

The University of Lund
Department of Human Geography, Autumn 2020

SGEK03
Supervisor: Mads Barbesgaard

What We Talk About When We Talk About Housing

A study of the urban housing landscape discourses in Malmö, and their consequences.

By Jessica Estigarribia



LUNDS
UNIVERSITET

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate the present discourses surrounding the urban housing landscape in Malmö, and how they are in tension with each other. Further, how they affect public actors, private actors, and residents. This is done by gathering material from a public, private, and residential perspective, and employing critical discourse analysis. The material is gathered through semi-structured interviews and open-ended questionnaires, with Malmö Municipality, BID Malmö, and residents from two Malmö neighbourhoods; Limhamn and Sofielund. The analysis is contextualised by theories on economic power, the right to the city, and the landscape concept. The results show a strong neoliberal discourse dominating the urban housing discussion, with consequences such as residents experiencing little power to affect the urban changes, and the private and public actors assigning residents with no power to do so. When discourses are in tension, it is frequently a result of presenting the neoliberal capitalist market as a force of nature while simultaneously valuing collectivity. This paper provides a better understanding of the discursive tendencies at play in the Malmö housing landscape, and how they are affecting these actors both in material and symbolic ways.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, urban housing landscape, Malmö

Table of contents

1. Introduction	4
1.2. Aim and Research Question	5
1.3. Delimitations	5
1.4 Outline	6
2. Background	7
2.1. The Limhamn Context	7
2.2. The Sofielund Context	8
2.2.1. BID Sofielund	9
2.3. Literature Review - Neoliberal Planning and Malmö	10
2.4. Neoliberalism and Malmö	11
3. Theory	12
3.1. Power and Discourse	12
3.2. Economic Power and The Right to The City	12
3.3. The Landscape Concept	13
4. Methods and Material	15
4.1. Qualitative Research	15
4.2. Material Collection	16
4.2.1. Semi-structured Interviews	16
4.2.2. Open-ended Online Questionnaires	17
4.2.3. Difficulties with Material Collection	17
4.3. Data over Residential Respondents	18
4.4. Method of Analysis: Critical Discourse Analysis	21
4.4.1. Method of Analysis: Step by Step	22
5. Analysis	24
5.1. The Sociocultural Context	24
5.2. Urban Housing Landscape and Economy	25
5.3. Urban Housing Landscape and Collectivity	28
5.4. Urban Housing Landscape and Safety	31
5.5. Urban Housing Landscape and Environment - Social and Physical	32
6. Discussion and Conclusion	34
6.1. Discourses - Tensions and Impacts	34
6.1.1. The Right to the City	35
6.2. Conclusion	36
7. References	37

Appendix 1	41
Appendix 2	42
Appendix 3	43

1. Introduction

The discussion on the urban housing landscape has many different focuses, this paper approaches the discussion from both a physical as well as social point of view. Meaning, not only what kind of housing exists where, but how do residents relate to their own neighbourhoods, how do private and public actors relate to these same neighbourhoods, how do these different perspectives differ and coincide. These three perspectives are analysed in relation to each other, critical discourse analysis is used to better understand and shed light on different actors within the urban housing landscape, and power dynamics between them.

The idea of this paper was inspired by a series of articles covering residential reactions to newly built publicly owned rental housing in Limhamn Sjöstad, Malmö (Carlsson 2020, Strindlöv 2020, Vikhoff 2020). The reactions reported had two contradicting experiences; on the one hand residents described the area becoming accessible for people with weaker purchasing power as being problematic, saying it had decreased safety and the value of the neighbourhood. On the other hand, other residents described Limhamn as still being very safe, and it becoming more heterogeneous as something positive. In the former case, residents reacted very forcefully stating that they would move because of this, and calling Limhamn “Rosengård by the sea” in a demeaning way - alluding to one of the socio-economically vulnerable areas of Malmö (Strindlöv 2020). Why did people react so forcefully? Was it only because of the actual consequences of the introduction of rental housing, a previously underrepresented housing type¹, or are there other explanations? In addition, the right to the city is a big part of the larger political and public debate - though often phrased through e.g. the right to housing, safety, the issue of integration - but do we as a society actually work for all citizens' right to the city? Or actively consider it? These housing perspectives of private, public, and residential actors, will here be analysed in relation to each other to better understand how they are connected and affect each other.

Recognising the limits of a bachelor thesis, this paper will focus on Malmö Municipality and through two specific areas, Limhamn and Sofielund. The areas have been chosen on the basis that they are going through changes in the urban housing landscape, highlighting the issues of the right to the city and relating to one's local landscape. Limhamn has had a lot of real estate developments, and a whole new neighbourhood developed in the last ten years (Hrustic 2010), which also included the newly built rental housing mentioned above. This area is in other words going through both physical and social changes, to a large part driven by the municipality. Sofielund is instead going through changes driven by a private-public collaboration. The southern part of Sofielund is classified as an “especially vulnerable area” by the police (Lindstam 2019), and in 2014 real estate companies and Malmö Municipality together started an organisation implementing a version of the

¹ Compared to the Malmö average of 46% of all housing being rental, Limhamn had an average of 37% in 2018 (Stadskontoret Malmö Stad 2020)

Business Improvement District-model (BID) to increase safety and stability. This illustrates a different type of physical and social change within the same Swedish, and municipal, context. I do not claim them to be a complete representation of the urban housing landscape, but two different examples of how the housing issue is being approached.

I am going to study this from the perspective of how we talk about the urban housing landscape through critical discourse analysis of interviews with these three relevant groups. The three groups are; real estate companies, Malmö Municipality, and the residents. The first two being important and powerful actors in the housing market, who have the strongest mandate to change the housing landscape in terms of city planning, and economic capital. The third being the subjects to these changes, while also possibly having power to affect the foregoing. By analysing these three groups in relation to each other we can achieve a deeper understanding of how they affect each other, by analysing what is shown through the urban housing discourses.

1.2. Aim and Research Question

The aim of this paper is to better understand and identify the existing housing discourses among different actors in Malmö, and the discourses possible effects on these actors in the urban housing landscape. This will be analysed through a theoretical framework drawing on discussions around power (specifically economic power), the right to the city, and the landscape concept. The analysis will be done by investigating the public, private, and residential perspective of Malmö as a whole, and neighbourhoods Sofielund and Limhamn. The main research question is “How are urban housing discourses from public actors, private actors, and residents, in tension with each other?”, with the sub-question “How are these discourses in turn impacting these actors?”.

1.3. Delimitations

A study of Malmö’s discourses would be stronger if it took all, or at least more, sub-areas into account. But due to the limits of a bachelor thesis in terms of time and resources, I have delimited it to two areas in change and expect it to tell us something valuable about tendencies that can be found. The delimitation to these two specific areas could also be criticised, I will discuss this further in the method-chapter and while I did try to achieve a diversity when choosing these areas that differ in social, economic, built, and geographical conditions - it is still only two areas. Further, the pandemic COVID-19 that is currently in an upswing in Sweden has made it more difficult to work *in* the field regarding interviews. Because of this, I have delimited the material gathering to extensive online surveys with residents, and interviews with the public and private actors performed by video call. When conducting my literature review of the neoliberal shift in Swedish urban planning, I found

the literature on neoliberal planning in Sweden, and Malmö, to be vast. A selection thus had to be made due to time and space constraints, reviewing two especially relevant texts (Holgersen 2017, Möllerström 2011), and excluding texts on the same subject deemed somewhat less relevant (e.g. Listerborg 2017, Beaten 2012, Mukhtar-Landgren 2012).

1.4 Outline

This thesis consists of seven chapters. After this introduction-chapter follows a chapter on the background of Limhamn, Sofielund, and also Malmö as a municipality, as well as a literature review. The third chapter explains the theoretical framework, placing this thesis within a larger context of power and landscape theories. In chapter four I explain the method of analysis and material gathering, and discuss the benefits and limitations of it, followed by chapter five, the analysis. In chapter five I discuss the findings in relation to the theoretical framework, and these findings are further interpreted and discussed in chapter six; the discussion and conclusion. Appendixes can be found after chapter seven; references.

2. Background

2.1. The Limhamn Context

What today is the area of Limhamn began to take form as an inhabited space in the beginning of the 19th century, residents then were mainly people working with fishing and at sea due to its coastal location (see figure 2.1). The expansion of Limhamn continued throughout the 19th century through development of the built landscape, it was during this time one of Scania's most important sites for fishing due to the harbour. Towards the end of this century, other industries gained importance here shifting the focus to mining and factories, and though it was still not a part of Malmö they had railway connections further strengthening it as an important industrial place. In the beginning of the 20th century Limhamn became a part of Malmö Municipality, and people outside of the industries and workers started to take interest in Limhamn, using it for recreational purposes. This was the start of a change in Limhamn that continued during the 20th century, developing Limhamn away from the industrial history and into what it is today (Länsstyrelsen Skåne 2016). Today Limhamn is one of the wealthiest areas in Malmö if ranked by average disposable income, and is still growing with new neighbourhoods being developed and housing being built (Stadskontoret Malmö 2020, Malmö Stad 2017). In the most recent decade, a whole new neighbourhood called Limhamn Sjöstad has been developed in a part of Limhamn closest to the Sound. This project has included different housing types, both rental housing and owner occupied, which is a conscious choice made by the technical committee of Malmö to enable people to find their homes without social or physical barriers (Strindlöv 2020). Further, the public housing company MKB owns several rental apartment buildings here, which includes a responsibility to provide housing specifically for people with social problems (a social problem can simply be difficulties finding a place to live), resulting in increased accessibility for people previously not having access to this place for economic reasons (MKB n.d., MKB 2020).

Figure 2.1. Map over Limhamn and its location in Malmö.

