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“What is the alternative? Not trying to mix? Nah.”

A case study on housing and social mix policies within physical planning in Malmö, Sweden

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Abstract

Residential segregation is seen as a growing problem within many urban areas today. Segregation is assumed to hamper social integration and the life-chances of disadvantaged as well as creating instability in society. One policy measure to deal with residential segregation is to increase the variation in the housing structure. This is assumed to create a social mix, that in turn will generate positive neighbourhood effects. This is a prevailing policy discourse, even if the research field is inconclusive, and some scholars claim that social mix policies can increase segregation by promoting processes of gentrification.

This thesis conducts a case study on the housing and social mix policies in Malmö, Sweden. Through an analysis of official planning documents and interviews with officials, policymakers and other professionals, the aim of the study is to problematise housing and social mix policies by focusing on strategies, challenges and potential risks. Three main strategies are found which are a mix of tenure forms, breaking barriers and a mix of functions. Furthermore, the thesis finds that there are many challenges with the implementation of the strategies which relates to the logic within neoliberal urbanism where the municipality has to plan in relation to the market. Another challenge is the vagueness and self-evident role of the ideal within physical planning, which means that the content can vary. Some potential risks of the strategies are displacement and increased rent-levels, which lead to less affordable housing.

Keywords: Social mix, housing mix, physical planning, neoliberal urbanism

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1 Introduction

To create a social mix in residential areas is what urban policies aiming for as an attempt to answer problems associated with residential segregation. Socially mixed neighbourhoods are commonly considered as more stable, integrated and attractive than homogeneous neighbourhoods. For this reason, planners and politicians often promote a differentiated housing structure in the hope that segregation will decrease and the social mix increase. Housing and social mixing have gained the position of an unquestioned planning ideal. However, there is a debate going on within research whether or not policies aiming at social mixing is leading to less segregation and more equal society. Critics claim that the strategies used for mixing could, on the contrary, lead to increased segregation and negative effects by gentrification (Lees, 2008). Several studies have questioned the effectiveness of housing and social mixing policies, but still, it is an active planning ideal in Sweden and elsewhere. It was in relation to these discrepancies that my interest in the topic grew. If the policies can be proclaimed to foster social justice, and at the same time lead to further segregation, polarisation and gentrification, there is definitely a need to look more into the specifics of the planning for social mix.

A common understanding is that a concentration of poor people is a bigger problem than a concentration of rich people. In many countries, this has created strategies for social mixing that are explicitly targeting disadvantaged areas. However, the Swedish social mix policy has a general focus and imply that every neighbourhood, both disadvantaged and wealthy, should be mixed. Even though the strategies are supposed to be implemented in all neighbourhoods, previous research reveals that they seem more likely to be implemented in disadvantaged areas (Bergsten & Holmqvist, 2013). It seems like there is a gap between the formulation of the policy and the actual practice, which raises some questions about the drivers for the policy.

Within the paradigm of neoliberal urbanism, urban development is driven by capital. So, while the municipalities commit to providing welfare for their inhabitants, they at the same time, have to foster a liveable market in order to attract investments. In short, this can be a difficult position, as these interests are not always overlapping (Baeten, 2012). This case study is situated in Malmö, southern Sweden. A city which has adopted into the neoliberal paradigm and gained an international reputation for its transformation into a post-industrial city. At the same time, it is a city often portrayed as segregated and polarised (Holgersen, 2017). One of the principal aims within physical planning in Malmö is to achieve a greater social mix (Malmö

Stad, 2018d). Concerning the discrepancies discussed before, the city is certainly faced with challenges that relate to achieving housing and social mixing to counteract residential segregation. One of the respondents, referred to in the title of the thesis, conceptualise the tensions in which the housing and social mix policies are situated by stating that: "What is the alternative? Not trying to mix? Nah."

1.1 Aim and research questions

The research aims are to problematise and deepen the understanding of housing and social mix policies within a Swedish planning context. With a critical approach, the study aims at contextualising the strategies and problematise the place of housing and social mixing as self-evident within physical planning. The focus is upon the strategies for implementation and the challenges of realising the policies within the prevailing paradigm of neoliberal urbanism. This study is built upon an analysis of contemporary planning documents from the municipality of Malmö and interviews with officials, policymakers and other professionals. Drawing upon the case of Malmö (Sweden), this thesis set out to investigate these matters by answering the following research questions:

1. What strategies are used to implement housing and social mix polices and how are they articulated within the municipality of Malmö?

2. What are the challenges and potential risks of implementing these strategies within contemporary physical planning?

1.2 Delimitations

Geographically, this study is situated in Malmö with a focus on strategic urban planning, and the scale is on the whole Malmö, even if there are some areas which are discussed more due to the empirical findings. The case and context of this study is housing and social mixing within physical planning in Malmö. The focus is hence on municipal planning practice. The municipality has a unique role in the Swedish planning system due to its planning monopoly and responsibility for housing provision. This gives them both opportunities and responsibilities when it comes to the development of the city.

It is, however, not only the municipality that is working with these topics and therefore, I decided to widen the scope to incorporate some other actors in Malmö. However, some important actors are not included in this study. The voices of for example, citizens, builders and property owners are excluded. The perspective of the citizens could give insight to the realisation of the planning goals from an everyday perspective as well as reactions towards the municipal planning practice. Builders and property owners are also important actors whose willingness the municipality relies a lot upon. Their interest is an important part of where and how it is built. The municipal housing company MKB[1] is an especially important actor when it comes to planning. In the interviews, the role of the company was mentioned as a significant actor to achieve a mixed housing structure.

Regarding theoretical delimitations, theory on residential segregation is not an explicit part of the theoretical foundation. Even if the concept is frequently used in the thesis and segregation patterns are discussed, the research field of segregation is excluded. The reason for this delimitation is that the focus of this thesis is how policies seek at counteracting segregation and actors' perception of these policies and segregation in general. Therefore, the theoretical foundation focus on research on social mix policies and planning within neoliberalism. As the study is a case study on Malmö, there is also theory aiming at contextualising housing and social mix policies in Sweden.

1.3 Key concepts

Residential segregation: Residential segregation refers to a spatial division of social groups; it can refer to categories based on demographic, socioeconomic variables and ethnicity. In Sweden, socioeconomic segregation is the main focus when it comes to housing and social mix policies with the function to counteract segregation in general. Socioeconomic segregation often follows the same patterns as ethnic segregation (Salonen, Grander, & Rasmusson, 2019). It is the socioeconomic residential segregation that is referred to and problematised in this thesis.

Housing segmentation: Housing segmentation is the concentration and division of different kind of housing in different areas. This is mostly referred to as different tenure forms as it affects the levels of segregation the most (Salonen et al., 2019). This will however be

[1] Malmös Kommunala Bostäder

problematised in the thesis as there is no obvious link between socioeconomic status and type of tenure.

Housing and social mix: Many different concepts are referring to housing and social mix policies. I will here present the concepts which are mainly used in this thesis. *Social mix* refers to the socioeconomic mix. *Housing mix* refers to the overall idea of a mix in the housing structure; it can refer to tenure or type of housing. *Tenure mix* refers to the mix of tenure forms; owner-occupation, tenant-owned or rental-housing. In the analysis, another form of mixing is added which is *function mix* and refers to a mix of housing, services, offices, parks, leisure and other functions related to the urban life. *Housing and social mix* are used in this thesis to refer to the broad idea of mixing where all of these other concepts are incorporated. Crucial for this thesis is, however, the relation between housing mix and social mix and, it is from this understanding that mixing strategies becomes interesting in this thesis.

1.4 Disposition of the thesis

The disposition of the thesis is as follows. In Chapter 1 a background to the Swedish system and housing in Malmö is given to contextualise and introduce the study. In Chapter 3, previous research and the theoretical foundation for the thesis is presented and in chapter 4, methodology and methods are presented and discussed. Chapter 5 contains the analysis of the thesis where the findings are presented together with a discussion relating to the other chapters. Lastly, chapter 6 contains the conclusions and reflections on the thesis and suggestions for further research.

2 Background

This chapter introduces the case of Malmö and situate the study's context at a national level as well as on a local level. First, the fundamentals of the Swedish planning process and housing market is shortly described as it is a base for understanding the system in which the case is situated. Then, a brief history of the Swedish housing market as well as social mix policy is presented as an introduction into the specific topic of the thesis. The last part of the chapter is introducing Malmö.

2.1 The Swedish planning process

Set in the Planning and Building Act, the Swedish planning system consist of regional plans, comprehensive plans, area regulations and detailed development plans. The area regulations and the detailed development plans are legally binding while the regional plan and comprehensive plan are guiding the development of detailed development plans and specify the overall direction of the municipality. The responsibility for the planning of land and water is on municipal level. The municipality owns the authority to adopt plans and has in this way a planning monopoly. Every municipality must develop and manage a comprehensive plan, which indicates the intended use of the land and water and development of the built environment. Through a detailed development plan, the municipality can regulate the use of land and water as well as some characteristics of the built environment within a specific area (Boverket, 2018b). The municipality has a responsibility to provide housing for the citizens which is regulated in the Municipalities' Housing provision Responsibility Act (SFS 2000:1383). Each new election period, every fourth year, directions for how the municipality is working with housing provision has to be approved by the City Council (Malmö Stad, 2018b).

2.2 The Swedish housing market

The Swedish housing sector consists mainly of rental housing (public and private), tenant-owned housing and owner occupation. The public rental sector ("Allmännyttan"[2]) was formed by the formation of municipal housing companies in the 1930s and grew in the post-war period. The public housing is universal as opposed to selective. Public housing in Sweden is available for the broad public and differs from social housing as it is not provided based on need. The

[2] Allmännyttan can be translated to "for the benefit of everyone" (Grander, 2017, p. 335).

municipal housing companies have been an essential instrument for municipalities to provide regulated housing for its dwellers (Grander, 2017). The tenant-owned apartment sector (Bostadsrätt) is neither rental or owner-occupied, but the occupier is a shareholder in a co-operative. It is the co-operative that own the unit and the occupiers pay a fee to the co-operative. In return, the tenant gets the right to use a particular apartment for an unrestricted period of time as well as the right to transfer this right to another shareholder by "selling" the apartment (Christophers, 2013). The secondary housing market is for people who cannot obtain housing for themselves by buying or getting a rental contract. The social administration in the municipality rent apartments from housing companies and rent them out as so-called social contracts (Grander, 2017).

In Sweden, there is a correlation between different tenure forms and income; segmentation and segregation are closely related. People living in owner occupation and tenant-owned housing do usually have a higher income than people living within the rental sector (Molina and Andersson, 2003). This pattern has become more established in the last decade, mostly in bigger cities. At the beginning of the 80s, there was as many high-income as low-income tenants in the rental sector. Since then, the proportion of high-income tenants has decreased to around 10 per cent while about 50 per cent of low-income earners live in rental housing today. Furthermore, there is a significant difference between public and private rental housing. In the public housing, there are five times as many low-income than high-income households, compared to private rental where there are twice as many (Grander, 2018).

2.3 The foundation of the Swedish social mix policy

In the 1940's to 1960's, there was an expansion of the social democratic welfare state in Sweden. Slum clearance in inner-city areas occurred at the same time as there were new constructions in the urban periphery. Between 1965-74 the "Million Homes Program" was implemented which meant that one million homes were to be built to cope with the housing shortage (Clark & Johnson, 2009; Grundström & Molina, 2016). Even if residential segregation had been on the political agenda before, the critique of the large-scale housing estates built during the Million Homes Program intensified the debate. The planning ideal at that time lead to a division of everyday life as workplaces and homes were geographically separated. A discussion started about the relation between physical planning and peoples' everyday life. In 1970, just when the Million Homes Program were built, the housing policy was reformulated from targeting the previous housing shortage to recognise a new problem of homogeneous

housing stocks (Lilja, 1999). In a governmental report from 1975 (SOU, 1975) concerns were raised about an increased concentration of disadvantaged groups primarily in the recently built large housing estates. Segregation was understood as a threat towards the whole society; it was believed to hamper social integration, create social conflicts and destabilise the democracy. To break physical segregation was therefore seen as a necessity in order not to reproduce existing social and economic differences. Andersson et al. (2010) and Bergsten and Holmqvist (2007) point at this as the foundation for the Swedish social mix policy. The policy aim was to stimulate contact between different social classes as well as equalise housing and social opportunities. Through renewal and new construction, a more varied housing stock was supposed to result in increased social mix and less segregation (SOU, 1975). Since the 1970s housing policy has been characterised by goals and strategies aiming at creating a social mix in residential areas by emphasising a mix of tenure forms (Salonen et al., 2019).

In a report from Boverket[3] (2010), looking at socioeconomic aspects of planning and how planning is used to combat segregation, a gap between the ambition of the goal of social mix and the outcomes is identified. The report emphasises that, despite the rhetoric of mixing, the municipalities are unsuccessful in targeting the housing segregation itself, i.e. the spatial distinction between where different groups live. The methods used mainly aims at offering new and more attractive housing in more deprived areas while little is done to break up the homogeneous residential composition in more affluent areas.

2.3.1 Malmö

Malmö is the third largest city in Sweden, with a population of about 340 000 inhabitants (SCB, 2019). In the 50's and the 60's Malmö was regarded as one of the country's most prosperous regions. However, at the end of 1900, Malmö experienced shutdowns and relocations of many companies. During this time, wealthy groups moved out of the city while more disadvantaged groups moved into the city. The effects of de-industrialisation and economic crisis hit hard, as it did elsewhere (Billing, 2000). The transformation from an industrial to a post-industrial city is often portrayed as two parallel and contradictory processes. At the same time as Malmö has become an attractive place with a growing number of inhabitants and economic activities, the city has become more polarised economically, socially and spatially (Holgersen, 2017).

Today, Malmö's population is fast growing, there were a prognosis of population growth of about 50 000 inhabitants between 2017-2027. To cover for the population growth, there

[3] The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning.

needs to be an addition of 1900 dwellings each year, or in total 21 200 dwellings, during this period. New housing construction did for many years not follow the population growth and thus has the demands of housing increased (Malmö Stad, 2018c). However, in the past years, there has been an increase in new construction. In 2018 it was a balance between the growth of population and new housing construction (Malmö Stad, 2018e). The proportion of dwellings in different tenure forms are presented in Table 1 and show that 14 per cent is owner-occupation, 39 per cent tenant-owned and 46 per cent rental housing in the whole city (SCB, 2018b).

Table 1. Proportion of inhabitants in different tenure forms in Malmö 2018.

Tenure form	Proportion
Owner-occupation	14 %
Tenant-owned	39 %
Rental	46 %

Amended from SCB (2018b)

2.3.2 Segregation and segmentation

Salonen (2012) use a segregation index based on the two variables income and ethnicity to analyse the composition in Malmö's neighbourhoods between 1990 and 2008. The analysis shows that class and ethnicity increasingly coincide with residential areas. In the period analysed there was an increase in poor areas dominated by people born abroad as well as an increase in economically affluent areas dominated by people born in Sweden. Salonen et al. (2019) have studied socioeconomic and ethnic segregation and tenure segmentation patterns in Malmö based on data from 2016. They underline three characteristics of Malmö which is that Malmö is a city that is populated by more poor than rich, it is a city where the proportion born outside Europe is higher than in the other big cities and that the forms of tenure reflect, and probably reproduce, both socioeconomic and ethnic segregation patterns. Their study shows that Malmö has strong socioeconomic segregation with a spatial separation. Wealthier households mainly reside in the western parts and households with low purchasing power mainly live in the eastern and southern central parts. Ethnicity and income coincide, which means that socioeconomic and ethnic segregation to a large extent overlap. Figure 1 show a map of the spatial division of average income based on Malmö's neighbourhoods. There is a

division between the eastern central parts where the income is lower and the western central parts where the income is higher. This map is used in order to illustrate the spatial division in Malmö based on socioeconomic variables.

