

Greenery and biodiversity in the changing urban landscape

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Abstract

Spårvägen is a neighborhood in Malmö that is being transformed from a bus depot in an old industrial area to an attractive residential neighborhood. The thesis investigates the role of greenery and biodiversity in the changing urban landscape in Spårvägen. The research analyzes how tensions between political demands on biodiversity in relation to economic structures are forming the urban greenery in the landscape. The research is investigating Spårvägen and how greenery there is taking form in relation to scalar and spatial dimensions of landscape change, its historical landscape, the production of functional landscapes and the power in the landscape. The research concludes that the greenery in Spårvägen is formed to function mainly as an attractive component in the landscape and that the contribution to biodiversity is difficult to control. Tensions between economic structures and the political demand for biodiversity are therethrough materialized in the greenery in Spårvägen.

Key Words: Greenery, Biodiversity, Green urban landscape change, Relational landscapes, Political economy

Table of content

1. Introduction	4
Biodiversity in the urban areas	5
Aim and Research Questions	5
Delimitations	6
Thesis outline	6
2. Theoretical framework	7
Approaching the landscapes beyond the landscape.....	7
Production of functional landscapes under capitalism	7
Geographical and temporal dimensions of landscapes.....	9
Power in the landscape	11
Theoretical conclusions	12
3. Methods	12
Philosophy of science.....	12
Research design, collected material and methods	13
The interviews	13
Main Secondary data	14
Analytical method	15
Additional Secondary Data	15
Discussion on methods and material	16
4. Analysis	16
4.1 Spatial and scalar dimensions of landscape change in Spårvägen.	17
4.2 The historical footprint in the landscape	20
4.3 Production of functional (green) urban landscapes	22
4.4 Power in the green landscape	26
Concluding notes	29
References	31
Appendix 1	34
Appendix 2	35

List of Figures

Figure 1. Neighborhoods in the district, Spårvägen marked in red.	4
Figure 2. Greenery on the wall of a parking house in Spårvägen.....	5
Figure 3. Barriers for the circulation of people in the landscape marked in red.	19
Figure 4. Houses in Spårvägen, variation in material and forms of the houses, wire-constructions for climbing greenery and the historical building on the left side.	24
Figure 5. Green Space in Spårvägen	25
Figure 6. The rusty house with metal wires for climbing plants, which still haven't grown so much...27	

1. Introduction

Around the globe there is a general trend towards more and more people living in the urban areas. This means that there is a demand for more dwellings and an expansion of the built landscape (UN 2018). Simultaneously, there is an accelerating global ecological and climate crisis which is leading to increasing social and environmental consequences. One of them is manifested in the accelerating decline of biodiversity, described as mass-extinction of species (UN 2019). Political efforts across the globe have therefore attempted to meet the growing demand for housing – with ecological considerations being taken into account. The urban expansion is aimed to be a tool for preventing loss of fragile ecosystems and preserving ecological functions of biodiversity (UN 2016).

These global mechanisms and processes are also present in the local context, where this thesis will have its focus. Malmö is one of the cities in Sweden where the population is growing the fastest. The need for housing is urgent and the municipality is expecting that the city need 20 000 more dwellings to be built in the next 10 years (Malmö Stad 2020a). One of the major urban development projects in Malmö takes place in Norra Sorgenfri, which has majorly been an abandoned industrial site in the eastern part of Malmö. The project is described by the municipality as being a “a role model for sustainable city development regarding all aspects” (Malmö Stad 2015a, 4). The urban landscape that is taking form here is going to be the “city-environment of the future” (ibid.) regarding environmental and ecological matters. The second stage of the project is the neighborhood “Spårvägen” which is being transformed from a parking lot for the communal busses into a residential area with a green and environmental-friendly spirit.



Figure 1. Neighborhoods in the district, Spårvägen marked in red. (Malmö Stad 2015b, marking by the author)

The urban changes are not only happening under political demand for ecological sustainability but also under economic structures. Malmö is known for being poor in comparison to other Swedish cities, with higher unemployment rates and lower tax-income for the city than the

average (Ekonomifakta 2019). A functional economy is crucial for the municipality, since a lot of its income is based on the tax payers in the city.

In this context the urban landscape in the neighborhood Spårvägen is emerging. When a lot of components are going to be included in an urban development project can tensions occur between economic forces, urgent needs for dwellings and political demands on sustainable development. The thesis aims to investigate how these tensions are being materialized in the urban landscape of Spårvägen. The focus is laying on biodiversity, as a component in this development since general goals on sustainable development are too broad and vague to be covered.

Biodiversity in the urban areas

Biodiversity in the urban areas is tightly connected to greenery. Greenery can be described as the trees, flowers and plants that you can see in the city. It is the green infrastructure where different species are living and ecosystems are thriving. It can be located on the roofs of the houses, hanging from the walls or spreading into a park. The greenery doesn't have to contribute to biodiversity per se. Depending on the greenery chosen it can have varying ecological effectiveness. It can also have other functions, such as being nice to look at or being a hinder for the wind. It is also the visible form that biodiversity can take, and one function does not have to exclude



Figure 2. Greenery on the wall of a parking house in Spårvägen (the author)

the other. Biodiversity in the urban areas is an important complement to the total biodiversity in all landscapes. It creates ecosystem-services, both for humans directly but also for agriculture, in for example storm water management or pollination. It is in the urban possible to create habitats that are disappearing in the rationalized agriculture production, and the urban is now one of the few landscapes where for example trees can grow big and old (Boverket 2020).

Aim and Research Questions

The thesis therefore aims to investigate the role of the biodiversity in the changing urban landscape in Spårvägen and the tensions that can occur between political demands and economic structures under which the landscape takes form. This will be analyzed in relation to different geographical and temporal landscapes, with the research question:

- How is the urban greenery in Spårvägen formed by tensions between political demands on biodiversity and the economic structures, under which the urban landscape takes form?

Delimitations

The research is limited to investigating one neighborhood, Spårvägen, in a whole district that is being developed. This delimitation has been done since it is the first neighborhood in the district that is being transformed into a residential area in a district that is going to be mainly residential. Spårvägen has also been chosen as the focus of the thesis since here plans have already been put to work and it is possible to see how the visions of the area are taking form, as well as to investigate and evaluate the mechanisms that have played a role in shaping the neighborhood.

Thesis outline

The thesis consists of 4 chapters. Next chapter presents the theories that are going to be used when approaching the landscape in focus of the thesis. Then follows a chapter with methodological considerations and a presentation of methods applied when analyzing the material in relation to the theories. The collection of material will also be presented and discussed. In the closing chapter will the results be analyzed and concluded.

2. Theoretical framework

This theory section aims to put forward the theoretical framework that will be used when analyzing the urban landscape that has emerged and is changing in the neighborhood Spårvägen. The framework is used to understand the ongoing processes in the landscape and how to approach its complexity. The theory section is standing on the solid ground of the six axioms to read the landscape defined by Don Mitchell (2008). The axioms are:

1. “The landscape is produced, it is actively made: it is a physical intervention into the world [...]” (ibid., 34); 2. “The landscape is (or was) functional” (ibid., 35); 3. “No landscape is local” (ibid., 38); 4. “History does matter” (ibid., 41); 5. “Landscape is power” (ibid., 43) and 6. “Landscape is the spatial form that social justice takes” (ibid., 45).

The theory section is built around these axioms but will also discuss them alongside theories about the urban processes under capitalism, green fix and urban entrepreneurialism. This was done to make the theoretical framework more comprehensive in the analysis and will be further discussed in following sections.

Approaching the landscapes beyond the landscape

To analyze a landscape is a bit like looking at something that is being painted over again and again on the same canvas, filled with people, cultures, technologies, changing over time and space (Crang 1998). The landscape analysis in this paper is going to investigate that canvas, but also beyond it, by approaching the urban landscape with the 6 Axioms defined by Don Mitchell (2008). The axioms define a landscape as “*everything* we see when we go outside. But it also is everything that we do not see.” (Mitchell 2008, 47). This approach proposes that only looking at a landscape and its tangible form, its “morphology” does not tell us why it seems to be in a certain way or how it comes that it has this specific form. This approach is a step further than the morphological understanding of landscapes by Sauer (1996 [1925]), and the axioms defined by Lewis (1979) which were more about the tangible form of the landscape in its visible way. Mitchell widens the perspective on the landscape, as a solid totality, and acknowledge that its morphology needs to be investigated from different angles to be understood. Mitchell (2012) visualizes the landscape with the metaphor of a house that you approach from the outside. If you look in through an open door you see some things, if you look through the kitchen windows you see something else than if you look from above, but it is still the same house. The landscape must therefore be understood in a historical and geographical context to reveal what social conflicts and struggles that are hidden in the landscape, since its morphology is the materialization of these processes.