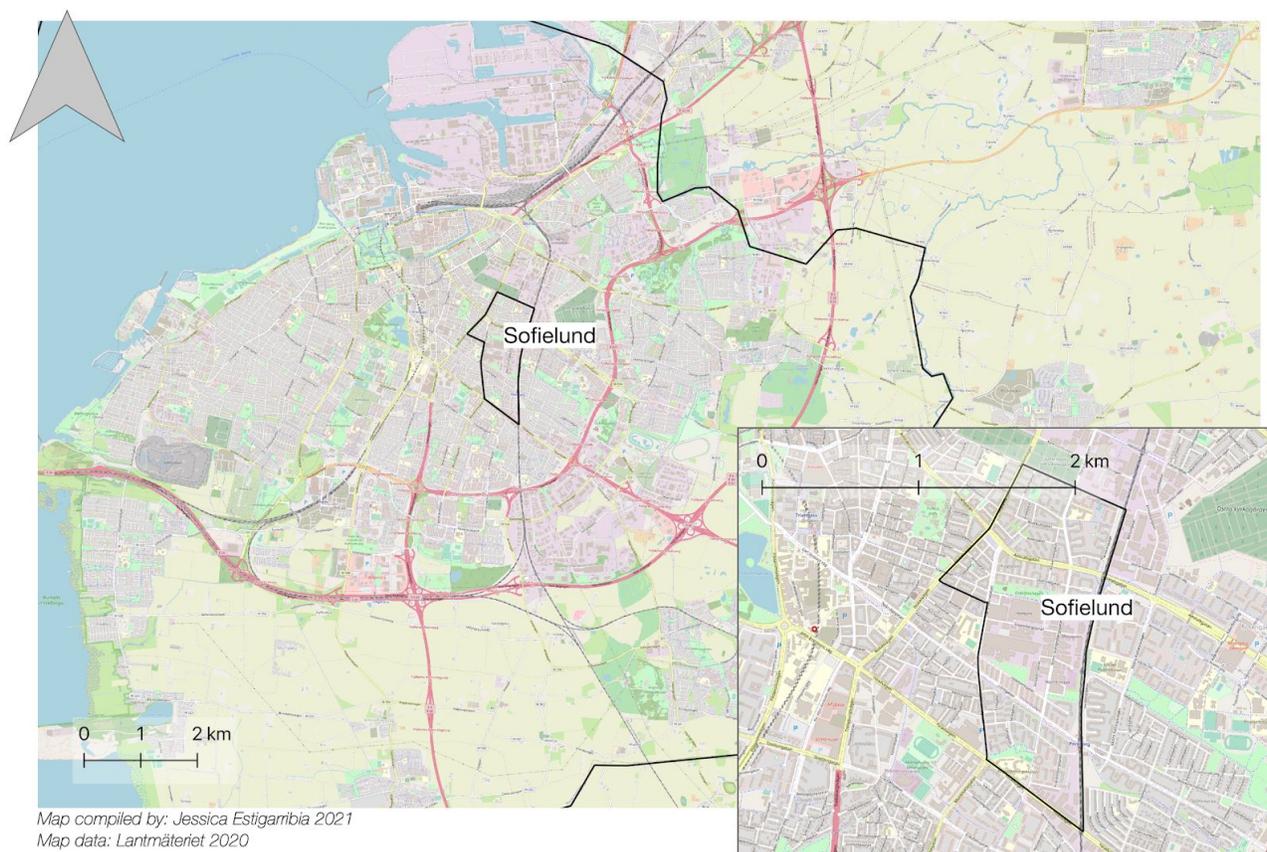


2.2. The Sofielund Context

Sofielund started to be built on a larger scale during the 19th century and the industrialisation of Sweden. By that time's administrative boundaries, it was located just outside of the Malmö borders, and was mainly inhabited by people working in the industries of Malmö as well as people hoping to work there. One important reason behind why people choose to locate here was the cost being much lower due to its location outside of Malmö borders - taxes and mandatory statues differed depending on this. It has been a part of Malmö Municipality since 1911, and during the 20th century it has been developed both in terms of housing and infrastructure - with some housing from the 19th century still being present in parts of the built landscape today (Dahlberg et al. 2006, Malmö Stad 2020a). Sofielund is a geographically central part of today's Malmö (figure 2.2.) but is still one of the most socially vulnerable areas in terms of economic conditions, and now also criminality. Since 2015 southern Sofielund has been classified by the Swedish police as an “especially vulnerable area”, which is applied to the areas with highest crime rates and social exclusion in Sweden (Nationella operativa avdelningen 2015, 2017, Lindstam 2019). Before this, Sweden had a different way of identifying socioeconomically vulnerable areas

called “LUA”, which southern Sofielund was also included in. LUA was during 2008-2012 a project driven by the Swedish government, working for a positive development in areas vulnerable in terms of socioeconomic conditions and segregation (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet 2012). As a way to work for a change in Sofielund, BID Sofielund was initiated.

Figure 2.2. Map over Sofielund and its location in Malmö.



2.2.1. BID Sofielund

In 2010 a process was initiated by Malmö Municipality to increase living conditions and residents' influence in southern Sofielund, which soon came to include all of Sofielund and in 2014 the project “BID Sofielund” was launched by property owners in the area along with Malmö Municipality. The BID-model in Malmö is inspired by, but differentiates itself from, the BID-model originating in Canada (Ontario 2019) where the acronym stands for Business Improvement Districts. The least common denominator between different BIDs could be explained as it being a collaboration between private and public actors in an area to improve it in some way. BID Sofielund stands for “Boende, Integration, och Dialog”

which is Swedish for living², integration, dialogue. It is a public-private partnership between real estate companies, businesses, tenant owners' associations, and other property owners in the area and is financed by members (real estate owners) and Malmö Municipality. According to their webpage, the BID process works for greater well-being in the area, safety, and a sense of community. The goal is to make the area more attractive, which they believe will lead to the residents living there long-term, and thus reducing problems as vandalism as the community will take, and feel, more responsible for their neighbourhood (Malmö Stad 2020b, BID Sofielund n.d.).

2.3. Literature Review - Neoliberal Planning and Malmö

In Holgersen's (2017) deep investigation of Malmö, its past, present and potential future, he contextualises it in a local and global way with a focus on the economical context. He argues that the most important way in which it differs from other Swedish cities is by the amount of expansion through the built environment. This is exemplified by different issues Malmö has faced, or visions Malmö wants to realise, often handled by building things - new neighbourhoods, attractive buildings (Turning Torso, Malmö Live, etc), infrastructure. He states the economic difference and segregation has increased in Malmö more than Sweden as a whole, connecting this to the political history of how crises have been handled since at least the mid-20th century through built expansion and public/private collaborations. One highlighted intimate relationship is that between construction companies and the politically dominating Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden (will henceforth be called the often used "Social Democrats") going back many decades. Holgersen also discusses the symbolic aspect of the Malmö landscape, arguing that neoliberal discourses saturate the work towards a new post-industrial Malmö, and the story told about Malmö by Malmö Municipality - what they want to be associated with and how it (does not) correspond with reality (Holgerson 2017, Möllerström 2011).

This "transformation" of Malmö is deeper analysed by Möllerström (2011). In her dissertation, she investigates Malmö's renewed image as a Knowledge City and how it is experienced by citizens. She found that the transition had been guided by "discourses on network, knowledge, urban entrepreneurialism, neo-regionalism, combined with the notion of global competition" (p.221), and besides being constructed discursively it was very much constructed through the built environment, as a tool to communicate the new identity. When looking at how citizens interpret the change she categorises them into three groups; one group living in a renewed area, working within the technology-centered economy, appreciates the change. One group being retired from working in the shipyard, critical to the image renewal and technology-centered economy, and critical to the cities officials' right to (re)define Malmö's history. And one group, that both appreciates and is

² The word "boende" can have many different meanings in Swedish, which meaning BID Malmö referred to was confirmed during my interview with them.

critical to the change, critical mainly because the new Malmö is thought to favour only strong socio-economic groups. The discrepancy between the city's image and the social realities dominantly described is the main problem according to the respondents, and not necessarily the social realities or city's image in themselves. What I do in this thesis is not completely different, I too look at how residents experience (another type) of change, and how a presented image coincides with and differs from an experienced reality.

2.4. Neoliberalism and Malmö

A few final words on the political context of Malmö, and defining my use of the concept neoliberalism. The basic neoliberal logic is important to understand going forward, and Harvey (2005) describes it short and concisely as

a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can be best advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. (Harvey 2005, p.2)

According to the theory the state could never legitimately question, or know better than, the market and thus its purpose is rather to ensure proper functioning markets. The shift toward neoliberalism in political-economic practices of the world happened in the 1970s (Harvey 2005), in Sweden deregulation and privatisation reforms in areas of social provision were to a large extent implemented about two decades later. For example the privatisation of the Swedish healthcare system (Anell et al. 2012, Blomqvist 2020), the privatisation and decentralisation of the school system (prop. 1991/92:95, prop.1989/90:41), which is especially notable given our many years led (or co-led) by the self-declared socialist Social Democrats during the 20th century. While the Social Democrats led or co-led the government during almost half of the 20th century, the remaining years had governments spanning from liberal to conservative, led by different parties (Regeringskansliet 2015). This national context of Sweden's historical bond to this particular party, which had an especially strong stance in Malmö, is important to understand as it is still the largest party nationally and in Malmö, and has been important in shaping the situation we have today. This creates a contradiction, Malmö is still co-led by the socialist Social Democrats, but has been implementing neoliberal practices with a strong private/public-collaboration culture during many decades (Holgersen 2017). This contradiction will further be investigated and discussed throughout this thesis.

3. Theory

The different theories presented here are analytically used to understand the material from different perspectives, and on different scales. The right to the city, and power dimensions, are used to understand the material in a larger context of economic structures and values. For example by investigating who owns the right to the city, and what this is shaped by. It is also relevant to understand the local scale, when exploring how different power positions within a group can be related to different discourses, and explain how actors interact with each other. The symbolic and affective landscape is here used on the local scale, mainly on the residential perspective and how they relate to their local landscape. Though again, this is informed by and put in context of larger economic power structures, to give a richer understanding of the material and deepen the analysis.

3.1. Power and Discourse

Fairclough et al. (2002) argue the importance of putting semiotic processes, that is meaning-making processes, into social context. Discourses must be located within the relevant dialectal relations with social practices (persons, social relations, and the material world). Further, while discourse is a part of any social practice, no social practice can or should be reduced to it alone but they must always be analysed in relation to each other, and within a larger social context of power. This is an important part of this paper's approach, the assumption that discourses are a way to exercise power by shaping social practices, but also that these discourses and social practices must be seen in a larger context of power. Rather than seeing power as something divorced from societal circumstances, as discourse analysts have also done (Knox & Pinch 2009, Fairclough et al 2002), I am inspired by a structuralist approach. Meaning, assuming social phenomena and power relations are based on and shaped by the dominant mode of production, in today's context capitalism. Discourses are here accepted as having great influence on our identity as people and as part of a group, and are reflected through a range of different modes such as language, academia, etcetera. As this paper further takes the stance that the discourses are built off and around the dominant mode of production, the latter cannot be excluded when considering power relations.

3.2. Economic Power and The Right to The City

Lefebvre (2003 [1970]) explains the right to the city as; “[t]he “right to the city” becomes the right to centrality, the right to not be excluded from the urban form, if only with respect to the decisions and actions of power” (p.194). Working off of Lefebvre’s ideas on the urban and the right to the city, Harvey (2008) states that the right to the city “is a right to change ourselves by changing the city” (p.23), as our visions for our city are so intertwined with our desired social and material relationships. He further discusses urbanisation as

deeply connected with capitalism. In short, urbanisation can be described as surplus capital in different forms; e.g. by acting as an absorber of surplus products, produced in search for profits. This relation is then exemplified by Harvey through the ways in which it has taken shape in the last 200 years, ending in the most recent transformations of lifestyle brought forth by the expansion of the urban process. The city today, and the quality of urban life, offers a range of choices surrounding the urban experience - provided you can afford it (Harvey 2008). This aspect of power is the central focus in this thesis; economic power. To specify, when discussing economic power I am referring to actors (here: residents, the municipality, real estate companies) different positions and ability to engage in the housing market as a result of their purchasing power.