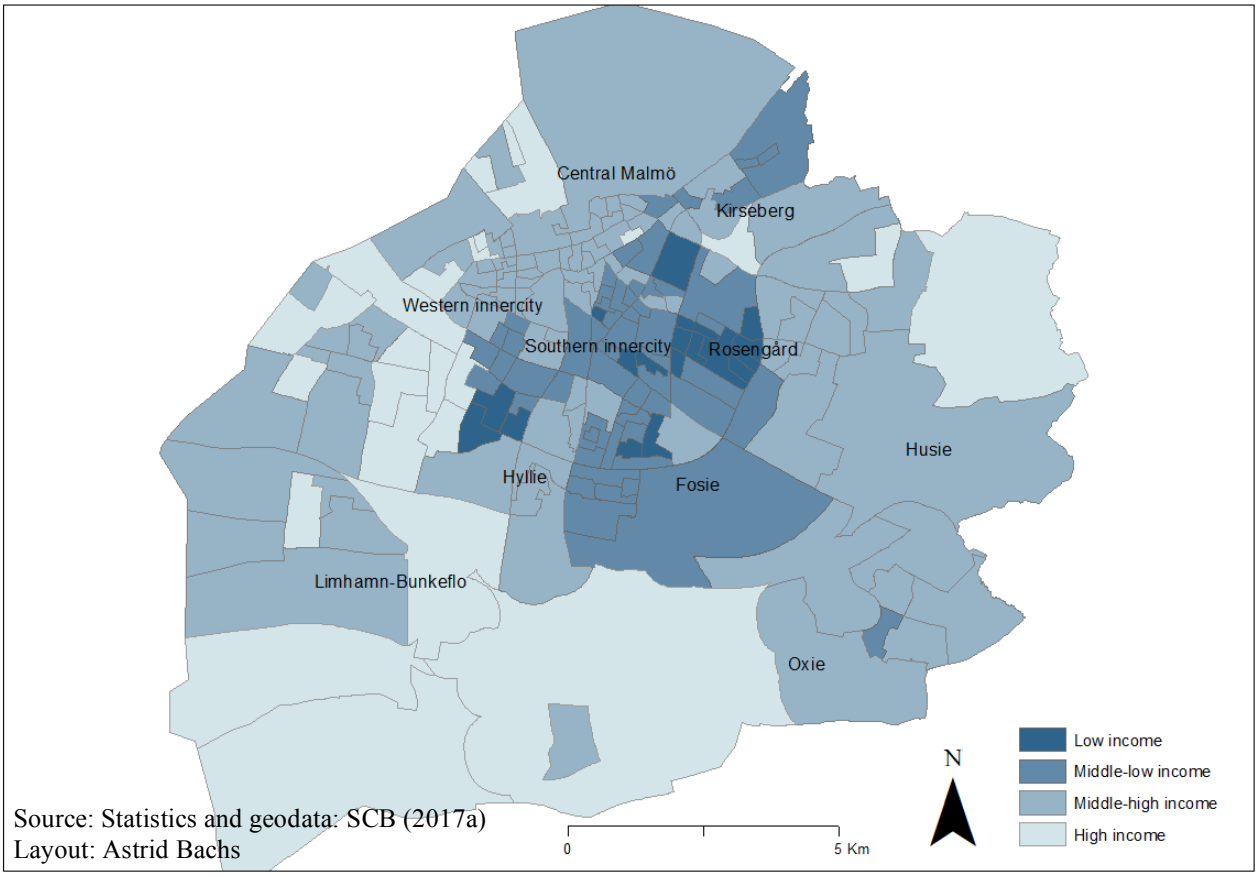
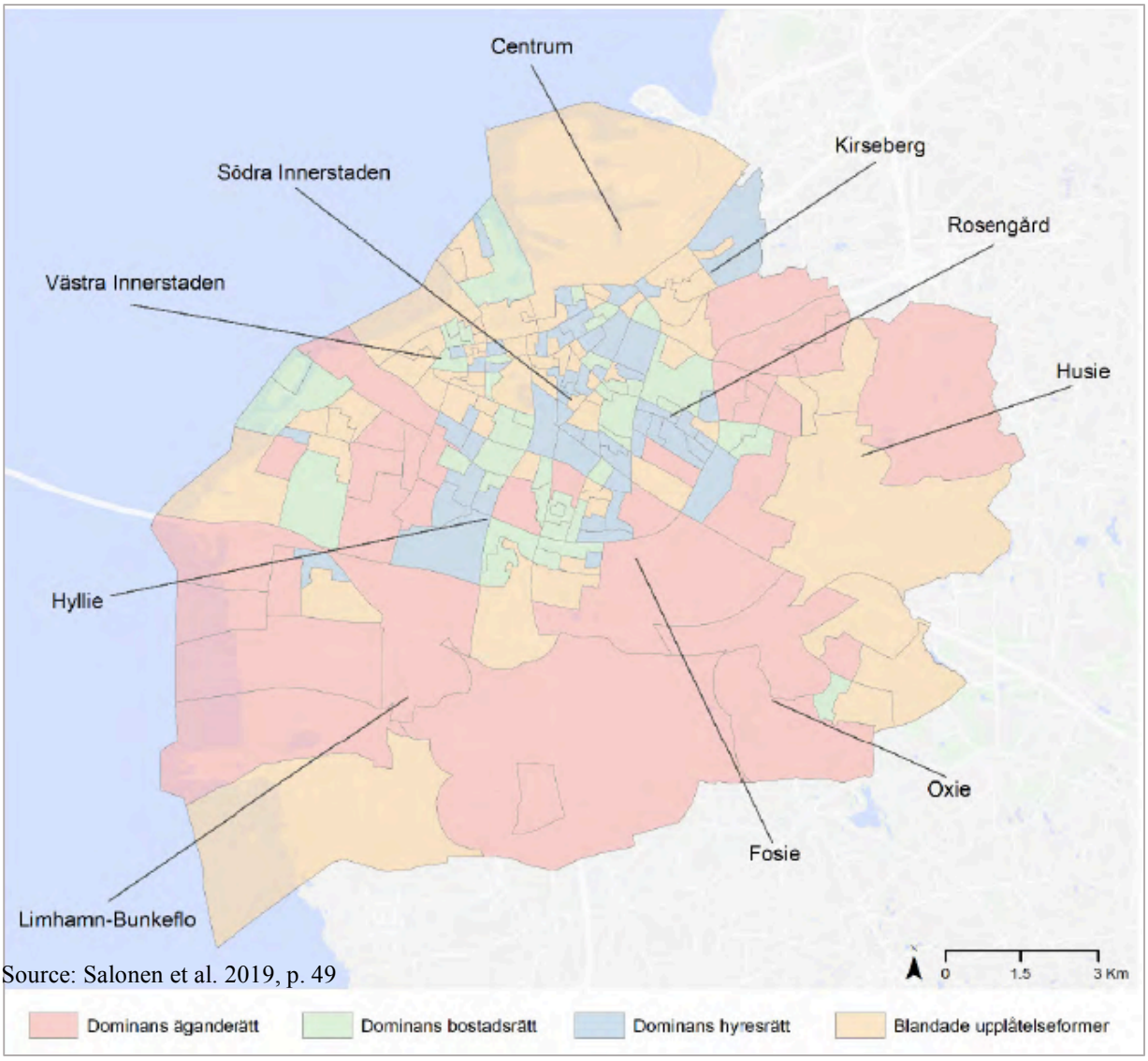


Figure 1. Average income in Malmö's neighbourhoods 2017, based on DeSo[4] areas.

When it comes to the segmentation between different tenure forms, there is a spatial division which tends to follow the socioeconomic segregation. The map in Figure 2 show the distribution of household based on tenure form in Malmö's neighbourhoods. There are clear patterns in the map with more areas dominated by rental housing in eastern central part of the city. Malmö has an interesting geography when it comes to segregation patterns as it differs from the other big cities in Sweden. While the socioeconomic disadvantaged areas are situated in the outer city in Stockholm and Gothenburg, these have a more central location in Malmö. As illustrated in Figure 2, there is a "ring" around the inner-city with owner-occupied housing. The study by

[4] DeSo is a new demographic statistical division introduced in 2018 which was developed in order to better analyse socioeconomic patterns and segregation (SCB, 2018a).



Source: Salonen et al. 2019, p. 49

Figure 2. Spatial distribution of area profiles based on households by form of tenure in Malmö year 2016.[5]

Salonen et al. also indicate that a household purchasing power correlate with the type of tenure. When it comes to the relationship between tenure mix and social mix, the study shows that it is higher social mix in areas which has a diverse tenure structure. In areas characterised by tenure mix, there is, for example, a greater mix when it comes to the households' disposable income.

[5] Translation of the legend: Dominans äganderätt= dominance owner-occupation, Dominans bostadsrätt= Dominance tenant-owned, Dominans hyresrätt= Dominance rental housing, Blandade upplåtelseformer= Mixed tenure-forms.

2.3.3 Housing and social mixing

A notable work which has influenced the planning in Malmö in past years is the work by the *Commission for a socially sustainable Malmö* (Malmö stad, 2013) that focused on health inequalities with a starting point from the difference in life expectancy between different parts of the city. The final report, *Malmö's path towards a sustainable future*, points at the correlation between health inequalities and the geographic separation of different social groups. The report highlights urban planning as an essential tool as it "provides the opportunity to transform the physical barriers that separate residential environments into more linking areas, change infrastructure for improved access, transform roads into city streets and reinforce routes through mixed functions." (Malmö stad, 2013, p. 67). One of the objectives set in the work is that "[u]rban planning should contribute to reducing residential segregation.". One of the objectives to achieve this is to "[d]evelop and intensify the successful work on mixing different forms of tenure, types of housing, workplaces and services." (Malmö stad, 2013, p. 73). Further, the Commission suggest that "the municipality work actively with densification and complementary building to increase the variation and services in areas of uniform building stock and to develop small scale and diversity, especially in large-scale neighbourhoods." (Malmö stad, 2013, p. 73). The objective and strategies set within this report links the physical planning with housing and social mix policies and indicate on the policy focus in Malmö. Housing and social mix policies is assumed to counter the inequalities and polarisation which are manifested in the city's spatial division.

3 Previous research and theoretical foundation

In this chapter, pervious research and the theoretical foundation of the thesis is presented. Housing and Social mixing is discussed with a focus on the critical literature on social mix. However, in order to understand the policies, the rationale of mixing and different ideas of housing and social mix are discussed. To position the policy within the dominant paradigm of neoliberalism there is a brief discussion about neoliberal urbanism, a concept used in its broad sense in this thesis. The last part of the chapter examines some of the research within the Swedish context. In this following chapter, I want to highlight the conflictual characteristics of urban policies and impose some discussions to take further into the analysis of the thesis.

3.1 The ambiguity of "social mix" as a concept

The ideas around social mix are frequently used in policy and politics to counteract the supposed negative effects of segregation. The idea that residential areas should be mixed is not something new (Sarkissian, 1976). It has been a planning deal for a long time, but has got revival again in the beginning of the 21th century's urban planning (Arthurson, 2012). It is, however, a concept which has become broad and with multiple and vague uses. Van Kempen and Bolt (2009) indicate that even if the social mix is a policy goal, it seems that there is no clear idea of the supposed positive effects. "Why social mix is a 'good thing' is in many instances not clear. Social mix has become a kind of mantra and policy-makers seem averse to questioning it." (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2009, p. 471). Arthurson (2012) stress that the term is interchangeably used to refer to housing tenure mix and socioeconomic mix. Therefore, it is not always clear what stakeholders mean when talking about social mix. Galster and Friedrichs (2015) point at its widespread use and argue that "'Social mix' has been considered an urban planning theory, a neighbourhood economic–demographic condition, a set of urban transformation strategies, and (ironically) both a neo-liberal and a socialist ideology." (Galster & Friedrichs, 2015, p. 176). So, social mix strategies can have variated objectives "ranging from fighting social exclusion to stabilizing a municipal tax base." (Rose, 2004, p. 280). The ambiguity of the concept within policy and planning practice is to a large extent related to three questions that need to be defined. *What are the bases (economic, social, ethnical, age etcetera) for mixing? What is the ideal mix? What are the geographical level for mixing and how does the scale affect the outcome?* (Galster, 2012). There are also several related concepts used to describe the ambition of mixing which further confuses the meaning of the concept. Income

mix, social balance and mixed communities are some of the concepts that are used within policy (Bergsten & Holmqvist, 2013).

3.2 The rationale behind housing and social mix policies

Policies to influence or change the social composition in neighbourhoods have been evident in urban planning since the late nineteenth century. Housing and social mix as a planning ideal can be found within different contexts and from different positions during history (Arthurson, 2012; Sarkissian, 1976). The concentration of poverty, often in combination with ethnic minority concentration, has been identified as the main problem with segregation both in the US and in Europe. Different policies have been the response to this, in Europe, there have mainly been policies targeting housing mix or area-based programmes while dispersal programmes have been more common in the US (Andersson et al., 2010).

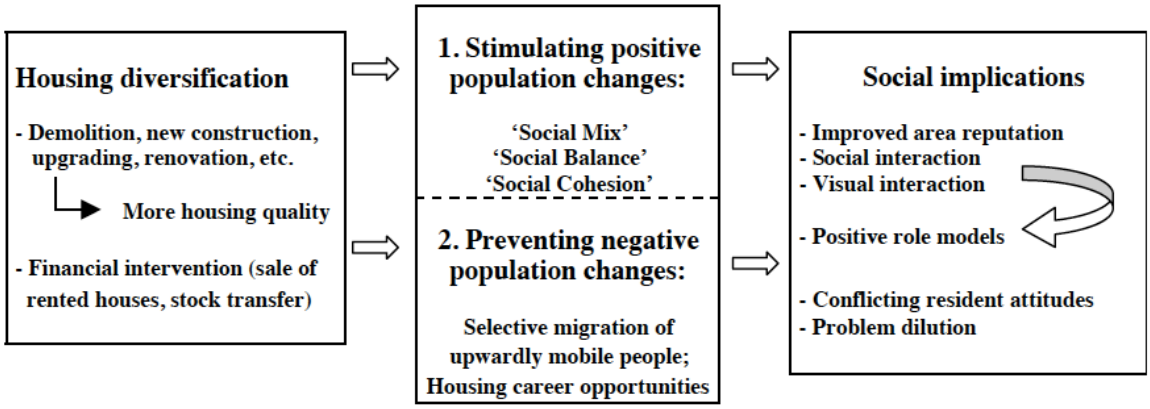
The main rationale behind housing and social mix policies is the belief in positive neighbourhood effects. William Julius Wilson's book *The Truly Disadvantaged* that was published in 1987 can be considered as a starting point for studies on neighbourhood effects which has a strong influence on today's policies (Galster & Friedrichs, 2015). The central hypothesis in the book is that a concentration of disadvantaged within one residential area increases the risk that those living in that area will be even more disadvantaged (Wilson, 1987). This fostered research on the neighbourhoods' influence on peoples' life chances. Neighbourhood effects can be both positive and negative and could be defined as "the net change in the contribution to life-chances made by living in one area rather than another." (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2001, p. 2278). Kearns and Mason (2007) sort expected neighbourhood effects into four categories; economic and service impacts, social and behavioural effects, community-level effects and overcoming social exclusion. These four categories are used as an understanding of the rationale behind social mix policies as a way to combat poverty and segregation.

