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Policing Möllevången

A critical discourse analysis
of policing in the neoliberal city

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Abstract

This thesis addresses the ideological conditions for policing in Malmö, Sweden. It takes its theoretical point of departure in the rise of urban neoliberalism, and how urban neoliberalization alters policy and practices of policing. The thesis examines policy documents related to the organization and reorganization of policing in Sweden and Malmö from the 1990s to the present. The analysis is complemented by interviews with actors involved in the policing. Special focus is given to a new model of policing implemented in the neighborhood of Möllevången, which is considered a current frontier of the neoliberalization of Malmö. The main argument of the thesis is that the contemporary organization and practices of policing in Malmö is supported by neoliberal ideas, and in return is contributing to the urban neoliberalization of Malmö. One implication of the neoliberal reorganization, the thesis argues, is a shift towards prioritizing safety and security over a focus on crime and crime prevention. This shift redirects attention from individual offenders to the broader context of crimes, considering entire demographics or areas as potential contributors to criminal activity. Thus, the whole neighborhood of Möllevången becomes a target for policing intervention. Another implication is a delegation of controlling activities from the national police to a broader set of local actors, which has contributed to a more comprehensive, multifaceted, and to an extent privatized, policing approach. Additionally, the methods have expanded the range of individuals subject to policing, extended beyond those involved in criminal activities to include those who are considered to be breaking social norms. The development of the depth and the width of the extended policing might disproportionately impact certain groups in Möllevången that do not align with the norms that are needed for the urban neoliberalization.

Key words: Critical realism, Critical discourse analysis, Malmö, Policing, Urban neoliberalization

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1 Introduction

This thesis addresses the ideological conditions for policing in Malmö, Sweden. The study takes its point of departure in the rise of urban neoliberalism. Within studies of neoliberal development, the phenomenon of urban renewal has been well examined during the recent decades. In a solid number of those studies, Malmö has been brought up as one of the most symbolically prominent sites for post-industrial and neoliberal urban development in Sweden. And during the last fifty years, Malmö has indeed gone through a profound transformation. Before the 1970s, the city was known for its strong industrial economy and its large ports where ships from all over the world docked. During the 1950s and 1960s, Malmö was part of one of Sweden's largest growth regions (Mukhtar-Landgren 2005). Several deep economic crises later, Malmö has gone from being an industrial city to leaning towards a post-industrial economy with a strong focus on knowledge economy, sustainability and urban agglomeration (Holgersen 2017). The post-industrial city of Malmö is built on a neoliberal foundation that views urban space as a commodity rather than a place for living, encouraging cities to compete in attracting capital and resourceful individuals. In the case of Malmö this is achieved through marketing the city as a sustainable 'knowledge city' in order to attract students and creative businesses. The narrative conveyed by the city of Malmö is that this transformation has saved Malmö from industrial 'death' and led the city into the future. However, to the success story of Malmö rising like a phoenix from its post-industrial ashes, there is another side of the coin. On that side, a rather different story unfolds, a story of places that were left behind in the process of building the new Malmö. Those places have caught the eye of many in recent years.

Spatial segregation is a hallmark of the post-industrial and neoliberal city. As a logical consequence of developing certain parts of the city to attract wealth, other parts of the city become its opposite. The socio-economic inequality in Malmö has

increased substantially since the beginning of the 1990s (Holgersen 2017) and the city has acquired a more polarized geography with a line drawn between the areas close to the shore in west Malmö, dominated by high-income households in single family dwellings, and low-income apartment areas in the central, east, and south of Malmö (Hedin et al 2012). Simultaneously, the low-income areas have gained a negative reputation and have become increasingly stigmatized. These neighborhoods are constantly singled out by the media as unsafe and as a breeding ground for crime. The most recent parliamentary elections in Sweden show a similar development, as both the election campaigns and results have taken on an increasingly authoritarian tone across nearly the entire political spectrum. Law and order are at the top of the agenda and the breaking of segregation is often mentioned in the same breath as the toughening of punishment. This catches the stigmatized areas in the crosshairs, as the result of the debate seems to be that *something should be done about them* in order to ensure safety.

The increased focus on safety and security, and the subsequent emphasize on policing is a typical element of urban neoliberalism. Crime poses a threat to the neoliberal city, as it must present as being a safe place for investment by projecting an image of innovation, creativity and safety, contributing to a ‘good business climate’ (Harvey 1989). Loïc Wacquant, Neil Smith, Ian Bruff, and numerous more scholars have argued that the neoliberal turn has led to a change in how the state views the phenomenon of crime and has increased the interventions. Many have claimed that the rise of neoliberalism has changed enforcement priorities, structures for accountability, and policing strategies and tactics. In this thesis, I want to highlight the need to examine and problematize the assumptions underlying the policing and the repercussions they may have.

One of the current frontiers of the neoliberalization of Malmö is the neighborhood of Möllevången, which is an area undergoing urban renewal and a shift in social composition. Designated as a disadvantaged area, it struggles with issues like poverty, high unemployment rates, and a reliance on social assistance. The area is commonly described as unsafe, troubled by open drug dealing, and experiencing higher levels of violence compared to the rest of the city (Hansen 2022). Further, following a reprioritization of the Swedish police organization in

the 1990s, which coincided with the beginning of the neoliberal era, there has been a transfer of responsibility for the provisioning of safety and security to local actors. In the context of this shift, Möllevången has been chosen as the area to implement a new policing model. This thesis will put this model under the microscope, to analyze how the ideas of neoliberalism manifest themselves in the policing of Malmö.

1.1. Aim and research question

Through this study, my overarching aim is to engage with the theoretical arguments on the neoliberal turn and crime in relation to a contemporary Swedish urban context through an in-depth analysis of the relationship between policing and urban neoliberalization. My goal is to achieve a deeper understanding of how the ideas of neoliberalism affect the policing practices, and what function the practices have in the urban development.

In order to do this, I will address the research question:

How can we understand the ideological function of policing in the urban neoliberalization of Malmö?

1.2. Disposition

Chapter 1 introduces the subject and presents the aim and research question of the thesis.

Chapter 2 formulates a theoretical foundation and framework for understanding how neoliberalism impacts how society thinks about and governs crime and policing. Additionally, it presents criminological arguments supporting the neoliberal development. It also includes an outline of the contemporary modus of policing.

Chapter 3 details the methodological considerations of the thesis. It describes the ontological and epistemological standpoints and reflects on the amalgamation of critical realism and critical discourse analysis. Further, it presents the research design of the study as well as methods for the collection and procession of data.

Chapter 4 situates the study within the development of policing in Sweden and in Malmö. It aims to detangle the orders of discourses regarding policing in Malmö and contains a text analysis of the safety and security policies that constitute the strategic basis for policing in Malmö.

Chapter 5 provides a brief historical overview of Möllevången, which is the area chosen for an extensive policing intervention. Additionally, the latest safety survey is reviewed and analyzed.

Chapter 6 analyses the discursive development of policing in Möllevången. Section 6.1. analyzes the discursive process in the investigations on hiring private security guards. Section 6.2. examines the discursive and social practices in the multi-actor model for community policing, including the work of the BID organization in Möllevången. In section 6.3. a summarizing discussion is presented on the observed policing practices and their discursive impact.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis by summarizing the findings throughout the thesis. It focuses on tracing the order of discourse in the field of policing in Malmö and finishes with a concluding analysis of the structures and mechanisms in policing and their effects on the hegemony within policing.

2 Theoretical framework

In this chapter, I will discuss my theoretical framework. It addresses the theoretical background of urban neoliberalization and its connection to policing with the purpose of answering the research question: *How can we understand the ideological function of policing in the urban neoliberalization of Malmö?* First, there is a very brief presentation of the economic, political and historical sequence of urban neoliberalization. Secondly, a theoretical approach to the contemporary condition of urban neoliberalism and policing is outlined, using the frameworks of revanchism and authoritarianism. Thirdly, the supporting criminological arguments are presented. Finally, a conceptualization of contemporary modus of policing is outlined.

2.1. The neoliberal turn

Neoliberal ideology is founded on the assumption that socio-economic development is best achieved through unregulated markets that are free from state interventions and influence of social collectives. Its premises are strong property rights, free markets and free trade. The state is to be seen as a facilitator for capital accumulation in private companies, as well as a creator of markets where they do not already exist. Additionally, the role of the state is also to create and maintain an institutional framework that supports these practices of neoliberal political economy, including establishing military, defense, police, and legal structures to secure property rights and ensure the proper functioning of markets (Harvey 2005).

The neoliberal turn started in the 1970s as a response to the declining profitability in 'Fordist' and 'Keynesian' political economies which were depending on a failing production industry. As an answer, states began to abolish

the former economic models and political practices. Instead of promoting a societal empowering of market discipline, competition and commodification, as the Fordist/Keynesian management did, the neoliberal states followed the principles of deregulation and divestment while pushing marketization and privatization (Peck, Theodor & Brenner 2009). The new imperatives eventually transformed the dynamics of the capital economy, resulting in a shift of both money and power from productive sectors to unproductive sectors and from a national arena towards a local arena.

Cities have played a certain role in the neoliberalization processes. Initially, the dismantling of the Fordist institutions and redistribution after the first wave of neoliberalization left the Keynesian cities to their own fate, which often involved degeneration after the industrial decline. The destructive effects the dismantling of Keynesian government measures had for urban environments were subsequently addressed by policymakers during the 1990s. At this time, cities started to play a central role to the process of neoliberalization as a strategically essential arena for capital accumulation through policy experimentation and restructuring, including place-marketing, business improvement districts, public-private partnerships, property redevelopments, policing and surveillance (Peck, Theodor & Brenner 2009). As a result of the new dynamic and the new policies, spatial segregation has become a defining feature of the post-industrial city, with certain areas developed to attract wealth while others experience neglect and decline.

2.2. Punitive neoliberalism

The wealth attracting areas of the city are often pictured as the manna from neoliberal heaven. The flip side of the coin are the places left behind – the urban areas which are not able to attract capital on the terms of neoliberal economy. These areas are discussed by Loïc Wacquant (2007, 2009), who argues that the marginalization and stigmatization that comes with the spatial segregation leads to so called ‘penalized spaces’. Wacquant argues that certain places become

blemished for being associated with poverty and groups of specific ethnic origins. This blemish of place could be seen as a question of ideological power and a shaping of a hegemony from a centralized management, where the self-sufficient become the virtuous in the neoliberal city and where the marginalized consist of the ones that cannot be part of that hegemony for material reasons. Moreover, Wacquant (2009) argues that the societal abandonment of the universalist projects of Fordist/Keynesian welfare state, aimed at lifting the whole of society from poverty, has resulted in a shift from a focus on social security to a punitive turn in penal and criminal policy.

Policies emerging from neoliberalization processes have also been researched by Neil Smith (1996, 1998, 2002), who developed the concept of the revanchist city. Smith recognize a new form of urban policies emerging related to neoliberal urban restructuring processes with the aim of keeping the city safe for capital investments by sweeping away undesirable elements. One of the main undesirable elements are those who are not contributing enough to the economy. With the change from the Fordist/Keynesian management to a neoliberal mode of governing, the former practice of caretaking is transformed into repression.

The skeptical reader might wonder, was not neoliberalism as ideology based on the state *not* intervening? Everything we learnt about liberalism says that it is over all a philosophy based on individual rights and liberty, and that it is emphasizing equality before the law. Furthermore, *neoliberalism* is often seen as being solely about the free market. This seems to fit badly with the development Wacquant and Smith are describing. Jamie Peck and Nik Theodor (2019) asks the same question when they wonder if it is still neoliberalism when the mode of governing is turning towards an increasingly authoritarian mode. They do however make a distinction between neoliberalism as an ideology and the everyday political operations and societal effects of neoliberalism (Peck, Theodor & Brenner 2009). They argue that neoliberalism should be seen as a process rather than a fixed stage, and that the process of neoliberalization take on various forms in different geographical settings. Hence, neoliberalism could be seen as variegated, and one form could be defined as ‘authoritarian neoliberalism’. Ian Bruff (2014, Bruff & Tansel 2019) has defined the concept of authoritarian neoliberalism as a type of

neoliberalism in which the state seeks to marginalize, discipline and control dissenting social groups rather than striving for their consent or co-operation. This variation of neoliberalism is characterized by practices such as favoring constitutional and legal mechanisms over democratic participation, concentrating state powers at the expense of democratic participation, and mobilization of state apparatuses for the repression of oppositional social forces at different scales.

Although it may seem negligent to explore processes in Sweden as ‘authoritarian’, while many other places are experiencing more severe forms of authoritarianism, it is important to be attentive for signs of a potential trend. Manuel Aalbers (2011) reflects on this idea in his studies of revanchism in the Netherlands, where he argues that what is happening in Europe could be considered a softer version of revanchism compared to the United States. If we view neoliberalization as a process and acknowledge that it can manifest differently depending on location, the rise of authoritarianism will take on unique forms based on place specific mechanisms. Therefore, studying it in places with less severe authoritarianism is not insignificant.

2.3. Policing and social control in a post-industrial urban landscape

Crime is by all means a threat to the neoliberal city, as the city must “appear as an innovative, exciting, creative, and safe place to live or to visit, to play and consume” (Harvey 1989:9) in order to create the ‘good business climate’, which is the fundamental mission of the neoliberal state. When crime nevertheless exists, policing could be seen as a spatial manifestation of neoliberalism, and the local state’s strategy of taking the streets back under control. The legitimization of the policing depends on the spatial argument that links certain inhabitants of an area to criminal activity, making their everyday life a subject for the police without any legally substantiated suspicion being established. The neoliberal policing is supported by several criminological arguments, among which the broken window

theory and the situational crime prevention approach are two of the most widespread (Herbert & Brown 2006). Both of these suggest where crime can be expected to emerge.

2.3.1. Situational crime prevention

The point of departure regarding the concept of situational crime prevention is that crime can be prevented if we understand, and manipulate, the circumstances which lead to crime arising (Clarke 1995). In geography and urban planning, there are several debates on how modification of the physical environment might reduce the opportunities for crime.