Further, Harvey elaborates on how economic structures have influenced governance;

Neoliberalism has also created new systems of governance that integrate state and corporate interests, and through the application of money power, it has ensured that the disbursement of the surplus through the state apparatus favours corporate capital and the upper classes in shaping the urban process. (Harvey 2008, p.38)

The intertwining of the public and private interests is the base on which BID Malmö is included in this paper. It is an organisation integrating private and public interests under the same umbrella, which can already be seen having an important impact in shaping the urban process. In other words, the right to the city and creation of the city is here claimed by private (/private-public) actors rather than belonging to the citizens.

3.3. The Landscape Concept

Landscape was described by Schwartz (2004, p.19) as “[t]he asphalt is our landscape. The streets are our landscape. The landscape is everything out there” - when you are moving through space you are moving through your landscape. In the broadest sense of landscape, this thesis is informed by her definition. Further, when analytically using this concept it is understood through Mike Crang's (1998) description of the three (overlapping) dimensions of landscape. The symbolic landscape - landscape as a symbolic system that shapes, and is shaped by, our social ideologies and the meaning we invest in a landscape. The affirmative landscape - the emotional relationship we have to a place. And the material landscape - the physical landscape.

Crang (1998) describes the symbolic landscape as something that can be investigated to understand the beliefs of people inhabiting it, as it can show our beliefs and social ideas in different ways. This is used twofold in this thesis, as social ideas and beliefs not only tell us something about the residents, but further affect and are affected by discourses. In a section on how space can be nationalised through rewriting of the past, he states that the symbolic landscape can be changed not just by material alterations but by interpreting the place in a way that strengthens the meaning one wants to give it. This mechanism will be

analysed in this paper, not from a nationalistic point of view regarding the Swedish identity but rather from a local point of view in terms of identity and belonging. The mechanism is still the same, one that strengthens the identity of a place by telling a certain story of the past, but on different scales. Rewriting the past can also be done to reinforce ideas of what constitutes a group, by stating who is included and who is not a certain identity can be strengthened - which shapes if and how people relate to a place as theirs. Massey (1995) makes the same argument but in greater detail in her text on places and their past, also concluding that “[t]he description, definition and identification of a place is thus always inevitably an intervention not only into geography but also, at least implicitly, into the (re)telling of the historical constitution of the present” (p.190).

When discussing affective landscapes, Crang (1998) writes about it in terms of how people emotionally relate to place, care for it, and find a sense of belonging connected to place. Clearly, it is not a clear cut between the different landscape dimensions and this overlaps with the symbolic description, but the focus is on different expressions of how we relate to our landscape. Crang states that we as people define ourselves through a sense of place, belonging to a place, and through this we say something about who we are. The values we highlight as the local values are the ones the population identify with, and want to be associated with. In the thesis context, it could be calling oneself “Limhamnsbo”³ and ascribing certain values to belonging to this place. If these are changing in some way it is likely to receive resistance, simply because it is a change of the embedded ideas and therefore of the identity. Because of this, these concepts are important when understanding the reactions when people feel the place, and thus the identity, is changing.

³ Limhamnsbo means “someone who lives in Limhamn” and is something residents call themselves in this particular neighbourhood, in English it could be compared to for example calling oneself e.g. New Yorker, and ascribing certain values to that belonging.

4. Methods and Material

The aim of this thesis is to understand and explore how residents in Malmö themselves relate to their local landscapes, how property owners and Malmö Municipality relate to it, and how these perspectives stand in relation to each other. I have approached this using the qualitative methods of open-ended questionnaires and semi-structured interviews to gather material, which I have then analysed using critical discourse analysis. My philosophical approach is inspired by critical realism, in the sense that I include larger structures affecting events and discourses when analysing the social aspect. This emphasis on context is recurring and important throughout the analysis. Further, I adopt the critical realism implication that science conceptualisation is one way of knowing that reality, rather than directly reflecting reality in an absolute sense (Bryman 2012). During the discourse analysis, different themes were found when analysing the different materials, which is further described in the chapter 4.2.1. and 4.3..

4.1. Qualitative Research

A few of the features often associated with qualitative research which are relevant in this thesis are; a focus on words rather than numbers, rich and deep data, seeing through research participants' eyes, and contextualising (Bryman 2012). These are some key points behind why I chose this approach, I wanted to have a strong focus on understanding this dynamic from the residents' point of view. This type of flexibility and openness to the research participants, and therefore also reliance on the researcher, has been repeatedly criticised for being too subjective and difficult to replicate (ibid.). I agree with this critique towards my chosen approach, though when studying social relationships it is difficult to avoid this regardless which method is applied. Further, though contextual understanding is what I am working with when gathering data and selecting participants, my hope is that the findings can be generalised to understand how these mechanisms of power and landscape can work and interact. If not now, then in future research conducted on these issues, dealing with them on a larger scale than this bachelor thesis has the capacity to. The issue of subjectivity and difficulty to replicate has also been considered when including the detailed description of my method of analysis in particular, and this methods-chapter in general.

In addition to the main methods of material collection being open ended questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, I have gathered quantitative data on residential respondents as well but to a much lesser extent. This was done along with the questionnaires to provide a context of the demographic of the respondents participating.

4.2. Material Collection

When collecting material on residents' experiences, open ended online questionnaires were distributed through four different Facebook groups; two area-specific for Limhamn, one area-specific for Sofielund, and one area-specific for Malmö. The unit of analysis was limited to residents currently residing in one of two areas (Limhamn or Sofielund). My method for reaching these respondents has several implications. Firstly, three of the groups are public meaning that there is no guarantee (or wish from the group administrators) that only residents currently living in this area join the Facebook group. Secondly, the groups of people having access to an online questionnaire is likely not completely representative of the people living in these two areas. It can be a matter of age (specific age groups being less present on this social media), economy (in terms of actual access as well as time to respond), or other factors restricting certain people from participating in this type of material collection. Yet, considering the limits of this thesis as well as the Covid-19 pandemic restricting social interaction, it was deemed the best way to reach as many respondents as possible.

When collecting material on Malmö Municipality's and property owners' visions, semi-structured interviews were conducted by video call with one planning architect at Malmö Municipality, and with a consultant at BID Malmö closest to the operations manager. It would have been preferable to conduct additional interviews with people on different positions relating to the research questions (e.g Malmö politicians and different real estate companies), but once again this was a decision made based on the time and resources available to this paper. Furthermore, as Malmö Municipality as a whole acts on common guidelines and values in their work, it is meaningful to interview one representative. As for BID Malmö, it is an organisation initiated by property owners in the area to implement the visions they have for their area, which also makes their representative especially relevant. As BID Malmö was founded by a real estate owners organisation in collaboration with Malmö Municipality, there could potentially be some overlap here as well which mirrors the fact that public and private actors are not always clearly separated in the urban housing landscape issue.

4.2.1. Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were chosen as I did have a fairly clear idea from the beginning of this study regarding what I wanted to study, so it was appropriate here to choose an interview structure that meant specific issues could be addressed, drawing from Bryman's (2012) reasoning on interview types. I then constructed an interview guide (Appendix 1, 2) with three sub themes relating to the main issue of "Which changes are you working for in the urban housing landscape?". The sub themes were: their work, the changes they presently experience, and the effects they expect or want from their work. Further, though the interviews were not conducted face-to-face due to safety reasons, as they were

conducted using video-call we could still see each other thus keeping the potentially important element of body language. Unfortunately in this step of the process, I only managed to schedule interviews with actors focused on Sofielund or the eastern part of Malmö, which I will further discuss under 4.2.3. Difficulties with Material Collection.

The interview with Malmö Municipality was conducted Friday the 4th of December, and lasted 45 minutes. Keywords here were; property owners, housing market, historic values, collaborations. The interview with BID Malmö was conducted Monday the 7th of December, and lasted 35 minutes. Keywords here were; property owners, housing market, physical environment.

4.2.2. Open-ended Online Questionnaires

The open-ended questionnaires were used as I wanted to capture as many nuances and thoughts from the respondents' as possible, while still being time-efficient in that I did not need to conduct the interviews nor schedule them - they could be more on the respondents terms. Further, though it would also have been meaningful to conduct a large amount of semi-structured interviews with residents (though much more time consuming), one important thing is gained from doing it online. As they are more anonymous, it is possible that the respondents feel more comfortable writing what they think and feel, compared to how they would feel face-to-face. This approach however requires that the respondents feel they have experiences they want to share, even without the interviewer following up the questions or “probing”, which fortunately worked well during this study as a lot of responses were submitted, ranging from short and concise to long and detailed. I did however include a question in the end of the questionnaire asking them to leave their email address if they consented to me contacting them further, in case I did not get enough material from the questionnaires alone. When designing the questionnaires I reworked them several times to make sure they were relevant to my research questions, and that they were phrased in a way that was not leading and still very specific in the aim of what I wanted to study (Bryman 2012). I did two separate questionnaires for the two neighbourhoods, and the questions were completely identical except for the name of the area referred to (Appendix 3). Note I have only included the one for Sofielund as an appendix as they are exact replicas except for area-name.

4.2.3. Difficulties with Material Collection

The amount of responses gathered from the Limhamn-questionnaire (140) differed considerably from the Sofielund-questionnaire (39), and even though I do not aim to compare these two places - the aim is of course that they represent their respective area as best possible. Firstly, Limhamn is a larger area, and while I shared the questionnaire in two large Limhamn-groups, Sofielund only has one area-specific group. If you look at the share of respondents given the number of members in each area-specific group, Sofielund has a higher percentage of respondents (even though it is marginal). This is not meaningful in

terms of statistics on this questionnaire as it does not e.g. show how many of the members actually saw my post, but rather a way to include the reader on the reasoning when dealing with these differences and difficulties in material gathering.

A few critical words on the material gathering in line with this paper's critical approach, are that the types of responses will be shaped by other aspects of the respondents economic and symbolic power conditions that are not seen in the naked text. Once again qualitative research is used to be open to these nuances, though if I had had more time it would have been relevant to include this perspective further when analysing the different perspectives crystallised from the material. That is, perhaps there are patterns of certain discourses being more present in certain economic groups, geographic groups, etcetera, which could be connected to power dynamics. This would be relevant but had to be excluded due to time constraints.