Production of functional landscapes under capitalism

Mitchells (2008) first two axioms are “The landscape is produced, it is actively made: it is a physical intervention into the world [...]” (ibid. p. 34) and “The landscape is (or was) functional” (ibid. p. 35). Both axioms are applicable to the changing urban landscape in this thesis. The axioms emphasize that there are forces coming together in the landscape to produce it, which makes it usable for the demands of the specific social and historical context. The interventions

in the landscape are not necessarily actively made by individually engaged planners or developers and landlords. It is rather a result of how these actors negotiate between forces, such as social will and economic structures that are present in the landscape. The social will exist in social power relations between groups of people and their interests in the landscape. For example, it can be the relation between new or old inhabitants and the interest of the developer, or forces of labor contra the capitalist. Even the smallest item in the landscape and its tangible form, contains these relations, which is a clue to why it is there and how it got there (Mitchell, 2008). The landscape is produced through these conflicts to become a commodity, either to be consumed directly by realizing its value or used in further production of new commodities, in other words being the structure for circulation, in which value can be realized. To be consumed or to circulate commodities are the primary ways in which a landscape is functional in the historical context of capitalism. Mitchells second axiom exemplifies the production of the landscape for the circulation of the commodity labor power. The labor power held in the body of the worker needs to be reproduced. This means that the landscape needs to be functional for the labor to sleep, eat and have kids, but also get transported to and from the workplace. The morphology of the landscape is produced to keep this production and circulation to function (Mitchell 2008). Different stakeholders with different interests try to change the landscape and form it so that it can meet their demands. This means that the landscape can be formed in a more or less efficient way for circulation, which is one of the interests in the landscape. If there are for example barriers in the landscape, it can decrease the possibilities for commodities to circulate, which could be a result of another interest such as the social will. It can also be due to historical outputs of the landscape that have been functional before. The landscape might have been functional for circulation, but when relations in the landscape are changing the morphology needs to change as well to keep the circulation effective (Mitchell 2012). Mitchell is known for applying his theories on the agricultural landscapes in the fields of California. The axioms for reading the landscape can still be used to give interesting insights to other kinds of landscapes as well, such as the urban ones. The built environment, what we know as the urban areas, is also a produced intervention in the landscape, maybe even more intense than in the agricultural landscape.

Also Harvey (1978) writes about the built environment's special role in the production and circulation of commodities in capitalist societies. With a focus on capital accumulation and class struggles he puts forward a theory with these as major forces impacting the urban landscape, since there is a tight linkage between these. His understanding is that the urban is the built environment for production and consumption of commodities. This means that even though the fabric of the built environment, and the landscape as a whole can vary, it is still an infrastructure in which the circulation has to take form. For example, a school does not have the same morphology and can have a different function in the circulation and production of commodities than a road. The built environment is nonetheless the material reality on which commodities can be transported or labor power can be refined. Investments in the built environment Harvey (1978) describes as investments in fixed capital, since it is stuck in space. This means that when the built environment is destroyed or radically changed, also capital is destroyed, which is only useful for the capitalist if it can give room to new capital accumulation. This is difficult to know in advance of destroying or radically changing the built environment.

However, when there is a crisis in the sphere of production or consumption of commodities and goods, capitalists tend to invest in the built environment instead and change the urban landscape. This is still a risky investment since it does not result in a direct revenue and it is complex to see the revenue in direct numbers. Therefore, the state often plays a vital role and holds the risks of investment in the built environment (Harvey 1978).

The role of the state or public authorities, Mitchell (2012) explains as a foreman of capitalism. This means that the state, but also different sections of it such as departments, have interests that are being formalized in landscape-intervening policies. The state is dependent on capital and has a structural role in production, but is also dependent on labor, since they to some extent can hold the authorities responsible for their actions. This means that the state needs to negotiate between managing the labor, but also serving it. The complexity in having different, relatively autonomous sections of the state intervening in the same landscape gives a complexity in predicting the outcome of these negotiations (Mitchell 2012). The revenue of investments in the fixed capital, i.e. the built environment, can however come in the future and that is where historical capitalist development is visible in the present urban landscape (Harvey 1978). The more specific framework from Harvey (1978) complements the broader framework of Mitchell (2008), by putting it in the context of the urban. As Harvey argues, the urban has the highest concentration of built environment and is therefore also where the most intense forces of investments and struggles take form (Harvey 1978).

Investments in fixed capital, the built sphere and the urban environment as a response to crises in the sphere of consumption and production of regular commodities has also been described by Holgersen & Malm (2015) in relation to greenery in the urban. By adding the ecological crises parallel to the economic crises, they theorize how investment in a green built environment is an attempt to solve both crises in the same move. This is what they call the “Green fix”, and writes that the investments in green fixed capital more often are done with a focus on solving economic crises than ecological ones. The green fix takes two geographical aspects into consideration that are interesting for this thesis. The first one is that they consider the greenery being integrated in the urban landscape as a facade, a surface that is there to look satisfying and attractive. The greenery attracts both capital investments on a global market, but also highly skilled labor. Both are to contribute to kick start the local economy and to make it functional after the demands of economic forces. The second one is the critique of branding a green place as “sustainable”. This is considered problematic since it still contains embodied emissions in the activities taking place in the landscape, even though there are plants on the walls of the buildings. Furthermore, the greenery is being commodified and actively exported as “sustainable city planning solutions” with customers all over the globe. Selling this commodity is to advantage for the local economy, but not necessarily for the ecological systems.

Geographical and temporal dimensions of landscapes

The produced functional landscape also has a spatial, scalar and temporal dimension. Landscapes are not locally isolated or independent of the historical context. The third and fourth axioms by Mitchell (2008), “no landscape is local” (ibid., 38) and “history does matter” (ibid., 41) entail that to understand the landscape the analysis needs to consider its relation to other

landscapes spatially and temporarily since forces on these levels have an impact on the landscape. Where the investments that are shaping the landscape are coming from, where commodities that are being consumed in the landscape are being produced or where the people that are living in the landscape are working makes no landscape local (ibid). Accordingly, it is necessary to study the landscape as a part of a global network in a globalized world, which means that there is not necessarily a hierarchy between the scales. Each local landscape should rather be seen as a node in a network. In other words, the regional scale does not pressure the local and is under pressure from the national, but all the scales affect and relate to each other. There are still power relations between landscapes and scales, the nodes in the network. The relations between the different scales are produced, and not given as in the structure of an upside-down triangle. The concentration of power in the different nodes are depending on the specific context, and the world still has a spiky surface, with uneven distribution and development (Mitchell 2012). An additional aspect to be considered when analyzing the relational landscape is the one of the labor market (Mitchell 2012). This can be seen in the urban, for example, where the labor that are building the houses are from, who is receiving the profit when the houses are sold or rented out, or who is moving in and out from the landscape, from where and to where. In the globalized world the landscape competes over these factors, and especially investments.

Competing over investments is also making no landscape local. This is visible in contemporary urban planning where cities need to compete to attract investments and to some extent labor on the global market or in the global network. Harvey (1989) writes how the competition is closely connected to the change from a managerial to an entrepreneurial planning regime in urban areas. This brings the third axiom, “no landscape is local” (Mitchell 2008, 38), to a contemporary urban context. Harvey (1989) investigates the restructuring of uneven development in relation to urban processes in late capitalism. Previously in history, especially during the sixties and seventies in the global north, the urban planning regime was controlled by centrally managing authorities such as on national scales or on municipality levels. The planning regime is associated with large-scale urban development project, often in underdeveloped parts of the city. It was a political tactic to invest in underdeveloped areas to decrease social unrest and a reallocation of resources trough urban development and its formation. The urban processes were tightly connected to the economic regime, as in the Keynesian, Fordist industrial one. Since then, we have seen a change in the economic patterns through global neo-liberalization which has affected the production of urban landscapes. This is theorized by Harvey (1989) as entrepreneurial planning which means that it takes place on a more local scale of governing. This does not necessarily mean that the governing is closer to the people in the local landscape but rather that entrepreneurs developing the landscape can do this under intensified competition. This also means that the urban landscapes need to attract the entrepreneurs, the investments, the capital, by creating attractive exploitable areas. This is often characterized by spectacular items in the landscape, changing the reputation of it, creating tourist attractions or massive sport arenas. The role of the state is to create these attractive components, take the economic risks and hope for investment. Meanwhile the investors can choose where it is the most advantage for them to invest (ibid.). The landscape in this context is both depending on the spatial dimension but also the historical. The axiom “history does matter” (Mitchell 2008 p. 41) means

that the temporal dimension gives the frames in which today's investments and changes can be made, and to what cost.