- *Economic and service impacts***:** External political and economic actors are more likely to respond to the market demands and political pressure by higher-income residents. So, when they move into an area, it will lead to higher-quality goods and services in the area which will benefit everyone (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2013; Joseph, 2006a).
- *Social and behavioural effects:* Higher-income residents will generate a socialisation process and norms of more socially acceptable and constructive behaviour (J. R. Dunn,

2012). Positive role modelling is expected to achieve effects such as reduced anti-social behaviour, less vandalism and improved educational results. The arguing is also that shared norms and values will increase the social cohesion and feelings of belonging (Kearns & Mason, 2007). Higher-income residents will increase low-income residents' social capital. This is built on theories of "weak ties" as a way for improved social networks, which provide people with access to information necessary for upward mobility (J. R. Dunn, 2012; Joseph, 2006a).

- *Community-level effects:* The provision of varied housing stock in an area will provide opportunities for housing career within the area. This would decrease mobility and create residential stability and give opportunities for the upwardly mobile residents to remain in the area, which in that sense would lead to a greater social mix (Bolt et al., 2010; Kearns and Mason, 2007).
- *Overcoming social exclusion*: Increased concentration of disadvantaged residents in certain areas has led to the stigmatisation of the neighbourhoods. These areas do often have a high concentration of social housing which has narrowed the debate to discussions about tenure. Addition of other forms of housing is therefore seen as a way to combat this stigma (Bolt and Van Kempen, 2013). Another supposed benefit is that mixed communities will increase the connection to other places and enhance social networks and thus overcome social exclusion (Kearns & Mason, 2007).

The focus for creating a mix is often on the tenure forms, this imply that it is the form of tenure that is the problem. The measures that then are formulated is that the housing stock has to be varied (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2009). Therefore, many restructuring plans have the target to transform large-scale housing estates built in the post-war. Several of these areas have a homogeneous tenure structure and are inhibited by households with a rather weak social and economic position. The principal objective for housing and social mix policies is to de-concentrate concentrations of low-income households (Musterd & Andersson, 2005). Housing diversification is a common strategy for achieving the goals of social mix, this link is important to consider to understand the rationale behind different planning strategies and practices. Hochstenbach (2017) remark that, for policy-makers, a key intention to engage in policies of tenure mixing is to achieve a change in the composition of the population and reduce residential socioeconomic and ethnic segregation. Figure 3 demonstrates the assumed cause-and-effect



Kleinhans, 2004, p. 374

Figure 3. Assumed cause-and effect relations of housing diversification.

relations of housing diversification, illustrated by Kleinhans (2004) who have analysed the Dutch and the British policy discourse. Housing diversification through for example demolition, new construction, upgrading and renovation is used as a strategy to both generate an influx of groups who are less represented in the area (positive population change) as well as preventing specific households from moving from the area (negative population changes). This, in turn, will give social implications in the form of positive neighbourhood effects.

3.3 Questioning the evidence base for mixing policies

Two broad schools of segregation have dominated the understanding of injustices within urban planning and policy. The first conceive of problems as outcomes of the characteristics of specific places, including the people and objects located in them. The objective of policies is from this perspective to deal with local scarcities. The second school of thought understand what is conceived as problems in places as symptoms, not causes, of urban problems. The processes creating problems are not necessarily created in specific places but relate to socioeconomic structural processes beyond the intra-urban scale (Edwards and Imrie, 2015).

The evidence base for neighbourhood effects to occur is however not conclusive. The link between tenure mix and social mix is not obvious; close physical ties may not lead to close social ties. The assumption that mixed communities are the foundation for a harmonious, cohesive and balanced community has also been questioned (Bridge, Butler, & Lees, 2012). If these neighbourhood effects do not exist, the evidence base for social mix policies weakens. There are three main critical arguments found in the literature; mixing does not work, mixing

has negative side effects, and mixing does not address the real problem (Bolt and Van Kempen, 2013).

Mixing does not work: Mixed communities are necessarily not better neighbourhoods to live in than others. Even if social interaction can be fostered by the opportunities that proximity entail and strategies would lead to less segregation in the sense that neighbourhoods are being more diverse, it does not mean that the contact between different groups is increasing in socially mixed neighbourhoods (Andersson et al., 2010; Joseph, 2006a). Kleinhans (2004) do for example state that there are many other factors than proximity that determines social interactions. The social life varies by tenure and differences in lifestyle, mobility and socioeconomic factors hamper cross tenure interactions. Research by Klinthäll and Urban (2016) for example imply that ethnic spatial concentration could have positive effects on minority members' access to the labour market.

Mixing has negative side effects: One side effect of mixing could be displacement due to demolition or upgrading of the housing stock. Displacement is a disruption of the previous social environment and weakened social network for the displaced (Lees, 2008). It could also be claimed that a mix of tenure would only change the population composition of neighbourhoods. When more affluent residents move into owner-occupied housing replacing rental (social) housing, the average income will increase. However, the social renters who are displaced will most likely end up in other disadvantaged areas, and for them, little will change for the good (Manley, Van Ham, & Doherty, 2012). Another effect could be social exclusion as housing agencies seek to control the tenants in order to achieve a social mix (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2013). Even if some services would be improved there might be different demands and priorities between different classes and unequal distribution of power among residents may lead to community benefits which are not necessarily available or valuable for everyone (Joseph, 2006).

Mixing does not address the real problem: Do social mix policies treat the cause or the symptoms of inequality? Cheshire (2012) argues that the underlying issue in neighbourhood effect research is the causation between poverty and neighbourhood. Instead of understanding poor neighbourhoods as making people poorer, the concentration of poverty should be seen as an effect of poverty. Poor people live in deprived areas because they cannot afford to live anywhere else. Urban (2018) stress that the belief in neighbourhood effect is built upon a spatial understanding of social inequalities. Instead of talking about inequalities as a societal and urban problem it is formulated as a local problem that exists in some neighbourhoods. The reasoning

follows that inequalities exist because some areas are inhabited by people that cannot participate which lead to conflict and isolation. Slater (2013) argue for an critical analytical lens by inverting the thesis which neighbourhood effect is built upon. Instead of starting from "where you live affect your life chances" the starting point should be "your life chances affect where you live". By inverting the thesis, the problem of different life chances can be understood by theories on capital accumulation, class struggle and injustice. Musterd (2002) also problematise the causation of social processes which often are treated as problems of a neighbourhood:

> [W]hile social processes may become manifest *in* a certain residential stock *in* a neighbourhood, as rising levels of social segregation or as local spatial concentrations of poverty, that does not necessarily imply that they are also caused *by* or being problems *of* the housing stock or *of* the neighbourhood composition. (Musterd, 2002, p. 140).

Therefore, there are reasons to question what social mix policies achieve. Is homogeneity a consequence of or a reason for inequalities? (Arthurson, 2012). Musterd and Andersson also discuss the relational aspect between neighbourhoods, the whole city and further to a global scale:

> The welfare state at the national level, the labor market and economy at the regional–and global– levels, and the social networks at the local levels: Probably they all play a role in understanding what is happening at the very local level. Therefore, individual, neighborhood, and wider context variables should be incorporated simultaneously. (Musterd & Andersson, 2005, p. 786).

3.4 State-led gentrification by emphasising social mixing

In the 60's and the 70's social mix was often a progressive planning ideal that claimed to maintain affordable housing in inner cities, the focus was to retain housing for poor people. Since then, the focus has changed to an increase of the number of affluent households in poor districts as well as legitimise privatisation of public land assets (Bridge et al., 2012; Lees & Ley, 2008). This has been acknowledged by researchers that focus on strategies for social mixing concerning processes of gentrification. Gentrification is a process of social upgrading of a neighbourhood where the residents, over time, have more resources in terms of education and income (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2007). Processes of renewal can be seen through

gentrification processes where the benefits are seen for example as a physical rehabilitation of neighbourhoods and a changed image of neighbourhoods which are associated with renewal. There is however a back-side to the renewal process which can be seen as "while planners have often thought of gentrification as a positive force in these respects it must be recognized that this is often achieved through the displacement of existing residents who do not benefit from these changes." (Atkinson, 2004, p. 118). Smith (2002) argues that strategies of regeneration is linked to processes of gentrification. Gentrification is however not often talked about by planners and local councils as it reveal a class-dimension which imply a shift in gentrified areas. By emphasising the need for social balance within regeneration projects in the inner cities are the displacements effects of gentrification not targeted:

> "Social balance" sounds like a good thing –who could be against social balance? –until one examines the neighbourhoods targeted for "regeneration", whereupon it becomes clear that the strategy involves a major colonization by the middle and upper-middle classes. (N. Smith, 2002, p. 98).

Gentrification scholars claim that processes of gentrification seldom stop when the people with low and high income in formerly deprived areas been mixed. The process continues often until the middle class takes over, and poorer households moves. This is done by replacing rental-housing and low-income tenants with owner-occupation and tenants with higher incomes. These groups are considered to be more functional to urban growth and may lead to an increased value of real estate. The policies focus on countering segregation and make life better for disadvantaged can, therefore, be questioned as there might be the middle classes, who in the end, benefit from the policies as the strategies proposed (Lees, 2008). Bridge et al. (2012) stress that the concepts used in policies such as "mixed communities", "social mix" and "diversity" are morally persuasive and can be seen as a way to avoid the class constitution of the involved processes. Similar thoughts are made by others who argues that social mix is an undisputed policy ideal put in the realm of the post-political (Van Criekingen, 2012). Lees (2008) emphasise this by claiming that the policy language neutralises the negative effects, which the policy could enforce:

> It is a policy language that never uses the word 'gentrification' and thus consistently deflects criticism and resistance. Terms like urban renaissance, urban revitalisation, urban regeneration and urban sustainability are used

> instead, avoiding the class constitution of the processes involved and neutralising the negative image that the process of gentrification brings with it. (Lees, 2008, p. 2452).

Atkinson (2004) highlights that gentrification is often seen as a "panacea for local problems" and suggest that the focus should turn to the existing residents and the improvements in their lives. There is, however, "no reason to believe that diversity is bad but that such discourse has often served to mask a supplanting of existing residents, rather than their integration into future places and plans." (Atkinson, 2004, p. 127).

3.5 Neoliberal urbanism

The housing market as well as the practice of planning today need to be understood in light of a global economy where the industrial capital no longer is the single main driving process. The economic crisis in the 70s restructured the economic basis geographically and industrial cities had to find a new economic base as well as identity (Harvey, 2010). The crisis opened up for a political and economic paradigm shift with an entry of neoliberalism. This shift and further processes of neoliberalisation has been theorised in many different ways. Harvey (1989) conceptualise this as a shift within urban governance from managerialism to entrepreneurialism. Inter-city competition is a crucial component within the neoliberal logic, cities compete for the global flow of capital. Thörn and Thörn (2017) argues that, the focus is to create a sellable image of the city to attract wealthy inhabitants, tourists and investors. One sign of this is icon-buildings, consumption districts and high-profile events. In order to attract the rich as well as capital investment, local authority focus on city-branding and urban renewal.

Economic growth, entrepreneurship and creativity have taken over as the policy focus, away from regulatory and distributive considerations. The desire to attract the "right" people has made post-industrial cities marketing themselves as "liveable cities" that are capable of supporting a blend of income, cultures, ages and lifestyles (Rose, 2004). The ideas of trickle down legitimise an increased share of housing production for the upper segment of the market. The logic is that residential mobility will create chains of moves which will benefit economically weak households (Clark & Johnson, 2009). According to Baeten, neoliberalisation of planning has strengthen the relation between the state and the market and imply "a partial retreat by planning as an institution from its very core, namely the improvement of the built and natural environment through some sort of concerted effort in the public sphere."

(Baeten, 2012, p. 207). This retreat should, however, be understood as a "complex reworking of relations between state and market in which the state not simply 'looses power' but gains a more proactive role in the introduction of market principles in planning through local, national and international regulatory reforms." (Ibid.).

3.5.1 Housing in Sweden: from a general good to a commodity

Until the end of the 80s, the state played a significant and active role in housing policy. Housing was integrated both in social and economic policy. The aim was good affordable dwelling for all, and the targets were everyone, not only the worst off (Hedman, 2001). The strong emphasis by the state on housing ended at the beginning of the 1990's with the conservative/liberal government. The first thing the new government did was to close the Department of Housing, which symbolises a radical switch in housing politics. What followed were neoliberal reforms such as decreased subsidises in housing, outsourcing of public services and processes of privatisation. These reforms were not rolled back by the social democrat government that came after (Andersson, 2006; Christophers, 2013; Clark & Johnson, 2009). Municipal housing companies have been an important instrument to foster social inclusion and an essential part of the national housing policy (Grander, 2017). Neoliberal reforms have however put marketisation pressure on the public rental sector. One example is a new law, implemented in 2011, which means that municipal housing companies should operate according to business principles (Christophers, 2013). As a consequence, it has become a challenge for companies to keep rents low and affordable. The social responsibility is still, however, stated in the legislation which has made municipal housing companies to "hybrid organisations" that should follow business principles in a competitive market and at the same time have an aim of societal benefit (Grander, 2017).

The radical neoliberal reforms in the housing sector since the 90's have increased the polarisation between rich and poor. It is, for example, manifested in the shares of disposal income spent on housing. The cost has increased more for renters than people living in other tenure forms. Reduced subsidises and increased taxation of rental housing is partly explaining this pattern (Clark & Johnson, 2009; Hedin, Clark, Lundholm, & Malmberg, 2012). Renewal projects tend to be driven in favour of economic interests over social concerns which have hollowed politics driven by social aspects on housing. Privatisation, conversion and expensive newly built rental housing can be seen as some indications on this (Urban, 2018). Another issue raised is the "housing crisis" which is frequently discussed in Sweden. This crisis refers to the lack of housing for various groups in many Swedish cities (Boverket, 2018a). The "housing

crisis" is however not affecting everyone at the same extent. It is not a general housing shortage, but an unequal housing market that creates a housing shortage for specific groups. It means that some have a wide range of options while some groups have difficulties to enter the housing market. The newly built housing generally have higher costs than the existing stock, and there is an increasing problem of structural homelessness[6], as many people cannot demand these dwellings (Listerborn, 2018).