One of the most prominent thinkers in this field were Jane Jacobs (2011[1961]), who advocated vibrant urban communities with constant activity and pedestrians in order to have more ‘eyes on the streets’ which is expected to lead to a greater sense of safety. A later contribution to the same debate came from the American architect Oscar Newman (1972), who drew on Jacobs’ idea of the impact of the physical environment on the safety in the city. Newman developed the concept of ‘defensible space’ as a scheme of urban design interventions aimed at reducing crime and negative social behavior through urban design with the goal of restoring a sense of safety to the inhabitants. Criminal activity was to be reduced partly through providing residents with patches of territory over which they felt some ownership and sense of responsibility, which would enable them to be agents in ensuring their own security. The concept of defensible space played a significant role in the urban neoliberalization process in Britain, notably during Margaret Thatcher’s ‘Right to Buy’ scheme. This political program allowed tenants of state-provided housing to buy their homes at discounted prices and was promoted as a flagship policy. The argument of fostering a sense of ownership for one’s local environment, purportedly to create a feeling of safety, was thereby employed with the intention of facilitating actual economic ownership of property. This strategy was particularly evident during the extensive neoliberal privatization of housing during the Thatcher era (Jacobs & Lees 2013).

Another of the theories in the situational crime prevention tradition is the 'routine activity theory', as detailed by Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson (1979). The theory relates crime to its environment and presents three factors that lead to crime: a potential offender, a suitable target, and the absence of capable guardians. It rests on the 'rational choice theory', which assumes that the offenders are rational and that increasing the effort for crime, reducing the gains and increasing the risk may result in less crime (Clarke 1995). Capable guardians are meant to protect the suitable targets by increasing the effort and heightening the risk for crime by their presence, and the role could be embodied by security guards, a janitor, a neighbor etcetera. By focusing on the circumstances for crime, the theory leads the focus away from the offender to the situation of the crime.

Despite criticism that concepts derived from theories of situational crime prevention are environmentally deterministic, as the reasoning implies a predestined result depending on architectural or social prerequisites, it is still a popular recommendation among urban planning scholars and has influenced the design of public housing communities worldwide (Jacobs & Lees 2013). For instance, Brandon C. Welsh and David P. Farrington (2009) advocate defensible space as a method in their work on surveillance and crime prevention. They stress the importance of design changes such as improved streetlights, construction of street barricades or installation of windows, with the purpose of creating what they call 'natural surveillance' of open spaces provided by people spending time at the site as part of everyday life.

2.3.2. Broken window theory and zero tolerance policing

The broken window theory builds on the argument that if authorities and residents in a particular area neglect to address minor breaches, such as a broken window, disorder will escalate. The assumption is that this escalation will eventually result in the area being exposed to criminal activity. The neighborhoods that do not address the broken window supposedly expose inadequate social control and therefore attract the criminally minded by sending the message that the community cannot exercise territoriality and oppose criminal activities (Herbert & Brown

2006). Additionally, the disorder is believed to instill fear in the neighborhood's residents, prompting stable residents to move. Remaining residents tend to isolate themselves, resulting in increasing anonymity. This growing anonymity is associated with a decline in social control (Braga et al 2019).

Hence, the theory links disorder and crime inextricably. Even though the original theory puts its emphasis on the built environment, it progresses into an argument of unwanted human behavior, which leads to suggestions of policing instead of, for example, more actively engaged glaziers. Signs of disorder, according to the founders of the theory, James Wilson and George Kelling (1982), may include individuals deemed disreputable, obstreperous, or unpredictable, such as drunks, addicts, noisy teenagers, or sex workers, besides the more physical disorder such as abandoned property or, naturally, broken windows.

The concept has energized other more concrete policing strategies, with one of the most commonly employed being 'zero tolerance policing'. The strategy was enforced in New York in 1993 and suggested tougher measures on minor crimes. Individuals were arrested for offences such as approaching a vehicle in traffic to clean its windows, littering, public intoxication or public urination (Eck & Magurie 2010). Following the implementation of zero tolerance in New York, the concept proliferated to other police departments, and it is nowadays widespread, occurring from South Africa to Sweden and from New Zealand to Brazil (Samara 2010, Smith 2001, Wacquant 2003).

One primary criticism of the broken window theory is that for the state to regulate how public space is used to avoid certain social behavior, it must decide beforehand who is likely to commit or encourage criminal activity. The decision will heavily rely on moral considerations instead of focusing on actual criminal acts, resulting in the profiling of individuals based on certain traits and characteristics. Hence, these individuals may be targeted without a legally established suspicion. The everyday life of people with specific sets of characteristics becomes a subject for policing, without any crime being committed. Wacquant (1999) named this phenomenon 'moral panic'. This moral panic impacts different groups in different ways. For example, Don Mitchell (2003)

argues that the criminalization of common behaviors that the regime finds disturbing when occurring in public spaces, as for example drinking, sleeping, or urinating, has a disproportionate effect on homeless people.

Further, zero tolerance policing and the broken windows theory has been criticized by several academics, among them Neil Smith (2001), John E. Eck and Edward R. Maguire (2000), for fueling police brutality against marginalized populations. This criticism is particularly strong as there is little evidence that the results achieved in New York in terms of crime reduction are caused by the implementation of zero tolerance. Eck and Maguire (2000) argues that the strategy was implemented after the crime already was declining, and after the crack epidemic in New York during the 1980s was coming to an end. Bernard E. Harcourt researched the statistic correlation in 1998, when challenging earlier studies made by Wesley Skogan (1992) who suggested a causal relation between the strategies and crime reduction. Harcourt (1998) replicated Skogan's research, finding that the data does not support the broken windows hypothesis. As the theories have not been proven, Smith (2001) claims that the strategy should be seen as part of a larger economic political shift, where urban social control gets increasingly important as the role of cities change.

The spatial logic of the policing strategies is backed up by adapted practices and actors. The next section will deal with the resulting contemporary organization of policing.

2.4. Actors and practices of policing

When critically analyzing the concrete practices of policing, various questions might be asked; who are policing, who are responsible for the policing, where does it take place, what are the motivations for policing those areas, how is it performed, who are the subjects of policing? And last but not least, what power-relations are there? Might the policing be gendered or racialized, in addition to being class-

based? The following section will trace the different modus of policing, with the purpose to disentangle some of these questions.

When discussing policing, the common image is likely that of police officers and the police organization, but perhaps equally crucial is our perception of the role of the police. Nicholas Fyfe, who published a paper in 1991 on the geography of policing, defines the police as being given the legal right by the state to use coercive force. Unlike other groups who might have been given the right to use force, as for example military or prison guards, the state confers legitimacy on the use of force against anyone within the state's domestic territory to the police (Fyfe 1991). According to Richard Yarwood (2007), the practices of the police have been going through a change due to neoliberalization and a reduction of public expenses. The policing performed by police officers and departments has been reorganized to achieve more 'effective' policing, leading to big policing areas and more resources directed towards central parts of towns. Helicopters are often operating on the wider scales while particular places are policed more precisely through pinpointing resources with the help of GIS to map crime 'hot spots' and CCTV surveillance. As the police have shifted their focus toward hot spots and callouts, there has been a shift from universal policing and general patrolling towards more specifically targeted interventions. In response to this development, there has been a growing emphasis on policies geared towards community-oriented policing approaches.

Community policing could imply a wide range of policing practices, but it is often associated with the principle of proximity to the citizens (Kammersgaard et al 2023). One of the practices used to achieve said proximity is a systematic engagement in community partnerships with actors such as community representatives, schools, social services but also actors from the private sector such as for example private security companies and property owners. One type of community partnership is so called Business Improvement Districts (BID), which have been defined by Lorlene Hoyt and Devika Gopal-Agge (2007:946) as "privately directed and publicly sanctioned organizations that supplement public services within geographically defined boundaries by generating multiyear revenue through a compulsory assessment on local property owners and/or

businesses”. The overarching goals of implementing the model are to enhance the security, urban design, commercial offerings, and real estate values in specific geographically defined areas, usually depressed commercial town centers or stigmatized residential areas (Valli & Hammami 2020).

The neoliberal shift is, according to this presented perception, represented in the spatial performances and practices of policing. Both in terms of an economic and political shift in focus towards the local scale, as a multiplicity of actors move the responsibility for policing from the national scale of the police authority towards a local and community scale, as well as from the publicly governed sector towards the private sector. The amplification of actors and methods supposedly changes the geographical pattern of the policing capacity throughout the urban landscape. An analysis of the interplay between the formal police, the private actors and the community could possibly say something about structures and mechanisms of policing. This analysis should include where the policing takes place, who are policing, who are being policed, what actors are involved and what interests they represent. With this in mind, I hope to be able to analyze how the policing practices relate to urban neoliberalization in the case of Malmö.

3 Methodological framework

The following chapter will deal with the methodological framework this thesis will rest upon. Guided by the theoretical framework, the subsequent sections describe my methodological considerations and the methodologies chosen to approach the question *what is the ideological function of policing in the urban neoliberalization of Malmö?* After a statement of my ontological and epistemological standpoints, this chapter addresses the research design of the study. It accounts for the methods of data collection, as well as an explanation of the process of analysis.

3.1. Ontological and epistemological considerations

In this section follows a presentation of the ontological and epistemological stance of the thesis. The first subsection deals with a critical realist approach to epistemology and ontology. Secondly, I situate discourse analysis in relation to critical realism. The third subsection explain this thesis' approach to discourse analysis, and more specifically critical discourse analysis.

3.1.1. Critical realism

This thesis will, as far as possible, follow a critical realist approach. During my work, I will acknowledge the existence of the world independently of our consciousness, while recognizing that our perceptions of it are influenced by presuppositions such as prejudice, theories or paradigms. Additionally, I will apply a stratified view on ontology. Roy Bhaskar (1998), the original initiator of critical realism, categorized reality into three realms: the real, the actual and the empirical. The real is the domain of natural and social objects with structures and

the potential to exhibit various behaviors. These behaviors, or mechanisms, possess causal powers that may, or may not, be activated and impact events in the actual, the domain of events. The events happening, and their structures and mechanisms, may be experienced by actors in the realm of the empirical. The underlying structures and mechanisms are, even though they are experienced, not always observable. As for instance, the policing may be possible to observe very clearly, while the underlying mechanisms of neoliberalization may still be obscured.

Further, critical realism emphasizes the need to distinguish between ontology and epistemology, in order to avoid the mistake of assuming that our understanding of reality is equivalent to reality itself. Even so, it is still possible to get an understanding of the world that is closer to the ‘truth’ through knowledge production. According to Andrew Sayer (2000), rather than an absolute concept, truth may be understood as ‘practical adequacy’. It refers to how we can look at the world from a point of view that gives us the most capable understanding of how reality is, and the extent to which knowledge generates expectations about the world and the outcome of our actions. The level of practical adequacy varies depending on the context in which the knowledge is applied. While different theories may not be equally effective in achieving an accurate understanding of a phenomenon, a critical realist recognizes that there is a truth to be discovered, although there may be obstacles to perceiving it clearly. To approach this truth, it is important to identify the structures and mechanisms that impacts certain events (Sayer 2000).

The critical realist ontological understanding of reality encourages one to go beyond the surface-level of empirical data in order to seek explanations at the level of structures and mechanisms. For recognizing dynamics of change in relation to structures and mechanisms, it is important to reflect on the relationships between objects or practices and whether they are necessary or contingent. As detailed by Sayer (1992), necessary relationships are considered to have a consistent connection between entities, as for example in the relation between the economic structure and the working class, or a landlord and a tenant. This as their relation is dependent on each other, thus forming a structure. Contingent relationships are

considered be context dependent and not naturally dependent on each other. One example of this could be gardening and fertilization. They are not naturally dependent on each other; one could exist without another. However, the amount and type of fertilizer could affect the well-being of the garden, depending on what kind of flowers and bushes you are growing, and how much rain and sun there happens to be. These are examples of mechanisms, that possess causal powers that may, or may not, be activated dependent on the context. Thus, the philosophy suggests a structural, but open ended and complex conception of causation and dynamics of change.

Even though the scope of time for this study is too narrow to deeply investigate the structures and mechanisms of policing in the neoliberal city, the methodological aim of the thesis is to investigate the phenomenon with the ontological and epistemological understandings of critical realism as a base for the study.

3.1.2. Critical realism and discourse analysis

The research question will be approached through studying the prevailing discourses around the issue of policing. The object is to make a stratified analysis of the practices of policing and its relation to urban neoliberalization with the aim of gaining a deeper understanding of how the ideas of neoliberalism affect the policing practices, and what function the practices have in the broader context of neoliberal urban development.

The general idea in discourse analysis is that language is structured in distinct patterns, which are followed when people engage in social life, and that said patterns could be analyzed with the aim of understanding implicit relations. Discourse, however, has not been a main focus of the critical realist tradition. A common criticism of discourse analytical stances is that they tend to reduce the understanding of the world to the implications and limitations of texts or thoughts. One could argue that the relation between the empirical, actual and real domain of an event is hard to discover if you dwell in the realm of the empirical, and

especially so if the relationship between discourse and reality is undefined or even defined as inseparable.

There is, nevertheless, more depth to the question than if the world is only enclosed within one individual's mind or if there is a reality independent from our own thoughts and experiences. Ernesto Laclau (Laclau and Bhaskar 2005) explains discourse theory as preceding the division between the linguistic and non-linguistic. Instead, he argues that discourse theory includes them both in its grammar, as he means that discourse and action could be seen as equivalent. Said closeness of linguistics and the world relates to Andrew Sayer's (2000) view on discourse, where he argues that the relationship between them only can be thought of within discourse. The post-Marxist discourse theory, as developed by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, has nevertheless been counter stated by Roy Bhaskar himself for reducing the reality to only text and thoughts (Laclau & Bhaskar 2005). While Bhaskar admits that reality affects discourse and discourse affects reality, he states that reality is a precondition for all discourses, but discourses are not a precondition for reality.