Furthermore, the private and public perspective lacks representation for Limhamn. The private perspective represented by BID Malmö works mainly in Sofielund. And though their views on the relationship between the urban housing landscape and private actors were also discussed in more general terms, they in fact do not work in all of Malmö at this point. The public perspective represented by a planning architect at Malmö Municipality also had a bias towards eastern Malmö, as the interviewee had this as their area of expertise. Additionally, the interviewee primarily works with the built environment and questions of land use, which has a social dimension but is focused on the built environment. They also discussed the relationship between the urban housing landscape and the municipality in more general terms, and had knowledge of the larger municipal approach, but it still means a lack of Limhamn-knowledge compared to Sofielund. This was due to difficulties reaching other representatives at the municipality, I made several attempts at contacting different people on different positions, and in the end the only person with whom I was able to schedule and conduct an interview was this person. Fortunately they had a position of responsibility within the municipality, meaning they did have profound knowledge of Malmö as a whole as well.

4.3. Data over Residential Respondents

Here I present data gathered on the residential respondents, providing context to the responses analysed in chapter five. Starting with the Limhamn respondents, in table 4.3.1. I have compiled the demographic data provided by the 140 respondents from Limhamn themselves. Table 4.3.2. shows their gross income per year. In sum we can see that the majority of the respondents were women, most frequent age-category was 36-50, and that the most common housing type was ownership rights of one's home. The most common income group had an annual income of 300 000-400 000 SEK⁴. In Table 4.3.3. I have

⁴The income data was the only data in which I included a decimal point as it differed only circa 0.7% between the two most present income categories.

included the themes found when performing this analysis, along with their keywords. The main themes are economy, safety, environment, and hostility.

Table 4.3.1. Demographic data for questionnaire-respondents, Limhamn residents.

Gender		Age (years)		Housing type	
Female	70%	17-35	28%	Rental apartment	28%
Male	27%	36-50	45%	Residence with ownership rights	38%
Nonbinary	2%	51-65	22%	Owner-occupied	33%
		66-80	5%	Subletting	1%

Table 4.3.2. Gross income per year for questionnaire-respondents, Limhamn residents.

Gross income per year	
0 - 100 000 SEK	3.6%
100 000 - 200 000 SEK	2.9%
200 000 - 300 000 SEK	13.7%
300 000 - 400 000 SEK	25.9%
400 000 - 500 000 SEK	25.2%
500 000+ SEK	19.4%
Chose not to answer	9.3%

Table 4.3.3. Themes and their keywords. Limhamn residents.

	Economy	Safety	Environment (social and built)	Hostility
Keywords	Snobbish	Safe / Unsafe	Rapid building	Xenophobia
	Upper-class	Crimes	Densification	Exclusive
	Conservative	Deteriorating	Historic charm	Racism
	Privilege	Calm	Idyllic	Anti-immigrant
	Economic growth	Social problems	Expanding	s
	Welfare recipients	Safest	Family friendly	Social codes
	Accessibility	neighbourhood	Increased population	Segregation
	Rental housing	Police presence	Infrastructure	
			Heterogenous	

Continuing with the Sofielund respondents, in table 4.3.4. I have compiled the demographic data provided by the 39 respondents from Sofielund. Table 4.3.5. shows their

gross income per year. In sum we can see that the majority of the respondents were women, a majority between the ages 22-35, and that the most common housing type was rental apartments with a majority. The most common income group had an annual income of 100 000-200 000 SEK. In Table 4.3.6. I have included the themes found when performing this analysis along with their keywords. The main themes are economy, safety, environment, and community.

Table 4.3.4. Demographic data for questionnaire-respondents, Sofielund residents

Gender		Age (years)		Housing type	
Female	76%	22-35	56%	Rental apartment	62%
Male	24%	36-50	31%	Residence with ownership rights	8%
Nonbinary	0%	51-65	8%	Owner-occupied	26%
		66-80	5%	Subletting	5%

Table 4.3.5. Gross income per year for questionnaire-respondents, Sofielund residents

Gross income per year	
0 - 100 000 SEK	23.1%
100 000 - 200 000 SEK	25.6%
200 000 - 300 000 SEK	15.4%
300 000 - 400 000 SEK	15.4%
400 000 - 500 000 SEK	7.7%
500 000+ SEK	5.1%
Chose not to answer	7.7%

Table 4.3.6. Themes and their keywords. The Sofielund-questionnaire.

	Economy	Safety	Environment (social and built)	Community
Keywords	Value rising Slumlords Socioeconomic mixing BID Low income-profile Increased rents Luxury renovations	Safe Unsafe Police presence Crimes Calm Resources	Cosy Unmaintained Demographically mixed Social vulnerability History Cleanliness	Neighbourly Local activities Meeting places Socioeconomic change Everybody know everybody Local activities

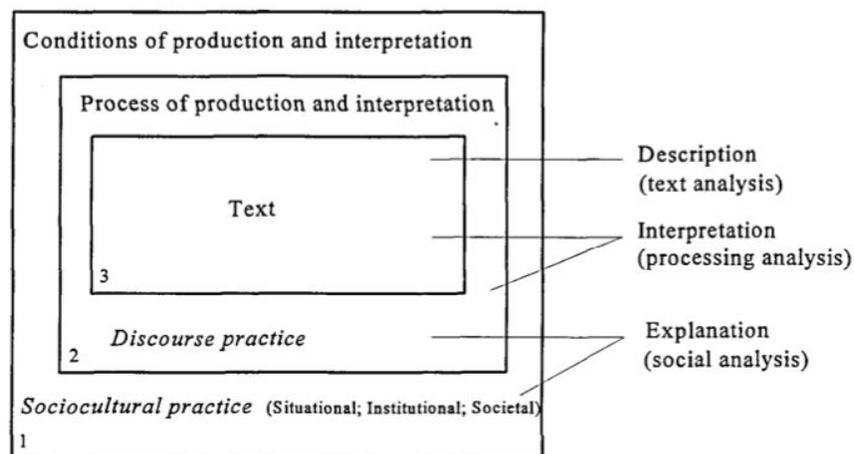
4.4. Method of Analysis: Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was chosen as I wanted to investigate the power dynamics behind how Malmö residents, public actors, and private actors, discuss their urban housing landscape. Analysis of discourse is used to deeper explore how an object or process is understood, by looking at the way in which it is depicted through linguistics. A discourse forms a version of the object, and thus influences the social world and how we relate to different objects. Bryman (2012, p.537) further summarises it as a tool to explore how “the discourse gives meaning to social life and makes certain activities possible, desirable, or inevitable”, how different discourses draw from and shape other discourses, and how “particular actors draw on the discourse to legitimate their positions and actions”. CDA is particularly receptive to the idea that discourses should be examined in relation to social structures and power relationships, the structures and relationships focused on in this paper are the symbolic and economic as explained in chapter three (theory).

Fairclough (2003) argues that social practices can be articulated in discourse, action and interaction, persons, social relations, the material world. Further, that the relationship between these different practices is dialectal, meaning that each contains or internalises the other. Because of this, one cannot be analysed alone, but must be analysed within its context. Jenks (1997) summarises Fairclough's approach (Figure 4.3.), stating that it consists of three interrelated processes of analysis, which are tied to three interrelated dimensions of discourse. The three dimension and their specific kind of analysis are;

1. The object of analysis (including verbal, visual, or verbal and visual texts), analysed through text analysis (description)
2. The process by which the object is produced and received (writing/speaking and reading/listening), analysed through processing analysis (interpretation of what the text refers to and is shaped by)
3. The socio-historical conditions that govern these processes, analysed through social analysis (explanation of the text's context).

Figure 4.3. Fairclough's dimensions of discourse and discourse analysis (Jenks 1997).



4.4.1. Method of Analysis: Step by Step

When coding the material, the first step was to go through the answers and identify themes and keywords. During this process I also got more familiarised with the material. I did not have predefined themes that I was looking for, but let them emerge from the answers, finding the themes; economy, safety, environment, and community/hostility. Depending on the aim of the question all themes were present in a broad sense of the theme, but through different keywords and focuses. Due to the large amount of material from the questionnaires, it was crucial to do a simplification of the material as a first step. When certain themes and keywords had been identified, I analysed the paragraphs relating to the themes more closely using Fairclough's model for analysis. As aid in making this part of the analysis systematically sound I used Fairclough's own examples of questions to ask the text when conducting CDA (Fairclough 2003, pp.191-194), and Winther Jørgensen & Phillips' (2000) chapter on how to apply Fairclough's model. The model is made up of the three dimensions of analysis, I explain how this study worked with each step in more detail below.

I began the analysis of each text in the smallest box of figure 4.3.; the text dimension. Meaning I focused on the linguistics of how events and processes were connected to subject and object (transitivity), and to what degree the respondent agreed with their statement (modality). When analysing transitivity one example is respondents describing a process without including an agent - for example "Limhamn has grown." rather than "Limhamn has grown as a result of x". Winther Jørgensen & Phillips (2000) describe this type of clause as presenting something as a force of nature, something happening without anyone being responsible, by only focusing on the effects. This implies a relationship that elevates an event or process to something that cannot be affected or influenced, it also touches on modality. Presenting a statement as a truth is one type of modality, presenting a statement as a subjective opinion is another. Different modalities signal different levels of truth or agreement to one's own statement - for example "x is not the same as y" or "I believe x does not have to be the same as y" have different modalities and signal different levels of truth. As a first step in the text analysis I have used Fairclough's (2003) categories of orientation to differences present in the text, in other words; how do the respondents perceive differences? The different orientations are found in table 4.3.1. and are Fairclough's his phrasing, though I have only included the ones I used (Fairclough 2003, p.192).

Table 4.3.1. Orientations to differences found (Fairclough 2003, p.192)

Which combination of the following scenarios characterize the orientation to differences in the text?
a) An openness to, acceptance of, recognition of difference; an exploration of difference, as in 'dialogue' in the richest sense of the term
b) An accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, a struggle over meaning, norms, power
c) An attempt to resolve or overcome difference

Analysing the discursive dimension, I looked at linguistic indicators by working off the finds from the text-analysis step, of modality and transitivity. Further, I looked for discourses by looking at what recurring values were presented, and in what way they were presented to support different discourses. In other words, looking at how the relationships between processes and objects/subjects were made both explicit and implied. Who or what was emphasised as the driver of change? Were statements presented as truth or opinion? Who or what was valued through transitivity and modality? In some cases a discourse focused on one dominant value, for example Malmö Municipality had a strong neoliberal market discourse present - discussing the market as a force of nature that has power to impact the urban housing landscape "whether one wants it to or not". In other cases a discourse focused on two dominating values, an example is Limhamn that had a communal neoliberal discourse present - centered around the importance of community but with a heavy focus on the individuals who constitute the community, and their individual responsibility rather than a greater idea of collective. Through the types of questions described here, I was able to identify different discourses even though they were similar in some sense but distinguished themselves through e.g. different views on the individual compared to the communal.

Lastly, the sociocultural dimension was analysed by contextualising the previous finds. It is an explanation of the text's context which also includes non-discursive social and cultural relations and structures, which can potentially enable an analysis of consequences of the found discourses (Winther Jorgensen & Phillips 2000). What are the surrounding social conditions that govern these discursive processes? Here the theories on the landscape concept and economic power were in particular used, along with the history described in the background chapter.