Thörn and Thörn (2017) claim that the process of roll-back within the housing policy in Sweden can best be defined as a "neoliberal re-engineering of the welfare state, in which de-regulation of urban policies has been combined with re-regulation to support market mechanisms." (Thörn & Thörn, 2017, p. 293). Christophers (2013) argues that the characteristics of the Swedish housing system as a complex hybridity of regulation and marketisation:

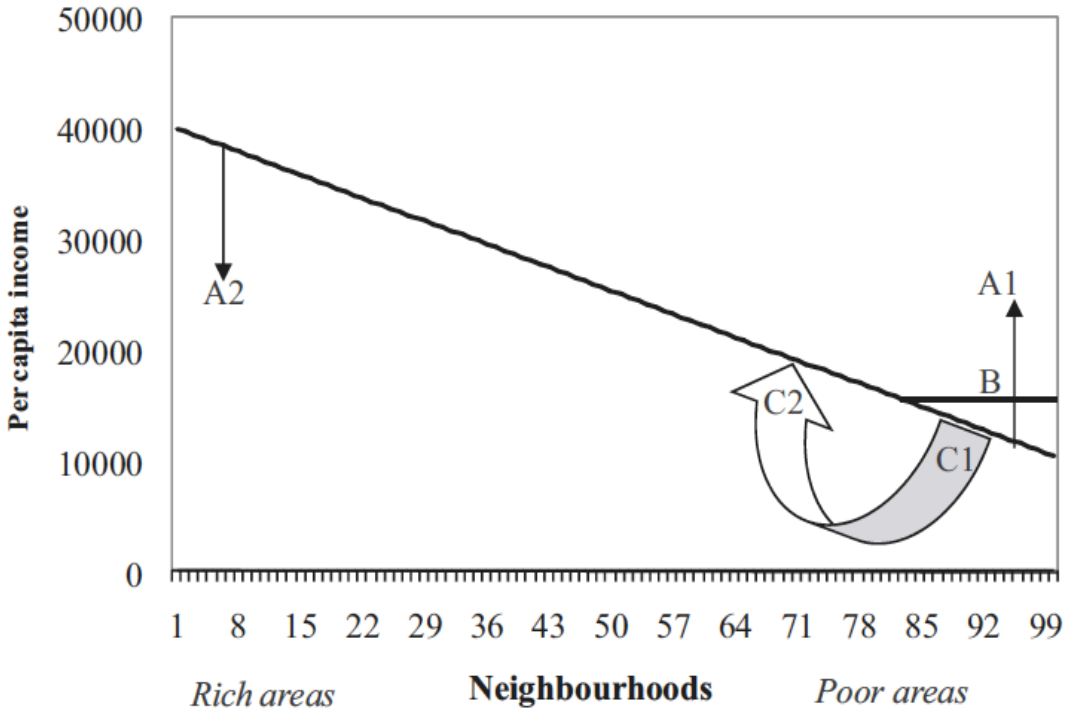
> It is neither one thing (centralised and regulated) nor the other (marketized and deregulated), but a hybrid that has certainly received numerous powerful doses of neoliberalisation, and yet which remains, in key areas, regulated and, as such, relatively isolated from market forces and configurations. (Christophers, 2013, p. 887).

Mukhtar-Landgren (2012) conceptualise this as related to two different planning processes; one aiming at planning for progress (growth rates) and one for the community (social cohesion). Holgersen and Baeten (2016) argue that Malmö has conducted a policy founded on "trickle down" ideology which is based on market-driven solutions and a belief that economic growth will benefit everyone, create jobs and break segregation. Trickle down is a logic within a neoliberal formulation and is the liberal link between production (economic policy) and distribution (social policy).

[6] Structural homelessness is explained by e.g. economic factors and housing shortage in comparison to social homelessness that is understood as caused mostly by social problems and individual shortcomings (Malmö Stad, 2018b).

3.6 Distinguishing the Swedish policy ambition

To understand and explain differences among housing and social mix policies and distinguish the Swedish policy ambition, a model presented by Andersson (2006), demonstrated in Figure 4, can be used. The vertical axis stands for the distribution of per capita income of neighbourhoods, and the horizontal axis represents all neighbourhoods within a city, with the richest areas to the left and the poorest to the right. The line represents the relation between the neighbourhoods based on per capita income. For a decreased segregation, the gradient of the line has to be reduced. A, B and C in the figure are different strategies used within housing policy in order to affect the gradient of the line and reduce class based residential segregation. A1 and A2 represent strategies that reduce residential segregation by class. A1 increase the income in poor areas and A2 decreases the income in rich areas. B illustrates an increase of income levels in poor areas, "the tail of the income-related gradient is cut off—but segregation



Andersson, 2006, p. 794

Figure 4. Strategies to combat segregation.

would nevertheless remain in its basic form." (Andersson, 2006, p. 795). C1 and C2 represent the development of specific neighbourhoods by gentrification processes. It does not affect the gradient line and therefore does not have an impact on segregation. Most probably, another

neighbourhood will take the position as a poor neighbourhood. C1 to C2 does also illustrate the movement of individual households into richer areas. This change could contribute to integration but do not reduce segregation at the level of the city (Bergsten & Holmqvist, 2013). The movement of individuals (illustrated by C1 to C2) is for example used in American dispersal agenda in the "Moving to opportunity" programme (Joseph, 2006a). A commonly used strategy is to target the most disadvantaged areas, illustrated by B in the model. This area-based focus is, for example, evident in social mix policies in the Netherlands (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2009), United Kingdom (Kearns & Mason, 2007) and Australia (Arthurson, 2012). The goal of social mix policies in Sweden is, however, to change the whole gradient of the line (A1 and A2) to reduce patterns of residential segregation. The social mix policy in Sweden is hence general in its focus, in comparison to policies with a selective focus on specifically disadvantaged areas (Bergsten & Holmqvist, 2013).

3.7 Housing and social mix policies in the Swedish research context

Bergsten and Holmqvist (2007, 2009, 2013) research from an overall Swedish perspective indicate that there is a strong support for housing and social mix policies within planning departments, among politicians and at municipal housing companies. When it comes to strategies for creating a mix, they found that new construction is the main tool and production of tenant-owned housing is the tenure form that has been used mostly in creating tenure mix in established neighbourhoods. Production of owner-occupation and rental housing, on the other hand, predominantly take place in areas where respective tenures already are dominated. Similar results comes from Caesar and Kopsch (2018) research on if and how the goal of tenure mix has been implemented in Stockholm. Their analysis shows that the municipality allocates fewer ownership apartments to neighbourhoods characterised by rental housing. The more ownership apartments there are in an area; the more ownership apartments are allocated. Another pattern they found was that, in lower-income neighbourhoods, more ownership apartments was allocated than vice versa. This is explained as a sign of the opposition towards new development often found in high-income neighbourhoods. Bergsten and Holmqvist (2013) propose similar thoughts by declaring that there are a fear amongst home-owners that addition of rental housing will make the area unattractive and bring social problems to the neighbourhood. For homebuyers, the property is an investment and addition of rental housing is seen as a threat that possibly can decrease the value of their property. Another possible reason that the author highlights is the different physical structures of the different forms of tenure,

multifamily housing in tenant-owned and rental housing and single-family housing in owner-occupation. When investigating the new production, they found both a greater mix as well as increased segregation. The counteracting processes, with increased segregation, are mostly found in the larger cities which the authors argue could be due to conflicting interests and a more complex housing production sector. Andersson, Bråmå and Holmqvist (2010) have conducted research about the background for an interest on residential segregation within Swedish policy. Three anti-segregation policies are discussed; housing and social mix policy, the refugee dispersal policy and the area-based urban policy. They argue that these policies have not affected the level of segregation. When it comes to mixing policies this is explained as relating to ineffective implementation.

Even if research indicate that the policy is not general in its implementations, Bergsten and Holmqvist (2013) claim that the general policy focus imply that displacement and gentrification processes can be avoided:

> The model for the Swedish social mix policy provides an opportunity to avoid these displacement effects and gentrification processes, as the areas with a concentration of disadvantaged (poor) households are to be opened up for advantaged households at the same time as areas with a concentration of advantaged (rich) households are opened up for disadvantaged households. (Bergsten and Holmqvist, 2013:289).

Musterd and Andersson (2005) research on the connection between housing mix, social mix and social opportunities, built on a large-scale longitudinal data between 1991-1999, shows that the assumed connection between these three variables is weak. From the results of their research, they raise a warning to derive social problems too much to the neighbourhood as it can be a distraction from other relevant causes such as education. Another study on Stockholm conducted by Andersson and Turner (2014) also indicates that the mixing policies not always lead to decreased segregation. Their research on the effects on the social mix through conversions of rental housing into tenant-owned housing reveal that segregation patterns has increased as individuals with higher education and income have replaced the former residents in areas where conversions have taken place.

Caesar and Kopsch (2018) discuss what tools the municipality have when it comes to creating mixed tenure. The planning monopoly empowers each municipality with the tool to adopt legally binding development plans and decide where new development should be

permitted. Even if the municipality, through the planning monopoly, can decide on the localisation of housing, they do not have a regulatory power to control the form of tenure. This power is in the hands of the landowner and therefore, do the authors stress land ownership is a stronger tool than the regulatory power when it comes to achieving mixed tenure. When municipal land is assigned for developing housing, there is a negotiation process with the developer.

3.8 My contribution

The research discussed in this thesis indicate that there is no conclusive orientation to whether mixing is effective in counteracting segregation or not. By approaching the policy measures within the context of neoliberal urbanism this study aims to open up for a discussion about housing and social mix policies by the case study of planning in Malmö. The research conducted in the Swedish context reveal that there might be a gap between the policy approach and its implementation. By investigating the strategies, challenges and possible risks of housing and social mixing in Malmö I hope to contribute to a further understanding of the dynamics within physical planning in general and engage in discussions about the role of housing and social mix policies within neoliberal urbanism.

4 Methodology

In this section, I will present and discuss the methodology of the thesis as well as the methods used. First, I will shortly discuss how critical theory serves as a meta-theoretical inspiration for the study and then discuss the methodological assumptions made from the approach of qualitative case study. Then, the methods for collecting the empirical data are considered with a presentation of the material followed by the methods for analysis. At last, there is a section on critical reflexivity where I reflect upon my role in the research process followed by a section covering some ethical aspects of the research process.

4.1 Meta-theoretical inspiration

The overall emphasis in this study is inspired by critical theory which, as Brenner (2009) states, involves a rejection of instrumental approaches of social scientific knowledge. It is also a rejection of making existing institutional arrangements more effective as a means to strengthen current forms of power. Instead does a critical approach direct the focus on oppositional and antagonistic forms of knowledge. All social knowledge is understood as "embedded within the dialectics of social and historical change; it is thus intrinsically, endemically contextual." (Brenner, 2009, p. 202). There is an emphasis on urban space as contested and flexible under continual "(re)construction as a site, medium and outcome of historically specific relations and social power." (Brenner, 2009, p. 198). Marcuse defines critical as:

> [A]n evaluative attitude towards reality, a questioning rather than an acceptance of the world as it is, a taking apart and examining and attempting to understand the world. It leads to a position not only necessarily critical in the sense of negative criticism, but also critically exposing the positive and the possibilities of change, implying positions on what is wrong and needing change, but also on what is desirable and needs to be built on and fostered. (2012, p. 24).

By applying an evaluative attitude towards reality, the taken for granted can be questioned and other possibilities can be revealed. To understand social and urban processes, conflicting rights need to be addressed instead of hidden (Marcuse, 2012). The inspiration from critical theory guides this study in the way that housing and social mix policies are not just accepted as an

effective policy. Instead, when it is set within a critical perspective, it can be questioned with an attempt to understand in which contexts and dialectics the policy is situated.

4.2 Qualitative case study

The case and context of this study is housing and social mix policy within physical planning in Malmö. This thesis is built upon a case study approach which imply certain ways of viewing knowledge and the research process. The case study approach opens up for the opportunity to study processes within a demarcated field and involve the study of a phenomenon "[…] in order to explore in-depth nuances of the phenomenon and the contextual influences on and explanations of that phenomenon." (Baxter, 2016, p. 130). By using the case study methodology, a broad field can be narrowed down into a specific setting and result in new learning about real-world behaviour and its meaning (Yin, 2009). Case studies give practical and concrete aspects of a specific case but lead also a better understanding of the broader phenomenon. The case should be viewed as neither entirely unique or entirely representative of a phenomenon (Baxter, 2016). By applying a case study approach I built upon the crucial philosophical assumption that in-depth understanding of the case and the knowledge it produces is valuable in itself, regardless of how the phenomenon appears in other cases and contexts. This does, however, not imply that it is impossible to generalise from case studies. Rather, cases often play an important part in developing theory and can point at new concepts and directions. The knowledge produced can be solving concrete problems associated with the case or broadening the academic understanding about the phenomenon studied (Baxter, 2016; Flyvbjerg, 2011).

An investigation of the case of housing and social mix within physical planning in Malmö could develop the understanding of the strategies and challenges within physical planning in a general Swedish context. Even if Malmö imply some specific contextual factors which, of course, expose certain kind of questions and problem-formulations concerning the topic, can the experiences most likely be useful to understand other Swedish municipalities planning practice and challenges.

4.3 Methods

In this case study, two approaches of sampling were used. Official municipal planning documents were selected to determine the policy characteristics and strategies. The second type of selection, which is more central in this study, were people working with urban planning in

Malmö. Qualitative semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives from the municipality as well as other actors working with related questions in other formations. These were selected to discuss further strategies and challenges.

4.3.1 Official municipal planning documents

The secondary data used is municipal planning documents. Documents can be used for different reasons in qualitative case studies. According to Bowen (2009), documents are often combined with other sources such as interviews or observation in order to reduce bias and establish credibility. Some of the uses of documents can be to provide background, find additional questions, as supplementary data and as a verification of findings from other sources. In this study, institutional planning documents from Malmö municipality are used to investigate the articulation of housing and social mix policies within physical planning in Malmö. The selected documents are guiding the development of the city.

Three documents were selected: The Action plan for housing provision, the Comprehensive plan and the Land allocation policy. These are presented in Table 2 with a short description of the content and purpose of the document. These three documents give directions for the planning within the municipality on a strategic level. There are of course many other documents that could be used like planning programmes and detailed development plans. Nevertheless, the documents selected in this study are on a higher strategic level with a focus on the whole city. As the study is about the contemporary planning practice in Malmö, the latest policy documents regarding physical planning and housing was selected.

Table 2. Official municipal planning documents

Document	Description
Action plan for housing provision (Malmö Stad, 2018b)	Sets the housing policy goals, vision for housing provision and action plan for the initiatives the municipality plans for four years, 2018-2022.
Comprehensive plan (Malmö Stad, 2018d)	Strategic and visionary document that guide decisions on land-use and how the existing environment should develop in a long-term perspective. The plan is not legally binding.
Land allocation policy (Malmö Stad, 2007)	Describes the ground for distribution and routines that are applied when allocating municipally-owned land.

The documents were used at a first step to get insight into the planning goals and served as a starting point for the interviews. The documents are also an important part of the analysis as these are the policy documents that are guiding the development of the city. As all documents are originally in Swedish there could be some missing in the translation. All quotes used in the analysis are translated by me.

