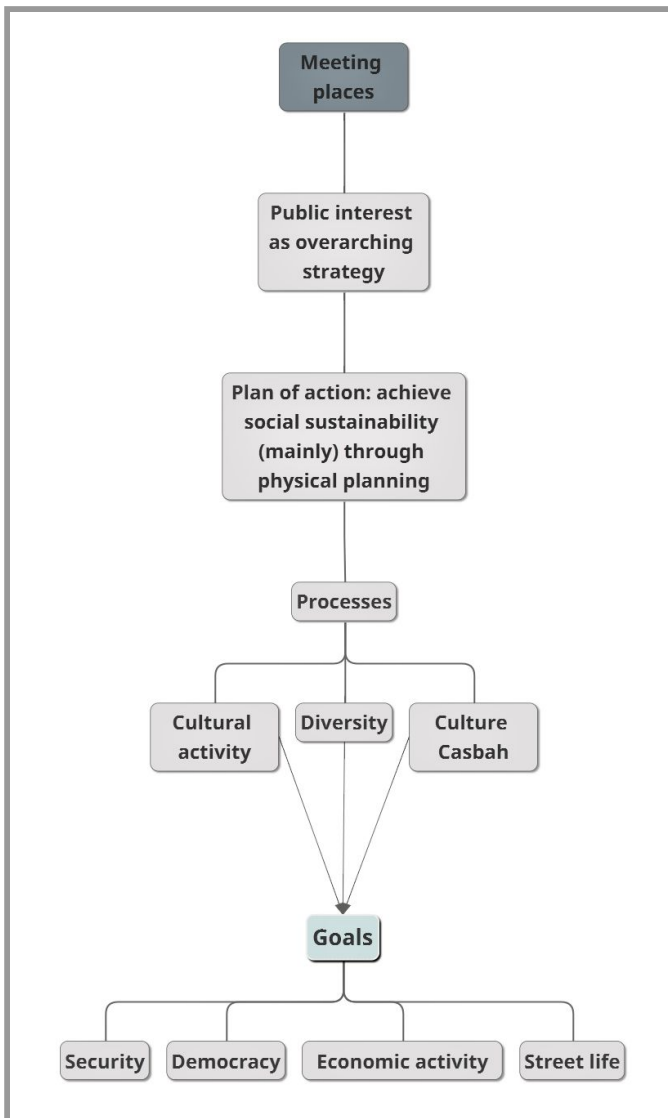


Figure 2 - Coding all meaning units that belonged to the category ‘meeting places’. 9 different subcategories were organized in three divisions, overarching strategy, process and goal. This scheme was followed in the analysis.