5. Analysis

This chapter is structured around the different themes emerged during the analysis, with the first subchapter introducing the reader to the sociocultural context of the analysis. All quotes from interviews and questionnaires have been translated by me, and were originally in Swedish. Within the large material I have worked with, responses deviating from what is here presented were found, but here excluded due to space. The tendencies presented in this chapter are the ones most strongly represented throughout the material.

5.1. The Sociocultural Context

For Malmö as a whole, and the two areas of Limhamn and Sofielund specifically as well, the industrial history has been important in shaping today. Limhamn and Sofielund have a similar industrial history, being two places located outside of the (then) city core, both inhabited by workers, and being places for industrial labour. They have during the 20th century developed in very different ways. Limhamn was claimed by another economic group that had recreational purposes for the area and went through a process of what could be described as upward mobility as an area, Sofielund instead became increasingly socially vulnerable and with high crime rates. Further, Malmö has been one of Sweden's leading industrial cities, which has meant not only an industrial driven economy but also an identity of a city of the workers. As a consequence Malmö was especially exposed when industries started to close locally, nationally, and internationally, creating a crisis in Malmö beginning in the 1950s and continuing throughout the 20th century (Holgensen 2017). The industrial legacy is still present in the city though, through industrial buildings and statues referencing it. The preservation of this history through industrial buildings was especially mentioned in the interview with Malmö Municipality, in fact it was the only thing mentioned as something that could be prioritised over the market forces, e.g. by stopping new developments in order to preserve historic buildings. The symbolic meaning of the urban environment in Malmö, and what story it relates, is recurrently prescribed great importance by respondents.

We must also see Malmö and its neighbourhoods as part of a national and global context of economic structures. Malmö, and the people working and living there, are embedded within the economic structures of neoliberal capitalism. As I have mentioned in the background chapter, neoliberal practices are and have been an important part of Sweden's economy for several decades now, which means a heavy focus on markets in shaping the urban process. This is not always explicitly stated in my material, but is continuously present - explicitly and implicitly. Malmö Municipality continuously made the connection between the urban housing development and the housing market, where the market was attributed great (if not the greatest) importance and power. The market was discussed in terms of something that could not be stopped, and only limitedly changed by the municipality. It was through this expressed that this neoliberal capitalist market is a main

determinator of the urban housing landscape development, with influence by the municipality. BID Malmö works within this same context but were less explicit when discussing the connection between their work and the economic structures surrounding them. This is an organisation for property owners and not residents, but despite their work being focused away from residents and towards the neighbourhood becoming safer and increasing in value, they do state that they work against increased costs of living in Sofielund. This is illogical considering real estate companies within the neoliberal capitalist landscape, where potential for profit is crucial and more likely given increased value and cost. It does however highlight how they are also affected by other elements. Using the symbolic landscape-concept, it could be explained as BID Malmö wanting to be associated with another image in terms of social ideas and values, not only the economic. The idea of working against displacement and towards preserving this place's history carries social values, which can additionally be important for their collaboration partners (the police and municipality) and therefore for BID as well. The sociocultural context is complex and filled with contradictions, not only regarding BID Malmö, but what was recurring through all groups was the acknowledgement of neoliberal capitalist markets as highly powerful.

Among the Limhamn respondents, the neoliberal context was present in several discourses through a tendency of turning to the market as the main problem solver. Further, there was a large focus on a local identity connected to wealth. The important value ascribed to wealth is a prioritisation informed by the neoliberal capitalist context, and the right to (this part of) the city was often conditioned by economic status. Both conditioned in fact, as weak purchasing power restricts you from living in an expensive neighbourhood, and by the respondents, it is repeatedly expressed within one discourse found here that living in Limhamn should be exclusive and not accessible. Sofielund respondents also discussed the neoliberal capitalist market, but to a majority in terms of something they were afraid of or disliked. Afraid of the area being claimed by a wealthier population, and disliked because it was changing what they associated with their neighbourhood. Suggested by the current development reported by residents in Sofielund, BID Malmö, and explicitly stated in my interview with Malmö Municipality, this area is indeed going through a change driven by market forces. It is a geographically central place in the city, which for a long time has been perceived as a peripheral place with problems of being unsafe, and social vulnerability - but now that safety is increasing it is becoming more attractive. According to Malmö Municipality, public/private collaborations are an important reason behind "the effects we see now" in terms of increased safety, further they state that there is a risk that displacement will happen because of the increasing value, but that this is difficult to affect as it is steered by the housing market.

5.2. Urban Housing Landscape and Economy

The different groups' relation to their urban housing landscape within the theme of economy all have neoliberal discourses present. Among the Limhamn respondents it often takes form in one of two ways. One tendency has a larger focus on the community in shaping their local landscape, though still with neoliberal values of individuals working for change and not touching upon structural change. The idea of collective ends with the residents, and the responsibility for shaping the neighbourhood is put on residents through statements such as “everybody needs to pull one’s weight to make it work”. The other tendency has a heavier focus on only the neoliberal capitalist market as an answer to their experienced problems, for example by freeing the housing market more and decreasing governmental intervention. The critique aimed at governmental intervention is centered around MKBs rental housing introducing welfare recipients to this exclusive area. This is often expressed in strong wording such as “all problems increase when you put welfare recipients in expensive luxury apartments”, or in general terms about the new residents; “too much “trash” has moved here and destroys”⁵. These new residents are often put in contrast to people who have struggled to afford a home in Limhamn, framing it as “unfair”. In other words, there is a clear line between who is included in the local identity for this group of respondents, and who is not.

A similar tendency was found among the Sofielund respondents, of having a local identity closely linked to a certain socioeconomic group, “some aspects that make me like Sofielund: [...] thus far it has a bad enough reputation to scare off the well-off middle class, who would otherwise kill this neighbourhood”. Sofielund respondents also expressed it strongly, but excluding a socioeconomically stronger group and with a different motivation. In Sofielund the exclusion of “the other” was rooted in the neighbourhood losing its familiar identity, and the neighbourhood going through a value and cost increase meaning displacement for many current residents. In Limhamn it was instead rooted in the neighbourhood losing value or exclusivity, and becoming unsafe. What these different reactions also mirror is a difference in economic power in terms of purchasing power, for example there is a significant economic powerlessness here in fearing to be displaced from your home. These differences in economic power can be seen in the data of the respondents, in Limhamn the most common annual income-category was 300 000-500 000 SEK and 71% had some type of ownership of their home. In Sofielund the corresponding number was 0-200 000 SEK and 34% being homeowners, which tells us that a large part of the Sofielund respondents are in a vulnerable situation if their neighbourhood was to increase in cost significantly. This is a very concrete example of how the right to the city is affected by level of power, the local identity is something experienced and expressed in a strong way - but the consequences of a change will materially affect them very differently

⁵ Exactly what is meant by “trash” (“pack” in Swedish) is not specified, it is a derogatory term for a group of people which can have different underlying meanings, but is often used to describe a lower economic class (SAOL 1952).

depending on their economic power. In terms of the right to the city as described by Lefebvre (2003 [1970]) as the right to not be excluded from urban form, it is in Sofielund completely dependent on economically powerful actors (Malmö Municipality, real estate companies, residents/potential residents with strong purchasing power) and their actions - rather than being something these residents themselves feel they can affect.

Understanding Malmö Municipality's actions deeper can be informed by them having the strongest neoliberal discourse present when discussing the urban housing landscape of Malmö, continuously emphasising the importance of market forces in its development. When discussing Sofielund in particular, they stated that

there is a risk that [displacement] will happen here too, and what you can do about that, is...
[...] it's difficult because it is a free market [...]. It can be slowed down, in that way the municipality can be involved and steer it a bit - how fast that kind of development should be in a neighbourhood.

And further, that the value of Sofielund had increased and would continue to increase due to the increase in safety against crimes, investments in the physical area by BID Malmö and the municipality, and Sofielunds central location in Malmö. The importance Malmö Municipality accredits the housing market, discussing it as a natural force that can only be slowed down or steered, indicates that Sofielunds residents are not the drivers of change in the urban form, and are to a degree excluded from decisions as the power lies elsewhere - with the municipality and the housing market. This municipal approach also stands in contradiction to Malmö's renewed image as a socially and environmentally sustainable "Knowledge City". Continuing with the Sofielund example, allowing the market forces to define this neighbourhood has less than socially sustainable consequences, as residents with weak economic power (thus weak market power) live in fear of being displaced from their homes and neighbourhoods.

When the potential issue of residents being forced out of this neighbourhood due to increased costs was discussed by BID Malmö, they stated;

The price increase has not been enormous [...]. I have to say that this issue of gentrification [...], we work pretty actively against it... yes, values increase, but it is not the same as.. As it being some kind of boring neighbourhood for only people with strong purchasing power.

When asked to elaborate on how they work against these tendencies, examples were mixing housing options, preserving the historic qualities of Sofielund, and the fact that the public housing company MKB owns a lot of rental properties in the area. At the same time, in a previous question the interviewee stated that the number of owner-occupied apartments has increased, which has previously been an underrepresented housing type that does need stronger purchasing power to be accessed compared to rental apartments, the dominating housing type today (Stadskontoret

Malmö Stad 2020). The claim to work against increased living costs while striving for increased value is in itself contradictory in a market economy, this is already discussed in the sociocultural chapter, and contradicted by the municipality, but has further effects besides it being an unlikely statement.

This kind of contradiction between what is said and what is done is further reported by Möllerström (2011) to affect citizens with regard to the symbolic landscape. Möllerström's focus was the rebranding of the city, and found that citizens experienced it as redefining Malmö's history in a problematic way, not properly mirroring the social realities of Malmö. In my research this is also a recurring experience, residents reporting a discrepancy between the story told of their respective neighbourhood compared to their reality, often creating a frustration. It becomes a struggle over the right to define their local landscape. Among Limhamn respondents the struggle over the right to define the neighbourhood is both with other residents, and with outsiders such as the municipality and the mass media. Among Sofielund respondents the struggle is only described as being between the residents and non-residents (mainly the mass media), and never within the residential community. Sofielund residents described a strong sense of community within their neighbourhood throughout responses, which leads us into the second theme found; Collectivity.

5.3. Urban Housing Landscape and Collectivity

Sofielund has the most present communal discourse, with a heavy focus on identity rooted in a sense of collectivity within the community, the positive effects of this, and this being the main thing respondents want to invest in and strengthen further. The local community was repeatedly connected with safety and well-being within Sofielund, with less or no connection between e.g. safety as a municipal responsibility, or safety and police. One respondent who has lived in Sofielund for 28 years captures a recurring tendency regarding the idea of community;

Nice neighbours. Very helpful people. [...] There are less common activities which is a big mistake. [...] We used to know the gangsters and they knew us. Now people cruise here that don't know us which worries us. [...] We don't have communication between groups anymore. We are afraid of BID and that they'll raise rents, they are window dressing. Landlords are still uneven. The tenant's association didn't accept new, young board members even though we called for it excessively. [...] Malmö Municipality "listens" but nothing happens. We saw this coming 15-20 years ago. No one did anything. The police chief yelled at us. Soc [the social services, author's note] told parents asking for help, you're so strong and involved you'll manage yourselves.