Infrastructure of historical technologies and forms of production are present in the current landscape to some extent. The history is always diverse but contains events and changes in the social and physical world, such as conflicts, technical inventions, mobilizations and destructions, or smaller and bigger events that all together shape a fabric on which the landscape today stands (Mitchell 2008). The historical path is not straightforward but diversified and there is a power dimension in what is being kept of that historical path, intentionally or not. In other words, the non-existing footprints in the landscape can also be a piece of its history since items might have been taken out of the landscape. Many things that created the landscape as we can see it today are not there in a physical tangible form. What is being kept, as an imprint of the history, is depending on what actors with power have wanted the landscape to contain (Mitchell 2012). This means that the reputation of a landscape based on the history of it can be defined in different ways. It also means that the future is formed by how the morphology of the landscape is being shaped and structured today. The production of landscapes today will be the history of the landscape in the future, and there is power in writing that history (ibid.).

Power in the landscape

The power dimension is visible in the historical landscape, the relational but also the present functional landscape. The two last axioms from Mitchell (2008) are “Landscape is power” (ibid., 43) and “Landscape is the spatial form that social justice takes” (ibid., 45). These axioms imply that there are power relations in defining what a useful landscape is today and that there is a tension between interests of stakeholders that need to be negotiated when a landscape is transforming. There is power in defining the landscape, describing and shaping its tangible form, to have the right to decide what a safe, dynamic, attractive, active and functional landscape is. This is manifested when components of the landscape, may it be humans selling themselves, or homeless people living in tents are deleted from the landscape. These two axioms indicate that the landscape also contains the power to shape social relations. The power in the landscape can be used in a wide range of ways but is foremost connected to who has the right to change the landscape, who must live with these changes and adopt their lives after them. Landscapes are after all, the places, and spaces where people live, or have lived, their lives. The landscape is also where political struggles take a physical form, where conflicts can be intensified or depoliticized, divided or brought together (ibid.). The landscape is power materialized, and is formed by struggles, capital and in relation to nature (Mitchell 2012).

One of the components of the landscape where power is operationalized is the property-relations in the landscape. The ownership of land, as well as price mechanisms for expected and the actual value on the landscape and other commodities that are or are going to be produced there, pressures landowners to use the land in a certain way. This power dimension of the landscape is pressuring stakeholders to take certain actions, such as building houses or selling the land if that is more advantageous (ibid.).

The power in the landscape is also connected to violence, both in an overt and structural form (Mitchell 2012). The structural form is how people in the landscape need to live their lives, under what conditions they can sleep, eat and work. The overt violence usually takes its form in the violence monopoly using actions to control who is being in the landscape and what they are doing there. This can for example be about eliminating unwished elements in the landscape such as homeless people or people living in prostitution. That is also an example of how power is materialized in the landscape which means that it is also the spatial form that social justice takes. The division between people, or the right to have access to a landscape is manifested in the physical form of the landscape, which is forming and limiting to what extent social justice can take. The spatial form of social justice can also be found in the landscape in intentions to use the morphology of the landscape to cover, or veil social injustice in the landscape. To recognize that landscape is the spatial form that social justice takes, is therefore also to unfold and uncover these social relations within the landscape (Mitchell 2008).

Theoretical conclusions

In conclusion, to investigate changes in the landscape with the presented theoretical framework requires attention in many directions. The landscape in Spårvägen, which is the focus of the thesis, will be analyzed in relation to scalar, spatial and historical landscapes. These are forming the context in which the greenery in the landscape takes form. The function of the landscape and the items in it are dependent on the economic structure under which they are produced. The geographical, temporal and economic layers of Spårvägen are filled with power relations, which will also be investigated to answer the research question.

3. Methods

Philosophy of science

The approach in this thesis follows a critical realist tradition. This means that the theories that are operationalized in this thesis are a way of knowing what reality is, but also that there is a reality independent of the theories (Bryman 2016). To recognize that there is a social reality out there is to distinguish the approach of the research from relativist and idealistic concepts that consider there to be a constructed reality within each and every human (Graham 2013). While I consider the idea of biodiversity as a socially constructed concept, investigating biodiversity in urban setting can still help us to come closer to the actual reality in the relation between nature and humans. The relations have material impacts that are not imagined, or socially constructed. What we call biodiversity exists independently to its name and conceptualization. To apply theories and concepts to the world is how we can understand reality and come as close to it as possible (Bryman 2016).

The second implication of approaching an urban development project through a critical realist lens is that I am interested in investigating the structures and mechanisms that make the social reality as described above possible. This means that I am interested in what structures allow the landscape to change in a certain way, what mechanisms that produce this change or forces it to not change. To investigate how this functions also means to investigate the causal mechanisms in the landscape (Kitchin & Tate 2013). For example, the mechanisms of economic interests in how land is going to be used in the process of urbanization. These mechanisms are generating

change and are not always directly observable but can be understood through the theories (Bryman 2016).

This means that there is a reality and that it is formed and reformed by social structures but that it does not have only one possible outcome. This approach can be seen as a compromise between the deterministic positivist realist approach and the idealistic relativistic “all is discourse”-approach to research.

Research design, collected material and methods

To find out which, and how underlying structures are changing the landscape varied methods have been applied. The research is done as a case study, which means that the mechanisms, activities and processes taking form in Spårvägen will be analyzed in depth (Creswell 2013). The case study is of an intensive character, which means that it is closely connected to theory, which is being developed towards the single case Spårvägen (Bryman 2016).

To answer the research questions, material has been collected that can be divided into three data sub sets. The first set is primary data collected through four semi structured interviews. The second section consists of secondary data in 2 planning documents collected from Malmö municipality’s webpage. The third and last section of the data consists of secondary data from varied documents, statistics and sources, that primarily have been collected to fill in gaps in the first two sections. The last section's data has been collected from reliable sources to increase the validity of the research, by triangulating different data into the blocks that build the analysis (Creswell 2013). To make sure that there is reliability in the thesis, the sources have been carefully referenced throughout the analysis to make them easy to verify.

The interviews

The four semi-structured interviews are referred to in the analysis as interview 1, 2, 3, and 4.

- Interview 1 refers to the interview with a developer in the neighborhood, responsible for a house called “Iggy”.
- Interview 2 refers to the interview with a Malmö municipality official working with environmental questions and city planning.
- Interview 3 refers to the interview with a Malmö municipality official working with general city planning as a planning architect.
- Interview 4 refers to Malmö municipality official working with city planning on street level, as an exploitation engineer.

The interviews were conducted in the beginning of December 2020 and lasted for about 45 minutes. All four interviewees were purposefully selected due to their relation to the urban development project in the studied site Spårvägen (Creswell 2013). Interviewee 1 became active in the project as a developer about ten years ago and has been participating in dialogs with the municipality when the planning document were written for the neighborhood. The architecture firm that he is representing draws, constructs and owns the house that they develop. The house is one of the most spectacular in the neighborhood with focus on ecological questions

and character, it is named “Iggy” after the singer Iggy Pop. Interviewee 2 is working on the environmental department in Malmö with focus on urban development questions. Traditionally the environmental department has a reactive role in urban planning. In Spårvägen however, they have been a part of the project from the beginning. Their role is majorly to control the urban development project in relation to the environmental laws. Interviewee 3 is working on the city building office which is the authority with responsibility for urban planning and they made the detailed plans for the project. Since the municipality owned the land in Spårvägen, the city builder office has had an active role in changing the neighborhood, on the behalf of the municipality. Interviewee 4 is working on the real estate and street office which is administrating the land and streets that the municipality owns. The authority has a more specific role to the urban design compared to the city building office that has a more general overview.

The interviewees were requested to be interviewed since they all have or have had a role in the project as actors with capabilities to influence processes, but also working under pressure from external forces such as politically and economically defined frames. Their knowledge about the project was considered valuable since they, as keypersons working directly with the project, are expected to have information about the topics relevant for the research.

They were all presented with an ethical statement, which also included anonymization. I do not consider them as personally responsible for the interventions in the landscape. They are however representing actors and can give valid information to explain and understand interventions in the landscape. Therefore, it is not relevant to name them by name. However, to not lose the context within which they are speaking some of their attributes have been presented.

That the interviews are semi-structured means that they follow an interview guide, but still are flexible for themes that might occur during the interview. The interview guides were similar for all the interviews so that the different respondents could fill in gaps of the other interviewees, but also to check the reliability of the interviews and to be able to identify differences of their perspectives and interests. The questions in the interview guides were made not too specific, but enough explicit to make the interview stay on track and be usable for answering the research questions (Bryman 2016). The interview guide for interview 1 was optimized for the setting of a developer, since he was not expected to have the same general knowledge on urban planning in Malmö as the other ones. The interview guides can be found in Appendix 1 and 2.