With this statement, Bhaskar draws a line between post-Marxist discourse theory and critical realism, even though he admits common grounds such as the ideas of negativity and absences of totality (Laclau & Bhaskar 2005), the two pillars in the post-Marxist further theorization of the Gramscian concept of 'hegemony'. The idea of the absence of totality forms the belief that society is open ended, it is not a fixed and regular unit, and it is not a closed system (Laclau & Mouffe 1985). Laclau and Mouffe propose that the social is not governed by dialectics but rather by the logic of overdetermination. Unlike dialectics, which involves a synthesis of opposing forces, overdetermination is characterized by complex and multi-causal processes that produce a multitude of uncertain meanings and syntheses. The relations in processes of producing meanings are defined by what Laclau and Mouffe calls 'antagonism', where social practices define objects through their negative identities – what they are not. The antagonism creates confrontations, and the elements on either side of the confrontation are all united in their equivalence with each other which forms a relative unification in a specific field, building hegemonies. The theoretical

unfoldment of the concept of hegemony helps us to develop a dynamic critical understanding of ideologies, where the ideology is not reduced to a reflection of the material base of society, but ideas and values produced in the hegemonial struggle. Thus, in the critique of ideology but also in the concept of overdetermination, the post-Marxist discourse theory has significant similarities with the critical realist ontology, particularly regarding the concepts of structural related to the ideas of negativity, besides contingent relationships related to the absence of totality. Thereby, the theoretical tools of post-Marxist discourse analysis could strengthen a critical realist analysis of hegemony and ideology critique.

What is an unbridgeable gap between the critical realist ontology and the post-Marxist discourse analysis is that the latter considers the social being entirely discursively constructed, a standpoint which is clearly contradictive to critical realism. Just like structure and actions are interdependent and form each other dialectically, discourse can be understood as a dialectical interplay between structuring the social and being socially structured. Sayer (1992, 2000) argues that meaning is constituted as an interplay between the signifier, as in words, signified, as in concept, and the referent, as in material object, which together are forming signs. In this signification process, meaning is formed in relation to other signs – signs that also are formed in similar processes. It does have similarities with the post-Marxist view on how hegemonies are built, as stated above, given that Sayer (2000) argues along similar lines when he says that meaning is constituted, although not exclusively, through differences to other signifieds. In a post-Marxist approach however, the referent would not be a benchmark, while in for instance naive objectivism approaches the referent would be taken for granted as the only important criterion. In that sense, critical realism could be seen as a middle way between those perspectives, advocating a discourse analysis that acknowledges an existing real (Sayer 2000). With this in mind, discourse analysis with a critical realist approach could be a pathway towards a revitalized social science that exhibits conceptual prudence and enhanced reflexivity regarding its underlying philosophy, methodology, as well as its social and political context.

3.1.3. Critical discourse analysis

One discourse analytical framework that is aligned with the ontology and epistemology of critical realism is ‘critical discourse analysis’ (CDA). The critical discourse analysis approach seeks to get closer to an understanding of ‘the real’ through comprehending the lingual representation and mediation of social relations and practices (Fairclough 1995). Discourse is, according to Norman Fairclough who is the most prominent founder of the CDA approach, contributing to social identities, social relations and to a system of knowledge and meaning (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 2002). CDA should be considered a framework, involving both theory and method, for analyzing these aspects and their relation to power and ideology. For performing a critical discourse analysis, Fairclough has developed a three-dimensional model that functions as an analytical framework for empirical research on communication and society (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 2002). The model brings together three analytical traditions, ‘text’, ‘discursive practice’ and ‘social practice’. It highlights the essential relational link between discourse and its broader social context, emphasizing the importance of analyzing not only the discourse itself but also the underlying structures and mechanisms that shape it. The broader and deeper approach makes the framework suitable for intense case studies where both structures and mechanisms on different ontological levels are to be analyzed. Especially so as language in itself exists on both the level of the real as structures such as generative grammars and vocabulary, and the level of the actual in form of speech or texts (Sayer 2000), but also on the level of the empirical in form of experiences of texts and spoken words.

The first of Fairclough’s (1992) dimension is ‘text’, as in a communicative event such as speech, writing, visuals and so on. To engage in a critical examination of a text, it is essential to approach the text with the understanding that signs are influenced by social factors and that there are social motivations behind the combination of specific signifiers and the signified. Additionally, one should recognize that the potential meaning of the text can be subject to different interpretations. With these preconceptions, the text analysis is focused on

vocabulary (individual words), grammar (words combined into clauses and sentences), cohesion (how those clauses and sentences are linked together) and text structure (large scale properties of the text). Two analytical instruments one can use when analyzing the text dimension are ‘transitivity’ and ‘modality’, where the first refers to how events and processes are, or are not, connected with subjects and objects. Modality is the speaker’s degree of affinity to their statements (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 2002).

The second dimension is ‘discursive practice’, which involves processes of production, distribution and consumption of texts. The production is the making of the communicative event, where the producer might be an author, film maker, political leader, journalist, and so on. When analyzing the production process, it could be useful to critically assess the situatedness of the producer(s) – it might not be as clear as you believe at first sight. The consumption of the text on the other hand is where, how and by whom the text is received. The consumption of the text is also where it is possible to draw analytical links to what outcome the text might have, both discursively and extra-discursively. A text could get one’s husband to remember to buy milk as well as change, or reinforce, how we look at husbandry.

The third dimension is ‘social practices’. Fairclough suggests that social practices are related to ideology and to power. He draws, similar to Laclau and Mouffe (1985), on the Gramscian concept of hegemony and the hegemonic struggle to explain power and the evolution of power relations. Fairclough links the forming of hegemonies through negotiation and dominant ideologies to the conflict between discursive practices. The sites of (hegemonic) struggle are illustrated as ‘orders of discourses’ and ‘interdiscursivity’. The orders of discourses refer to the discursive practice of a certain social domain, which are reflecting the power structures and the hegemonies in said domain. Interdiscursivity could be understood as when discursive practices meet in a new way in the signification processes, as described in section 3.1.2, thus when meaning is constituted in a new manner between signifier, signified and referent and in relation to other signs (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 2002). This reasoning leaves theoretical room for changing the dominance of certain discourses through

changing discursive practices. Acknowledging the possibility to change through opposing discursive practices, instead of considering discourse unshakable in relation to hegemonies and its underpinning ideologies, opens up for critical discourse studies not only regarding hegemony and critique of ideology but also regarding political progress and social change.

With these dimensions and my general ontological and epistemological considerations in mind, I approach my research question through using the perspectives of critical realism and critical discourse analysis in order to make a stratified critical discourse examination of policing in Malmö, with a focus on structural and contingent relationships in the hegemonic struggle. The next sections deal with how the research has been carried out in practice.

3.2. Research design

3.2.1. Intensive case study

This research moves between the structural necessary relationships of policing, such as the power dynamics between those who exercise policing and those who are policed, and the abstract levels of structure, hegemonies and ideologies, built in the domain of policing. Further the research will pay attention to the more concrete level of mechanisms, such as the variegated form of neoliberalism and the contingent relations of policing in Malmö. Some of the contingent and necessary relations are listed in the figure below (see figure 1) but should not be seen as the only possible mechanisms and structural relations of the case.

Continuing to follow Sayer's (1992) adoption of structures and mechanisms, this research employs an intensive approach to answer the research question, as the study aims to move between both structures and mechanisms in the event of policing in Malmö. It moves between the concrete levels, from the actual event in this case represented as texts, and the abstract level of orders of discourses and interdiscursivity. With this method applied, I hope to make a nuanced and in depth analysis of the ideological function of policing in Malmö.

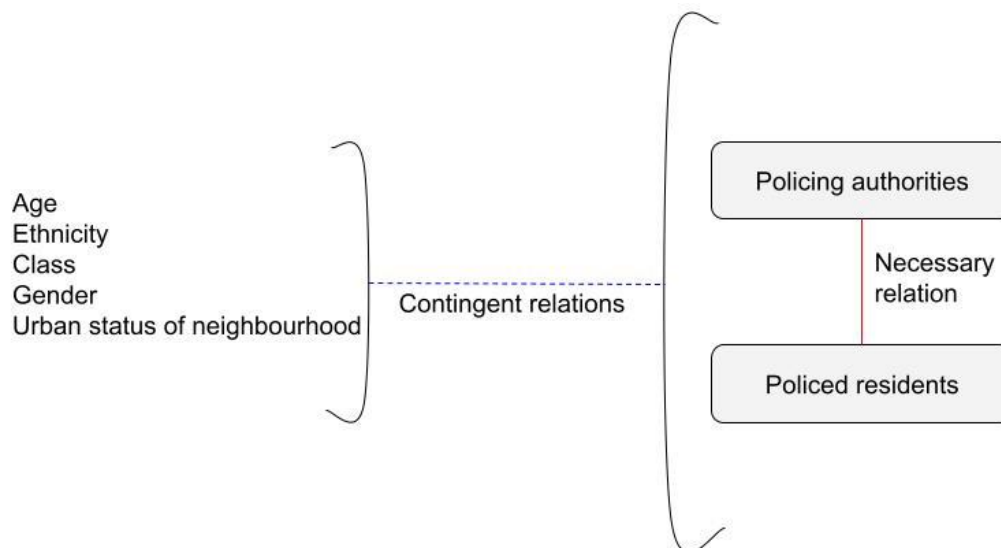


Figure 1. Structure and mechanisms of policing. Contingent relations, or the possible mechanisms, such as age, ethnicity, class, gender and the urban status of the neighborhood have causal powers that might affect the outcome of the cases in relation to the necessary relations, illustrated here as the relationship between the policing authorities and the policed residents. Inspired by Sayer (1992:93)

The study has been performed abductively and during the research process, I have been going back and forth between the theory, methodology and my data and I have been letting them reinforce and develop each other. During the initial phase of the study, for example, my readings of the policy documents served as an exploratory process, wherein I observed a pattern of policing practices in Malmö, which was theoretically outlined later on in section 2.4. Subsequently, I have arranged my sampling and reading according to the detailed concepts in my theoretical chapter. Further, the research takes a qualitative approach in its execution and analysis, even though part of the literature review handles quantitative data.

3.2.2. Process of analysis

To investigate the function of policing in Malmö the research takes its departure at Fairclough's first dimension, text. The aim of this level of analysis is to map how discourses are textually realized. The main unit of analysis for this thesis is the policy and planning documents produced by or aimed at the actors involved in the policing of Malmö. I have conducted thorough readings with attention and sensitivity to the expressions and formulations that embody an ideological function. In the linguistic analysis I have paid attention to the transitivity and modality within the texts. The main analytical focus however is on intertextuality and how the vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and organization of the texts connects to each other and to other textualities. The analyzed policy texts are written in Swedish, and thereby analyzed in Swedish.

The next step of the research involves situating the analyzed texts in the discursive practices regarding policing. This entails investigation on how the texts are affected by their surrounding context and, reciprocally, how they influence it. To get closer to a practically adequate understanding of this, an investigation of the production and consumption of the texts has been performed by analyzing the interviews and participatory observation held with actors in the policing of Malmö. The analysis has been focused on the represented discursive practices, and what outcome the discursive practices give, both intra and extra discursively. The language spoken has been Swedish, and so the material has been analyzed in Swedish.

The last level of analysis is the third of Fairclough's dimensions, social practices. As this part of the study seeks to address the abstract level of structures, the analysis will seek to connect the two former steps to ideology and the power relations of the case. An analysis of the ongoing hegemonic struggle will be performed by looking at what orders of discourse the communicative events are part of and how they position themselves in it, as well as the interdiscursivity and how it plays out regarding if, and how, new meanings are formed and if they might be shaping or breaking hegemonies.

3.2.3. Methods for collecting data

The primary materials collected are policy documents presented by the police and by the municipality of Malmö. First, a broader search was made in order to give an understanding of the historical context of policing in Sweden. With this understanding as a basis, I continued with focused searches for formal documents outlining the policing strategy for Malmö municipality. The documents concerning the policing strategies for Malmö municipality stand as the primary material for the text analysis of this thesis and each document is thoroughly presented throughout the analysis part of the thesis.

To get a deeper understanding of the contemporary context out of which the documents arise and who they affect, additional material was collected in the form of two interviews and one participant observation. The first interview was conducted on the 26th of May 2023 with two municipal officials at the department for safety and security. The interview was made via a video call. The participant observation was conducted on the 31st of May 2023 with Collaboration Möllan, and the observation took place at the premises of the organization. The second interview was conducted on the 10th of August 2023 with the operations manager and the operations developer for BID Malmö, at their premises.

The interviewees were selected after an analysis of the actors engaged in the production of the policy documents and of the actors the documents are aimed at. Hence, the respondents hold key positions within organizations actively involved in the policing of Malmö.

The interviews were conducted semi-structurally. I constructed one interview guide for each interview, but the conversations hardly needed the support from them as the interviewees were very dedicated in sharing their thoughts. The interviews were recorded and afterwards transcribed in verbatim. Repeats, supporting words and such have not been included, since I did not find it necessary for analyzing the discursive practices represented. The participant observation was made at a collaboration meeting in order to get a clearer view of the practices of policing. During the meeting, notes were taken over the theme discussed, ongoing

projects and present organizations. Afterword, a reflection was written down with observations of discursive practices represented.

The gathered material is exclusively in Swedish. The quotes in chapter 4, 5 and 6 are translated by me, with a sensitivity to the conceptual meanings rather than being directly translated. This is not to be mistaken for a ‘freer’ translation, but a more accurate translation that includes both the purely factual and the associative elements. Hence, I strive for impression and conceptual equivalence between the Swedish quotes and the English translations, to get as close to a discursive signification as possible.

3.2.4. Limitations of the study

While working on this thesis, I have encountered some constraints limiting the scope of analysis of the study. My primary intention was to involve more data on the police practices carried out by the police force, and especially on the CCTV surveillance. Due to difficulties in gathering such data, the focus has been shifted to public approaches to securitization. I wish I could have presented a more versatile picture of the policing, by including more actors of the spectra in the analysis. I do hope, however, that the study could lead us to a deeper knowledge on the practices of policing performed by other actors than the police.