This response illustrates a tendency of turning towards communal responsibility and away from involvement of other actors, it is often driven by a sense of abandonment. While

another tendency among the respondents expressed a higher level of faith in authorities by including them as a problem solver, they too did this to a limited extent by describing the municipality as a powerful actor when collaborating with property owners and residents. Further, though they accept and include the authorities more in the discourse, they often describe a situation where the municipality is not completely succeeding. Partly by pushing initiatives that are not experienced to work, both focused on city planning and protecting young adults, partly by not prioritising Sofielund, in terms of taking care of the physical space (keeping it clean e.g.) and taking responsibility for its development. This lack of confidence in authorities could be a reason for the strong local collective identity; it is the local community that contributes the positive experiences of Sofielund, no one else.

While I did mention a neoliberal collective discourse among the Limhamn respondents in the Economy-chapter, Limhamns strong influences by the neoliberal tendency made it differ notably from the Sofielund idea of collectivity. The collective in Limhamn was described as a part in the process of improving the neighbourhood through obligation, here indicated by the word “must”; “everybody must take responsibility to show what’s right and wrong”. Collectivity lacked an intrinsic value, which was present in Sofielund responses describing the collective as making it “the best neighbourhood to live in” and creating a “we-feeling”. Further, there was a recurring theme of anti-collectivity within the Limhamn neighbourhood, to a majority described as hostility through racism among the residents. Racism was described as becoming more open among Limhamn residents by respondents seeing these tendencies as problematic, and being especially present in a Limhamn Facebook group. It was also present among respondents framing immigrants as being the source of experienced problems in Limhamn, often connecting this to rumors they heard about the new MKB-housing; “we can’t create another neighbourhood with only immigrants. [...] The rumor says that MKB rents their apartments to the social service department who in turn squeezes in large immigrant-families in small apartments”. People living in new MKB-housing themselves described the most common problem being racist discourse; “I don’t experience a sense of unsafety in itself, but the discussions being had have awakened a sense of worry and unease, both in terms of criminality but also the racism shown”. What can be seen within Limhamn responses is a much stronger division within the residential community, in the largest sense it can be divided into two groups. One group accepting differences within the community, seeing a diversified Limhamn as something good that should be further developed, the other group seeing differences as strongly conflicting, experiencing a negative change in Limhamn connected to the new residents.

A struggle over the narrative of Limhamn, the struggle over which discourse should be the dominating one, is strong within the residential community and affecting the residential community to a larger extent than Sofielunds residential community. Among Sofielund respondents, there was a described narrative falsely portraying Sofielund as a dangerous place, which no respondent agreed with. This was described to affect residents as them

having to correct friends describing Sofielund, and a feeling of disappointment towards the mass media reporting this. Among Limhamn respondents they instead describe a sense of unsafety caused by the different discourses, the racism being the main factor of unsafety and some respondents having experienced verbal attacks. Something interesting here is how Limhamn Sjöstad (the new MKB-housing area) is referred to as something rumored to be unsafe and a “problem area” by people who have not experienced it themselves, but not as such by people who live there. The competing narratives thus have strong power over the residents perception of their neighbourhood, and how they interact with each other as a consequence of this. In the end, these discourses have little effect on the current development of the neighbourhood in a larger context, as the main determinant described is simply what kind of housing is built in the area. The introduction of more housing in this area, whether respondents are for or against this, is described as the main driver of change. Which again highlights the importance of the power relations within the urban housing landscape; Malmö Municipality and real estate companies are the most powerful actors in shaping the development, and according to my material the citizens right to shape their city is decided by the powerful actors actions. Their actions in turn, are not mainly informed by the citizens, but by the housing market and real estate companies.

The theme of collectivity is rarely present in the Malmö Municipality interview, but when present it is in terms of collaborations between private housing actors and the municipality. A residential focus is also rare, but this could be a consequence of the fact that the municipality interview mainly works with the built development, and not necessarily reflecting an absolute valuation of the built environment over the social. BID Malmö on the other hand, repeatedly stated that the BID work has very little focus on residents as their focus is on the built landscape, but the residential perspective was still included when discussing increased value of the neighbourhood. In more recurring terms of collectivity, they often connected a positive change in Sofielund to the collaboration between real estate companies, Malmö Municipality, and the police. This collaboration was described to “give a completely different weight to what we do”, while also stressing that the organisation would be very exposed if one of the three collaborators were to withdraw from the BID-project. This emphasis on collaboration within a neoliberal frame results in a dependence on individual actors’ continuous engagement, which was not only present on this scale of actors but also within the organisation. Within the organisation they mentioned a key person being the force and strength of BID Malmö, which creates a vulnerable structure as it is a lack of structural precautions by relying on an individual actor or person.

One last collaboration mentioned is one between BID Malmö and Malmö University, where two criminologists have followed the BID work from the start, studying safety in the area. It is stressed that they work independently from BID, but that they have access to the organisation without restraint and use it in their research. Further it is stated that this research is then used by the organisation, and in the continuous work of making Sofielund

safer. Safety being studied in terms of crime is expected when a criminologist is conducting the research, but BID Malmö and Malmö Municipality's use of the term "safety" in this same way does not mirror the spectra of uses by residents.

5.4. Urban Housing Landscape and Safety

The term "trygghet" is not easily translated from Swedish to English, the closest translation here would be safety, but the Swedish word encompasses more than a sense of physical safety. "Safety" is in this context defined as a sense of being free of worrisome or threatening phenomena⁶. The municipality briefly mentioned safety when discussing increased safety against crime in Sofielund, and a project called "Safer Malmö" is also brought up briefly, working against illegal activity in Malmö. By BID Malmö, safety was discussed in terms of illegal activity as well, such as criminal offences aimed at people and the physical space. BID Malmö highlights a positive change in the area with a heavy focus on this kind of safety - referring to the decrease of "slumlords" in Sofielund, to the physical area being more looked after, and to the police's list of "especially vulnerable areas" by stating that the area is possibly being removed from this classification. While I am not suggesting that the physical aspect of safety is irrelevant, there is a sole focus on this aspect and neglect of the aspect of a social safety. Reduced crime is described as an indicator for drastic and positive change in Sofielund in these two interviews, but the residential responses entail something more.

Sofielund respondents experience a sense of physical safety to a large extent, and though they mention a presence of criminal activity to different extents respondents do not describe a sense of unsafety because of this. To the contrary, several respondents describe a strong sense of safety in their neighbourhood, often connected to the sense of community. When describing a lack of safety, it is connected to economic changes being a threat or something negative, often directly connected to private actors;

[Sofielund] is gentrifying - not in the least by private landlords driving up the rents. [...] I think private landlords should stop luxury renovations of entire housing blocks to be able to increase housing prices - that is not the way to fight criminality and social vulnerability.

Landlords neglecting their real estate is also a recurrently mentioned, creating a bad living situation for residents which they feel unable to affect. Another way in which a lack of social safety was described, was as social vulnerability in the area not being properly dealt with. An experience of vulnerability was described as people, in particular young people, not receiving enough help to improve their lives and not fall to crime. Generally the tendency was a sense of being excluded from shaping the development of Sofielund, this being owned by the municipality and real estate companies, which created worry. This

⁶This definition of safety is inspired by Norlander et al. (2015)

exclusion was often experienced as disregard - that the powerful actors did not listen to the residents. Safety against crime was not experienced as an issue, however there was an awareness of this portrayal by non-residents of Sofielund as a dangerous place.

Limhamn had a more fragmented idea of safety within the responses. There were two main tendencies; one was that Limhamn is unsafe, the other that Limhamn is safe. When described as unsafe it was done in terms of criminality, this being connected to new residents, and a want for Limhamn to become more safe. Increased safety was here to be achieved either through increased police presence, or through the civil community needing to work together and guard the neighbourhood. The other tendency described Limhamn as a safe, often also idyllic, place. These respondents also described an experienced change in the population, it becoming more heterogeneous, but contrary to the other tendency they described it as something positive. A less present tendency described Limhamn as both unsafe and safe, unsafe due to hostility and racism but safe in terms of lack of criminality.

Considering the residential responses in relation to the municipal and BID Malmö responses, a minority of residents' experience of and view on safety are being mirrored by other actors. The dominating focus among residents on social safety - being against displacement, for diversity in the population, or wanting to work with decreasing socioeconomic vulnerability - was barely found in the municipal and BID Malmö interview. The dimension of social safety relating to displacement was mentioned, but by the municipality rather as an acknowledgement of its existence than as something they actively work with. BID Malmö stated that they worked against displacement, but it is unclear how this happens in action rather than words. One example was to keep mixed housing options, but what actual power they have over this is unclear as it rather is determined by what kind of real estate companies want to and can locate here. Another example was to preserve the historic qualities of the area rather than developing the area to something else, as Sofielund in itself has a lot of great qualities. Assuming residents are not included as a historic quality, which I appreciate being a reasonable assumption as they explicitly stated they do not work with a residential aspect, this preservation is not necessarily related to displacement in any way. Preserving these qualities does not mean preserving cost levels or residents, it could more likely be a preservation in line with their focus; the built landscape. So while they claim to be against this, my material does not support this claim but rather opposes it.

5.5. Urban Housing Landscape and Environment

Preservation of historic qualities was a recurring theme found. In the BID Malmö-interview it was only present when referring to their work against displacement. In the Malmö Municipality interview however, it was one of the strongest themes. As I mentioned previously, the historic environment was the only thing described as being more important than the market. Preserving the historic values in the built environment was framed as an important municipal responsibility, done by protecting the “atmosphere and

character” when developing the built environment. It could mean denying an exploiter their suggested development, if it was deemed to interfere with the historic values, or redirecting the exploiter. This would be a big intervention in the housing market, but was in the interview still not actually exemplified by something they have done, but rather something they could do. Furthermore, consistent with the reviewed texts on Malmö and neoliberal planning there was a mention of one symbolic building, proposed for a development and densification of a Malmö subdistrict; “this tower was supposed to mark a manifestation that one also invested on this side of Malmö. So it is well-established by name and nationally.”. This project was put on pause due to the “market not being mature for it”, which is consistent with previous finds on Malmö’s entrepreneurial approach being materialised in the built environment through impressive buildings. In this case the building has not (yet) materialised but its purpose is the same, symbolic and attractive.