The interviews were recorded and then transcribed to be able to examine the answers many times and structure the analysis (Bryman 2016). All interviews were made in Swedish and then translated to English for the analysis.

Main Secondary data

The main secondary data consists of documents that have been purposively selected (Creswell 2013). The first document is called “Norra Sorgenfri Hållbarhetsstrategi [sustainability strategy]” (Malmö Stad 2015a). This document has been chosen since it contains practical goals and methods applied when the area is being developed. It has relevant information on how greenery and biodiversity is integrated in the neighborhood and how tensions between different

interests are being negotiated in the urban development project. It is based on the general environmental program for Malmö, but contains more direct actions and less broad vague goals.

The second document is “Norra Sorgenfri Stadsrum [urban space]” (Malmö Stad 2010). This document has been chosen since it is based on the general planning document for the district but contains more detailed information about the application of the plans for the area. The document include information about why the landscape is supposed to look in a certain way and how the municipality is going to make sure that the plans are followed.

Both documents are material that was written before the major physical changes in the landscape was started. Spårvägen has its most intense changes between 2016-2023, when all the plans are going to be realized. The descriptions in the documents can therefore sometimes be understood more as visions. Therefore, they are good to analyze together with the interviews. The visions are also intentions and aims from the municipality and can therethrough unveil the political demands and tensions that are forming the landscape. Both documents are also made for the whole district Norra Sorgenfri. The focus of the thesis is on the neighborhood Spårvägen and I have therefore focused on the sections in the documents that are directly linked to Spårvägen. The other sections in the documents have however also been included if they are applicable to Spårvägen.

Analytical method

The analysis was done through coding the raw material (the transcribed interviews and the two documents) by dividing it into themes and supporting sub themes. After the material was taken apart it was reorganized and analyzed with help of the theoretical framework in relation to identified topics and themes in the material (Creswell 2013). The themes were identified when the material was processed with the theory in order to find out how it responds to the research question. During the analysis the themes changed since they were continuously dissected with theory back and forth until the main themes were identified. The main themes were: *Spatial and scalar dimensions of landscape change in Spårvägen; The historical footprint in the landscape; Production of functional (green) urban landscapes; Power in the green landscape.* Throughout the material the themes are overlapping and relating to each other. This means for example that some of the material have been coded as “production of functional (green) urban landscapes” but is still depending on the historical footprint, or functional in a spatially relational way. To make the analysis structured, easy to read and not repeating, the material has been sorted in relation to the theme that it has the strongest association to.

Additional Secondary Data.

The additional secondary data consists of official reports, documents and statistics collected from mainly official sources. It also includes academic sources such as dissertations and is mainly used to broaden the analysis and fill in gaps from the two other data subsets of material identified with help from the theories.

Discussion on methods and material

The purposive selection of interviewees, documents and sources was guided by the theoretical framework as well as the research questions. To be able to say where an analysis of a landscape with the presented theories should end is a complex question, since there is a wide range of angles through which the landscape can be studied when applying multi-scalar analysis. With the interviews, the documents and the additional secondary data the research however have the possibility to reveal some of the mechanisms and processes in the landscape that are relevant for the research questions.

When interpreting the material from the interviews, as well as the documents, it has been kept in mind that they have roles in and specific relations to the development project and that they do not represent an objective truth. This means that they view the project from different angles and answers for different stakeholders in society. For example, the officials from the municipality work under political directives and economics limits, and the developers work under context bound economic frames. This together with their function and possibilities in relation to other forces in the landscape are forming their influence on the landscape and why it is the way it is. Despite this, they do offer relevant information for the research to come closer to what is the reality in the landscape. Analyzed with the use of critical theories this information is relevant for the research question.

The interviews were conducted over telephone, Zoom or Microsoft Teams, which gave me advantages as Bryman (2016) describes in time efficiency, flexibility and safety regarding the pandemic. However, the remote interviews were not only a positive experience since technical problems occurred in recording and possibilities to understand each other. Especially the interview with the developer would have gained advantages from being done at the location since the developer could have shown me around in the house and the neighborhood. The not-face-to-face interviews was also disadvantageous for the research since awkward moments occurred when the internet was a bit slow, which would not have been the case to the same extent if we met in person. This could have made the informants more comfortable and increased their possibilities to answer the questions as detailed as possible.

4. Analysis

With support of the theoretical framework four themes were identified in the material. The themes are *Spatial and scalar dimensions of landscape change in Spårvägen*; *The historical footprint in the landscape*; *Production of functional (green) urban landscapes*; *Power in the green landscape*. Since the material has been coded and analyzed with themes, the result and discussion is arranged according to them and identified subthemes. The themes have been used to investigate how the urban greenery in Spårvägen is formed by tensions between political demands on biodiversity and the economic structures, under which the urban landscape takes form.

4.1 Spatial and scalar dimensions of landscape change in Spårvägen.

The changing landscape in Spårvägen is interdependent with other landscapes, both in spatial relation to them but also on aggregated geographical scales. This interdependency plays a role in the changing landscape in Spårvägen and how greenery in the landscape takes form. Firstly, the connections to the upscaled landscape will be discussed. Secondly, the spatial relations connected to the location of the landscape and other landscapes will be discussed.

4.1.1 The aggregated scale

In Skåne, the regional scale which is a landscape that Spårvägen is a part of, biodiversity is one of the indicators that is politically used to measure changes in environment and climate. The level of biodiversity is evaluated according to environmental goals which have been set up to be reached in 2020 to make the region inhabitable for future generations (Naturvårdsverket 2020). The aimed level of biodiversity in the Skåne was not reached in 2020. It did rather experience a negative trend, where biodiversity still is decreasing, important habitats being destroyed and ecosystems degraded (Länsstyrelsen 2020). The decline of biodiversity on regional level is the context within which Spårvägen is being transformed.

In the region is the spread of biodiversity strongly connected to land use. It is necessary with biodiversity for agriculture to function since ecosystems assist agricultural production, in for example pollination. Even if it is known that decreased biodiversity is negative for agriculture, it is still unknown how big the impact is. It is therefore a risky change with decreased biodiversity in the region for the present and future production of food (Jordbruksverket 2020). Skåne has one of most fertile soils in Sweden. Today about 45,5% of the land is used for agriculture but the number has historically been higher (SCB 2019). The decline in agricultural land is due to changes in the landscape and increased built environment. Urban structures are taking more space in the form of infrastructure, roads and buildings (ibid.). This also means that biotopes and biodiversity is moving into the built environment, where it needs to have the possibility to exist to increase biodiversity on the regional level.

On the regional scale there are two relevant processes for Spårvägen that are changing the landscape. Firstly, there is a decline in biodiversity, which is risky for the agricultural production. Secondly, there is a decline in the land that is being used for agricultural production. These two processes are present in the smaller scale, the landscape in Spårvägen.

When investigating how the regional processes are shaping Spårvägen on the local scale was foremost the process of land use identified in interviews 2, 3, 4. There are political directives under which the officials are working that are saying that the urban landscape, when expanding, should not spread out on the soil around the city. Instead tools such as densification should be used when the urban landscape is changing. Densification can in short terms be described as a planning strategy with the purpose to fit in more people into the areas that are already built. The municipality wants a “densification of Malmö, and not spread out on the agricultural land but rather create a compact city” (interview 3). This is since “we have the political directive that Malmö should grow inwards, we should not grow outwards on the arable land since it is so

valuable” (interview 2). Furthermore, Spårvägen is at the same time aimed to be a landscape which is in the front of developing integration of biodiversity into the urban landscape (Malmö Stad 2015a, 15)

When the urban cannot expand horizontal it is going to be more compact. It I also going to contribute to the ecological dimension. These processes and aims are together with the economic structures being materialized in the local landscape. In this scalar context is Spårvägen transforming

4.1.2 The relational landscape

Parallel with the scalar perspective Spårvägen also has spatial relations to other landscapes. Firstly, in the built environment’s material. The bricks, the concrete and greenery has been extracted in other landscapes and imported. Secondly, the spatial location of Spårvägen in Malmö is vital to investigate, to understand how Spårvägen is transforming.