Furthermore, during my work I have noticed that I tend analyze the social and discursive practices in a more thematic manner than is customary in discourse analysis. On this, I have nobody but myself to blame and thus claim that I am just a novice to the method, still figuring out the analysis tools.

4 Contextualizing policing

This chapter starts with a brief historical contextualization of the institutional reprioritization from national to local policing in which the development of policing in Malmö is embedded. It states the social practices out of which the following discourses arise and detangles the order of discourse regarding policing in Malmö. In section 4.2. you will find a text analysis of the safety and security policies which provides the strategic basis for policing in Malmö.

4.1. A new mode of collaboration – from national to local policing

During the 1990s, the national police board of Sweden (Rikspolisstyrelsen), the state administrative authority under the Ministry of Justice responsible for the planning, coordination and rationalization of the police system, started a process towards an enhanced cooperation between authorities and other organizations with the aim of deepening crime prevention efforts (Rikspolisstyrelsen 2012). As a continuation of this process, the government pushed a new national prevention program, ‘Everyone’s responsibility’ (Allas vårt ansvar), in 1996. The government suggested that the program should be seen as a starting point in the process of creating other conditions for crime prevention in all sectors of society. In 2007, the national police board advanced this initiative further by developing a new action plan for cooperation between municipalities and the police (Rikspolisstyrelsen 2008). The action plan was based on their, at that point new, management and governance system named ‘the police intelligence model’. The action plan, outlined by the national police board, prioritized a flexible use of police resources. Instead of increasing staffing levels in several police stations, the focus was to work flexibly when addressing most urgent issues. As a part of this

restructuring, the police developed a new model for collaboration with the municipalities regarding crime prevention. The model was built on 'intelligence gathering' from the police in cooperation with the municipality and was used to create a common situational picture. This common view would result in joint strategic agreements between the local police departments and the municipalities, with concrete plans for operational crime prevention work which would be carried out in crime prevention councils. The agreements included a clear division of responsibilities between the police and the municipality so that a preventive measure by one party was always to be matched by a corresponding commitment by the other party (Rikspolisstyrelsen 2008). Hence, on a local level, crime prevention councils were formed, and agreements were signed by the regional police chief and the chairman of the local council. So too in Malmö, in which the cooperation between the police and the municipality took an even broader approach.

Significant steps towards adopting a broader approach to addressing crime and building security at a local level was taken by Malmö municipality just a few years after the new action plan was created. In 2010, a new department in Malmö municipality was established – the department for safety and security. The department was formed with the purpose of working with crime prevention, safety and security in cooperation with the police but also with administrations, authorities, housing companies, businesses, the civil society and organizations. Henceforth, a collaboration agreement was reached between the municipality and the Malmö police district for the years 2012–2016, and later on for 2017–2022.

The division of labor between the municipality and the police was not formally declared from the beginning. In the collaboration agreement from 2017–2022, however, a clear division was made between law enforcement and safety. Even though a recent decline in crime rates was observed in Malmö, the sense of insecurity remained high. It was concluded that law enforcement was the responsibility of the police, while the responsibility for safety rested with a broader set of actors.

We must therefore all work together – authorities, organizations, civil society, the business community and, not least, the people of Malmö - to ensure that Malmö develops strongly, with both complex challenges and development potential. The good work being done must be made visible.

(Malmö stad stadskontoret and polisområde Malmö, 2017)

This marked the beginning of a shift towards a greater local responsibility for safety and security. In this context, Malmö municipality started to unfold the progress towards the ongoing work on safety and security that is in place today.

4.2. Malmö's safety and security policy

In 2013, one year after the first agreement between the municipality and the police was concluded and two years after the municipality's department for safety and security was established, the first safety and security policy for Malmö municipality was developed (Malmö stad stadskontoret 2013). The next and most recent version is from 2016 (Malmö stad stadskontoret). Both policies have been analyzed for this thesis, as the version from 2016 seems to be written with the 2013 version as a base. By analyzing them both it is possible to trace the discourses in time, in order to get a deeper understanding of the texts and how the discourses progress. The policy from 2013 is fourteen pages long while the 2016 version is ten pages. The policies are addressed to politicians and municipal officials with the purpose of guiding decision makers and decision implementers in their work with safety and security. The policies were written by officials in the municipality hall and democratically adopted by the city council. The stated target groups for the work based on the policies are those who live, stay and operate in Malmö.

4.2.1. The attractive city

The stated aim in both versions of the policy is to ensure a safe and secure city by preventing threats and risks in our environment. The reasons mentioned for doing so are “to maintain the pride of Malmö residents and to attract new residents, businesses and visitors to the city” (Malmö stad stadskontoret 2016:3). In the version from 2013, this discourse is most visible, wherein it is stated in the very beginning that Malmö is changing through the establishment of new companies, new Malmöites and new physical and social structures.

... a dynamic movement in the city comes with requirements. In order for Malmö to continue to attract new Malmö residents, businesses and visitors, the city of Malmö together with other actors must constantly work to maintain and promote the development of a safe and secure city, as well as prevent the threats and risks that exist in our surroundings.

(Malmö stad stadskontoret 2013:3)

The emphasis on attracting new residents could be seen as a part of the structural change away from the industrial city Malmö once was. Before the 1970s, Malmö was recognized for its strong industrial economy and its large ports, docking ships from all over the world (Holgensen 2017). During the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, Malmö was part of one of Sweden’s largest growth regions (Mukhtar-Landgren 2005) and more than half of the inhabitants were employed in the manufacturing industry (Holgensen 2017). In the 1960s however, the ship building, building trade and textile industry started to decline and with that came severe economic problems (Pries 2017). The unemployment rates skyrocketed as the relatively well paid and secure jobs within the manufacturing sector gradually disappeared. Even though the city made attempts to save the economy through several tax hikes during the period of decline, the municipal economy slowly eroded. The erosion was moreover accelerated by a general urban depopulation and suburbanization trend that started in the mid-1970s (Pries 2017, Holgensen 2017). This was the setting in which the discourse of ‘attractiveness’ in terms of alluring new residents became prominent, as Johan Pries (2017) describes in his doctoral thesis. After the election of 1985, the ‘Moderates’ (Moderaterna) took

over the leadership for the municipality, backed up by ‘The Liberal People’s party’ (Folkpartiet Liberalerna) and the ‘Center Party’ (Centerpartiet), after 66 years of social democratic governments. The power shift marked a discursive turn towards neoliberalism, with the neoliberal program ‘New time for Malmö: on another way to run a city’ presented by the local moderate chairman Joakim Ollén (1985) as an instruction manual. The pamphlet suggested decreased public spending in order to compete with the surrounding communities for the desirable middle- and high-income demographics, in order to attract new residents and in that way boosting the city’s income revenues (Pries 2017). Pries (2017) argues that even though the politics of the government from 1985-1988 had a modest impact on the political-economic development, a shift towards demographic attractiveness as a key term in Malmö’s municipal bureaucracy had begun, which would have a large impact on the urban planning of Malmö.

The deindustrialization sustained in the 1990s and in the new millennium, and employment within the manufacturing sector continued declining. In combination with the increasing migration the incomes for the municipality decreased while the costs increased (Mukhtar-Landgren 2005). The transformation in industry came with changes in strategy regarding who the city wanted to attract, instead of big manufacturing industries the city aimed for smaller knowledge based industries and thereby well-educated residents who could work in those industries. In the Comprehensive Plan for Malmö 1990, traces from Ollén’s program could be found on demographic competition (Pries 2017), and in the Comprehensive Plan for Malmö 2000 one can read that the creation of new small businesses needs a large-scale influx of well-educated people (Holgensen 2017). In the subsequent comprehensive plan from 2005 it was stated that Malmö had gone from being an industrial city to a knowledge city, which became and still is the general narrative of Malmö. Holgensen (2017) argues that the key word in the motivation for attracting the new industries and the new people was economic growth – even though the aim was not to create employment for the people who already lived in Malmö, the sought economic growth was assumed to become beneficial for everyone in the city as the tax revenues would change the

negative budget trend and the money would eventually trickle down to the less privileged.

Recreating Malmö as an attractive knowledge city can by many means be seen as a part of cities becoming more central in the economy, as a main role for Malmö thereby is to attract and accumulate capital in the form of industry and people. The enforcement of safety and security is, according to the safety and security policy of 2013, seen as a precondition in order to “attract new Malmö residents, businesses and visitors” (Malmö stad stadskontoret 2013:3). One question is, subsequently, why and how safety is considered necessary for attracting new residents and companies. This, the policy does not give a deeper answer to. Thereby, one cannot know what mechanisms Malmö municipality wants to come at and if the safety is only for the ‘new’ Malmöites and the newly established companies, or if the residents already living in Malmö are considered to have the same needs regarding safety as the ones Malmö wants to attract. To unravel this, a deeper investigation of what the actual interventions aim to achieve is needed. What is however clear is that the shift towards a greater local responsibility for security adds a layer of the city’s economic and social interests, interest that might not have been a factor for the national police authority. It is plausible that those interests could have an impact on the actions taken.

4.2.2. The sustainable city

In the safety and security policy from 2013, in the section ‘Why Malmö City works on safety and security’ they justify the work as following:

The City of Malmö is working to achieve a sustainable city in all aspects. A safe and secure city is a prerequisite for achieving this. It is where visitors want to go, where businesses want to establish themselves and where people want to move.

(Malmö stad stadskontorer 2013:5)

The time for the first policy from 2013 coincides with the period when wider discussion on sustainability became prominent in Malmö. At that time, the

discussion on environmental sustainability had been significant for some years, as Malmö started to develop its green profile in the mid 90's (Anderberg & Clark 2013). However, the discussion was broadened by the creation of the commission for a socially sustainable Malmö, the so called Malmö Commission (Malmökommissionen). The commission was set up in 2011 by the Malmö City Council to propose measures aimed at reducing health inequalities in Malmö by making the social determinants of health more equal. In 2013, they presented a report with a much broader scope than previously committed, in which the commission recommended measures in several part of the city administration (Stigendal & Östergren 2013). Everything from management, education to city planning and employment was to be permeated by sustainability. The discourse on sustainability is, as visible in the quote above, also manifested within the policy work on safety and security at this time.

Malmö eventually became recognized in a European context for its sustainable profile, especially for 'green' urban renewal projects such as Västra hamnen and Augustenborg (Anderberg & Clark 2013). Anderberg and Clark (2013) suggest that the development of the green profile was a way of eco-branding the city partly to capitalize on preexisting conditions and to visualize the city on the global sustainability scene, as a part of the interurban competition for attracting capital. The quote above could be understood likewise, as in that security and safety is a precondition for attracting new residents and companies and to achieve sustainability. And once again, safety and security are justified as a leverage for city development rather than being an independent value.

Even though the discussion on sustainability is not completely gone in the 2016 version of the policy, it is less emphasized, and it is discussed as a principle rather than a goal. An attractive city is not considered as a leverage to achieve sustainability in the latter version. There are, in summary, still elements of the discourse left in the policy from 2016, but it is not any longer stated as the main reason for working with the issue.

4.2.3. The absence of crime

What is absent in the 2016 version is a detailed discussion on the subject of crime. Nor does it identify a human object for the interventions. Instead, it proclaims taking action according to ‘levels of prevention’ at the promotional stage to strengthen protective factors, and perform interventions against unwanted behaviors, events or phenomena. In the version from 2013 however, the policy addresses the targets for intervention slightly clearer. The levels of prevention (Figure 2), for example, describes the marked persons. It is spelled out as:

- Indicated prevention (Indikerad prevention) - interventions for individuals/events or phenomena that exhibit/are problems.
- Selective prevention (Selektiv prevention) - interventions for defined groups or areas where there is an increased risk of an unwanted behavior, event or phenomenon.
- Universal prevention (Universell prevention) - interventions for an entire population or area to prevent an unwanted behavior, event or phenomenon.

(Malmö stad stadskontoret 2013:11)

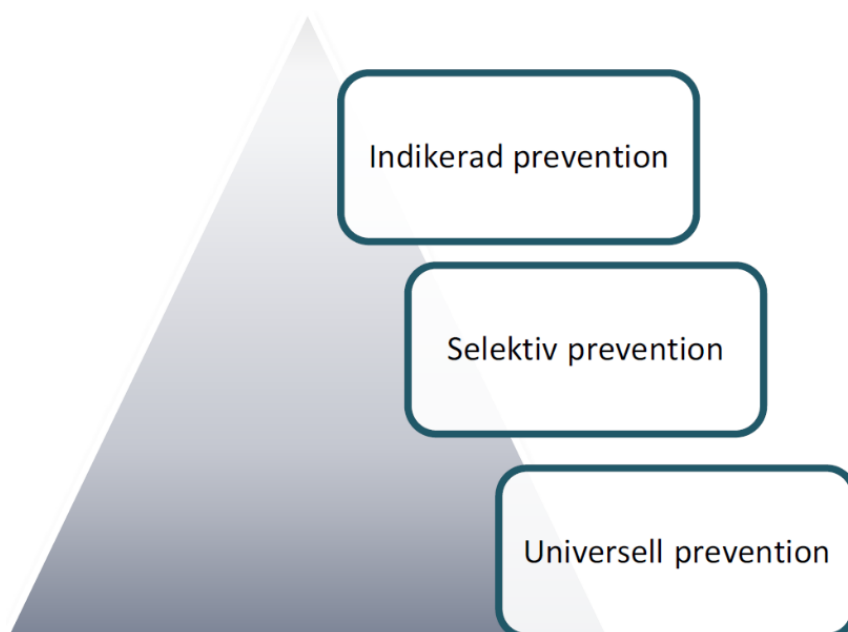


Figure 2. Levels of prevention (Malmö stad stadskontoret 2013:11)

The descriptions of the levels of prevention are the closest the text gets to outlining the practice for interventions and to point out the object for the intervention. It does bring up a social and geographic dimension of the policy, where certain defined – or entire – areas or demographics can become diagnosed as the reason for what the implementors of the policy deem as unwanted. The blemish of place and the opening for penalization of certain spaces is visible in the discourse. Even more so as the universal prevention, where entire populations (or supposedly groups) are to be targeted, is figuratively seen as the base of the level pyramid (Figure 2) which could be interpreted as if it is the fundamental and primary action that should be taken.