Local identity being rooted in history was also present among Limhamn respondents, who made the connection to Limhamn being a community for fishermen, or “an old working-class village”, and that this should be preserved and respected when developing the neighbourhood. Though this was present, this was only among a minority of responses. The lack of identity rooted in the working history of Limhamn could be an example of rewriting its history by ignorance of its history. Values connected to the Limhamn identity are to a majority focused on economic well-being, and by consistently interpreting this place according to these markers of wealth, it strengthens a certain meaning. Instead of highlighting it as a place with a strong working-class history, it is retold as an exclusive place for people with strong purchasing power - an example of the symbolic landscape being changed by social processes. This social process in turn reflects the wealthy population, which is an example of how economic power can effectively change a local identity not only in terms of actual access but symbolic access. According to my material, anyone cannot be part of the symbolic community even though they physically live in the community, as they do not fit the group identity. These are the people mainly referred to as the new residents (or in more offensive wording exemplified previously), experienced as a problem, and representing a change in the landscape. The strong reluctance to include these people in what constitutes this community is also exemplified through the hostile environment experienced by many respondents.

The environmental theme is not as explicitly present among the Sofielund responses, though there is a smaller tendency here of protecting a local identity i.e. relating to social environment. The local identity could here be described as a peripheral identity, in the sense that residents describe neglect by the municipality and property owners, but instead value within their community. The new residents here - who are less present here compared to the new residents of Limhamn, but still cannot be part of the local identity - are the wealthier residents. In Sofielund, these new residents threaten their right to stay in Sofielund long term, making it directly connected to economic power, and how it here

could change the actual access current residents would continue to have if costs were to increase.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

The research questions I aim at answering in this chapter are; “How are urban housing discourses from public actors, private actors, and residents, in tension with each other?” and “How are these discourses in turn impacting these actors?”. Discourses found in the material dominantly had a strong neoliberal quality. In the case of Limhamn and by BID Malmö this was sometimes as a neoliberal capitalist discourse, and sometimes intertwined with a weaker, collective quality as well. Malmö Municipality had similar tendencies, but additionally an emphasis on historic values and the preservation of these in the built space. This discourse centered around history preservation was not intertwined with the neoliberal capitalist discourse, but rather stood in opposition to it. This is not discussed below as it was too detached from the other perspectives, but the contradicting mechanism works in the same way as the tension being described between neoliberal capitalism and collectivity. Sofielund responses had the weakest neoliberal discourse, their responses being dominated by a collectivity discourse centered around their specific community.

6.1. Discourses - Tensions and Impacts

Though a neoliberal discourse influenced the larger part of the material, different tendencies within the neoliberal frame were often in tension with each other. And among Sofielund responses, the neoliberal discourse was weak but neoliberal practice frequently discussed - it was not a significant part of their value system, but discussed as a threatening force. The perception of neoliberal capitalism as a powerful force was implicitly present throughout the material, and had a large part in affecting what constituted the group connected to the local identity. In Limhamn, it resulted in the local identity being rooted in wealth. The respondents who themselves were not attached to this identity, but instead welcomed a socioeconomic diversity, were still 1) not the group owning the power to (re)define Limhamn, and 2) strongly influenced by the neoliberal discourse and with a heavy focus on market forces.

This discursive tension between a neoliberal capitalist logic and contradicting social values of collectivity was the most common tension in the material. For Malmö Municipality this resulted in a lock up, where there was an absolute contradiction between describing market forces as the strongest determinant of urban development, while still expressing a wish to develop the urban housing landscape considering social values (e.g. not displacing residents from their homes). This lock resulted in a scenario where the market forces in the end were the determinant of shaping the urban housing landscape, the process only potentially being slowed down by municipal intervention. BID Malmö had a similar lock up in reasoning, which can be summarised by their contradictory statement of increased value not meaning increased cost in a neoliberal capitalist context. Even though the neoliberal discourse is strong, and market forces are being accredited a determining level of power, these actors still want to be associated with something else. The same

pattern is seen in the neoliberal collective contradiction of Limhamn. This contradicting tendencies within a group and discourse could be explained by that the neoliberal framework either goes unacknowledged as such, or being acknowledged as a force of nature rather than a current system. Either way the neoliberal practice is being legitimised by the strong neoliberal discourses. Discursively this is done by excluding an agent in relation to the process of change; “x is changing” is excluding an agent, “x is changing because of y” is including y as an agent. Through the exclusion of an agent, it also excludes the implied possibility for other agents to change the city. Further, it is done by rarely including a structural dimension in the reasoning, implying there are no larger structures to be affected and presenting the neoliberal capitalism as a truth. This contradictory tendency was barely present among Sofielunds respondents, who instead embraced the collectivity discourse, presenting the community as being the ones who *should* own the right to change the city. This could be explained by these respondents to a large extent fearing the market, and thus discussing it rather than accepting it. Still this fear is informed by the power of the market as currently being what *does* own the right to change the city.

Urbanisation’s deep connection with neoliberal capitalism is present though all my material. And zooming out to the national and global context Sweden is a part of, the neoliberal capitalist market economy present in large parts of that context can here be seen to affect local discourses. This power structure shaping the landscape is doing it without being properly acknowledged within my material, thus often hindering an awareness and discussion about it. This could be an explanation to the many contradictions within my material, and the fact that there are barely any discursive contradictions among Sofielund responses. The neoliberal context not only shapes discourses, but also which physical environments are invested in and which are not. This is driven by demand, and potential profit, and affects both the municipalities ability to work and expand and the property owners interest to expand and establish themselves in different areas. Thus, what I have found is that these discourses in many ways affect interaction within the urban housing landscape; how these three groups of actors experience themselves, interact with each other, and view the development of Malmö.

6.1.1. The Right to the City

The right for citizens to define, change, and be part of the city, is in many ways lacking. Regarding Malmö Municipality and BID Malmö, there is a large emphasis put on the market and private actors (or public/private partnerships such as BID) in the development of the city. In chapter three I quoted Harvey on how neoliberalism has enabled an intimate relationship between private and public interests, leading to a favouritism of “corporate capital and the upper class in shaping the urban process” (Harvey 2008, p.38). My finds several times exemplify this relationship, the neoliberal market context shapes the work of the municipality and how they deal with urban development. Further, by the group with

strongest purchasing power in Limhamn as being the ones with power to define and be part of the city, though not change it. Among the Sofielund residents, who had the weakest purchasing power, the experience of lacking the right to the city was also the strongest. A majority felt the portrayal of Sofielund was inaccurate, that changes (or earlier, lack of changes) in the neighbourhood was not in dialogue with them or something they could affect, and that their ability to be a part of the neighbourhood was at risk. Thus, despite the public and private actors highlighting increased safety in Sofielund during the interviews, Sofielund respondents in this sense felt increasingly worried and unsafe. If the social sustainability aspect is to be a part of the urban development, this larger contextualisation of residential experience and need has to be made.

6.2. Conclusion

So what do we talk about when we talk about housing? We do talk about physical housing and home, about the possibility to have a place to live, but we also talk about the ability to shape our identity, our possibilities, ourselves, by shaping our housing landscape. In this study, the right to the city is very much experienced as the right to change ourselves by changing the city.

The urban housing discourses found sometimes stand in opposition to each other, in tension with economic structures, sometimes with contradictions within themselves. What was clear was that residents neither experienced nor were discussed as agents of change, but those with power to change were private and public actors as well as the market economy. This not only affected them in not being able to change the physical landscape but restricted them in changing the symbolic and affective landscape as well, which in the end begs the question; for whom is the city? If a city is not shaped by and for the residents living in it, who should it be shaped for? Of course, some would argue that the market economy which is so strongly emphasised here will result in what is best for everyone, but this is clearly not what is experienced by residents. What is experienced is instead a sense of frustration among the residents taking form in different ways, because of change they do not feel they have any power in. Also, a frustration because of an experienced discrepancy between how their local landscape is presented by others, and how it is experienced by themselves. The different tendencies within the material are here linked to economic power - those who can partake in the urban life as they please as connected to economic conditions. Meanwhile, the private and public perspective included here has very little focus on the residents and instead a strong market focus. As they are seen as the most powerful actors, this lack of residential focus strengthens unequal power dynamics. In that sense, the three different groups I studied are in agreement - the residents do not at this point have the power to change the city physically nor symbolically, and this is affecting them in a range of different negative ways spanning from material to affective.

7. References

Anell, A., Glenngård, A. H., Merkur, Sherry (2012) "Sweden - Health System Review" *Health Systems in Transition* , Vol. 14, No. 5, pp. 1-159.

Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet (2012) *Urbana utvecklingsområden*. Regeringskansliet November 2012.

Beaten, G. (2012) "Normalising Neoliberal Planning: The Case of Malmö, Sweden" in Beaten, G. & Tasan-Kok, T. (eds) (2012) *Contradictions of Neoliberal Planning*. Springer Nature, pp. 21-42.

BID Sofielund (n.d.) *BID: tillsammans gör vi Sofielund trivsammare och tryggare*. Fastighetsägare Sofielund. [Electronic] Available: <https://bidmalmo.se/om-bid-processen/> Retrieved: 24 November 2020.

BID Malmö (2020) Consultant at BID Malmö. Interview December 7 2020.

Blomqvist, P. (2020) "Chapter Three: Privatisation and Marketisation Within a Healthcare System: The Swedish Experience" in F. Collyer, K. Willis (eds.) *Navigating Private and Public Healthcare*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 41-60.

Bryman, A. (2012) *Social research methods* (Fourth edition). Oxford University Press.

Carlsson, D. (2020) 'Så sprids rasismen i rika området: "Kallas parasit"' *Kvällsposten*. News article. 2020-10-24. [Electronic] Available: https://www.expressen.se/kvallsposten/sa-sprids-rasismen-i-rika-området-kallas-parasit/?purchase=new_user Retrieved: October 29 2020.

Crang, M. (1998) *Cultural Geography*. London: Routledge

Dahlberg, H. & Kretschmer, H. & Scotte, M. & Kindblad, C. & Jansson, A. & Biller, M. (2006) *Sofielund. Från Svinarysland till mångkulturell stadsdel*. Malmö Högskola.

Fairclough, N. & Jessop, B. & Sayer, A. (2002) "Critical Realism and Semiosis" *Alethia* Vol. 5, No. 1, pp.2-10

Fairclough, N. (2003) *Analysing Discourse : Textual Analysis for Social Research*. New York: Routledge.