The material in the landscape are the touchable items in Spårvägen and has connections to other landscapes. How and what kind of material that is being extracted have an impact on the quality of the biodiversity in these landscapes but also the aggregated scalar dimension (Boverket 2018). Requirements and regulations from the municipality on the standard of the material in relation to other landscapes and biodiversity, but also other measurements for environment and climate is limited. It is addressed and the municipality encouraged that the developers, who are responsible for the material-use, make decisions that take this into account. No formal major requirements are however according to the interview 2,3,4 possible to make with the current laws; “we can't make these demands [...] there are no supporting laws for that” (interview 3). Previously Malmö used more ambitious requirements on the developers and the environmental standards of the materials through different programs and certifications, for example “Environmental building program south” (interview 2). However, in 2012 did the national government present standards on building requirements that have to be used all over Sweden (SOU 2012:86). Different laws and regulations in different parts of the country was problematic for the developers and identified as a slowing and increasing the costs to construct new housing. Interview 2 states that the new regulations in simple terms can be described as tools to “standardize and build faster and to make it cheaper” (interview 2). Therefore, the requirements in “Environmental building program south” are not applicable anymore. In the material that is being used in Spårvägen there is a tension between economic forces and environmental standards, including biodiversity. The ambition to make the building process cheaper and faster is superior the demands for cautions on biodiversity. It is an example of how the regional scaled demand for biodiversity pressures the local to take action but that the economic structures are framing how that can be done, which was also evident for the individual developer.

The building “Iggy” is constructed with standard materials which is available today, mostly concrete and steel. It is developed on the “same basis as everyone else and same economic base” (interview 1). Both the timing in building a house, to make everything function, available techniques as well as the economic frames are explanations for them to not use other materials that can have a lower impact on biodiversity decline. Their intention with the material used is

also strongly connected to the aesthetics, where the concrete and steel together with the greenery is creating interesting experiences for the residents (interview 1). On the market where a house needs to be done within a specific time frame and be sellable in relation to economic calculations priorities needs to be done.

Except from relating to other landscapes through the touchable items Spårvägen is also having a spatial position in Malmö which is relevant for analysis. When the city historically has been expanding, Spårvägen physically has become more and more a part of the central city. The changes in the landscape now are to complete the integration and to make the landscape a “socially and physically integrated part of the inner-city” (Malmö Stad 2010, 3). It is transforming “from a remote bus depot to a part of the inner city” (interview 4). The municipality finds the location “a too central spot to have a parking lot on” (interview 3). The neighborhood Spårvägen and the district Norra Sorgenfri is on the eastern side of the central city. This means that the municipality also visions the district to be a link from the inner city to the eastern parts (Malmö Stad 2015a, 4). In the eastern parts of the city there are other neighborhoods, probably the most (in)famous one is Rosengård. It is in relation to the central and the periphery landscapes of the city that Spårvägen is transforming.

With the changes in the urban landscape the municipality aim to increase the connection between these. That Spårvägen has previously been a bus depot in a devastated industrial district has led to it being a physical barrier for circulation of people in the urban landscape and reduced the connections between the inner and outer parts of the city. The municipality wants to “build the city together better, with for example Rosengård, the outward parts of Malmö” (interview 3). To increase the circulation of people in the landscape the municipality is increasing the connections “of public spaces within and outside the area” (Malmö Stad 2015a, 4). Here the greenery play a certain role since it is used as connectors between public spaces, such as parks and squares. The municipality finds it attractive and uses it as a tool to increase the connections and circulations with landscapes in relation to Spårvägen. When the landscape in Spårvägen is changing is therefore the landscape in the periphery and the center also changing.

Other physical barriers have also been identified by the municipality and therefore are aimed to be removed or changed to increase the connection to the landscape, as visible in figure 3. The train tracks on the eastern side are going to get more tunnels, the graveyard on the south side more sections where people can walk through.

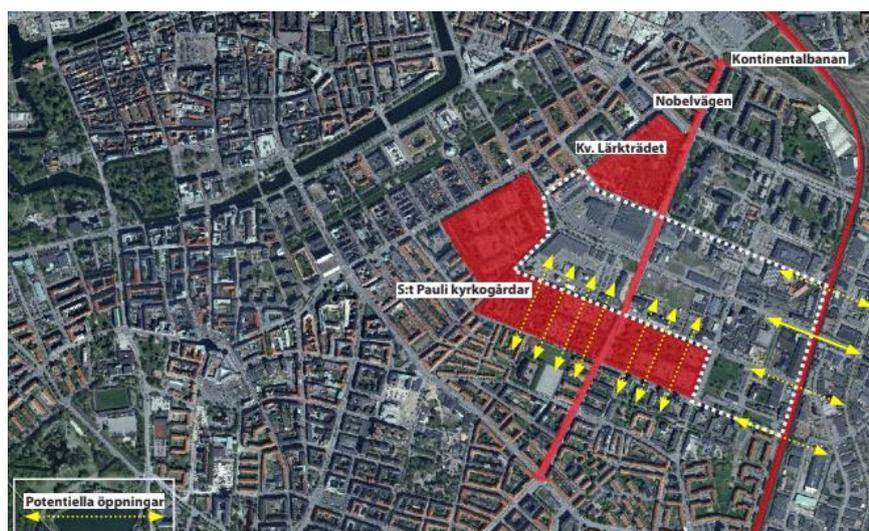


Figure 3. Barriers for the circulation of people in the landscape marked in red. (Malmö Stad 2010, 12)

That the neighborhood Spårvägen gets more connected also means that it will be easier to live here and work somewhere else. The train tracks on the eastern side are therethrough not only a barrier but also a connection to other landscapes. The train tracks were opened for commuter traffic in 2018 (Trafikverket 2018). From here trains connects Spårvägen with nodes such as Malmö C, Lund and Copenhagen. It is also in the context of the relation to these landscapes that Spårvägen takes form.

Spårvägen is formed under these spatial relations. To make the landscape more accessible for visitors, connect different landscapes and make other landscapes more accessible for the residents in Spårvägen are important aspects of understanding the transformation in Spårvägen. Together with the forces and processes of changing land use and declining biodiversity on the regional scale of the landscape, the landscape in Spårvägen is not local. Furthermore, the physical and social barriers that the landscape have been standing on are not there by chance. They are objects of historical changes in the landscape.

4.2 The historical footprint in the landscape

The historical landscape is the infrastructure on which the landscape in Spårvägen is standing on today. This means, for example that there are historical causes for physical barriers in the landscape, which is also impacting how the landscape can take form and what changes that are being made.

The neighborhood Spårvägen is located in Norra Sorgenfri, which is the oldest industrial district in Malmö. The municipality describes that the area historically has been monofunctional as in containing majorly industries (Malmö Stad 2010). The history of the landscape is therefore not very green. The specific neighborhood Spårvägen was a bus depot for the communal busses before it was changed to a green residential neighborhood and the today's and future landscape is aimed to be green and multifunctional. To understand the change, it is therefore important to understand the historical context, which now will be discussed. Three sub themes were identified during the analysis. These are: *infrastructure*, *economy* and *identity* and the analysis of the historical footprint in the landscape is organized according to these.

4.2.1 Infrastructure

The structure of the landscape was formed due historical circumstances. For example, there has been historical decisions to place the churchyard where it is. Today this is a physical barrier in the landscape for people moving around, but also a green infrastructure for biodiversity. The train tracks have also been placed in the landscape for a reason, they were important during the industrialization of the area. The train tracks that historically was beneficial for the industries have turned into a disadvantageous structure since it is a barrier for circulation of people (Malmö Stad 2010). With the new tunnels and trains for commuters however, are the train tracks negative effect going to be limited. The historically functional object in the landscape is being transformed to contribute to the connectedness of the area and gets a new function. The network of streets is another example of the historical infrastructure that the municipality changes in the landscape to make it more functional. Before Spårvägen was transformed there

were no streets for pedestrians, since the streets around and in the neighborhood were made for busses and other big vehicles (Malmö Stad 2010). As shown, the productive history plays a role in the landscape. To change the landscape is expensive, but can give revenue in the future. This is visible in for example the ground, which was due the industrial past very poisoned. It is therefore not possible to live here without a major sanitation of the ground. This is a historical imprint that technically can be removed, but it costs and makes the real estate more expensive to develop for housing and greenery (Interview 2). It is technically difficult to sanitize under historical buildings, which has led to bigger changes in the landscape being done, since the area had to be cleaned (interview 2). Expenses for changing in the landscape are due historical investments and activities there. This is then affecting under what economic and material frames the green urban landscape can take form today.

The historically produced landscape in the district but also Spårvägen are tightly connected to the economic and productive history of Malmö. The economic history has led up the economic context under which Spårvägen now takes form.