In the remaining parts of the texts, rather than discussing crime and crime prevention, the terms safety and security are used. However, there is no specific definition of safety and security, as they conclude that:

The perception of safety and security is individual and situation dependent. It thus differs between different individuals and groups in the population, and for an individual the experience can vary depending on the situation and geographical location.

(Malmö stad stadskontoret 2016:7)

Recurring in texts is how safety and security is seen as a perception. Perceptions could suppositionally be shared, but a perception is ultimately something happening inside an individual. As discussed by Magnus Hörnqvist (2004), how you experience different situations, what feels unsafe for you, is dependent on your habits, background, preconceptions, your relation to the place where the situation occurs and the people attending and uncountable more mechanisms. This directs attention to the relationship between the individual experience and practices of the authorities – the mechanisms and the structures of security provision. What is obscured in the policies, who and what groups and areas that are going to be subject to the intervention, depends on what the authorities believe is the largest source of the feeling of insecurity. Their judgement will rely on what questions they ask and whose answers they will listen to. Therefore, the performed interventions must be analyzed in terms of their reliance and its impact on the

social structures as a whole – the reproduction of capital accumulation, structural racism, patriarchy and other power structures that shape society – to fully understand the authorities' choice of interventions and their effect.

In order to investigate the interventions and how the policy texts are consumed, the analysis will henceforth zoom in on the practical work of the department for safety and security and the actors they cooperate with. I will also narrow the analysis down to the neighborhood Möllevången, which has been chosen by the department for safety and security as the arena for the most intense and multifaceted policing in Malmö.

5 Policing Möllevången

The neighborhood Möllevången has been selected as a test area for a, for Malmö, new model of policing. There, the local authorities have initiated both private policing and a multi-agency model for community policing, as well as efforts to redevelop the physical environment in public space in order to make the area feel safer. In this chapter, a brief historical overview of the neighborhood is presented, in order to situate the policing in its historical context. From there, a review of the latest safety survey is made to get an understanding of the contemporary situation of crime and crime prevention on Möllevången.

5.1. Möllevången as the site for policing

Möllevången is an area of 53 hectares and located in the central parts of Malmö (see Figure 3) and is home to nearly 11 000 of Malmö's 350 000 inhabitants (Hansen 2019). Möllevången was originally built in the beginning of the 20th century, on what was earlier arable land with a particularly large number of windmills (hence the name, which in Swedish means 'the mill croft'), as a response to the growing industry and the increasing need for dwellings for the workers. Möllevången was the first large-scale area built in Malmö for industrial workers, and in the early days of Möllevången, the neighborhood was seen as one of the better areas of Malmö to live in for the working class (Nyzell 2009). In the 1940s and 1950s, however, the social composition of Möllevången changed. New high-rises were built in the suburbs, and the families who could afford moving there often did as many of the dwellings in Möllevången had not kept up with the times and lacked modern facilities such as heating and toilets with running water. In 1965, Möllevången had the highest crime rates in Malmö and the neighborhood was continuously portrayed as a slum during the 1970s and 1980s. Many flats stood empty in the 1980s and 1990s, and the cheap rents attracted immigrant

families to move there, and later on also youths, students, and cultural workers (Hansen 2019).



Figure 3. Map of Möllevången in Malmö. The administrative definition of the neighborhood of Möllevången marked in black, in both the zoomed in version and in the perspective view of the whole city of Malmö. Map: Carolina Pettersson. Data source: Malmö stadsbyggnadskontor 2020

Nowadays, Möllevången is often talked about as the representative of the diverse Malmö. Dalia Mukhtar-Landgren (2005) describes Malmö as a ‘dual city’, as it is partly described as a sustainable and creative knowledge city but on the other hand as a troubled multi-cultural city. Even though Mukhtar-Landgren describes the city of Malmö as a whole, the development is represented in Möllevången. The area is subject to urban renewal, place marketing and an upgrade of the social composition. At the same time 48.5% of its inhabitants having a foreign background as of 2022 (SCB 2023). It is also considered a disadvantage area with poverty, high unemployment rates and high levels of social assistance. It is often portrayed as dangerous, with open drug dealing and more violence than in the rest of the city (Hansen 2022). At the same time, the

neighborhood is associated with a strong leftist community, a rich night life, a successful outdoor market and being a gathering point for everything from football fans to demonstrations.

Previous studies have suggested that Möllevången recently has been subject to a gentrification process (Hansen 2019). Christina Hansen (2019) argues that Möllevången with its central geographical location and formerly strong stigmatization has formed opportunities for profitable redevelopment. Additionally, she argues that Malmö's general transformation from being an industrial city to being a so-called knowledge city have convened a larger number of middle-class professionals who crave a vital city center life, and that Möllevången's alternative and international style forms the ability to attract 'the creative class'. One way the transformation could be noticed is the development of a new underground railway that since 2010 has a stop just a short walk from the Möllevången square. The stop has allowed residents in and near Möllevången to easily commute to larger parts of Scania and the Copenhagen area. The development has come with rises in rents for both residential dwellings and for business premises, and there have been large-scale conversions from rental dwellings to ownership flats – every seventh rental flat was converted between the years of 2004 and 2012 (Hansen 2019).

5.2. The safety of Möllevången reported

The duality of Möllevången is represented in the latest 'safety report', a safety survey conducted by the police. The results from the survey have been retrieved through communication with the regional police department and are presented in Appendix 1. The survey is composed of eight different categories of which the police have asked the people of Malmö about. The categories and questions are predetermined, and it is not possible for the respondents to answer outside of the predetermined topics. The first category is 'outdoor environment', where littering and vandalism are indicators. The second category is 'addiction problems' where drunk or drugged people in public spaces and in residential houses and drug

dealing are indicators. The third category is ‘outdoor disturbances’ with the indicators of violence, women being molested and youth gangs squabbling and fighting, in addition to traffic disturbances such as speeding and joyriding. Further, the report examines categories more closely connected to crime, such as ‘exposure to crime’, with indicators such as exposure to violence, theft, vandalism, fraud and threat. In the same category, it examines how many who have not been subject to crime at all. The next category is ‘fear of crime’, with indicators such as worry for being burgled or having your vehicle vandalized, or for being abused. The most extensive category is the one called ‘concrete feeling of insecurity’, with indicators such as the feeling of safety in late nights, fear of specific people, on bars, on events and meetings or on public transports. The last two categories concern actions taken by the police and the neighbors, in which the indicators include if they feel like the police care about the problems and the cohesiveness in the neighborhood.

The result of the survey shows that the first three categories, ‘outdoor environment’, ‘addiction problems’ and ‘outdoor disturbances’, have much higher values in Möllevången than in Malmö in general. Apparently, the indicators selected are troublesome for a large part of the population, and more than half of the respondents find littering, vandalism, rowdy youth gangs and speeding cars to be a problem. 20 percent finds it disturbing that there are alcoholics and drug users residing in the dwellings. 95 percent of the respondents have experienced at least one of the indicators. 80 percent of the respondents answered that they have been worried for some kind of crime.

One of the brighter parts of the survey we find within the category of ‘concrete feeling of unsafety’. The results of the eight different indicators have become significantly better compared to surveys performed earlier years, in addition to not being significantly worse than in the city as a whole. In the latest survey, two indicators are slightly below standard and only one indicator – the fear of specific persons – has a value significantly below standard. Additionally, there are indicators, such as the public transport, where people at Möllevången feel safer than in the rest of Malmö. The only category however where all the values are

higher than in Malmö in general is the category dealing with the police – 71 percent of the respondents feel like the police do care about the local problems.

These results can be interpreted in many ways, with the most obvious interpretation being that people in Möllevången experience more phenomena that are considered by the police to be unsafe. This does however not correspond directly to the degree to which people feel unsafe, according to the answers in the category ‘concrete feeling of unsafety’ in the survey. Nor does it correspond to the fact that crime is reported to decrease in Malmö in general and so too in Möllevången (interview 26-05-23). The factor that the perception of safety is individual could be one part of an explanation for this discrepancy. The individual perceptions of safety of the Möllevången residents are presumably affected by the historical and economic context of the area. It is a neighborhood with a high degree of diversity and to many people it is counted as accepting of non-normative behavior (Hansen 2019). Due to its cultural and ethnical diversity, both prejudice and cultural biases could make people feel unsafe when exposed to cultures of which they are not themselves part. Additionally, the area is a melting pot where a lot of residents from the whole Malmö visit, it is an eventful place where a lot of people meet.

Some feelings of unsafeness could partly be a question of culture clashes in a changing neighborhood. As Håkan Thörn (2013) argues, contested places are often associated with both strong negative conceptions and strong positive ones. Where a drunk punk, a leftist activist, a Roma migrant or a rowdy teenager feel at their safest, a middle class parent leaving their kid at daycare might feel as unsafe as they will ever feel. The competing stories of what Möllevången is and has been affects the different beliefs in how we should go about the feeling of unsafeness. Doreen Massey (1995) states in her essay “Places and Their Pasts” that one place and its pasts are open to a multiplicity of readings and affect the claims and counterclaims of the present character of it. If you have experienced, or heard of, Möllevången as a dangerous and unsafe place you would want authorities to take control over it. If you have experienced Möllevången as a diverse working class area with a strong alternative, leftist, international and anti-racist community but with social and economic challenges, that same control might threaten the whole

sense of place but also the people certain others see as contributing to the feeling of insecurity. When addressing the issues arising, the actions will depend on what group the authorities listen to.

With the background of Möllevången having a long history of being a contested place, and a contemporary history of being considered as a site for perceived, but not necessarily felt, unsafe phenomena, I will further look into the policing practices in Möllevången. In the next chapter, I will address the policing practices performed by the local authorities.

6 Policing practices

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the policing practices with the background of Möllevången being a contested place and the shift in policing responsibility from a national to a local level. The analysis will employ the analytical framework of neoliberal urban development, taking into account the structures and mechanisms of policing.

The analysis will be carried out in two parts, divided through a conceptualization of the policing interventions made at Möllevången. In section 6.1., I will analyze the discursive processes in the municipal work when investigating the possibility to hire private security guards. In section 6.2., I will analyze the discursive and social practices of community policing. Section 6.3. consists of a summarizing discussion on the observed policing practices.

6.1. Public private policing

6.1.1. The investigations on hiring private security guards

In 2019, Malmö Municipality started an investigation to research the possibility of hiring private security guards to patrol the streets as a complement to the formal police (Malmö stad stadskontoret 2019). Until then, only train stations and semi-public places, such as the municipally owned car parks, private shopping malls and the People's Park (Folkets park) had been subject to private policing in Malmö. The topic of private security guards had been on the municipal agenda several times before 2019. Two Malmö municipal council motions on hiring security guards had been rejected and for one of the motions, a detailed investigation was carried out on the subject (Malmö stad stadskontoret 2019).

The analysis of this section, however, builds on two municipal investigation reports (Malmö stad stadskontoret 2019, 2020) and an interview (26-05-23) held

with two municipal officials in the department for safety and security. The first investigation report was written in 2019 (Malmö stad stadskontoret 2019) by officials at the safety and security department on the request of the city council. It is 38 pages long and aims to examine how the municipality could complement the work of the police with security guards. The latter investigation is 29 pages long and was completed in 2020 (Malmö stad stadskontoret 2020). It deals with the practical issues of employing security guards, such as geographical boundaries for their operation, working methods and branding strategy. This report specifically focuses on Möllevången, and more precisely Möllevångstorget, as the area to be patrolled.

6.1.2. A sceptic initiation towards a local private policing

The project to install security guards to patrol the streets of Malmö was from the beginning questioned by the municipal officials. Previous to the first investigation report, two Malmö municipal council motions on hiring security guards under municipal authority had been rejected, one in 2010 and one in 2017. In connection with the motion from 2017, the municipality conducted an investigation which did not recommend municipal employment of security guards on the basis of lack of legal support. The investigation connected to the 2017 motion concluded that the law regarding private security guards is to be changed, and so it suggested that the initiative should be postponed until the law had been adopted (interview 26-05-23).

Even though there had already been two rejected motions and one negatively tuned investigation on the subject, the municipal council proceeded with the question. Thus, the assignment to investigate further how security guards could supplement the police was given to the officials by the political organization. The subsequent investigation from 2019, conducted by the same officials who had previously expressed doubts about the approach, examines the relationship between the state and local authorities in terms of (in)security in public spaces with the goal of finding a common structure for increasing security. The investigation also examines how the municipality could complement the work of

the police with so-called municipal security guards. In the investigation report from 2019, as well as in the interview, a distinction is made between the municipality's work on safety and security and the police's crime prevention work. It is recognized, however, that the initiative is "rooted in the interface between local and central government in terms of responsibility for security in the public environment" (Malmö stad stadskontoret 2019:6). The statement suggests that the report seeks to determine the boundary between state and municipal responsibilities, aiming to approach that line without crossing it in order to understand the extent to which the municipality can engage in those responsibilities.

The investigation report declares several concerns about the employment of guards. The report concludes that research has shown that private actors generally are not considered to increase security to the same extent as, for example, municipal social workers:

Attempts to protect the city's public spaces may, in practice, have the opposite effect. A city needs spaces that are not completely controlled or sanitized, that are open to social interactions between individuals from different generations, genders, classes, lifestyles and cultures. However, it requires that the spaces are created or regulated so that that no single group takes over the public space.

(Malmö stad stadskontoret, 2019:20)

Further, the investigation report from 2019 highlights a limitation to the private police compared to state police, particularly in terms of education. Private security guards in Sweden receive 106 hours of necessary training from the state police, which recently has been extended from 80 hours of training. The examination of the security guards is in three parts, one physical test, one language test and one interview aimed at assessing the suitability of the aspirant. This could be compared to the police education, which is two years of full-time studies including courses in law as well as in psychology and sociology. The theoretical courses are followed by a term of practical work, during which the trainee police officer must work in the police service and then be approved by their supervisor. The investigation

report emphasizes that the preparedness of security guards could be questioned, given the length of training.