4.3.2 Qualitative semi-structured interviews

The primary data have been collected through semi-structured interviews. One reason for choosing interviews is that the conversational form opens up for reflections and the interests of the person interviewed. It also enables discovering what is important for the respondent and how the person understands the phenomenon. When conducting semi-structured interviews, I as an interviewer, can direct the conversation in order to target relevant topics at the same time as it is opened for flexibility (K. Dunn, 2016; Valentine, 2005). Semi-structured interviews were suitable in this study because of the balance between keeping the interview to the subject and open up for new directions. An interview guide (see Appendix 1) was used as a support during the interviews. However, the guide was not strictly followed in the interview situations, but gives direction to the content of the interviews. The interview questions were also modified in order to suit the respondent's position and workplace.

Interview-data gives access to the world as people think it is and has been. Through interviews, "[…] we are accessing a representation (a vision, an image, an experience) of a text (the world of lived experience) through a text (the interview transcript) that is itself open to interpretation." (S. Smith, 2001). This indicates that there could be multiple interpretations of a phenomenon and the experiences of individuals may not be completely generalisable. This can however be seen as one of the strengths with a qualitative approach as it can emphasise multiple experiences and complexities of a phenomenon. The purpose is not to find the most representative interpretation or the dominant understanding of a specific phenomenon (Winchester & Rofe, 2016). The qualitative case study approach guides the selection process of respondents in the research. In order to get a deeper understanding of the planning practice of social mix, the emphasis was to finding respondents with different experiences of physical planning within the municipality. The respondents interviewed are from two groups of selection, people working at different departments within the municipality and other actors involved in the development of the city. Nine interviews with ten people were conducted in March and April 2019. All respondents are presented in Table 3.

Six of the respondents work with physical planning within the municipality in different positions and departments. The aim was to get representatives from the different parts of the planning process, and therefore were different departments selected as they have different possibilities and obligations in the planning process. The politician and deputy major for technology and service represent a decision-making perspective. The head of the unit for city development represents an overarching perspective working at the City executive authority. The City planning office are responsible for the planning monopoly and conduct both strategic planning and detailed planning, from this department the housing provision coordinator and a planning architect was interviewed in order to represent both the strategic and detailed level. The Real estate and streets and parks department are the legal landowners and have responsibility for allocating the municipally-owned land.

The other group of selection of respondents was of people working with physical planning, but not within the municipality. There are many actors involved in the urban development and to widen the understanding of physical planning as well as incorporate other voices, four other people were interviewed that work at non-profit organisations and an architect firm. Two respondents from the Tenant association were interviewed to get a perspective of the development of the housing market when it comes to affordability and accessibility of rental housing. One respondent from Save the children was selected as the respondent has an active engagement and involvement in different planning processes in Malmö. One person working with sustainable urban development at an architect firm was also selected to broaden the discussion. These three actors, outside of the municipality, widens the understanding of who "owns" the problem-formulation and development of the city. These organisations can also bring another perspective on the municipal planning, and could maybe apply more of a critical view upon the development of Malmö.

In some interviews I got new names of people who could be relevant to interview, this snowball method was an effective way of finding new respondents and incorporate new perspectives during the process. Even if the respondents in one sense are subjective, they represent the organisation of Malmö municipality and were interviewed in their role within the organisation. The setting for the interviews were quite similar, they were conducted with one respondent, took place at the respondent's office, were recorded and lasted for about 30-60 minutes. Exceptions are the interview with the Tenant association where two respondents were present. In the analysis, the interviews with people working within the municipality are referred to as M (for municipality) followed by a number 1-6. The interviews with organisations and

companies are referred to as A (for actor) followed by the number 1-4. The numbers do not indicate on some hierarchy but they are randomly selected in order to systemise the respondents.

Table 3. Respondents

Reference used in the analysis	**Work title**	**Work place**	**Date for interview**
Interviews with people working within Malmö Municipality			
M1	Politician, Social democrat. Deputy Major for technology and service	Malmö municipality	19-03-07
M2	Head of unit for city development	City executive authority	19-03-21
M3	Housing provision coordinator and strategic urban planner	City planning office	19-03-19
M4	Planning architect	City planning office	19-04-23
M5	Head of a exploitation unit	Real estate and streets and parks department	19-04-15
M6	Development secretary "Utvecklingssekreterare"	Real estate and streets and parks department	19-04-16
Interviews with organisations and companies			
A1	Operation development manager "Verksamhetsutvecklare"	Tenant association	19-03-26
A2	Head of the unit for development and opinion	Tenant association	19-03-26
A3	Regional coordinator	Save the children	19-03-26
A4	Specialist in sustainable urban development	Architect firm	19-04-24

When transcribing and translating there are some abstractions made. Interviews are an oral practice which follow certain linguistic rules while other rules are applied in the written text. This is important to consider when transcribing the oral speech into written text as it imply a process of abstraction (Kvale, 2007). All interviews in this study where recorded and transcribed. This mean that some dimensions of information is lost in the transcription. The purpose of conducting interviews was not to analyse the interview situation and social relation and therefore does the transcription not focus on aspects like reactions, body language or feelings. It was neither done with the purpose for a detailed linguistic analysis and therefore are some words and sentences not included in the transcription. For example, does the transcription not include gestures and intonation. All interviews have been conducted in Swedish and also the transcriptions. This imply yet another level of transmission and abstraction, when the data is translated into English.

When using quotes in the analysis I have made customary linguistic adjustment of the spoken language in order to make the quotes more readable. As the quotes is translated from Swedish this also imply some kind of rewording. I take fully the responsibility for the translation of the quotes. The original quotes in Swedish are found in Appendix 2.

4.4 Analysing the data

The analysis of the data is inspired by content analysis which implies that the focus is on content and contextual meaning of the data. Content analysis can be defined as "[…] a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns." (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278). Within content analysis there is a recognition of texts as "[…] open to subjective interpretation, reflects multiple meanings, and is context dependent (e.g., part of a larger discourse)." (Julien, 2008, p. 121). The documents and the interviews, that constitute the empirical data in this study, should hence be understood as part of a broader context. In the analysis, the previous research and theoretical foundation serves as a framework for how I understand this context. I place the analysis within an understanding of urban policies as conflictual and urban planning as a social and political process.

To facilitate the analysis and coding process, the computer program Nvivo was used. The coding process entailed both descriptive and analytical codes which Cope (2016) distinguish by emphasising that descriptive codes reflect themes and patterns which are obvious and stated directly by the respondents while analytical codes reflect themes that dig deeper into the data

and incorporate context and a more analytical lens on the coding. The coding begun with a deductive coding system, along the coding process new codes were added inductively as they were discovered in the empirical material. The first coding system were quite broad and were formed from the observations from the literature. The final themes emerged from a process of coding the material in several circles. The coding process were done in several steps where codes emerged, were defined, and merged. In the final analysis, five major themes with sub-themes were at place and presented in Table 4. The major themes reflect a theoretical discussion, while the sub-themes reflect the descriptive content in the empirical material.

Table 4. Analytical framework: Themes and sub-themes

Major themes	**Sub-themes**
Identifying housing and social mix policy	
Formulating the problem with segregation	• The built environment • Societal inequalities
Strategies for housing and social mix	• Mixed tenure forms • Breaking physical and mental barriers • Mix of functions
From policy to implementation	• Two reoccurring examples • No clear directive • Distinguish between strategies and goals
Planning for housing and social mix in times of neoliberalism	• Rent-levels • Gentrification

The major themes will now be shortly discussed in relation to how they emerged and what codes they developed from.

Identifying housing and social mix policy: This theme relates to the foundation of housing and social mix policy relating to the characters which are highlighted in previous research. Incorporated in identifying the policy, is the formulation of its general character as well as the relation between housing mix and social mix.

Formulating the problem with segregation: As a foundation for housing and social mixing policies is the idea of the negative effects of segregation, highly related to the idea of neighbourhood effects (Kearns & Mason, 2007). There is, however, a discussion of whether social problems is a consequence of segregation or a consequence of wider social inequalities, which does not have to be derived to the neighbourhood or housing structure itself (Musterd,

2002; Urban, 2018). To understand the housing and social mix polices in Malmö, the respondents understanding of segregation is therefore analysed in relation to the theoretical discussion.

Strategies for housing and social mix: This theme served to grasp the different strategies that were used in order to achieve mixing. From previous research there were some preliminary codes. For example, the focus on tenure form is emphasised a lot in previous research on mixing policies and were an initial code in order to look at strategies.

From policy to implementation: To grasp the practice of housing and social mix and how the policy is perceived by the respondents, this theme relates to the ambiguity of the concept. It also relates to challenges with implementing an ambiguous idea where there is not a clear directive. Codes related to specific examples were also included within this theme, and from this two reoccurring examples were identified.

Planning for housing and social mix in times of neoliberalism: This theme emerged from the discussion about the role of planning within urban neoliberalism. Among others, Baeten (2012) understand planning as a complex adaptation of the relations between the state and the market. In relation to theory critical towards housing and social mix policies, it impose questions about how this situation is dealt with. In this theme codes relating affordability, gentrification and market principles were included.

4.5 Critical reflexivity

When conducting research, personal opinions and characteristics (subjectivity) are important part of the practice, as well as the relational aspect between the researcher and the respondents (intersubjectivity). Critical reflexivity is a tactic to not deny aspects of subjectivity and intersubjectivity but, instead, acknowledge them (Dowling, 2016). When it comes to subjectivity, my personal opinions and commitments have of course shaped the research. For example is the theoretical focus in this thesis guided by a critical approach, which imply some perspectives of reality and a political commitment to not support "business-as-usual" but to get involved into the conflicts and frictions which are found in todays planning processes in urban areas. This is important to have in mind as it shapes the way I conduct the study and how I decide to understand both theory and the analysis. When it comes to intersubjectivity, the interview-situation always entail some power structure. As an educated and trained planner, I have an understanding of the planning process and the language spoken at planning offices and some pre-understanding of the practice of planning and the challenges which can be evident.

This could both be a strength, as I have expert knowledge in the field and can relate to the respondents. It could also be a weakness as I might take some things for granted and might interpret my own experiences of planning into the respondents.

4.6 Ethics in the research process

Ethical reflections are based on the ethical guidelines from the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet, 2017) which stresses the importance of giving the right information about the research, confidentiality and not doing harm to the people participating. One main thing when conducting research is to be open about how and why the research has preceded. I have, therefore, tried to be transparent in all the steps and also incorporated a discussion on critical reflexivity and subjectivity. While reflecting upon privacy and confidentiality within this research, I decided not to fully anonymise the participants. The position within the planning practice is of importance when it comes to the analysis and understanding the material. I do, however, not use their names which mean that the respondents might be more or less anonymous depending on the specificity in their role. Agreement on the degree of anonymity was sought from the respondents. When I first took contact with the respondents I presented me as well as the study. In the beginning of the interview, I gave a deeper explanation about the purpose of the study. Confidentiality are treated through a careful handling of the data collected in the interviews. When it comes to the risk of harm, it was considered as minor in this study. As the research do not focus on personal matters there is not a big risk that the participants will feel harmed by the interviews. The quotes used in the analysis was sent to the respondents in order for them to object if something did not feel right or add something in order to make the point clear. The decision to seek consent afterwards instead of using a consent form which was signed before the interviews was made in order for the respondents to feel free to talk without being worried to be misunderstood or misquoted. The backside of asking for consent after the interview is that it could be a form of censoring where the respondents can adjust their answers and so influence the data.

5 Analysis

In this chapter, the findings of the analysis will be presented in accordance with the coding system presented in Table 4. In the analysis the formulation of the housing and social mix policies within Malmö municipality is revealed through discussing the strategies, challenges and potential risks of the policy implementation within contemporary planning. The findings will be discussed and contextualised in relation the background, previous research and theoretical foundation. When presenting and discussing the findings from the interviews, the first time a person is mentioned, the position will be presented. Subsequently, people within the municipality are referred to as M, followed by a number, and the other actors referred to as A, followed by a number. See Table 3 for an overview of the respondents.

5.1 Identifying housing and social mix policy in Malmö

As stated at several places in this thesis, the Swedish mixing policy is distinguished by its general focus, that the whole city should be mixed and not only the most disadvantaged areas (Bergsten & Holmqvist, 2009, 2013). This is clearly stated in all three documents. In the *Comprehensive plan*, the general approach is related to an equal housing market, and it is stated that "a diverse range of housing types should be sought in all areas to achieve a more equitable housing market." (Malmö Stad, 2018d, p. 44). Stated in the *Action plan for housing provision* as one of the strategies for providing housing is to "work for varied forms of tenure throughout the whole city." (Malmö Stad, 2018b, p. 12). In the *Land allocation policy,* it is stated that "an overall objective is to counter segregation and achieve a mix of tenure forms in every area." (Malmö Stad, 2007, p. 14). Previous research, however, indicates that there are challenges in actually implementing the policy in every area (Andersson et al., 2010). If there is a gap between policy and practice, the goals which are set in relation to counteracting segregation might not be met but, instead, could social mixing serve as a legitimation for processes of gentrification and privatisation.

In the documents, notions of mixing are situated within strategies of densification and related to ideas of social sustainability. In the *Comprehensive plan,* the dense and mixed city is formulated as a socially sustainable city in comparison to a city which is characterised by "social division" (segregation) and "division of housing and tenure forms" (segmentation). In order to strengthen social sustainability, the documents state that "neighbourhoods with a one-sided housing structure should be supplemented with other housing types in order to get a mix

of households." (Malmö Stad, 2018d, p. 15). This quote indicates that there is a supposed link between a diversified housing structure and an increased mix of households, i.e. social mix.

Ideas abound neighbourhood effects is a common rationale for housing and social mix policies. The motivation is that housing diversification increases the social mix, which has a positive impact on the neighbourhood in the form of service impact, social and behavioural effects, community-level effects, and overcoming social exclusion (Kearns & Mason, 2007; Kleinhans, 2004). Both in the documents and in the interviews the reasoning of neighbourhood effects are identified. Another evident claim for mixing is the freedom of choice. This is not surprising as it is the dominant policy discourse. The surprising part is rather the fact that neighbourhood effects constitute a cornerstone in the policies even though many scholars disadvise from applying this reasoning uncritically within a broad planning ideal (see for example Arthurson, 2012). A phenomenon that is highlighted as a problem in the *Comprehensive plan* is that people with similar background live together in "isolated enclaves". This is seen as a security problem as well as hampering social interaction. A strategy mentioned to combat this isolation is mixing: "the combination of a mixed range of businesses, different types of housing and forms of tenure, as well as reduced barrier effects to the rest of the city, increase public life and thus security." (Malmö Stad, 2018d, p. 48). All of these aspects are important articulations of the ideas about housing and social mixing within physical planning in Malmö and will be further explored in the continuing analysis.

5.2 Formulating the problem with segregation

How urban problems are understood have effect on the focus of policies. Edwards and Imrie (2015) distinguish two perspectives on how injustices are perceived. Problems in defined places can be conceived as outcomes of the characteristics of that specific place or as a symptom of injustice in general. In the material, the problems with segregation were formulated in different ways and can be divided into viewing segregation as a problem of the built environment or as a problem of societal inequalities.