4.2.2 Economy

Malmö's economic history has been materialized in the district Norra Sorgenfri, where Spårvägen is located. Before the district was an industrial district it was pasture land. In the end of the 19th century Malmö was industrialized, expanded and became Sweden's third city. At the same time Norra Sorgenfri became an industrial site, and the train tracks were constructed 1898. The population of Malmö and expansion of the city is tightly connected to the industrial history, when the industries declined during the 70s and 80s did also the population decrease. Many industries also left Norra Sorgenfri during this time and the landscape changed (Malmö Stad 2020; 2010). The economic crisis and the decline in the 90s led to the municipality almost going bankrupt. Political actors were therefore pushed to leave the path of being an industrial city and has since then aimed to be a "knowledge city". The rapid change of the municipality's vision for the city in the 90s came with a neo-liberalization of the economy as well as the urban planning, with spectacular urban development projects to attract "cosmopolitan open-minded creative educated liberals" (Beaten 2012, 21). Although the changes in the 90s, to become a city where creativity and knowledge is the driving economic force, the education level among the population in Malmö is lower and the unemployment rate higher in comparison to the two other big cities in Sweden, Gothenburg and Stockholm (Ekonomifakta 2019). Within this postindustrial context and under these economic structures is the landscape in Spårvägen taking form. The historical landscape of Spårvägen is a part of the historical landscape in Malmö and its economic and productive history. Interview 4 describes the area as a site where "there was the most industries in the 60s, then it has decreased, and since the 90s it has been pretty much desolated lots [...] and since the 90s one has been thinking about what could be developed in the area, [...] 2008 the planning program was written" (interview 4).

4.2.3 Identity

The municipality's relation to the historical landscape in Sorgenfri is two edged. At one side they want to keep historical elements in the landscape, to make the new landscape "rooted", on

a visual level of identity. On the other side they don't want to follow the material historical path of industrial production. Instead are the creative business and the people working in it aimed to be characteristic for the area (Malmö Stad 2015a, 4).

The materialization of the economic history has however made a footprint in the landscape which has been difficult to get rid of. The real estate market has therefore conceptualized the area as remote, even though it is physically close to the city center. The transformation, from a "peripheral industrial site" to an "attractive central neighborhood" is not going easy according to interview 4; "to build dwellings in this area, it is located pretty central [...] but it has been a problem to make the market, or Malmö itself, the view on Malmö, to understand that this is not the outskirts, this is not an industrial area" (interview 4). To change the image and make the identity closer to the focus of the real estate and housing market is still something that the municipality is working on (interview 4). There are different components that are being used to change the reputation of the landscape and to materialize the vision of "a nice environment, where people want to be, that attracts people, and creates safety and a dynamic city, having a varied content with places and shops [...] and that there are people there all hours of the day and night" (interview 4). One of them is to keep items in the landscape that represents the time before the industrial decline, since "existing industrial building with high architectural value contributes to the character and identity of the area" (Malmö Stad 2015a, 4).

The historical identity that the municipality wants to keep is aimed to focus on the historical productive landscapes, which are identified as the industrial and the agrarian one (Malmö Stad 2010, 7). The productive past plays a certain role and there has been an investigation in the area which is defining which of the building that are of historical importance (Malmö Stad 2006). It is especially important that the productive history is represented in parks and squares; "in the design of parks and squares is it important that both the production landscapes – the agrarian and the industrial, are represented" (Malmö Stad 2010, 14). On the background of the historical symbols are the symbolic conceptualized as the future going to be placed, which is the greenery. The integration of greenery in Spårvägen takes place on both the material and the visual history of the landscape. This is going to be further analyzed under the next theme, production of functional (green) urban landscapes.

4.3 Production of functional (green) urban landscapes

The identity of the landscape in Spårvägen is aimed to be connected to Malmö's environmental policy but also to have place-specific expressions, which are the historical symbols (Malmö Stad 2010, 63). When the landscape in Spårvägen is changing, it should furthermore be a "development district [...] for integration of biodiversity and ecosystem services in urban development" (Malmö Stad 2015a, 15). When the landscape of the future is being constructed in Spårvägen, greenery is going to be integrated to be a functional component in that landscape. The functions of greenery are diverse, and three subthemes were identified during the analysis. These are: *the greenery and biodiversity*, *the greenery and attractivity* and *green spaces in Spårvägen*. The analysis is organized according to these.

4.3.1 The greenery and biodiversity

In the neighborhood Spårvägen greenery is going to be integrated into the landscape, both horizontally and vertically, which can lead to increased biodiversity. To control and operationalize the aimed integration of greenery the municipality uses a tool called “green space factor” (interview 2,3,4). The green space factor is a tool that briefly can be described as a measurement for how much of a real estate that is contributing to greenery, microclimates and stormwater management. The process of calculating the green space factor is dependent on both how much the greenery is contributing with eco system services and the amount of greenery (Miljöbyggprogram Syd 2012). The greenspace factor does not per automatic contribute to biodiversity. It should rather be seen as something that potentially increases biodiversity since it is used to increase the relative amount of greenery in an area; “We have the green space factor which we are using, which indirectly affects biodiversity” (interview 3). The green space factor should however still be understood as the most effective tool that the municipality has to control biodiversity, since it is broadly defined which makes it easy to use and includes measurements beyond the recreation values for humans that greenery usually has (interview 2). Interview 2 states; “the aim with the greenery that emerges through the green space factor is not primarily for the recreation of humans but for the biodiversity [...] climate adaptation through shadows so that it doesn't get extremely warm [...] stormwater where for example green roofs have a delaying effect” (Interview 2).

The effect on biodiversity of the green space factor is according to interview 2 difficult to control. How much it contributes to biodiversity cannot be measured, since the green space factor “does not regulate which plants that are being planted” (interview 2) and since “the developer can plant their ivy or something but then that doesn't mean that it grows, so if it dies it is de facto not green, so there is a problem in the follow up and then the caretaking aspect that needs to be done forever and ever” (interview 2). The municipality do not test the biodiversity on each building and specific case. That it contributes to biodiversity relies on general studies that have been done in other parts of the city (interview 2).

This means that there are on the municipality level intentions to increase greenery which can have the effect on increased biodiversity in the landscape. Beyond the green space factor there is an additional level of the problematic in how to control how much the greenery is contributing to biodiversity. Although “to increase vegetation is a general goal” (interview 4), it is also up to the developers of each specific house to implement it; “we are dependent on that the ones that build the houses take their responsibility, the best they can” (interview 4).

The developer interviewed for the research does not see any problems or difficulties in the way that they use greenery for their house; “it is just as difficult to build with concrete as it is to build with plants” (interview 1). Regarding the utility and function of the greenery and contribution to biodiversity interview 1 states “there is a lot of knowledge, we are working with plant experts, garden engineers, they have huge knowledge about plants” (interview 1). Furthermore, he also states that “nature is controlled in our days, if you look at for example, we are producing tomatoes in Sweden today, we have control, the whole agricultural production is controlled nature” (interview 1).

Climate change and the general decline on biodiversity interview 1 consider can be solved through adopting to the new situation with modern technologies. When the municipality relies on the developers it is difficult to conclude how much the greenery is contributing to biodiversity. The developer passes the question further to experts, which have not been interviewed for this research. Both in the regulation of the green space factor, but also in the decentralization power is the quality of biodiversity difficult to control.

4.3.2 Greenery and attractiveness

Greenery can however have other functions in the landscape, which were identified in the material. Functions such as *variation, character, experiences, identity*, were emphasized in the documents analyzed as well as in the interviews. These functions are strongly connected to the general goals of the area which are “diversity, small scale and variation” (Malmö Stad 2010, 5).



Figure 4 Houses in Spårvägen, variation in material and forms of the houses, wire-structures for climbing greenery and the historical building on the left side (the author 2020).

For the interviewed developer is the greenery’s primary function that it is attractive. Integrating plants and nature in the design of the house is to make the house interesting to live in and to generate a nice experience for the residents and people passing by; “It should be an exciting environment, [...] the plants create... it smells good, it attracts the beautiful birds, it attracts the insects, I can maybe feed myself from tomato plants [...] there is a forest view on my floor in my apartment when the sun comes in” (interview 1). The production of a green landscape that is functional as attractive to live and be in is of importance. This is a commodification of the greenery, where the functions of biodiversity can be lost. The greenery is going to be consumed by the people moving in to the house; “if you maybe don’t like what we have created, you won’t experience the surplus value, because it is not the right product [for you]” (interview 1).

The function of greenery as being an attractive element and visually satisfying is also important for the municipality (interview 2, 3, 4). Similar function of greenery was also identified in the documents, with adjectives such as *identity, character and design*. For example, the district “is going to be a dense area where the right choices of greenery – design and choice of species, is going to have a great meaning for the character of the street space” (Malmö Stad 2010, 16) or “green walls and roofs and possibilities for personal expressions, in for example zones for plantations [...] to create a varied impression between the streets” (Malmö Stad 2010, 60). The

choices of trees are aimed to be diverse and the municipality has therefore written a tree-list with suggested species that can be used in the landscape. The aims of the list are; “to give the street spaces different character and sequences”, “to give suggestion to trees that functions in the context – character and location” and “to inspire to increase the amount of spices in the city environment of Malmö” (Malmö Stad 2010, 67). The importance of biodiversity as manifested in the last aim, is always in relation to the two first aims. The analysis shows that the two first aims plays a bigger role in the landscape in Spårvägen.