Another inherent challenge lies in the fact that private security guards are hired by private companies, which, as highlighted in the report, may hold distinct interests separate from those of the municipality:

The security industry is a private for-profit actor, while the municipality and the state operates for the city's inhabitants and have this as their stated mission. By attributing such a mission to a private actor, there is a risk that individuals' trust in municipal and state actors will decrease.

(Malmö stad stadskontoret 2019:29)

The investigation report stresses the importance of considering the appropriateness of departing from the principle of the police's monopoly of using violence, as this would entail that municipalities uses their budget to employ security guards with a much lower level of training than the police, instead of the state using their budget to employ higher educated policemen.

Ultimately, the summarized evaluation of the 2019 investigation report does not encompass a broader endorsement for the use of private security guards; it merely suggests that security guards could serve as a complement to the police in situations involving disorderly conduct. Even though the investigation report highlighted several vulnerabilities and just barely recommended to employ private security guards, and even though legal support was lacking, the municipal politicians pushed through a proposal to investigate a suitable organization for municipally hired security guards in the municipal council in February 2020 (Malmö stad 2020).

Subsequently, the municipality commenced a new investigation which was finished in September 2020. This investigation was to serve as the foundation for an application to the police department, requesting a special permit for the deployment of security guards within a specified geographical area. In the report from 2020, the investigation identifies Möllevången, and more specifically the area around Möllevångstorget, as the designated area for this operation. The

geography for the project was not suggested in the city council decision. However, it is mentioned in the interview that the neighborhood was selected together with the police due to the high amount of police incident reports and the high results in the police safety report.

Given that the law usually governs the deployment of security guards in areas for public events and gatherings, places of alcohol consumption, or recreational spaces – categories Möllevångstorget does not fit into – the investigation had to justify the specific need for security guards in this location in order to get a special permit. In essence, the motivation for this initiative was drawn from police incident reports and a general problem scenario, with a specific focus on issues related to insecurity and drug trafficking. The application based on the investigation from 2020 resulted in an approved special permit and since June 2021 Möllevången got four security guards and a team leader patrolling Möllevångstorget and adjacent streets, namely Kristianstadsgatan, Södra Parkgatan, Sofielundsvägen and Bergsgatan.

6.1.3. The discourses towards municipal security guards

During the process from the rejected motions to the hiring of private security guards, a shift in discourse can be observed. First, we can follow a change in attitude towards the employment of security guards in the process, as the first motions were rejected with the basis of the negatively tuned investigation from 2017. The 2019 investigation report was also heavily critical of the possibilities to enhance safety and security by hiring security guards. The critical standpoints were not, however, represented in the 2020 investigation report.

Connected to this change in attitude, there seems to have been a change in the significance of the security guards as a concept. The values of the policy makers, well noticeable in the interview and in the 2019 investigation report, give precedence to a social approach. The prevailing problem formulation however leads to other answers, the solution of hiring private guards. This clash of discursive practices has led to a new signification process, resulting in the

formulation of a new discursive significance of private security guards hired by Malmö municipality. In the new signification, the private security guards are rebranded as ‘municipal security guards’ and are described as a combination of a social approach and a controlling approach. This signification process has led to a change in the discursive practices of municipal security work.

What is repeatedly described as the problem to be fixed is the lack of safety and security. The discourse of safety and security is strongly represented in both the 2019 investigation report and in the 2020 investigation report as well as in the interview. As the problem is described as such, the presumed solution is to remove the cause of feeling unsafe and insecure. Hence, the aim of the intervention is to decrease visible and recorded crime at Möllevångstorget and nearby streets, enhancing safety for citizens, visitors, and businesses. It specifically targets so called ‘quality-of-life’ crimes, which encompass offenses and disturbances that are presumed to impact individuals to the extent that they feel insecure in their everyday lives.

The feeling of safety is, in the 2019 investigation report, stated to be an individual and subjective feeling, depending on individual experiences and characteristics. Factors that according to the investigation contributes to an individual sense of safety are trust, confidence, participation, sustainability and social inclusion. The 2019 investigation report also suggests that external factors, such as the architecture or negative media coverage, contribute. Therefore, it claims that it is essential to first create safe public spaces and then work with individuals’ subjective perception of a place. The safety is to be conceived through strengthening social control and presence of what in the interview is termed ‘capable guardians’, a person that is expected to deter crime in public spaces. This is a term coined by Cohen and Felson (1979), who are quoted in the 2019 investigation report with reference to the routine activity theory. In the 2020 investigation report, the sense of safety is reduced to the risk of being exposed to crime and to physical factors such as overview of the physical environment, lighting and the presence of capable guardians. Hence, it is unclear how the municipality intends to work with the feeling of unsafeness besides working with crime reduction through what C. Welsh and P. Farrington (2009) would call

defensible space, even though it is – at least partly – acknowledged that the mechanisms of this might differ depending on the individuals experiencing it. The initial attempt to have a social approach prioritizing trust, participation, social inclusion and so forth in order to prevent crime is, thus, not presented in practical and operational terms in the 2020 investigation report, which is the report describing how the work will be carried out in practice.

One of the outcomes of the shift from a focus on social remedies has been the changed signification of the security guards as a concept. The 2019 investigation report was highly focused on the social function of the guards. In the interview, it was also mentioned that the concerns about security guards being ill-equipped for the role of ‘social workers’ due to their limited education were addressed by actively engaging in additional education for the hired security guards. With the additional course, the municipality strives to supplement the rather short education the guards already have with knowledge on social work, the Malmö municipality values and so on. Moreover, the municipal officials have developed a handbook for the security guards, where one can find information on where the closest shelter is or phone numbers to important institutions. Hence, the municipal officials have made efforts to work around the limitations the private guards were feared to have regarding suitability for the mission of working socially. In the interview (26-05-23) it is mentioned that security guards generally have a bad reputation, and the municipality therefore worked on marketing the security guards as ‘municipal security guards’. This is not a formal designation, but a branding used for profiling and introducing the guards to residents, visitors and entrepreneurs, and the security guard project is supported by a communications and advertising agency for this purpose.

In the 2020 investigation report, forcible policing is a topic. The forcible elements include expulsions, removals and detentions of persons disturbing public order. However, it is emphasized several times that the security guards are not allowed to use more force than needed, even if the person they handle would act ‘badly’ or resist. Even though it is implied that force is a big part of the security guards work, the investigation suggest that the guards are supposed to create security through visibility, contact, prevention, advice and guidance, general

information and external inspection of municipal buildings. The guards are also supposed to clean the streets from objects that can be used as violent implements. Through that, the municipality wants to “influence individuals and specific locations with the goal of reducing possible criminogenic situations” (Malmö stad stadskontoret 2020:11). Visibility is one of the most outspoken strategies, and the 2020 investigation report claims that the guards should be visible every 20-60 minute for people who spend time in the square or adjacent streets. This could be connected to the emphasis on capable guardians, and what is mentioned in the investigation as the routine activity theory, as developed by Cohen and Felson (1979).

Thus, the interdiscursivity between the desired social aspects of policing, initially prioritized by the officials, and the forceful elements of security guards has led to a ‘rebranding’ of the guards. Lately, the guards are repeatedly referred to as social workers or even security hosts rather than security guards. They are now said to work with ‘referral’ instead of ‘rejection’ of persons who are seen as a threat to the safety. Further, they are referred to as a service minded resource for the citizens, with a secondary purpose of keeping order (interview 26-05-23). From a later interview (10-08-23), with BID Malmö, one representative expresses their thoughts on the guards as following:

So, when you meet a guard and then do something you are not allowed to do, they tell you in a nice way. And then they say, we recommend that you do this or that because otherwise we have to do this or that. You get to know them, and if you come, as a girl, and have had a glass of wine or maybe nothing but just want to take a taxi, they can help and arrange a taxi. They can follow to the bus stop make sure there is nothing there. They help people carry bags and so on to get home, elderly people and things like that.

(Interview 10-08-23)

In the signification process, where the desired social approach prioritized by the officials has met the implementation of the city council demand on hiring private security guards, the discursive practice seems to have changed the

signification of the security guards. The guards appear to no longer be associated with the problematic aspects highlighted in the 2019 investigation report, but rather with the sought social approaches, rebranded as capable guardians.

6.1.4. Enhanced calls for increased control

Throughout the project development, the concept of social control is a frequently recurring topic. For example: “social control is defined by the processes that make groups and individuals act according to the agreed norms, rules and values of the prevailing society” (Malmö stad stadskontoret 2019:25). In the report, social control is divided into ‘informal’ control, the control we perform on each other in a society, and the ‘formal’ control, performed by authorities and police. Further, in the 2020 investigation report, it is stated:

A low degree of social control, meaning a lack of affiliation with individuals in their environment, increases crime in society. A high level of social control leads instead to conformity, which means that individuals adapt and crime in society decreases. In general, informal, and also formal social control is lacking in places where there are disoriented groups, where resources are scarce or where norms are not followed. (...) If there is a general increase in insecurity and crime, formal social control may be perceived as inadequate and questioned. In such situations, according to Hinkel and Weisburd, society must take action to show that it has control over the situation and the power to maintain law and order, otherwise it can lead to mistrust and individuals questioning those who control and own the monopoly of violence in society.

(Malmö stad stadskontoret 2020:25,26)

Firstly, there is an unsubstantiated argument that lack of affiliation with society leads to crime. It does not consider other potential underlying reasons for disengagement from the social community or for criminal behavior. Further, to aim for conformity and a uniform adaptation to norms leads ones thought to what Iris Marion Young (1990) conceptualize as cultural imperialism, which includes

when the experience and culture of a dominant groups becomes universalized and established as the norm. The experience of cultural imperialism could be described as the dominant meanings of society rendering one group's perspective invisible while stereotyping and marking it as the 'other'. What should be the norms and how we form them is not considered in the investigation. The last statement on how society should handle places and 'disoriented' groups who do not conform could additionally be considered promoting a rather violent method of taking back the power and control over the city.

It is, overall, a two-parted picture the municipality presents of the security guard project. The project has fragments of violence against 'non-normative' behavior through increased control and relies to an extent on the concepts of defensible space and the routine activity theory. Other parts of the investigations present a nuanced picture of the potential disadvantage of security guards, a perspective that is also partly addressed in the implementation. Somewhat, the discourse on the importance of control and visibility conflicts with the reluctance to the use of forceful policing under the authority of the municipality, where the officials has made an effort to prevent a potential escalation of forceful policing by reshaping the functions of the guards.

The conflicts, or the interdiscursivity, between discursive practices have affected the order of discourses and the hegemony within the field of policing in Malmö. Even though the conflict between the political will from the local government to use private security guards and the officials desire to have a social approach landed in a discursively changed function of the guards, the hegemonial struggle leading up to this seems to have brought us closer to an increased emphasis on social control of both formal and informal nature. When the officials are stating their reluctance to raise the formal control, there is a strong advocacy for prioritizing informal control. There is also a more outspoken municipal responsibility for this control.

With the change in hegemony regarding an enhanced focus on social control comes a possible change in the structure of policing. The necessary relation between the policing authorities, previously first and foremost the police, and the

policed residents could be affected by the changed practices. The answer to the question of ‘who is policing’ started to change by virtue of hiring private security guards. Further, the focus on social control might have changed how the policing actors relate to the policed residents. To look further into this, I will research the continued expansion of actors engaged in the policing practices in Möllevången.

6.2. Community policing

6.2.1. Collaboration Möllan

In 2019, the department for safety and security started a collaboration project to complement the security guard intervention. The focus for the project has been to create an arena for cooperation between different actors in the neighborhood of Möllevången, with the aim of making the area safer. The project is not to be found on the Malmö stad home page, nor in any of the policy documents I have analyzed. Thus, the analysis of this section builds on a participatory observation at a collaboration meeting on the 31st of May 2023, and on the interview with the officials at the department of safety and security on 26th of May 2023.

Similar to the security guard project, the safety and security department, in collaboration with the police, selected the neighborhood of Möllevången as the site for the project due to its notable frequency of incident reports and insecurity. The officials do however claim that it is not a vulnerable area, but rather an area with a lot of activity and therefore it is more exposed to public order disturbances. One part of the project has been to create a physical space to meet, namely a former business premises which now serves as office, detention room and starting point for the guard operations as well as the meeting place for the collaboration project. Both the physical space and the intervention are named ‘collaboration Möllan’.

The other major component of the project is collaboration meetings. For the past two years, around 25 actors have been meeting every other Wednesday. At the meeting I had the opportunity to attend (observation 31-05-23), twelve of those actors were represented, namely the municipal office, BID Malmö, the security

guards, the property and street office, the parking guards, the youth center Fryshuset, the police, the red cross Malmö, the environment department, the Swedish church, SSPF (school, social services, police and free time departments in cooperation) and the social services. The agenda consisted of three points, ‘What do we see and what do we do?’, ‘What can we contribute?’ and ‘What are our current needs?’. The following discussions were quite practical, and the topics were rather specific. There were de-briefings from civil society actors such as the red cross and the youth center Fryshuset regarding summer events and festivities, but most of the discussions from the institutional actors concerned mischiefousness. One large talking point revolved around an internet café and the young people using it. Another point concerned a parking house roof top, which happened to be the parking lot where the environment department park their cars, where young people were hanging out. As the points were discussed, groups were formed to develop measures against the specific issues.

6.2.2. The implementation of the prevention pyramid

In the interview with the security and safety department officials, one of the main reasons mentioned for working collaboratively was the increased ability to address all levels of prevention (see Figure 2). One main purpose of the collaboration project is thereby coordination, to ensure that not all actors work at the same level and to complement each other in order to take a holistic approach. When looking at the implementation of the model from the 2013 safety and security policy, it is possible to analyze how the consumption of the text is realized. The actors using, or in the words of Fairclough – consuming, the safety and security policy has put the model into practice. As in the case of the young people on the roof of the parking garage, the collaboration Möllan works through the parking guards who surveil and evict the youths. This could be considered addressing the first level, the indicated prevention. On the second level of prevention, the selective prevention, the collaboration engages the environment department for an examination of permits and compliance of the area’s ‘rogue traders’, businesses the actors in the collaboration consider to be frivolous. This in order to discover

from where the youth get presumed intoxicating substances. Further, the third level of universal prevention, is addressed through the general patrolling and surveillance of the area.