5.2.1 The built environment

In the *Comprehensive plan,* Malmö is described as characterised by geographical proximity between different areas, although there are "tangible barriers" dividing the areas. Furthermore, it declares that the physical barriers "sometimes also reinforce mental divisions and contribute to a more divided city", the document continues by stating that it is necessary for areas to be "linked better together and create the conditions for a less segregated Malmö." (Malmö Stad,

2018d, p. 16). Physical planning is emphasised as an important part of "building away" these barriers. For instance, it is stated that "physical and mental barriers should be removed and the city should be healed, for example by converting certain entrance routes to city streets." (Malmö Stad, 2018d, p. 34). Similar to the description of Malmö's socio-spatial geography made in the *Comprehensive plan*, the short distances and the mixed population that characterise Malmö is in several interviews highlighted as both an advantage and a challenge in counteracting segregation. The advantage is that there are no physical distances between areas with different socioeconomic characteristics. The relative central location of socioeconomic weak areas creates a good precondition for changing these areas and make them more attractive. However, this closeness can also lead to visibility of injustices and social difference, that, in turn, could increase conflict.

When asking about the respondent's perception of segregation in Malmö, the main focus is on socioeconomically vulnerable areas which were built during the Million Homes Program. The segregation patterns in Malmö is, by many of the respondents, partly explained as a consequence of the physical planning in the 60's and 70's. The politician, M1, stresses that segregation mainly arose from unemployment but has been strengthened by the large-scale planning ideal of that time. The reasoning is that, at that time, people had jobs and were more mobile in their everyday life. Due to a higher degree of unemployment as well as segregation these residential areas have become "isolated islands surrounded by major roads and railroads" (M1, 19-03-07). The structures of the built environment are hence understood as creating barriers which are reinforcing segregation. Apart from seeing the roads and railroads as barriers, the planning ideal off separation in the Million Homes Program is also understood to reinforce segregation patterns. The head of an exploitation unit, M5, for example, explained the division of tenure forms within these areas where rental housing is located at one place, tenant-owned housing at another place and owner occupation at yet another. Even if the different tenure forms exist within the same area, it is divided on the neighbourhood level.

5.2.2 Societal inequalities

The causation between poverty and residential areas raises questions about neighbourhood effects and whether people become poorer by living in neighbourhoods with other poor people or not. Musterd (2002) has, for example, pointed out that even if levels of segregation and inequalities can be manifested within specific areas, it does not have to mean that the housing stock or the area itself is the problem. Several respondents related residential segregation to other kinds of segregation such as segregation at schools and workplaces. The housing

provision coordinator and strategic urban planner, M3, points out that "if we had economic equality, we would probably not focus on segregation as a problem." (M3, 2019-03-19). The argument is that if there were economic equality, there would be a greater mix of people at the workplaces and then, residential segregation had not been considered as such a big problem. This argument questions the focus on residential segregation as the main problem. The regional coordinator at Save the children, A3, formulate a similar thought when talking about segregation as a symptom of other problems which arise from inequality:

> It does not work from a democratic equality perspective to have an unequal society, it does not coincide. I would say that this is the main problem. Because for segregation, yes it depends on where you live but still not. It is not the problem itself, it is just a symptom of many other problems. (A3, 2019-03-26).

Further, A3 emphasise that socioeconomic inequalities are manifested spatially in things such as unemployment rates and life expectancy. These differences have a spatial pattern but are caused by inequality. The specialist in sustainable urban development at an architect firm, A4, argue that segregation is both a driving force and a product of an unequal city:

> Residential segregation establishes inequalities in the sense that it makes social integration more complicated and, to some extent, stigmatisation and exclusion in relation to social resources and the city's resources. However, it is also a signal of inequalities in general, the fact that there are significant social divisions in the city makes segregation itself possible. (A4, 19-04-24).

With reference to the *Commission for a social sustainable Malmö's* report that shows that there is a difference in life expectancy depending on where you live, the operation development manager at the Tenant association, A1, talks about how areas have unequal access to qualities in everyday life and argues that "that's the problem, I think, that these systems that should work equally in all areas, because we have one city, doesn't, and that will have consequences for the individual in the long run." (A1, 19-03-26). Similar thinking was expressed by for example A3 that ask for a broadened debate on residential segregation that incorporates important social dimensions and problematise the focus on the physical issues of separation:

> I think there are so many different problems that build segregation like enemy images, demonisation of the other, economics, education etc. Most of the things you hear about are related to physical issues; that you have access to housing and 'if we mix housing everything will be fine'. I miss some other of the social dimensions. I think that, really, as long as there are no slumlords, where you live does not really matter if you have freedom of movement and access to different kind of spaces. (A3, 19-03-26).

Here, the focus on residential segregation as a societal problem connected to the physical segregation itself is further problematised. If people have access to different kind of places, residential segregation would maybe not be a problem.

5.3 Strategies for housing and social mixing

5.3.1 Mixed tenure forms

The strategy to work with a mix of tenure forms is built on a two-fold objective (examplified by Kleinhans, 2004). It aims at making an area more stable and construct new housing in order for people to be able to stay when their life-situation change, as well as, aiming to create conditions for mobility and new groups to enter the area. The aim is, in both cases, to achieve a greater social mix.

In the interviews, tenure-mixing was stated as an important part of creating a varied housing structure. This should be seen in relation to the research conducted by Salonen et al. (2019), which shows the correlation between segregation and segmentation in Malmö. They argue that the form of tenure most likely reflects and reproduce patterns of socioeconomic segregation in the city. In order to create a mix of tenure forms in all areas there are some different strategies mentioned in the interviews. M1 did for example mention how a discount can be used in order to steer the builders:

> We have had a discount for those who build rental housing regardless of where they are building, and that is one thing I want to change. So, I say that we should steer in order to build the form of tenure that is missing in an area instead of binding it up and just being rented. Because, in some of the areas, such as Lindängen [large-scale housing area] and alike, we need tenant-owned housing. (M1, 2019-03-07).

Similar ideas are raised by M2 who argue that it should be more expensive to build the type of tenure which is already dominant in an area. In order to achieve this, the tools within exploitation and land allocation are highlighted. M2 stress that the municipality needs to create conditions for using the land price to control the development in order for it to:

> […] become more expensive to acquire land for building rental housing in an area that has much rental housing and less expensive to build tenant-owned if it is missing. In another area, perhaps the reverse relationship prevails, and then, the city must adapt its strategy in exploitation and land allocation." (M2, 19-03-21).

Land ownership and the tools of exploitation of municipal-owned land and the practice of land allocation were mentioned in several of the interviews as highly important in order to achieve a mix. Caesar and Kopsch (2018) also stress the importance of land ownership as one of the main tools for achieving housing and social mix as it gives the municipality further abilities to control things such as tenure form. M5 and M6 (the development secretary), at the real estate and streets and parks department emphasise that social dimensions have become more of a focus in recent years within land allocation. M6 stresses that one method is to work with social agreements in the exploitation process to put pressure on developers to "do something more than building a house". Further, the respondent stress that if "we say that all projects no matter where they are should create some kind of mix, then we have the opportunity, not to demand it in any way, but still, very clearly show that if you want to develop here it is this type." (M6, 19-04-16). As pointed out in this quote, the municipality has some power to point at the goals within the municipality and convince the developers to adjust to these goals. Therefore, is the connection between the municipality and the developers highly important in order for the goals set within the municipality to be implemented in the built environment.

When it comes to the construction on municipal land, M5 explains that about half of the new construction within Malmö is being built on municipally-owned land. There is a directive saying that at least 50 per cent of the new construction on municipally-owned land should be rental housing. The municipality can either lease or sell the land. M5 points out that the discount that is used in the long lease contracts ("tomträtt") have encouraged an increase in rental housing in the western parts of the city. In this type of contracts, the municipality remains the owner of the land while a housing company leases it from a long-term perspective. As long as there is rental housing, the company get a discount. If they, however, change it into tenant-

owned housing, the discount will be withdrawn. This indicates that the tool of land ownership to a large extent depends on the willingness of the developers to build in certain ways, and there is no guarantee that the tenure form which is decided from the start will prevail. This issue is raised by both M5 and M6, as well as by other respondents, who stresses the importance of having a dialogue with the developers.

It is, however, not as easy as adding the tenure form which is missing. The strategy does not necessarily lead to a social mix. One example was formulated by M3 who emphasise that the residents' choice of where to live is also an important part. Just because there is new construction of a specific tenure form in an area, does not mean that a new social group will move to the area:

> We cannot really control that [social mixing] because if you talk about mixing in the population, it can just as well be that we have an area of hundred owner-occupations and build a rental property with ten floors in the middle, and the people sell their villas and move in there and then it will not be very much mixing. But, people may be happy that they can stay in their area. (M3, 19-03-19).

Mixing strategies are also affected by the condition at the housing market and the difficulties for the municipality to provide housing for its inhabitants. Even if there has been an increase in construction, there are many people who cannot demand housing in the newly built stock as it is too expensive (Malmö Stad, 2018b, 2018d, 2018c). One thing that the municipality has little control of is rent-levels, which will be further discussed in section 5.5.1.

When it comes to directing the developers to build certain forms of tenure in specific areas, there are also some challenges which the municipality must deal with. M5 and M2 highlight an issue of finding the economic incentives to build tenant-owned housing in areas dominated by rental housing. M5 emphasise the uncertainties about whether the market is willing to invest in low-attractive areas:

> It can be challenging to get tenant-owned apartments in those areas with lower market conditions. We have not had any such large allocation of land in such areas, so we do not know if the market is willing to build tenant-owned. There is probably an uncertainty as to whether there is a turnover of tenant-owned apartments in areas with lower market conditions. (M5, 19-04-15).

So, it seems like the municipality is working with creating a mix of tenure forms throughout the city, but there are many challenges in terms of how the tenure mix would lead to social mix. Even if the municipality creates conditions for different tenure forms to be built across the city, it does not mean that there will be less residential segregation.

5.3.2 Breaking physical and mental barriers

One of the strategies for achieving an increased mix in the city is through urban renewal processes. This comes from the understanding, stated in the *Comprehensive plan,* of the problems of physical barriers which reinforces mental barriers, which in turn hamper social interaction and attractiveness. In order to "heal" the city, these barriers must be removed. There is, therefore, a focus on linking areas together. In several of the interviews, mixing strategies were linked to mobility and physical connections between areas. This relates to the idea of segregation as a problem of physical separation, where physical barriers also create mental barriers. To break these barriers are understood as a strategy to foster social interaction.

The planning architect, M4, used the concept of "urbanity" (stadsmässighet) as an essential guideline for how the city should be developed. When talking about urbanity, the respondent emphasises the importance of reducing barriers and creating the conditions for a vibrant street environment. This response can to a large extent be related to the critique of the structure of the Million Homes Program, which is seen as hampering social integration and safety. This clearly states the ideal of the mixed city, which can be seen as a reaction to the descriptions of Malmö as a segregated city with noticeable physical and mental barriers.

One example that was mentioned in several interviews is the project of Amiralsstaden, and how the different sub-projects in Rosengård is supposed to overcome the barriers created from the planning in the 60's and 70's. The opening of the new train station, Station Rosengård, is used as an example in several of the interviews with respondents within the municipality. M1 stresses that:

> Many of these roads and railways are perceived as barriers, and now we are changing the whole function and say that "now it is not barriers". On the contrary, that is what makes you, as a person living in Rosengård, able to go quickly to other parts or out of the city and also quickly home again. It becomes a road to and from something, not a barrier, and it is crucial how you perceive these things. (M1, 19-03-07).

The quote illustrates the ideas of mobility as an important part of the linking and healing of the city. The train station is also seen as an engine that will contribute to further development in and around the area. The underlying idea is to make the area more attractive in order to attract investment, services and new developments.

The importance of creating attractive areas is also mentioned by M2 who argues that in order to make the market build mixed in low-attractive areas, the municipality can work with promoting qualities and put resources into environments and infrastructure:

> If you are to build owner-occupation and tenant-owned housing in areas where the market is very weak, there is a clear target conflict. We want this from the city, but you can invest loads of money in the projects, but no one will demand them. So, it is about working with an idea of mixing, but it must also be linked to demand, and there the city can do what they can when it comes to highlighting qualities in areas. Like, if we say, "dope" areas that need to develop their environments and the infrastructure so it becomes more attractive. (M2, 19-03-21).

So, the municipality is struggling with creating conditions for the market to invest in low-attractive areas. One of the strategies that are used within physical planning is to make areas more attractive, to "dope" the areas in order to increase the attractiveness of the area. The idea of making an area more attractive in order to attract investment can easily be condemned by the critique of the mechanisms within neoliberal urbanism and planning.

5.3.3 Mix of functions

An interesting part of the analysis, which is not much discussed in the previous research, is the ideas of a functionally mixed city as part of the strategy for a socially mixed city. The importance of a mix of functions was a reoccurring topic and emphasis in the documents as well as in the interviews. It refers to a mix of housing, parks, commerce, community services, leisure activities, culture and offices. It is stated in the *Comprehensive plan* that "the city should be built with as large mix of functions as possible." (Malmö Stad, 2018d, p. 34). M1 underlines that it is crucial that mixing includes a mix of functions and not only housing as "the heterogeneous area is not just about the housing, it is just as much about the conditions for community service, business, the municipality or the authorities' presence, it is about workplaces and so on. […] that is what is really heterogeneous" (M1, 19-03-07).

A mix of functions should, however, also be viewed in the ambition to achieve an equal distribution of services across the city. The mixing idea is situated within a complex context where inequalities in the city, of course, must be dealt with, at the same time is the urban policy situated within a neoliberal urbanism which pose some issues when it comes to achieving an equal city. These are complex processes and will be further discussed in section 5.5 about urban development and gentrification.

5.4 From policy to implementation

All respondents talked about housing and social mixing as something crucial to strive for. Just as the literature, the respondents also discuss how the ideas of social mixing can be seen from a broad perspective with different goals, strategies and focuses. It seems like there is a clear idea within the municipality as well as among the other respondents that a mixed city is desired, but it is difficult to find concrete priorities or explanations of what it implies.

5.4.1 Two reoccurring examples

In the interviews, two current developments were reoccurring as examples. These are Amiralsstaden and Sege park. Amiralsstaden is an urban development process focused on the geographical area around the new train station, Station Rosengård, that opened in December 2018. The station is seen as an "engine for developing new and nearby sites" and the aim is to "use physical planning to achieve social gains." (Malmö Stad, 2018a, p. 5). Together with the station, some other developments are the redevelopment of the street Amiralsgatan and the landmark building "Culture Casbah". These are seen as investments that improve connections between places and people (Malmö Stad, 2018a). Amiralsstaden can be understood as a densification process, where the main target is to densify in the Million Homes Program area in Rosengård[7]. When Amiralsstaden is mentioned in the interviews, the emphasis is upon the role of physical planning in order to increase the attractiveness of the area. By addition of housing and renewal projects, new groups can be attracted to live in the area.

The other current development area that was mentioned is Sege Park which is seen as a test arena for sustainable development. The area today consists of some housing, in the old hospital buildings, and the old hospital park. The ambition is to create a mixed area with an

[7] Rosengård was mostly built within the Million Homes Program as is one of the most socioeconomically weak areas in Malmö. The area has lower proportion of employment, income and education than the avarage in Malmö (Malmö Stad, 2017).

emphasis on both functions, different forms of housing as well as a range of different developers (Malmö Stad, 2015). Sege park is lifted in several of the interviews as an example of how the municipality can use the power of landownership in order to put pressure on developers to take social commitment. As shown in the document analysis, mixing is highly related to ideas of social sustainability which is also evident in the process of Sege park.