Beside the attractiveness is the greenery is also according to the material contributing with indirect functions that are going to make the landscape more pleasant to be in, for example by breaking the wind (Malmö Stad 2010, 19; interview 4). The greenery on the street is also going to create spots where people can meet and talk and as connection between the green spaces in the landscape (Malmö Stad 2010, 6). Trees and greenery connecting green spaces can be advantageous for biodiversity and function as a green infrastructure that insects and species can use to move around in the landscape (Länsstyrelsen 2018). The aim stated by the municipality is however to encourage “new patterns of movement” among the people in the landscape (Malmö Stad 2010, 7).

4.3.3 Green spaces in Spårvägen

Except the greenery in direct connection to the houses and the streets are there three major green spaces in Spårvägen. Much of the neighborhood has already taken form but the green spaces are still not constructed, since the space is used for machines and keeping material during the construction time. The green spaces are called Skolparken, Koloniparken and Busslunden. Skolparken is more or less a playground for the schools nearby (Malmö Stad 2010, 25).



Figure 5 Green Space in Spårvägen (Malmö Stad 2010, 18)

Koloniparken is going to contain “varied content” to make it peaceful and in Busslunden is the greenery having the function of being a barrier to the street (Malmö Stad 2010, 22; 23). The biological quality is not mentioned in the documents as an important aspect, but other qualities are. Greenery is a multifunctional tool in the landscape, but that it is majorly constructed so that it gets attractive

for people to come here, as described by the municipality “except from the biological quality should the city spaces be designed so that it encourages movement” (Malmö Stad 2015a, 12).

The size of the public parks in Spårvägen is not large, if you look at the green figures in relation to the white ones, which are the houses, in figure 5. This part of Malmö has no major public parks which the municipality is aware of. They are however legitimizing the small green spaces with that they instead are creating “attractive parks with an interesting content and a distinctive design” (Malmö Stad 2010, 93). The small parks are also in line with the small-scale structure of the urban landscape produced in the district, as interview 4 states “we could have done a bigger park in the neighborhood Spårvägen, but then we would have missed other things, then maybe the structure would not have been as interesting as it is now” (interview 4). The interesting and small scale-structure of the area is also connected to economic interests. If you make more green space, the amount of space on which you can get direct revenue from is decreasing in comparison with if you fill the space with residential houses. Interview 2 states “there is an exploitation pressure and an exploitation economy, which means that you should maximize the profit, and of course things cost, you need to get in the revenue, so there is a push to go to harder exploitation, which means more dwellings in the area at the expense of free space, such as parks or inner yards or schoolyards or similar” (interview 2). In the case of Spårvägen has this mechanism played an important role. This is an example of how the urban greenery is formed by tensions between aims for biodiversity, but also the economic structure under which the landscape takes form.

The area is aimed to be leading in contributing with biodiversity, but when it comes down to actual actions are also other processes and mechanisms playing an important role, which this section has discussed. The production of a green urban landscape in Spårvägen has many functions. When the landscape is attractive, and built to please people in the landscape there is a power dimension in who that has the right to that landscape. This will be discussed in the next section.

4.4 Power in the green landscape

Power is materialized when the historical landscape (section 4.2) meets the production of the functional (green) landscape (section 4.3) within the context of the scalar and spatial dimensions of landscape change (section 4.1). How this unfolds in Spårvägen will be analyzed and discussed in this section. To structure the analysis the section has been divided into the identified subthemes *defining a functional landscape*, *deciding the future of the landscape*, and *access to the landscape*.

4.4.1 Defining the functional landscape

After the industrial crises the landscape has been defined as an empty landscape by the municipality. The empty landscape has been conceptualized as a dysfunctional and problematic landscape, which is a motive for changing it; “we don’t want to have a desolated area in the middle of the city, that not really is being used, we want to build all the way so that there are no gaps in between, that creates a barrier” (interview 4). The landscape has however not been

empty on people. The people that have been in the landscape during the “desolated” time after the industrial crises and before the recent changes in the landscape have for example been skateboarders, homeless people, artists, and people living under prostitution to mention a few (Norra Sorgenfri Nu 2010; Carp 2015; Mikuljan & Theodoridou 2018). The municipality has to some extent the power to exclude or include these people from the landscape when they are changing it, and defining it again. The material shows that their decision in what to keep follows in the line of what they find attractive. They are aiming to keep the artists, but their power to keep them is also limited.

In the planning document the municipality define that their aim is that “both new and established artists as well as many people active in the creative industry is characteristic for the district” (Malmö Stad 2015a, 4). To keep the artists has however not been easy since the rents have changed when the area is being developed; “it has been a big challenge to make that work, it relies on [...] that there are cheap places, and that doesn't come out of new production of houses, this equation we haven't solved” (interview 4). This problem is also stated in interview 3; “those activities that are located in the area, that are beneficial for the city, to have cheap places that are located in this kind of industrial areas... But as soon as we start planning, or even make a planning program the expected value on the real estates increase and then the real estates that are there today are affected and a conflict occurs, where the ones that rents can be pushed out or risks to be pushed out by new resident houses” (interview 3). The economic structures under which the landscape is changing is also the frame for how much power the municipality has to define and produce the landscape they find functional.

Regarding symbolic items the municipality has a greater power to decide. The industrial past of the area is aimed to be kept on a visual and symbolic level. For example, the municipality asked the developers in the area to use bricks, and to integrate industrial symbols in their new houses to create “an industrial character on what is being built” (interview 3). Together with new items referring to history are also important historical buildings being kept (Malmö Stad 2006). To keep some building is according to interview 4 to “create a character, so that it doesn't just becomes an area with new production” (Interview 4).

To be symbolically rooted in the industrial past and integrate that with greenery of the future has been identified by the municipality as attractive. This is also visible in the form of the house from the developer that was interviewed. The greenery in, on and around the house is meeting the rusty façade. The rust is to “anchor the house in history” and the greenery is representing the future (interview 1). The work with dichotomies is also materialized in the use of grey concrete, that “looks good together with the plants, that the soft and the hard come together, there is a tension in that” (interview 1). There is power in designing the house, which is an important item of the landscape.



Figure 6 The rusty house with metal wires for climbing plats, which still haven't grown so much (the author 2020)

4.4.2 Deciding the future of the landscape

The role of the municipality in relation to the different developers is a relation with power dimensions. The municipality is responsible for writing the general plans for the landscape in Spårvägen and have therethrough started the process for the whole district to become a residential area. How the landscape is going to include greenery and biodiversity is dependent on the cooperation of the developers. In the documents that are describing the materialization of the plans it was identified that the municipality mostly encourages or informs the developers about biodiversity, rather than requiring it. For example; “developers are to be informed and encouraged to contribute with an increased and improved green structure” (Malmö Stad 2015a, 8); “the importance of biodiversity is lifted in the dialog with the developers” (Malmö Stad 2015a, 15); “In dialog with the developers are green walls and roofs encouraged” (Malmö Stad 2010, 60).

The process of using dialogs to encourage and inform the developers can be difficult to control. The problematic is increased due the great amount of developers in the landscape in Spårvägen. Before Spårvägen was developed it was owned by the municipality (Malmö Stad 2010, 3). Then they sold sections of it and now there is a great variety of developers active in the neighborhood. The intention in the beginning of the project was to have twice as many developers as there are now, but this was not possible on the market, since the developers can't make economy in such a small unit (interview 4). Many different developers should make the variation bigger, but it also creates the need for communication with more stakeholders than if it had only been one developer to communicate with; “well, it becomes more to have contact with [...] but sure, it is hard to say, but the aim that there are many is connected to the variation” (interview 4). The importance of having a big variation in the area is exceeding the central control of the development.

The aim for variation is important, since the municipality does not want to create a landscape similar to large-scale urban projects known from the 60s and 70s (Interview 4). The diversity and amount of developers and landlords is a “reaction to the million programs, when they built very similar large-scale neighborhoods” (Interview 3). This the municipality want to avoid, and instead “create so much mixing as possible” (Interview 3). However, the variation is creating a decentralized power structure in the landscape, where the economic interests of the individual developer and landlord is having a larger role.

4.4.3 Access to the landscape

There is a power dimension of the right to live in the landscape, and here the landlords have power to decide to a certain extent. The municipality has encouraged the developers to build rental housing. Although the great variety in developers, a majority of the dwellings are for rent; “we wanted mixed composition of people living here and who have the possibility to live here [...] so we have encouraged renting apartments here, and it has become many as we can see, I think it is about 70%” (interview 4).

One of the major arguments for the large-scale projects known from the 60s and 70s that the planners back then had was that there were too many different landlords leading to that the government with social ambitions could not control rents and quality of the housing for the

citizens (see SOU 1945:63; SOU 1947:26). With this thesis focus on greenery and biodiversity in Spårvägen a similar insecurity can be identified. It can be difficult to control the component of greenery when the power in the landscape change is shared among many developers.