What is recurring in the implementation of the model, just as in the 2013 safety and security policy where the model first occurs, is the absence of attention paid to actual criminal activity, as the targets for this holistic approach does not seem to be selected on criminal criteria. Rather, the targets for intervention seems to be selected on the criteria of breaking social norms. In the texts I have analyzed, no attention was paid to what are, or should be, the social norms. Within this holistic approach where all ‘the good forces’ collaborate, it has not been addressed that different actors, especially actors who are not represented, might have different interests. Conflicts like class, race, age or culture do not seem to be considered. Instead, the policing seems to be based on the represented actor’s own perception of disruptive behaviors. The broad, and deep, scope of the intervention can potentially make life very difficult for those who fall outside that norm, whether they are a criminal or not.

6.2.3. BID Möllevången - Housing, Integration and Dialogue

One of the key actors in Collaboration Möllan is the BID Malmö, and especially the BID Möllevången. The BID organization is not only a part of the collaboration; the organizations are in themselves cooperations between different property owners. In Malmö, the BID process started in 2014 when the ‘Property Owners Sofielund’ (Fastighetsägarna Sofielund) joined together and started an organization with the purpose of developing the area. They adopted a customized variant of the BID (Business Improvement District) model, a model that first emerged through private sector led initiatives for revitalizing city centers in Canada and the US, but later on adopted in several cities across Asia, Africa and Europe, including Germany and the United Kingdoms (Valli & Hammami 2020). The BID Malmö has somewhat distanced themselves from the original idea of the BIDs and uses the abbreviation Housing, Integration and Dialogue (Boende, Integration and Dialog) instead of Business Improvement District.

Since 2019, Malmö has two local BID organizations, Sofielund and Möllevången, which operate under the umbrella organization BID Malmö. BID Möllevången consist of 30 member organizations, mostly property owners but also banks, an energy company and a popular education organization. The initiative originally came from the police, as the local police department had got indications from the police ‘National Operations Department’ (Nationella Operativa Avdelningen, NOA) that they wanted to mark the area as particularly vulnerable due to the high results in the safety report. As the property owners did not want their area to be marked as such, they started to cooperate in order to work jointly in the area to combat stigmatization. The financing of the BID organization comes partly from the property owners, who pay 9 SEK per square meter of living space up to 375,000 SEK per BID area in membership fee, and partly from the municipality which contributes with 750,000 SEK per BID a year. Besides the focus on collaboration Möllan, the following section will focus on the organization BID Möllevången and will be based on an interview held on the 10th of august 2023 with the operations manager and the operations developer for BID Malmö.

The BID organization in Möllevången is active in multiple ways in exercising informal social control in Möllevången. It has, for instance, developed a report application where members of the BID can report graffiti, disabled gates, youth hangouts or such, which the BID organization strives to address within a couple of days according to, which the interviewee themself refers to as, the broken window method (interview 10-08-23). Another common way of working within BID Möllevången is to involve the local community and the residents to decorate the area. Electric cabinets have been embellished with historical images of the area and trash cans have been painted. One of the BID representatives explains the purpose as following:

If we have young people painting a bench, it is not vandalized, because it is local artists or young people who have painted it. So that you let it last, then you don't have to repair it as often. The same thing when we decorated trash cans and other things like that. (...)

(Interview 10-08-23)

The arguments behind the intervention could be considered aligning with Newman's (1972) concept of 'defensible space', as the benches and trashcans could be seen as patches of territory now belonging to the person or community that painted them. BID Möllevången also appears to integrate techniques related to the 'eyes on the street' concept in specific places at Möllevången. One of those places is the roundabout at Kristianstadsgatan, which has been known to be a place for drug dealing. There, and at nearby streets, the BID has been a driving force behind the project 'the comic lane' (seriestråket). Within this project, the streets and the roundabout have been decorated with comic related art made by both recognized and local artists as well as school kids as a part of Malmö's initiative 'the comic city' (seriestaden).

Now we have received a flow of ordinary people and then you don't want to stand there and push drugs. So, then you put it away or try to do it more discreetly.

(Interview 10-08-23)

Another way of working has been community days at streets the property owners consider rowdy, where the police, emergency services, civil society organizations and the property owners gather to "reclaim the streets from criminal elements" (interview 10-08-23).

The methods used by the BID organization are, to a large extent, supported by neoliberal criminological arguments. Further, many of the strategies implies an increase in standard of the area, by for example decorating the public space or renovations of gates. This aligns with the wider theories of neoliberal urban development, connected to attractiveness and revitalization of central areas. With that said, the connotations to a neoliberalized urban development are not explicitly encouraged by the BID representatives:

The difference with us and other BIDs is that we want to keep the soul of the area. As they first operated in Toronto 70, and 74 in New Orleans. It was pure gentrification, get rid of the people living there, renovate, raise the rent, bring in new people. I think it was when they started working in Harlem that they started to discover, some of them – "we are losing our

soul”. So, half of Harlem is built the way we do, and half is pure gentrification. Many operate with gentrification, but we want to keep the soul.

(Interview 10-08-23)

As in the case of the private security guards, there are signs that the method chosen by the authorities are not fully supported by the officials carrying out the work. Likewise with the disclaimer of the name of the organization, BID, which no longer stands for ‘Business Improvement District’.

BID for Malmö stands for Housing, Integration and Dialogue. Important to remember. We don’t operate like many other BIDs do, which are focusing on business, the commercial side, to lift an area based on commercial aspects. But we are based on the fact that we want to ensure that residents are doing well.

(Interview 10-08-23)

Once again, we can see signs of a resignification process in the policing practices, as the officials disclaim parts of the BID strategy. Just as in the signification process towards the municipal security guards, there has been a ‘rebranding’ of the BID concept, which downplays the parts of the concept that are focused on economic development of the neighborhood. The hegemony of neoliberalism, from which the BID tradition has its origin, still seems to have had an impact on the methods used with the claim of making the city safer.

6.3. Neoliberal privatized control

An effect of the community policing and Collaboration Möllan is that parts of the control activities are delegated from the police and the municipality to a wide range of actors. With a large number of actors who are working at different levels with the same issues and within a defined geographical area with a rather small population, the targets for the interventions could possibly be marked in almost every aspect of life. Hence, to mobilize the civil society, the property owners,

social services and so on is seemingly a strategy for the municipality to share the burden of exercising social control over the area and to make the interventions more comprehensive. With the strive for decentralization and, presumably, cost reduction through a managerial work style, the outsourcing of policing could be seen as a part of the urban neoliberalization, as it aligns with several of the criteria for the new public management strategy as developed by Christopher Hood (1991). This strategy entails a transfer of responsibility from the public sector to the private sector. One example of this is the public private policing. Another example is the severe engagement in the policing of the BID organization, which is ultimately representing the landlords.

The outsourcing of controlling activities to private actors comes with a shift in power. What earlier was a question for the democratically governed municipal administrations and the state police, is now partly delegated to private security companies and property owners, who moreover receive subsidies from the municipality to exercise that control. Considering that the interests of the property owners presumably are different than their tenants and most other residents in the area, the shift in power could imply an increasing influence of capital interests over the residents influence on Möllevången.

The spatial manifestation of the private sector 'taking back' the street under their control is furthermore connected to the neoliberal assumptions that links the inhabitants of the area to criminal activities and is subjecting their everyday life to policing without any legally substantiated suspicion being established. Instead, the criteria for policing seems to be to maintain, or create a social norm through social control. Without addressing what interests the actors have, what norms they advocate and why, the policing might affect certain groups in Möllevången merely because they do not fit within the majority norms, or even the neoliberal norm of society.

7 Conclusions

This thesis has investigated policing in Malmö and its relation to urban neoliberalization, with the purpose of answering the research question: *How can we understand the ideological function of policing in the urban neoliberalization of Malmö?* This has been done through a critical discourse analysis of the practices and, by extension, the ideological function of policing.

The analysis starts in a historical contextualization of the organization of policing in Sweden. Since the 1990s, the police organization has been reorganized. A new management and governance system has been introduced that prioritizes a more focused use of police forces based on intelligence gathering. To complement the more targeted police work, a new model for collaboration with local municipalities has been established. In Malmö, the collaboration resulted in agreements between the municipality and the local police district. The agreements concluded with a greater local responsibility in terms of safety and security. In these written agreements, the thesis has identified a neoliberal discourse. The work with safety and security is justified with arguments such as attractiveness and sustainability. The argumentation is deeply connected to the recreation of Malmö as a knowledge city after its industrial decline and the strive for making the city attractive, which is a typical and necessary element of the urban neoliberalization as the attraction of capital in form of industry and well educated people is the intended approach for socio-economic development. The arguments on a sustainable city are supporting the construction of the attractive city, through the use of branding and marketing. Further, there has been an increased focus on safety and security, rather than a focus on crime or crime prevention. The shift leads the focus away from the offenders towards the situation of the crime, where whole demographics or areas can be viewed as the condition for criminal activity. The emphasis on place and certain demographics urges a critical examination of the structures and mechanisms of security provision.

In the context of changed enforcement priorities and accountability structures, the neighborhood of Möllevången has been selected for an extensive policing intervention. Möllevången is found to be a contested place, with both strong negative as well as positive connotations. Given Möllevången's vibrant atmosphere and its increasingly central location due to recent infrastructural redevelopment, coupled with economic underdevelopment, the area could be prone for an urban redevelopment process. The neighborhood is, however, construed as 'unsafe' due to its high values in the safety reports and to a high amount of police incident reports recorded in the neighborhood.

On this historical and geographic background, the thesis has investigated policing practices in Möllevången. One of the practices is the patrolling of private security guards. The municipal initiative of employing those guards were initially marked by institutional reluctance. During the process however, the idea of employing private security guards under the municipality underwent a transformation, leading to a reinterpretation and reshaping of the concept of security guards. With this discursive change, an emphasis on social control grew stronger.

To address the increased enhancement of social control, the municipality has widened the responsibility for safety and security to a multifaceted set of actors and formed a collaboration in Möllevången, in order to work jointly with security provision. The collaboration includes municipal departments, social services, schools, the civil society, churches, the police etcetera. One of the most important actors was found to be BID Möllevången, which represents the property owners.

Within the forming of new police practices, a neoliberal discourse could be traced. Even though the meanings of both the security guards, Business Improvement Districts and, to an extent, policing itself has been going through a signification process towards a 'softer' adaptation of policing performed with the residents best in mind, the methods used are backed up by neoliberal criminological arguments such as situational crime prevention and the broken window theory.

The increased emphasis on social control through these methods has expanded the range of individuals subject to policing, extended beyond those involved in criminal activities to include those who are considered to be breaking social norms. When this happens, the impact of one's characteristics becomes more significant. It will matter if you hang out at the wrong kind of internet café. It will matter if the most eligible meeting place for your friend group is a garage roof. It will matter if you have a store that the municipal officials deem as deceitful. It will matter if you are a resident in an area with a high record of criminality and unsafety.

Moreover, the growing number of actors has altered the structural dynamics between those engaged in policing and the individuals subject to policing. The addition of more policing actors has contributed to a more comprehensive and multifaceted policing approach. The people of Möllevången could possibly be subject to policing in their home by their landlord, in their schools, by their social services, in public space by security guards and so on and so forth. Through the methods of neoliberal policing, the people of Möllevången are also policed by each other, through those who embody the 'eyes on the street' or the artists who painted the trashcans. The category of 'policing actors' has come to include every one of us. The geographical and social scope of this policing project means that Möllevången residents can be exposed to policing in essentially every aspect of life. Furthermore, the outsourcing of controlling activities to private actors has led to a shift in power from the public to the private sector, which could imply an increasing influence of capital interests in the policing of Möllevången.

The private sector reclaiming control of the streets represents a spatial manifestation of neoliberal ideas linking the residents of the area with criminal activities, as whole demographics are diagnosed as the reason for the feeling of unsafeness and insecurity. Thus, the place become penalized, and residents' everyday lives become subjected to policing without any legally substantiated suspicion. Without questioning the interests of the actors performing the control, the norms those actors endorse, and the reasons behind those norms, policing might disproportionately impact certain groups in Möllevången simply because

they do not align with majority norms, nor the norms that are needed for the urban neoliberalization.

Together, this could be considered a change in hegemony and constitutes the ideological function of policing in the neoliberal city.