What is interesting from these two examples is that these two areas, Amiralsstaden and Sege park, are very different in their character. This indicates that housing and social mix policies are broadly used within the urban development in Malmö today. The mixing ideal is both guiding the development in the (almost) new development area of Sege park and the regeneration and densification of Rosengård. There are, however, different challenges imposed in the different scenarios. Challenges in newly built areas could be viewed from the discussion about the link between tenure mixing and social mixing as well as the link between physical proximity and social interaction (Joseph, 2006b; Kleinhans, 2004). The challenge to achieve a social mix can then, for example, be linked to rent-levels and finding new ways to promote affordable housing. As there are less incentives for building low-cost housing, the resources should be put into the challenge of affordable housing. Then, mixing could be a strategy for increased social justice. In already existing areas where the mixing strategy is imposed to change the household composition, there are, however, many challenges in order not to stimulate processes of displacement as the main strategy is to change socioeconomically weak areas into mixed areas.

5.4.2 No clear directive

The head of the unit for city development, M2, raise the issue of not having a clear directive for the mixing policy which weakens the ambitions: “There is no clear directive, there is a directive that says that generally one should strive for creating a mixed city, we should try to vary. However, if it is not black and white that it is a requirement in all respects, then one try to meet the market's ability to do something.” (M2, 19-03-21). The pressure to build housing has been met with an increase in new construction the past years and then “you can ask the question whether it is right what has been built and will it be more varied?” (M2, 19-03-21). M2 elaborates further on the directions to what a reasonable mix is. By asking the rhetoric question of “what is meant by segregation? Is there some situation where we think that we should have as even distribution across the city as possible, what does it mean?” the respondent emphasises the complexities by applying the strategies in reality. M2 continued by discussing the

difficulties for the municipality to control the rent-levels, which imply further questions about what the municipality could and should do:

> So, should we start talking about price levels and variation or should we just create a structure that is varied and then prices will differ between different locations? We may not even be able to control it, because some areas in the city are more valued by the fact that it is more interesting and more people who demand the housing in these areas and then it also becomes more expensive. So, it is about finding a distinction and a description of what is meant by segregation and when we are finished. (M2, 2019-03-21).

A3 discusses another critical issue: that the municipality and other actors can not force the citizens to interact. Even if opportunities to meet and share are created, it does not mean that people will actually interact. "So the risk is that you have decided on the idea that 'if we build mixed, everything is good' and it feels a bit like that." (A3, 19-03-26). Further, does the respondent emphasise that there is a tendency to simplify complex phenomenon and find modest solutions which do not originate from concerns and knowledge about the existing inhabitants. The respondent problematises the understanding of segregation by emphasising that "segregation is perhaps not what we think it is". (A3, 19-03-26). This is also something that is discussed in the literature as policy-makers around the world use it as a "mantra" which is seldom questioned (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2009, p. 471).

5.4.3 Distinguish between strategies and goals

Another way in which mixing was problematised was by A4 who stressed that there are no clear distinctions between strategies and goals:

> The mixed city, in any sense can undoubtedly be an excellent strategy for achieving different things; social mix, the efficiency of transport patterns, security issues, etc. However, these things must be the goal. What we do is to take a strategy or a solution that is a mean and make it a goal in the planning process. (A4, 19-04-24).

The quote points at diffusion of what within the mixing strategy is considered to be the goal and what is the means to achieve these goals. Therefore, A4 ask for concretisations of what is meant by the mixed city:

> The concept of the mixed city has a lot of different meanings and when we are forced to become concrete with our goals, we are forced to become even more concrete with how our suggestions for solution will reach that goal. Then we avoid the situation where we just sit around the table and say 'mixed city' and nod and when it gets to the crunch, we have meant completely different things. (A4, 19-04-24).

Concerning the discussion about what is the goal and what is the mean, A4 says that "I do not believe mixing between offices, housing and commerce is a social goal, but understanding, social capital and social trust can be." (A4, 19-04-24). And further, the respondent emphasise that these social goals are almost equal to social mixing.

A related and crucial discussion when it comes to mixing is scale. On what geographical level is mixing to be implemented? This was raised by Galster (2012) who connect the question of scale to the ambiguity of housing and social mix policies. There seems to be no clear definition within Malmö municipality when it comes to the scale of mixing. M1 talked about the area of Rosengård and that, depending on the scale, mixing can be understood differently. When looking at the tenure forms in the whole of Rosengård, it could be understood as a mixed area but "it is mixed in the way that it is divided into three parts." (M1, 19-03-07). M2 raise the importance of looking at the scale as well as the location in order to discuss mixing. As it is now, the respondent argues, variation can be found within an area while it on the neighbourhood level is very divided. Mixing can, therefore, mean different things depending on the scale. Further, M2 emphasises that:

> […] from an overall Malmö perspective, it is at the neighbourhood level we should work much more actively to create a mix. And maybe also create the condition for slightly different prices throughout the city. However, the variation cannot be the same everywhere. You also need to consider that there should be sound incentives and some locations in the city of Malmö are more attractive, and then it must also reflect in the housing prices in one way or another. (M2, 2019-03-21).

As an addition, M2 elaborate on that a total equalisation of differences may not even be the goal. But there needs to be an equalisation of differences to some extent. For example, are an equal distribution of public services like schools, healthcare, infrastructure and green areas mentioned as a crucial thing. Then, there are market forces that control price differences in different geographical locations.

5.5 Planning for housing and social mix in times of neoliberalism

Three main housing political goals are set in the current *Action plan for housing provision:* maintaining high construction levels, increased possibilities for households with low incomes to get decent housing and to reduce homelessness. Even if these goals are stated, it is also stated that "to reduce the housing shortage through new construction is a long term strategy" and "can only be done on market principles if the ability to demand housing is strengthened among the economically weakest households". (Malmö Stad, 2018b, p. 8). In the interviews, several challenges were mentioned that relate to these three main goals. A4 expresses a complexity by stating that "what makes these issues even more complex is that we have not only a segregation challenge to deal with, but also a housing crisis which is quite severe in Malmö." (A4, 19-04-24). This refers to the problem that at the same time as Malmö has seen an increase of structural homelessness, the newly build housing is too expensive for many people to afford (Malmö Stad, 2018b).

5.5.1 Rent-levels

One of the main obstacles mentioned, concerning achieving a social mix, is the high rents in the newly built housing stock. The municipality does not have many tools to control the rents. It is, however, stated in the *Land allocation policy* that the municipality should "act in order to make it possible for people to have affordable living costs" in the new production (Malmö Stad, 2007, p. 14). Even if tenure form to some extent can be regulated by the tool of land allocation, rent-levels is more difficult to influence. This is raised by M6, who stresses that the municipality is legal landowners but, they "do not decide on everything that happens on the land. So, the physical mixture is not difficult to obtain, but it is this other type of mixing that can be difficult." (M6, 19-04-16). The mixing which is referred to is the social mix which they cannot control as there is no ability to control the rents and hence who will be able to demand the dwellings. The respondent further problematises the link between tenure form and socioeconomics. Due to the differences in rent depending on location, tenure form does not always coincide with socioeconomic groups. M5 raises "the state has released the whole market, so we are trying to

trick it, but we will only come down to a few hundred crowns. Newly-built housing will never approach cheap housing in the existing stock, there is not." (M5, 19-04-15). This raises questions regarding the link between tenure form and social mix. If the newly build rental-housing is too expensive for a large number of people to afford, it might not be a good strategy to increase the social mix by adding rental housing in attractive areas. On the other hand, could this mean that social mixing is achieved by new construction in low-attractive areas as the newly built housing will be more expensive.

Regarding mixing, the head of the unit for development and opinion at Tenant association, A2, points out that mixing can become something nice in theory but in practice, it does not work as long as people struggle even to enter the housing market:

> […] it becomes a little nice to build a little mixed here and there, but if people can't enter [the housing market] because the thresholds are high, no matter what type of housing, then segregation will occur no matter how beautiful the plans, maps and intentions are. If it is like this in practice, it [mixing] does not help. (A2, 19-03-26).

The respondents at the Tenant association, A1 and A2, relate the difficulties for people to enter the housing market to the deregulation of the market and the political decision to make a functional market as the main goal within the overall housing policy. They argue that something is wrong from the start when housing can be built with such expensive rents. They mention that people will live there nevertheless as they have to live somewhere:

> And, on the other side, we do not have to sit here and be very angry that real estate owners are building housing where they make the most profit because now the politics have actually decided that it is the market that should control the housing market, that a functioning market is the [housing policy] goal [...]. There is no national political goal that everyone should have a home at a reasonable cost, there is not. (A2, 2019-03-26).

The quote illustrates the tensions within neoliberal planning with a strengthened relationship between the state and the market and the goal for planning is to introduce market principles (Baeten, 2012). The role of the state is to provide a functional housing market on market terms and not to provide housing for reasonable costs. At the same time, the municipality has the

responsibility for providing housing for its inhabitants, which certainly is an issue if looking at the increase of structural homelessness.

In the *Comprehensive plan*, the existing housing stock is raised as an essential part of the housing provision as it mainly is this stock that can provide housing with lower rents. Through a chain of moves, the existing housing stock could be "used better and more households could enter the housing market." (Malmö Stad, 2018d, p. 26). A chain of moves is supposed to get started by addition of new construction. M1 stresses the importance of keeping the people with purchasing power in the city and therefore there is a need to also build housing for the richer segment, something the respondent means they have been widely criticised for. This relates to the ideas of "trickle down", which is criticised by Holgersen and Baeten (2016) as the liberal link between the production and distribution.

5.5.2 Gentrification

In order to contextualise housing and social mix policies within today's housing market and planning practice, discussions on processes of gentrification can give indications on some of the challenges within neoliberal urbanism. Smith (2002) emphasises that the word of gentrification seldom is used within planning as it reveals a class-dimension and implies the risk of a shift of the population in an area. Instead, the words used within regeneration projects refer to concepts about social balance, which also relates to social mixing. In the documents, there is no discussion about gentrification. In the *Action plan for housing provision,* it is, however, mentioned that there is a risk of heavily increased rent-levels when the existing stock is renovated (Malmö Stad, 2018b, p. 9). This indicates that there is a caution about the risk of gentrification processes, which also were evident in the interviews.

In the interviews, generally, the respondents within the municipality had a more positive use of the word gentrification compared to the other actors that had a stronger critical opinion. In the interviews with M2 and M4, processes of gentrification were related to development. M2 problematises that gentrification often is expressed as something evil within research and instead, the respondent underlines that a balanced gentrification is a condition for developing the city and therefore gentrification is a necessity for development:

> However, if there is no gentrification, there is no development. After all, it is the crass truth that, to drive the development of a property, means that prices will increase a bit. It is important that they increase in a balanced way where you can still create conditions for both investment and development, but also for new

> groups to perceive of this place as a place to live and have a good quality of life. (M2, 19-03-21).

M2 emphasises that the process has to be done in a balanced way in order to not lose the existing identity and build a city for someone else than the people living there. Similar thoughts are expressed by M4 who talks about gentrification in relation to the processes in Rosengård/Amiralsstaden. M4 argues that "in order for someone to be willing to invest in an area, there must be a potential for increased property value, and this happens through some form of gentrification." Just like M2 stresses the importance of developing the city in a balanced way, M4 emphasis that "it is a slow increase in the market value that we believe in and not a fast. (M4, 19-04-23).

The issue of gentrification is raised by M3 as a possible consequence of densification and mixing strategies, and further emphasises that if the densification and mixing lead to displacements, "then of course we have in some sense failed. It is really difficult." (M3, 19-03-19). On the other hand, the respondent expresses that there might not be an alternative:

> It can also be that densification leads to gentrification, which then does not contribute to further mixing. So, there are mechanisms here that we do not [control], it is not like 'do like this and it will become like this'. However, on the other hand, we can ask; what is the alternative? Not trying to mix? Nah. (M3, 19-03-19).

The quote above illustrates a tricky situation within planning where the power to control these market mechanisms is highly reduced. So, the municipality can work for an idea of mixing and have certain ideas of how the development should take place, but other mechanisms are progressing at the same time. It is regarding these other mechanisms that mixing can become, intentionally or unintentionally, a tool for the middle-classes to "take over" new areas (Lees, 2008).

Concerning the relation between gentrification and mixing, research emphasise the tendency for gentrification to continue, even when mixing has been achieved. This means that people are being displaced as the area change (Atkinson, 2004; Bridge et al., 2012). So, this indicates a contradiction between planning for mixing through promoting gentrification. The Tenant association adds a more problematised reality of the developments in Rosengård. For the people living there, A1 says, there are diverse feelings about the developments. The

inhabitants are happy that, finally, something is happening in their area, at the same times as they worry that they will not be able to stay in the area. A1, for example, mentions that the apartments in the newly built "Culture Casbah" will not target the people living in Rosengård, but rather attract others to invest in the area. Further, the respondent relates the processes of gentrification to the densification strategy which, will change the area and put it in another position in relation to the rest of the city:

> I am thinking about when it comes to the focus on densification which is prevailing in Malmö right now, is the thing with gentrification. That you now start entering areas like Rosengård, for example, where you build the station, Culture Casbah and change the whole Amiralsgatan. It means that, in the long run, the area will have a different location. Those investing in the area, of course, want to increase the prices and there is also a need for renovation in the houses of the Million Homes Program. So, the question eventually becomes; Where should people live? Not even in the areas where other people do not want to live. (A1, 19-03-26).

The quote illustrates the risk of displacement as the area is changing. The regeneration and processes going on in the area will change the location of the area to become more central. This relates to the idea of breaking barriers and linking areas together discussed earlier. The intervention will make the area more attractive for investments and increase the market value, which is what the municipality is aiming for. However, the Tenant association also raises the risks with the gentrification by asking the question about "where should people live?" and refer to the people who can not demand expensive housing. The respondent from Save the children emphasise that processes of gentrification "is never good because it is all about pushing away a group that has problems." (A3, 19-03-26). Further does the respondent put forward critique towards the idea that some gentrification is needed in order for developing the city as it is built on the idea of trickle down:

> It sounds much like this spillover effects, a liberal perspective; if you get richer then I also get richer. I mean, have we not disproved this for a long time? A degree of development, absolutely, but look from the area's and individuals' preconditions, invest in that. (A3, 19-03-26).

The reasoning by A3 relates to how Atkinson (2004) formulate the need to involve existing residents in the city development in order to avoid strategies for diversity to lead to displacement.

6 Concluding discussion

The aim of this thesis has been to problematise and deepen the understanding of housing and social mix policies within a Swedish planning context. The case study of Malmö is used in order to discuss the strategies and the challenges and potential risks of these strategies.
The housing and social mix policies within the municipality of Malmö is formulated in accordance with the general Swedish approach. The problems with segregation are understood as both due to the built environment in the city as well as societal inequalities, which legitimise a range of different measures to combat residential segregation.