Furthermore, renting apartments are generally known for being accessible for more people than the buy-apartments, due the difference in costs. In Malmö the rent level is negotiated and decided between the renter's association and the landlord's association. The institutionalized central renting negotiations are a fragment of historical power dimensions in the landscape. The power to decide the rents is still centrally concentrated. Instead of being decided on the market they are determined in a systematic way. This means that the standard, location and other factors give the apartment "points" which are affecting how much the rent will increase after each year (Hyresgästföreningen 2020). This means that it is not fully following the market price, but goes in that direction since more attractive apartments gets more points and are therefore more expensive. A newly produced apartment is therefore usually more expensive than one in the existing housing stock. This also has consequences for the residential areas around Spårvägen, the relational landscapes. If they were previously located next to an empty old industrial site, they are now located next to an attractive area. This will give their apartments more points and increase their rents. This is a power dimension of the relational landscape which is beyond the control of the individual developer, or the municipality. It is rather an example of an economic structure under which the relational landscape takes form.

The house of the developer interviewed is only containing renting apartments. The house is attractive and have had no problems in finding renters; "One could say that the green is pretty popular [...] people admire what we have done [...] it is incredibly homely, it is rare that we get to meet someone that does not like it" (interview 1). In the system for distribution of renting contracts the developer has had the power to choose 40% of the renters that are moving in. The rest is distributed through the public housing queue, Boplats Syd. When the developer chooses who is going to move in they require a personal presentation to make find sure they find the right tenants. The requirements for being the right tenant are connected to "the social situation in the house, what the house is in need of" (interview 1). Since the developer is also the landlord, they have the power to some extent define who that has access to the landscape, through defining what they think that the house needs. They legitimize their power with that they find it important that they find they find the "right person for the right product, otherwise they can look for another product" (interview 1). The commodification of the landscape when power is reallocated from the municipality has an impact on the access to the landscape. The power relations are however different from if it would be only buy-apartments.

There are numerous power dimensions being materialized in the landscape in Spårvägen. There are various stakeholders with different amount of power, but they all are performing under the economic structures in the landscape.

Concluding notes

To understand how the greenery in Spårvägen is taking form, the landscape needs to be put in the context of the multi-scalar and spatial relational landscape. On the regional scale processes of declining biodiversity and interests in using the productive soil for agriculture is pressuring

Spårvägen together with the urgent demand for housing to become a compact, but also green landscape. Spårvägen is a relational landscape and the ambition to increase the connectedness to other landscapes is reshaping items in and around Spårvägen, to give them new functions. Greenery is used like a lubricate to increase the circulation of people and therethrough the connectedness of the landscape. This is being done on the historical infrastructure which is strongly connected to the economic historical development of Malmö. Furthermore, the postindustrial landscape has left a footprint in Spårvägen both physically and in its identity but also in the planning regime and roles of different stakeholders in the landscape. In this context greenery is produced to be a functional component of the landscape. The functions are varied, and one of them is biodiversity. This function is however taking form in relation to functions associated with attractivity and the comfort of the people that are have moved into or are going to move into the landscape. The analysis has also shown that there are power dimensions interwoven in in how the greenery and the landscape takes form. These are expressed in access to the landscape and the right to define how it is formed in a functional way. Instead of being in the direct hands of the stakeholders it is defined in the economic structures, under which the landscape takes form.

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Appendix 1

Interview guide for interview 1.

Presentera etiskt statement. Fråga om de har frågor.

Bakgrund intervjuperson

Hej!

- Namn, Roll i projektet, Relation till Spårvägen/Norra Sorgenfri/Malmö.
- Hur kommer det sig att ni vill bygga detta hus just här?

Natur och Stad

- Ni integrerar många växter och mycket grönska i byggnaden, man skulle kunna säga att det finns inslag av natur i eran urbana design. Varför gör ni detta? Vad är syftet med den "urbana biologiska mångfalden" (står i broschyr)
- Alla växterna kan ju uppfattas som vackra, finns det fler funktioner? Och hur avgör och styr ni dessa?
- Vilka faktorer skulle ni säga är de viktigaste för att kunna bygga en grön och hållbar stad? Kan det uppstå intressekonflikter?
- När ni bygger huset blandar ni material, en del trä men mest cement och metall. Hur tänker ni att detta relaterar till miljön och naturen? Vilken insikt och kontroll har ni i dessa processer?

Symboliken Huset:

- Det finns symbolik i husets utformning, exempelvis att ni refererar till Iggy Pop och använder målningar av satirikern och serieskaparen Sara Granér. Varför Gör ni detta? Vad vill ni signalera med detta?
- Den rostiga fasaden associeras till industri och de gröna klättrväxterna till natur. Varför är detta just viktiga symboler i detta huset? Jag tänker på området historia och framtid, varför just denna delen av historien.
- Hur tänker ni att det påverkar människorna i Huset?

Bostäder och Människor.

- Om jag har förstått det hela rätt så har ni en egen urvalsprocess för vilka som ska bo här. Vad har ni för kriterier? Ex att vara villig att dela på resurserna
- Det finns flertalet gemensamma utrymmen och prylar i huset som de boende kan använda, hur fungerar detta i praktiken och vad är motiveringen till detta?

Huset i landskapet

- Har ni större visioner eller tankar om hur huset kommer påverka de olika kvarteren runt omkring och Malmö i stort?
- Om detta hur är bra, eller bättre än andra hus, varför byggs inte fler i större skala? Eller hur ser ni på detta?

Appendix 2

Interview guide for interview 2, 3, 4

Presentera Etiskt statement. Fråga om de har frågor.

Bakgrund intervjuperson

Hej!

- Namn, Roll i projektet, Relation till Spårvägen/Norra Sorgenfri/Malmö.
- Hur kommer det sig att ni vill utveckla Spårvägen/Norra Sorgenfri på det sätt ni gör? Vilken roll spelar [aktuell förvaltning] i processen, väger era åsikter tungt.
- Malmö/Skåne växer, expanderar, vilka är de största utmaningarna i relation till miljöfrågor och biodiversitet.

Natur och Stad

- Växter och grönska integreras tydligt i byggnaderna man skulle kunna säga att det finns inslag av natur i den urbana designen.
Varför gör ni detta? Vad är syftet med den "urban ekologisk mångfald"
- Alla växterna kan ju uppfattas som vackra, finns det fler funktioner? Och hur avgör och styr ni dessa? Kontrollerar att de fungerar.
- Vilka faktorer skulle ni säga är de viktigaste för att kunna bygga en grön och hållbar stad? Kan det uppstå intressekonflikter?
Markanvändning, förtätning, Ekonomiska intressen, skönhet, säkerhet. Varför är den gröna infrastrukturen i plandokumentet inte på plats ännu
- När området byggs används olika material, mest cement och metall.
Hur tänker ni att detta relaterar till miljön och naturen? Vad har ni för inverkan på detta? Vilken insikt och kontroll har ni i dessa processer?
- Marken som kvarteret utvecklas på har ju på grund av tidigare aktiviteter i området varit förorenad och i fallet spårvägen var man tvungen att byta ut marken helt. Vart tog den gamla marken vägen och var kom den nya ifrån? Hur påverkar detta kvarterets biologiska mångfald, eller miljömässiga standard.
- (En del av den gröna infrastrukturen som lyfts fram för Norra Sorgenfri är att man ska använda kyrkogården som rekreationsplats. Skulle du kunna utveckla hur ni tänker kring detta?)

Symboliken i kvarteret.:

- Det finns viss symbolik i kvarterets utformning, exempelvis att ni behåller vissa byggnader och tar bort vissa.
Varför Gör ni detta? Vad vill ni signalera med detta?
- Jag tänker på områdets historia och framtid, varför just denna delen av historien.
Jordbruk, småindustrier, nergånget, hemlösa, avrättningsplats
- De olika husen ser ju väldigt olika ut, det finns en blandning i den bebyggda miljön.
Vissa är mer gröna än andra. Har ni krav på de som bygger att de ska integrera vissa miljöaspekter och hur kontrollerar ni dessa?

- Hur tänker ni att det påverkar människorna i kvarteret?

Bostäder och Människor.

- Området innehåller ju en blandning av upplåtelseformer. Vad är eran tanke kring den sociala sammansättningen i området och hur är ni med och kontrollerar dessa processer?

Huset i landskapet

- Har ni större visioner eller tankar om hur kvarteret kommer påverka de olika kvarteren runt omkring och Malmö i stort? Kan man skala upp de praktiker som används i Spårvägen/Norra Sorgenfri, om de e bra till hela Malmö.