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Appendix 1: Resultatbild - Malmö – Södra Innerstaden - Möllevången

	2022	2021	2020_2*	2020_1*	2019	2018*	2017
Problemindex	4,05	4,11	4,08	3,89	4,22	4,68	4,05
Utemiljö	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)
Nedskräpning	68,91 (6)	70,68 (6)	74,8 (6)	71,9 (6)	72,87 (6)	79,01 (6)	66,18 (6)
Skadegörelse	57,14 (6)	54,14 (6)	55,43 (6)	60,78 (6)	64,34 (6)	70,37 (6)	58,09 (6)
Missbruksproblem	(5,5)	(5,5)	(5,5)	(5,75)	(4,75)	(5,75)	(5,75)
Berusade personer, utomhus	44,54 (6)	46,62 (6)	41,31 (6)	44,44 (6)	51,94 (6)	50,62 (6)	40,44 (6)
Narkotikapåverkade personer, utomhus	42,02 (6)	47,37 (6)	42,61 (6)	43,14 (6)	53,49 (6)	54,32 (6)	45,59 (6)
Bostäder, tillhåll för alkoholister	20,17 (5)	19,55 (5)	18,1 (5)	20,26 (5)	13,18 (3)	17,28 (5)	18,38 (5)
Bostäder, tillhåll för narkotikamissbrukare	21,01 (5)	18,8 (5)	20,64 (5)	26,8 (6)	17,83 (4)	22,84 (6)	22,79 (6)
Observerat narkotikaförsäljning i området	50,42 ()	51,13 ()	57,42 ()	56,86 ()	()	()	()
Utomhusstörningar	(5,67)	(5,5)	(5,33)	(4,5)	(5,33)	(6)	(5)
Folk bråkar och slåss, utomhus	48,74 (6)	44,36 (6)	41,94 (6)	39,22 (6)	46,51 (6)	41,98 (6)	37,5 (6)
Kvinnor antastas	31,93 (6)	30,83 (6)	26,46 (6)	28,1 (6)	31,01 (6)	30,86 (6)	25 (6)
Ungdomsgång bråkar och stör ordningen	53,78 (6)	47,37 (6)	43,91 (6)	44,44 (6)	58,91 (6)	46,3 (6)	43,38 (6)
Bilarna kör för fort	65,55 (5)	63,91 (5)	63,27 (4)	50,98 (2)	60,47 (4)	68,52 (6)	61,76 (4)
Buskörning med mopeder, mc	41,18 (5)	33,83 (4)	40,67 (5)	27,45 (2)	37,21 (4)	45,06 (6)	27,94 (2)
Trafikregler respekteras inte	50,42 (6)	59,4 (6)	45,85 (5)	45,1 (5)	57,36 (6)	56,17 (6)	55,15 (6)
Andel uppfattat minst ett problem	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(5)
Andel uppfattat minst ett problem	94,96 (6)	93,98 (6)	91,62 (6)	90,85 (6)	96,9 (6)	98,15 (6)	86,76 (5)
Utsatthet för brott	(4,17)	(3,67)	(4)	(3,33)	(3,5)	(4,33)	(4)
Under sen 12 mån varit utsatt för fysiskt våld	4,2 (5)	3,01 (4)	2,59 (3)	2,61 (3)	1,55 (2)	4,32 (5)	0,74 (2)
Utsatt för stöld	15,13 (3)	15,04 (3)	19,37 (4)	13,07 (3)	17,83 (4)	19,75 (5)	18,38 (4)
Utsatts för skadegörelse	17,65 (5)	18,05 (5)	14,21 (4)	13,07 (3)	17,05 (4)	12,96 (3)	18,38 (5)
Andel utsatts för minst ett mångdbrott	30,25 (5)	30,08 (5)	26,49 (4)	25,49 (4)	31,01 (5)	30,25 (5)	30,15 (5)
Utsatts för bedrägeri	3,36 ()	7,52 ()	5,81 ()	3,92 ()	5,43 ()	6,17 ()	1,47 ()
Utsatts för hot	9,24 (3)	6,77 (2)	10,97 (4)	9,8 (3)	6,98 (2)	11,73 (4)	11,76 (4)
Andel inte varit utsatt för något som helst brott	65,55 (4)	67,67 (3)	61,93 (5)	66,01 (4)	65,12 (4)	66,67 (4)	63,24 (4)
Anmälningsgrad	36,84 ()	23,68 ()	34,54 ()	36,17 ()	28,57 ()	36,17 ()	35,56 ()
Oro för att utsättas för brott	(3,6)	(3,8)	(3,6)	(3,4)	(4,2)	(3,8)	(4)
Att Du oroat Dig för inbrott i bostaden	34,45 (0)	42,86 (1)	45,79 (2)	39,22 (1)	48,06 (2)	40,74 (1)	44,85 (1)
Att Du oroat Dig för inbrott i förråd	48,74 (2)	56,39 (3)	54,87 (3)	48,37 (2)	57,36 (3)	54,32 (2)	55,15 (3)
Oro för att Din bil, mc, moped eller cykel	72,27 (6)	70,68 (5)	65,15 (4)	64,05 (4)	70,54 (5)	68,52 (5)	68,38 (5)
Oro för överfallen/misshandlad i området	50,42 (6)	54,14 (6)	50,97 (6)	52,94 (6)	55,81 (6)	55,56 (6)	59,56 (6)
Andel varit orolig för någon typ av brott	80,67 (4)	81,2 (4)	77,41 (3)	80,39 (4)	84,5 (5)	84,57 (5)	85,29 (5)
Konkret känsla av otrygghet	(2,5)	(3,5)	(3,5)	(3,25)	(3,88)	(4,38)	(2,88)
Trygg ute ensam sen kväll	57,14 (2)	37,59 (6)	44,54 (5)	46,41 (4)	38,76 (6)	37,65 (6)	44,12 (5)
Otrygg ute ensam sen kväll	34,45 (3)	43,61 (5)	43,85 (5)	41,18 (4)	48,06 (6)	48,77 (6)	41,18 (4)
Rädd för speciella personer i egna bostadsområdet	18,49 (4)	31,06 (6)	18,69 (4)	24 (5)	22,83 (5)	23,57 (5)	19,26 (4)
Restaurang, bar eller disco	10,92 (3)	10,53 (3)	12,28 (3)	12,42 (3)	14,73 (4)	16,05 (4)	8,82 (2)
Sportevenemang	3,36 (2)	3,01 (2)	7,76 (3)	5,88 (2)	3,88 (2)	8,02 (3)	5,88 (2)
Föreningsmöten, kurser och liknande	3,36 (2)	2,26 (2)	7,11 (4)	4,58 (3)	4,65 (3)	6,17 (4)	2,94 (2)
Åka buss eller tåg	13,45 (2)	10,53 (2)	11,65 (2)	10,46 (2)	11,63 (2)	14,81 (3)	9,56 (2)
Andel avstått från någon typ av aktivitet	17,65 (2)	16,54 (2)	16,81 (2)	19,61 (3)	20,16 (3)	24,69 (4)	14,71 (2)
Polisens agerande mot problem	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1,67)	(2,67)	(1,67)
Polisen bryr sig om de lokala problemen	71,43 (0)	63,91 (0)	68,35 (0)	73,2 (0)	60,47 (0)	58,02 (1)	63,24 (0)
Polisen bryr sig INTE om de lokala problemen	14,29 (2)	14,29 (2)	14,87 (2)	13,73 (2)	18,6 (3)	20,37 (4)	16,91 (3)
Relationskvot	20 (1)	22,35 (1)	21,76 (1)	18,75 (1)	30,77 (2)	35,11 (3)	26,74 (2)
Tillit	(5)	(3,5)	(3)	(5)	(4,5)	(4)	(4)
Boende skulle EJ agera vid slagsmål	30,25 (5)	21,05 (2)	23,24 (3)	28,76 (4)	24,03 (3)	24,69 (3)	25 (3)
Svag sammanhållning i bostadsområdet	25,21 (5)	27,07 (5)	19,4 (3)	30,72 (6)	31,01 (6)	25,31 (5)	25,74 (5)

Resultatbild – Polisområde Malmö

Problemdindex	2022	2021	2020_2	2020_1	2019	2018	2017	2016_2
	2,41	2,27	2,54	2,30	2,57	2,73	2,95	2,71
Utemiljö	(3,5)	(3,5)	(3,5)	(3,5)	(3,5)	(4)	(3,5)	(3,5)
Nedskräpning	47 (4)	48 (4)	48 (4)	46 (4)	47 (4)	48 (4)	47 (4)	43 (3)
Skadegörelse	38 (3)	37 (3)	38 (3)	37 (3)	39 (3)	41 (4)	40 (3)	41 (4)
Missbruksproblem	(2,75)	(2,5)	(2,25)	(2,25)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(2,75)
Berusade personer, utomhus	20 (3)	19 (3)	18 (2)	17 (2)	21 (3)	19 (3)	21 (3)	21 (3)
Narkotikapåverkade personer, utomhus	21 (4)	20 (3)	19 (3)	20 (3)	23 (4)	22 (4)	22 (4)	22 (4)
Bostäder, tillhåll för alkoholister	8 (2)	9 (2)	8 (2)	8 (2)	9 (2)	9 (2)	10 (2)	8 (2)
Bostäder, tillhåll för narkotikamissbrukare	9 (2)	10 (2)	9 (2)	11 (2)	12 (3)	11 (3)	11 (3)	10 (2)
Observerat narkotikaförsäljning i området	21 (1)	21 (1)	20 (1)	21 (1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Utomhusstörningar	(2,83)	(2,5)	(2,67)	(2,17)	(2,83)	(2,67)	(3)	(2,67)
Folk bråkar och slåss, utomhus	17 (3)	15 (3)	15 (3)	14 (2)	18 (3)	17 (3)	17 (3)	17 (3)
Kvinnor antastas	13 (3)	11 (2)	12 (2)	11 (2)	13 (3)	14 (3)	13 (3)	12 (3)
Ungdomsgång bråkar och stör ordningen	30 (4)	28 (3)	28 (3)	26 (3)	30 (4)	29 (3)	31 (4)	28 (3)
Bilarna kör för fort	48 (2)	47 (2)	50 (2)	46 (2)	52 (2)	52 (2)	52 (2)	50 (2)
Buskörning med mopeder, mc	26 (2)	27 (2)	30 (3)	20 (1)	28 (2)	28 (2)	26 (2)	25 (2)
Trafikregler respekteras inte	32 (3)	33 (3)	33 (3)	32 (3)	35 (3)	36 (3)	37 (4)	33 (3)
Andel uppfattat minst ett problem	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(3)	(3)
Andel uppfattat minst ett problem	79 (3)	77 (2)	78 (3)	76 (2)	81 (3)	82 (4)	81 (3)	80 (3)
Utsatthet för brott	(2,5)	(2)	(2,67)	(2,33)	(2,33)	(2,83)	(2,67)	(2,67)
Under sen 12 mån varit utsatt för fysiskt våld	1 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (3)	2 (2)	2 (2)
Utsatt för stöld	12 (3)	11 (2)	12 (3)	12 (2)	14 (3)	12 (3)	14 (3)	13 (3)
Utsatts för skadegörelse	10 (2)	9 (2)	10 (3)	9 (2)	9 (2)	11 (3)	12 (3)	11 (3)
Andel utsatts för minst ett mängdbrott	19 (3)	18 (2)	20 (3)	19 (3)	20 (3)	21 (3)	22 (3)	21 (3)
Utsatts för bedrägeri	6 (1)	6 (1)	6 (1)	5 (1)	6 (1)	7 (1)	5 (1)	6 (1)
Utsatts för hot	6 (2)	6 (2)	7 (2)	5 (2)	6 (2)	7 (2)	7 (2)	6 (2)
Andel inte varit utsatt för något som helst brott	71 (3)	75 (2)	70 (3)	71 (3)	72 (2)	70 (3)	70 (3)	69 (3)
Anmälingsgrad	36 (1)	36 (1)	38 (1)	37 (1)	38 (1)	38 (1)	37 (1)	40 (1)
Oro för att utsättas för brott	(2)	(2)	(2,4)	(2,2)	(2,4)	(2,8)	(3)	(2,8)
Att Du oroat Dig för inbrott i bostaden	40 (1)	41 (1)	42 (1)	43 (1)	44 (1)	47 (2)	47 (2)	45 (2)
Att Du oroat Dig för inbrott i förråd	45 (1)	45 (1)	46 (2)	47 (2)	49 (2)	50 (2)	53 (2)	52 (2)
Oro för att Din bil, mc, moped eller cykel	61 (3)	58 (3)	58 (3)	56 (2)	58 (3)	60 (3)	62 (3)	61 (3)
Oro för överfallen/misshandlad i området	35 (3)	35 (3)	38 (4)	38 (4)	39 (4)	39 (4)	42 (5)	41 (4)
Andel varit orolig för någon typ av brott	74 (2)	72 (2)	73 (2)	73 (2)	74 (2)	75 (3)	78 (3)	77 (3)
Konkret känsla av otrygghet	(2,13)	(2,38)	(2,63)	(2,38)	(2,63)	(2,5)	(3,25)	(2,63)
Trygg ute ensam sen kväll	56 (2)	53 (3)	52 (3)	52 (3)	51 (3)	50 (3)	48 (4)	50 (4)
Otrygg ute ensam sen kväll	32 (2)	33 (3)	33 (3)	35 (3)	35 (3)	37 (4)	39 (4)	36 (3)
Rädd för speciella personer i egna bostadsområdet	12 (2)	11 (2)	10 (2)	10 (2)	13 (3)	13 (2)	13 (3)	13 (3)
Restaurang, bar eller disco	9 (2)	8 (2)	9 (2)	9 (2)	10 (3)	10 (2)	10 (3)	8 (2)
Sportevenemang	5 (2)	4 (2)	5 (2)	5 (2)	6 (2)	5 (2)	7 (3)	6 (3)
Föreningsmöten, kurser och liknande	4 (2)	3 (2)	5 (3)	4 (2)	5 (3)	4 (2)	6 (3)	4 (2)
Åka buss eller tåg	14 (3)	14 (3)	14 (3)	13 (2)	12 (2)	13 (2)	14 (3)	12 (2)
Andel avstått från någon typ av aktivitet	18 (2)	17 (2)	19 (3)	18 (3)	18 (2)	19 (3)	21 (3)	18 (2)
Polisens agerande mot problem	(1,33)	(1,33)	(1,33)	(1,33)	(1,33)	(1,67)	(2)	(2,33)
Polisen bryr sig om de lokala problemen	56 (1)	54 (1)	54 (1)	57 (1)	54 (1)	52 (1)	50 (2)	46 (2)
Polisen bryr sig INTE om de lokala problemen	12 (2)	11 (2)	11 (2)	10 (2)	12 (2)	13 (2)	14 (2)	15 (2)
Relationskvot	21 (1)	21 (1)	20 (1)	18 (1)	23 (1)	26 (2)	28 (2)	32 (3)
Tillit	(2,5)	(2,5)	(3)	(3)	(2,5)	(2,5)	(3)	(0)
Boende skulle EJ agera vid slagsmål	21 (2)	21 (2)	21 (3)	22 (3)	21 (2)	21 (2)	23 (3)	(1)
Svag sammanhållning i bostadsområdet	17 (3)	16 (3)	16 (3)	19 (3)	18 (3)	17 (3)	18 (3)	(1)