This thesis identifies three main strategies to counteract segregation through housing and social mixing within the articulation of physical planning in Malmö municipality. Within the first strategy that I have named Mixed tenure forms, land ownership is mentioned as one of the main tools for the municipality to regulate the developments of the housing structure, but it has to be in consideration with what the market is willing to do. The second strategy, to Break physical and mental barriers, turns the focus towards the built environment and the lack of linkages between areas. The idea is to foster social interaction by breaking these barriers. The barriers can both be major roads, railroads and rigid housing structures and are mostly related to areas built in the Million Homes Program. The third strategy is to promote a mix of functions throughout the city, which highly relate to the strategy of breaking barriers. The insights from these strategies suggest that the idea of mixing is formulated broadly within contemporary physical planning. This indicates that the idea of mixing both fits into conceptions of justice and can be a strategy for reducing inequalities and, at the same time, can justify policies based on "trickle down" logic and processes of gentrification. Mixing in this sense is a perfect example of this liberal link between the production of the city and the redistribution of the city.

It seems like there are different obstacles with creating a mix depending on the type of area. In attractive areas, there is a problem of expensive housing which creates high economic thresholds for residing in the area. Therefore, even if there have been incentives, like subsidises, for building rental housing, these do not have to create a further social mix. In low-attractive areas, the problem with creating a mix is emphasised as a problem of fostering the market to build in these areas. Therefore, the municipality plays a more central role and promotes qualities as well as using physical planning and urban renewal strategies to make the areas more attractive.

This brings us to the challenges of implementing these policies. The analysis shows that one challenge is that there is no clear directive of what mixing is. This can, in accordance with previous research, indicate on the vagueness of what the actual reason and implication for mixing is. Another challenge is rent-levels. If the newly build rental-housing in attractive areas are too expensive for another social group to afford, then the tenure form might not matter in the sense of achieving a socioeconomic mix. There is also an overall issue of providing affordable housing for the inhabitants in Malmö. The deregulation of the housing market has reduced the tools and in this situation, the logic of chain of moves becomes rational: if more housing is built for the rich, then the cheaper housing in the existing stock will be released. This reasoning also comes from ideas of trickle down. Many of the challenges of implementing the strategies of housing and social mix policies relate to the dynamics between the state and the market within neoliberal urbanism. The relation between the state and the market is complex and does not involve a total draw-back of the state, rather the state facilitates for the market. This situation in which municipal planning is situated creates some tensions which come forward in the analysis. When it comes to achieving a social mix and claim for the social concerns, which are related to the mixing idea, the market has to be somehow "manipulated" into social commitments. These concerns might be against their interest in maximum profit, or the social concerns can be incorporated and capitalised to serve their interests. The question is, however, if it is possible to gentrify an area by housing and social mixing without displacement. As the title of this thesis implies, there is a tricky situation in which the housing and social mix policies are situated: "What is the alternative? Not trying to mix? Nah."

Following the discussions on strategies and challenges, some potential risks with housing and social mix policies are revealed. Even if the municipality uses gentrification as a way for development, there is a risk of people being displaced due to the increased land values. There is, therefore, also a potential risk of the broadness of the concept within physical planning as it can legitimise "anything". The self-evident role of the ideal within physical planning can portray these, highly political processes as apolitical. Therefore, I agree that the strategies and goals have to be better defined in order for the policies to foster equality. The challenges and potential risks also have to be considered and, even if they cannot be opposed, they could be counteracted by intentional urban planning aiming for "real" inclusion.

In order to look at the actual implementation of the policies, other methods than used in this study is needed. It would, for example, be interesting for further research to look at the construction which has been build in the past ten years. What has been build and where? Apart

from looking at the form of tenure, rent-levels should be incorporated as this study show that the costs are a major difficulty for the provision of housing in Malmö. It should also be incorporated as there are highly different rent-levels in different rental housing stocks which affect who has the ability to live there. Such study would give an indication of the implementation of the policy and whether the policy is actualised as a general policy. In order to investigate whether the policies are effective or not, future studies should focus on the people and not only on neighbourhoods. If the focus is at the neighbourhood level, it could be seen as the policies has increased the life-chances for the people living there even if processes of gentrification has led to displacement and therefore not a better life for the individuals. So, when following the processes in a city like Malmö, there need also to be a focus on the individual.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide

Inform

- Present myself and the thesis.
- Practical concerns: Anonymity, quotation and recording.

Introduction

- Who are you and what do you work with? What is your role within physical planning in Malmö?

Residential segregation

- How would you describe residential segregation in Malmö?
- What are the challenges/problems?
- What role does physical planning have when it comes to segregation?

Mixing

- Is it important to work for a more mixed city when it comes to housing? Why?
- How would you define mixing? Scale, socially, housing structure…
- Is there an ideal? Example…

Strategies

- How do you understand the goal of mixed housing in all areas in the city?
- How can this mix be achieved in all areas?
- Is there a will to create mixed communities in every area?
- How is it going, is Malmö becoming more mixed?

Challenges

- What are the challenges with creating mixed neighbourhoods?
- What are the outcomes in practice?

Lastly

- Do you have anything to add or ask?
- Recommendations of who to interview?

Appendix 2: Interview quotes in Swedish

P. 39. It does not work…: Det fungerar inte ur ett demokratiskt jämlikhetsperspektiv att ha ett samhälle som är ojämlikt, det går inte ihop. Jag skulle vilja säga att det är det som är huvudproblemet för att segregation, ja det beror på var du bor men fortfarande inte, det är ju inte problemet i sig det är bara ett symptom på massa andra problem. (A3, 2019-03-26).

P. 39. Residential segregation establishes…: Boendesegregationen befäster ojämlikheter i det att den försvårar en social integration och i viss mån stigmatisering och utanförskap i förhållande till sociala resurser och stadens resurser. Men det är också så att den ju är en signal om ojämlikheter i övrigt, att det finns stora sociala klyftor i staden gör ju att segregationen i sig är möjlig. (A4, 19-04-24).

P. 39. that's the problem, I think…: Det är väl det som är problemet tänker jag, att dom här systemen som ska fungera likvärdigt i alla stadsdelar, för att vi har en stad, inte gör det. Och det får ju konsekvenser för individen i förlängningen. (A1, 19-03-26).

p. 40. I think there are so many…: Jag tänker att det är så många olika problem som bygger segregation, alltså fiendebilder, demonisering av den andre, ekonomi, utbildning hur många saker som helst ju. Så egentligen kan jag tycka att det blir lite, det mesta man hör om det handlar om fysiska frågor, att du ska ha tillgång till boende och om vi blandar boende på blir allting bra, jag saknar lite andra av de sociala dimensionerna i det. Jag tror att egentligen, så länge det inte finns slumfastighetsägare så var du bor spelar egentligen inte så stor roll tänker jag om du har rörelsefrihet och tillgång till olika sorters rum. (A3, 19-03-26).

P. 40. We have had a discount…: Vi har haft rabatt på tomträttsarrende för dom som bygger hyresrätter oavsett var dom bygger hyresrätter och det är en sak jag vill ändra på. Så jag säger att vi ska styra om det till att bygga den upplåtelseform som saknas i ett område istället för att binda upp det och bara bli hyresrätter. För i en del av dom här områdena, som lindängen och liknande, behöver vi bostadsrätter. Vi behöver bostadsrätter i dom områdena och det har vi inte idag. (M1, 19-03-07).

P. 41. […] become more expensive…: t ex. att det blir dyrare att förvärva mark för att bygga hyresrätt i ett område som har mycket hyresrätter och billigare att bygga bostadsrätt om det saknas, i ett annat område kanske det omvända förhållandet råder och då måste staden anpassa sin strategi i exploatering och markanvisning. (M2, 19-03-21).

P. 41 "we say that…: På kommunal mark, om vi säger att alla projekt oavsett var dom är ska skapa någon form av blandning så har vi en möjlighet att, inte kräva det på nåt sätt, men ändå väldigt tydligt visa att om man vill utveckla här så är det den här typen. (M6, 19-04-16).

P. 42. We cannot really control…: Det [social blandning] kan vi ju egentligen inte styra för att, alltså om man pratar om blandning i befolkningen för det kan ju lika gärna vara så att har vi ett område med hundra villor och bygger en hyresfastighet i mitten på tio våningar så kan det ju va så att det är bara dom som säljer sina villor som flyttar in där och då blir det ju inte särskilt mycket blandning. Men dom människorna kanske är glada för att dom kan bo kvar i sitt område. (M3, 19-03-19).

P. 42. It can be challenging…: Sen kan det ju vara svårt att få till bostadsrätter i de områden med lägre marknadsläge, vi har inte haft någon sån stor marktilldelning i sådana områden så vi vet inte om marknaden är villig att bygga bostadsrätter. Det finns nog en osäkerhet om det finns en omsättning av bostadsrätter i områden med lägre marknadsläge. (M5, 19-04-15).

P. 43. Many of these roads…: Många av de här vägarna och järnvägarna uppfattas som barriärer, nu ändrar vi hela funktionen och säger att "näe det där är inte barriärer, utan tvärtom, det är det där som gör att du som Rosengårdsbo kan ta dig snabbt till andra delar av stan och ut ur stan och också snabbt hem igen." Det blir en väg till- och- från någonting inte ett hinder och det är väldigt viktigt hur man uppfattar dom här sakerna. (M1, 19-03-07).

P. 44. If you are to…: Om man ska bygga äganderätter och bostadsrätter i områden där marknaden är väldigt svag så blir det ju en tydlig målkonflikt. Vi vill detta från staden men man kan investera hur mycket pengar som helst i projekten men det är inga som kommer att efterfråga dom. Så det är ju liksom att jobba med en ide om blandning men

det måste också hänga ihop med en efterfrågan och där kan ju staden göra det dom kan när det gäller att synliggöra kvalitéer i områden. Att om vi säger ”dopa” områden som behöver utveckla sina miljöer och utveckla infrastrukturen så att det blir mer attraktivt. (M2, 19-03-21).

P. 44. M1 the heterogeneous areas…: Heterogena området handlar inte bara om bostäderna och upplåtelseformerna av bostäderna, det handlar lika mycket om förutsättningar för samhällsservice, affärer, kommunen eller myndigheters närvaro det handlar om arbetsplatser och liknande. […]. det är det riktigt heterogena. (M1, 19-03-07).

P. 45. There is no clear directive…: Man har inte fått det direktivet tydligt, man har ett direktiv att allmänt ska man värna om att skapa blandstad, vi ska försöka variera, men om det inte är svart/vitt det här är ett krav i alla avseenden så blir det ju att man försöker möta marknadens möjlighet att göra något. (M2, 19-03-21).

P. 47. So, should we start…: Alltså ska vi börjar prata om prisnivåer och variation eller ska vi bara skapa en struktur som är varierad och sen att priserna skiljer sig mellan olika lägen? Det kan vi kanske inte komma åt, utan för att vissa lägen i staden är mer värderade och det är mer intressant och fler som efterfrågar då blir också priset dyrare. Så det gäller att hitta en distinktion och en beskrivning av vad man menar med segregation och när vi är färdiga. (M2, 19-03-21).

P. 47. The mixed city…: Blandstaden i någon mening kan säkert vara en alldeles utmärkt strategi för att uppnå olika saker, den sociala mixen, effektiviteten i transportmönster, trygghetsfrågor osv osv, men det är det som måste var målsättningen. Det vi gör är ju att ta en typstrategi eller en typlösning som ju är ett medel, och så gör vi det till mål i planprocessen. (A4, 19-04-24).

P. 48. The concept of…: Blandstadsbegreppet ryms så väldigt mycket och när vi tvingas bli konkreta med våra målsättningar så tvingas vi bli ännu mer konkreta med hur våra lösningsförslag leder fram till den målsättningen. Då undviker vi situationen där vi bara sitter runt bordet allihopa och säger blandstad och nickar och sen när det väl kommer till kritan har vi menat helt olika saker. (A4, 19-04-24).

P. 48. […] from an overall Malmö…: […] utifrån ett övergripande Malmö stad-perspektiv så är det ju kvartersnivå man skulle jobba mycket mer aktivt för att skapa en blandning. Och kanske också skapa lite mer förutsättning för lite olika priser i hela staden, sen kan inte variationen vara likadan överallt. Du måste också tänka utifrån att det ska finnas sunda incitament och vissa lägen i Malmö stad är mer attraktiva och då måste det också återspegla sig i bostadspriserna på ett eller annat sätt. (M2, 19-03-21).

P. 49-50. the state…: staten har släppt hela marknaden så är det ju, vi håller ju på att försöker trolla men vi kommer ju bara komma ner på några hundralappar. Nyproducerade hyreshus kommer aldrig närma sig billiga hyreshus i det befintliga beståndet, det finns inte. (M5, 19-04-15).

P. 50. […] it becomes a little nice to build a little mixed here and there, but if people can't enter [the housing market] because the thresholds are high, no matter what type of housing, then segregation will occur no matter how beautiful the plans, maps and intentions are. If it is like this in practice, it [mixing] does not help. (A2, 19-03-26).

P. 50. And, on the other side…: Och andra sidan, vi behöver inte sitta här och vara väldigt arga på att fastighetsägare bygger dom bostäder där de tjänar mest pengar för nu har ju faktiskt politiken bestämt att det är marknaden som ska styra på bostadsmarknaden, att en fungerande marknad är målet för det är det man har som bostadspolitiskt mål […]. Man har ju inget nationellt politiskt mål om att alla ska ha en bostad till en rimlig kostnad, det finns ju inte. (A2, 2019-03-26).

P. 51-52. However, if there…: Men sker det ingen gentrifiering så sker det ingen utveckling. Det är ju den krassa sanningen för att driva på utvecklingen av ett fastighetsbestånd betyder att priserna kommer gå upp lite, men det gäller ju att det görs på ett balanserat sätt där man ändå kan skapa förutsättningar för dels investeringar och utveckling men också att nya grupper [bostadssökande] kan se det här som en plats att bo på och få en god livskvalité. (M2, 19-03-21).

P. 52. It can also be…: Men det kan ju också vara så att en förtätning leder till en gentrifiering som ju då inte bidrar till en blandning så det är mekanismer här som vi inte,

det är ju inte så att ”gör såhär så blir det så”. Men å andra sidan kan man säga, vad är alternativet? Att inte försöka blanda? nä. (M3, 19-03-19).

P. 53. I am thinking about…: Det som jag tänker, just i Malmö där man förtätar mycket eftersom det är så man får bygga här, det är det här med gentrifiering att man nu börjar gå in i områden som Rosengård till exempel där man bygger stationen, man bygger Culture Casbah, man ska göra om hela Amiralsgatan och det gör ju att, på sikt, området kommer få ett annat läge. Vilket de som satsar i området såklart vill, att få upp priserna plus att det finns ett behov av renovering i miljonprogramshusen, så frågan till slut blir; Var ska folk bo? Inte ens i dom områdena där andra människor inte vill bo. (A1, 19-03-26).

P. 53. It sounds much…: Det låter ungefär som såhär spillover effekter, liberalt perspektiv, ”om du blir rikare så blir jag också rikare”. Det tänker jag, har vi inte motbevisat det för längesen? En grad av utveckling absolut men titta utifrån områdets och individernas förutsättningar, satsa på det. (A3, 19-03-26).