- Harvey, D. (2005) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, D. (2008) "The Right to the City" *New Left Review*. Sep/Oct 2008, No 53, pp.23-40.
- Holgersen, S. (2017) *Staden och kapitalet. Malmö i krisernas tid*. Göteborg: Daidalos.
- Hrustic, E. (2010) "Nu tas de första spadtagen till nya stadsdelen" *P4 Malmöhus*. News article. 2020-09-27. [Electronic] Available: <https://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=96&artikel=4049255> Retrieved: October 25 2020.
- Janks, H. (1997) "Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool" *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*. Vol. 18, No. 3, pp.329-342.
- Knox, P. & Pinch, S. (2009) *Urban Social Geography* (Sixth edition). Pearson Education.
- Lantmäteriet (2020) *GSD: Geografisk Sverigedata*. Available: <https://www.lantmateriet.se/sv/Kartor-och-geografisk-information/geodataprodukter/produktlista/#category=oppnadata> Retrieved: January 2 2021.
- Lefebvre, H. (2003 [1970]) *Urban Revolution*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Lindstam, M. (2019) "Polisens lista över utsatta områden" *SVT Nyheter*, inrikes. News article. 2019-06-03. [Electronic] Available: <https://www.svt.se/nyheter/inrikes/polisen-presenterar-ny-lista-pa-sarskilt-utsatta-omraden> Retrieved: November 24 2020.
- Listerborn, C. (2017) "The flagship concept of the '4th urban environment'. Branding and visioning in Malmö, Sweden" *Planning Theory & Practice*. Vol.18, No. 1, pp.11-33.
- Länsstyrelsen Skåne (2016) *Malmö-Limhamn*. Samhällsplanering & kulturmiljö [Electronic] Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/20160630224612/http://www.lansstyrelsen.se/skane/sv/samhallsplanering-och-kulturmiljo/landskapsvard/kulturmiljoprogram/sarskilt-vardefulla-kulturmiljoer-i-skane/malmo/Pages/Malmo-Limhamn.aspx> Retrieved: November 25 2020.
- Massey, D. (1995) "Places and Their Past" *History Workshop Journal*, No. 39, pp.182-192. Oxford University Press.

Malmö Stad (2017) *Limhamns Hamnområde*. Stadsutvecklingsområden [Elektronik] Available:
<https://malmo.se/Service/Var-stad-och-var-omgivning/Stadsplanering-och-strategier/Stadsutvecklingsomraden/Limhamns-hamnomrade.html> Retrieved: 24 November 2020.

Malmö Stad (2020a) *Sofielund*. Platser och byggnader [Electronic] Available:
<https://malmo.se/Uppleva-och-gora/Arkitektur-och-kulturarv/Kulturarv-Malmo/Platser-och-byggnader/Sofielund.html> Retrieved: November 24 2020.

Malmö Stad (2020b) *BID Sofielund*. Social hållbarhet. [Electronic] Available:
<https://malmo.se/Service/Om-Malmo-stad/Studiebesok/Tema-Hallbar-stad/Social-hallbarhet/BID-Sofielund.html> Retrieved: November 24 2020.

MKB (n.d.) *Frågor och svar*. Bostadssökande: Vad räknas som inkomst? [Electronic] Available:
<https://www.mkbfastighet.se/kundservice/kundtjanst/fragor-och-svar/bostadssokande/som-inkomst4/> Retrieved: December 29 2020.

MKB (2020) *MKB Fastighets AB Affärsplan 2020*. [Electronic] Available:
<https://www.mkbfastighet.se/contentassets/0cc60a276d12492fb753370c75d6800b/mkb-affarsplan-2020-200310.pdf> Retrieved: December 29 2020.

Mukhtar-Landgren, D. (2012) *Planering för framsteg och gemenskap. Om den kommunala utvecklingsplaneringens idémässiga förutsättningar*. Doctoral dissertation. Political Studies. University of Lund.

Möllerström, V. (2011) *Malmös omvandling: från arbetarstad till kunskapsstad. En diskursanalytisk studie av Malmös förnyelse*. Doctoral dissertation. Media and communications. University of Lund.

Nationella operativa avdelningen (2015) *Utsatta områden - sociala risker, kollektiv förmåga och oönskade händelser*. Underrättelseenheten December 2015.

Nationella operativa avdelningen (2017) *Utsatta områden - social ordning, kriminell struktur och utmaningar för polisen*. Underrättelseenheten Juni 2017.

Norlander, T. & Ernestad, E. & Moradiani, Z. & Nordén, T. (2015) "Perceived Feeling of Security: A Candidate for Assessing Remission in Borderline Patients?". *The Open Psychology Journal*. Vol. 8, pp.146-152.

Ontario (2019) *Introduction to Business Improvement Areas*. Municipal guides and programs. 2019-09-23. [Electronic] Available: <https://www.ontario.ca/document/business-improvement-area-handbook/introduction-business-improvement-areas> Retrieved: November 24 2020.

Proposition 1989/90:41. Om kommunalt huvudmannaskap för lärare, skolledare, biträdande skolledare och syofunktionärer.

Proposition 1991/92:95. Valfrihet och fristående skolor.

Regeringskansliet (2015) *Sveriges regeringar under 100 år*. Regeringskansliet [Electronic] Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/20150215002042/http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/2460/a/14591> Retrieved: December 16 2020.

SAOL (1952) *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*. PÅCK. [Electronic] Available: http://www.saob.se/artikel/?unik=P_0425-0148.abKa Retrieved: January 2 2021.

Schwartz, M. (2004) "Can America Go Public?". *New York Times Magazine*. Interview by Deborah Solomon. 2004-05-16. Iss.6, p.19.

Stadskontoret Malmö Stad (2020). Statistikunderlag för Malmös områden 2019-09-27. Available: <https://malmo.se/Fakta-och-statistik/Statistik-for-Malmos-omraden.html> Retrieved: October 27 2020.

Strindlöv, J. (2020). "Oron växer – hyresgäster flyttar in i rika stadsdelen." *Kvällsposten*. News article. 2020-09-18. [Electronic] Available: <https://www.expressen.se/kvallsposten/oron-vaxer-hyresgaster-flyttar-in-i-rika-stadsdelen/> Retrieved: October 25 2020.

Vickhoff, A. (2020) "Planen: färre bidragstagare till rika stadsdelen" *Kvällsposten*. News article. 2020-09-26. [Electronic] Available: <https://www.expressen.se/kvallsposten/planen-farre-bidragstagare-i-rika-stadsdelen/> Retrieved: October 29 2020.

Winther Jørgensen, M. & Phillips, L. (2000) *Diskursanalys som teori och metod*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Appendix 1

Intervjuguide BID Sofielund.

1. Beskriv din yrkesroll.
2. Ni arbetar till stor del med fokus på Sofielund, hur ser bostadssituationen och stämningen ut där idag?
3. Verkar ni för att förändra Sofielund, bostadsbilden och stämningen?
 - a. Varför.... Hur...
4. Hur tror ni att projektet (BID) kommer att påverka området?

5. Ser ni några förändringar redan nu? Vad tycker ni om dem...
6. Ser ni några förändringar i boendestrukturen och hur området upplevs?
7. Upplever ni att efterfrågan på bostäder har ändrats? T.ex. vilken typ av bostadskontrakt, storlek på lägenheter, skick på lägenheter etc.

8. Vad ser ni för positiva potentiella effekter av projektet ni verkar för i området?
9. Vad ser ni för negativa potentiella effekter av projektet?

10. Det här arbetet fokuserar på området Sofielund, men ser ni andra delar av Malmö där BID borde, eller skulle kunna, appliceras?

Appendix 2

Intervjuguide Malmö Stad.

1. Beskriv din yrkesroll.
2. Hur anser ni att bostadssituationen ser ut i Malmö idag? Skiljer den sig mycket över Malmö?
3. Ni arbetar till stor del med fokus på Sofielund, hur ser bostadssituationen och stämningen ut där idag?
4. Verkar ni för att förändra Sofielund, bostadsbilden och stämningen?
 - a. Varför....
5. Ser ni några förändringar redan nu? Vad tycker ni om dem...
6. Hur tror ni att förändringarna kommer att påverka området?
7. Ser ni några förändringar i boendestrukturen och hur området upplevs?
8. Hur ser ni på händelseförloppet i centrala stadsrum då värdet ökar och människor inte har råd att bo kvar?
9. Det här arbetet fokuserar på Limhamn och Sofielund. Har du någon spontan uppfattning eller tanke om området Limhamn? Specifikt bostadssituationen och områdesstämningen.

Appendix 3

Hur upplever du Sofielund?

Sida 1

Stort tack för att du tar dig tid att svara på denna undersökning! Den har som syfte att fånga hur Sofielundare själva upplever Sofielund, och olika tankar de kan ha om sitt område. Det handlar alltså inte om något "rätt" eller "fel", utan hur just du ser på Sofielund i egenskap av boende.

Första sidan innehåller direkta frågor som kräver kortare svar, sida två och tre ger mer rum för Dig att uttrycka och beskriva Din relation till Sofielund - du är välkommen att skriva så mycket eller lite du vill på dessa frågor.

Svaren är helt anonymiserade och kommer inte gå att spåra tillbaka till en enskild individ.

1. Kön

2. Ålder

Svara i siffror.

3. Bruttoinkomst per år

- 0 - 100 000 SEK
- 100 000 - 200 000 SEK
- 200 000 - 300 000 SEK
- 300 000 - 400 000 SEK
- 400 000 - 500 000 SEK
- 500 000+ SEK
- Vill ej svara

4. Vilken boendeform har du? *

Bostadsrätt, hyresrätt, andrahandskontrakt, och så vidare.

5. Hur länge har du bott i Sofielund?

6. Vad heter området i Sofielund som du bor i?

7. Var bodde du innan du flyttade hit?

Du har nu svarat på första delen av enkäten. På nästa sida kommer frågor som ger mer rum för Dig att uttrycka och beskriva Din relation till Sofielund.

Sida 2

Nu är det bara halva enkäten kvar! ;)

8. Hur upplever du att Sofielund porträtteras av andra?

Till exempel, vilken bild målas upp av Sofielund i tidningar, av Malmö Stad, av andra Malmöiter?

9. Tycker du att uppfattningen om Sofielund som du beskrev i fråga (8) stämmer? Om inte, vad är din upplevelse av Sofielund?

10. Upplever du att Sofielund förändrats de senaste åren? På vilket sätt?

Om du inte tycker Sofielund förändrats, försök gärna beskriva på vilket sätt du upplever att Sofielund varit sig likt.

11. Tycker du att Sofielund *borde* förändras? På vilket sätt?

Sida 3

12. Vems ansvar är Sofielund?

Vem ansvarar för dess utveckling och tillstånd.

- Malmö Stad
- Sofielundborna själva
- Fastighetsägarna
- Lika mycket allas ansvar
-

13. Hur tycker du att den/de du svarade på fråga (12) lyckas med att ta ansvar för Sofielund?

14. OM det är okej att jag eventuellt kontaktar dig för vidare frågor, vänligen fyll i din mail nedan

om du inte fyller i din mail betyder det att du inte vill bli vidare kontaktad, vilket självklart respekteras.

Om du själv har några vidare frågor kring enkäten eller arbetet, är du välkommen att kontakta mig på jessica.estigarribia.2702@student.lu.se.

» Redirection to final page of WebbEnkäter