

MALMÖ

A REINTERPRETATION OF PEOPLE'S HOME

TOWARDS INCLUSIVE PUBLIC SPACE



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“

The basis of the home is commonality and mutuality. A good home is not aware of any privileged or slighted, no darlings and no stepchildren. You see no one despise the other, no one who tries to gain advantage of others... In the good home you find compassion, cooperation, helpfulness.

”

Per Albin Hansson, Swedish Prime Minister, 1932-1946

PREFACE

This report is the final work of my Master's program Urbanism at the Technical University of Delft. With a bachelor degree in Landscape Architecture, this Master's program has been a way to expand my field of knowledge with a more social side. Therefore, from the beginning of this project, I knew that I wanted to work with social transformations within the city. The project combines research and design to describe and explore the city of Malmö, a city continuously in transition.

The interest for a Scandinavian city is not surprising, after having lived in Copenhagen for almost a year. Urban developments going on in the Nordic cities fascinated me already for a while. Copenhagen and Malmö seem to be connected more and more which brings advantages but also challenges. Similar developments are going on in both cities increasing its international character with large scale developments and spectacular architecture. In 2015 Malmö experienced one of the toughest challenges for a city to face in our time. It was the point of arrival for a vast majority of refugees and asylum seekers in Sweden, up to 10.000 in one week. At the same time, it seems that many of the European countries arrived in a new political era. Our societies seem to divide along national or group identities, resulting in a continuously rising political right wing. Even in Sweden this is the case, the country of social right movements and equality for all. Together, all these transformations influence city life, and there is no chance that this is without any clashes.

The spatial, social and political dynamics turn Malmö into an interesting case. As a future urbanist, I think our role is to bring these dynamics together and understand the larger context before developing new places. We need to have the skills to understand both the interactions and sensitivities between people and their environment and use it to create future transformations. In the end, people are the main actor in the city who undergo the (future) changes. All people have contrasting needs, and experience and engage with the physical environment in a different way. They all have the same rights to be part of the urban society and to be in the public space.

Before wishing you enjoyment reading this report, I would like to thank a few people for their belief and support. The completion of my thesis would not have been possible without them.

First of all, I would like to thank my mentors Gerdy Verschuure-Stuip and Arie Romein. Gerdy, you have been such a support for me during the most turbulent times this year. I appreciate your motherly advices to keep balance between study time and leisure time and to put everything into perspective. Your belief was often more than mine. Besides I appreciate your critical attitude which was very much needed to let me focus and get to the essence of the story. I will not forget the day we wore the same outfit and people were looking at us like it was on purpose. A pity we did not make a picture. Arie, from the beginning the combination of your enthusiasm and stability pushed me to go further. When I explained my research proposal, you were immediately on board and helped me to give the project more focus. We discussed interesting books and articles that showed me a total different side of urbanism of which I had no clue before.

Jet and Twan, and all the other graduate students of Urbanism, thanks for sharing this journey with you. It made this year much more fun and enjoyable. My roomies and friends, thanks for always being there for me, spending my precious time with you during this year has been very valuable. Last but not least, thanks to my family for the support and opportunities throughout my whole study. I am happy to have this in my pocket now.

Please enjoy reading this report!

Marit Schavemaker
Delft, January 2018

SUMMARY

This thesis project on a changing society in the context of Malmö brings together social, spatial and political dynamics. The project is structured in five chapters, respectively 1. investigating the spatial and social processes, 2. historical urban development of Malmö, 3. development of the divide: Hyllie, Holma and Kroksbäck, 4. prospects for more inclusive cities, 5. developing inclusive design in between Hyllie, Holma and Kroksbäck.

The investigation of the social and spatial processes outlines the changing society and urban space of Malmö within the large context of globalisation, migration and urbanisation. The city has been transformed from an industrial city towards a knowledge society with a focus to become an attractive, environmental friendly city. On the other hand, the city struggles with challenges related to ethnic and cultural diversity, increasing inequalities and a changing political climate. Besides, the restructuring of the welfare state plays an important role and has reinforced these challenges. The contradictory developments are experienced in the collective urban life in public space with increasing segregation and exclusion. Especially between the new large scale development in Hyllie and the deprived neighbourhoods Holma and Kroksbäck. A spatial and social divide is created with the development of Hyllie focussing on international, economic growth, while Holma and Kroksbäck are dealing with welfare issues related to multiculturalism.

A prospect to foster an inclusive city is shaped highlighting the process and design of inclusion and a transition towards a 'participation society'. A development model explains the aspects of an inclusive public space which links public space to a public culture. Finally, an inclusive design is developed between Hyllie, Holma and Kroksbäck, with the conceptual reinterpretation of a political metaphor 'people's home'. Back in the 1930s, it was a way to describe the country as a 'home', where everyone is equal and contributes to the society. This project takes the spatial aspects of a home literally, by creating a structure of 'rooms' with their own space and function. The design builds up over time and many people and organisations have to participate. Creating this place in between two fundamentally different areas and social groups is an idealised scenario of the future, where inequality is reduced and perceptions about others are changed. It is a way to imagine a city where people have learned to live with each other.

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INTRODUCTION

CHALLENGES OF OUR TIME

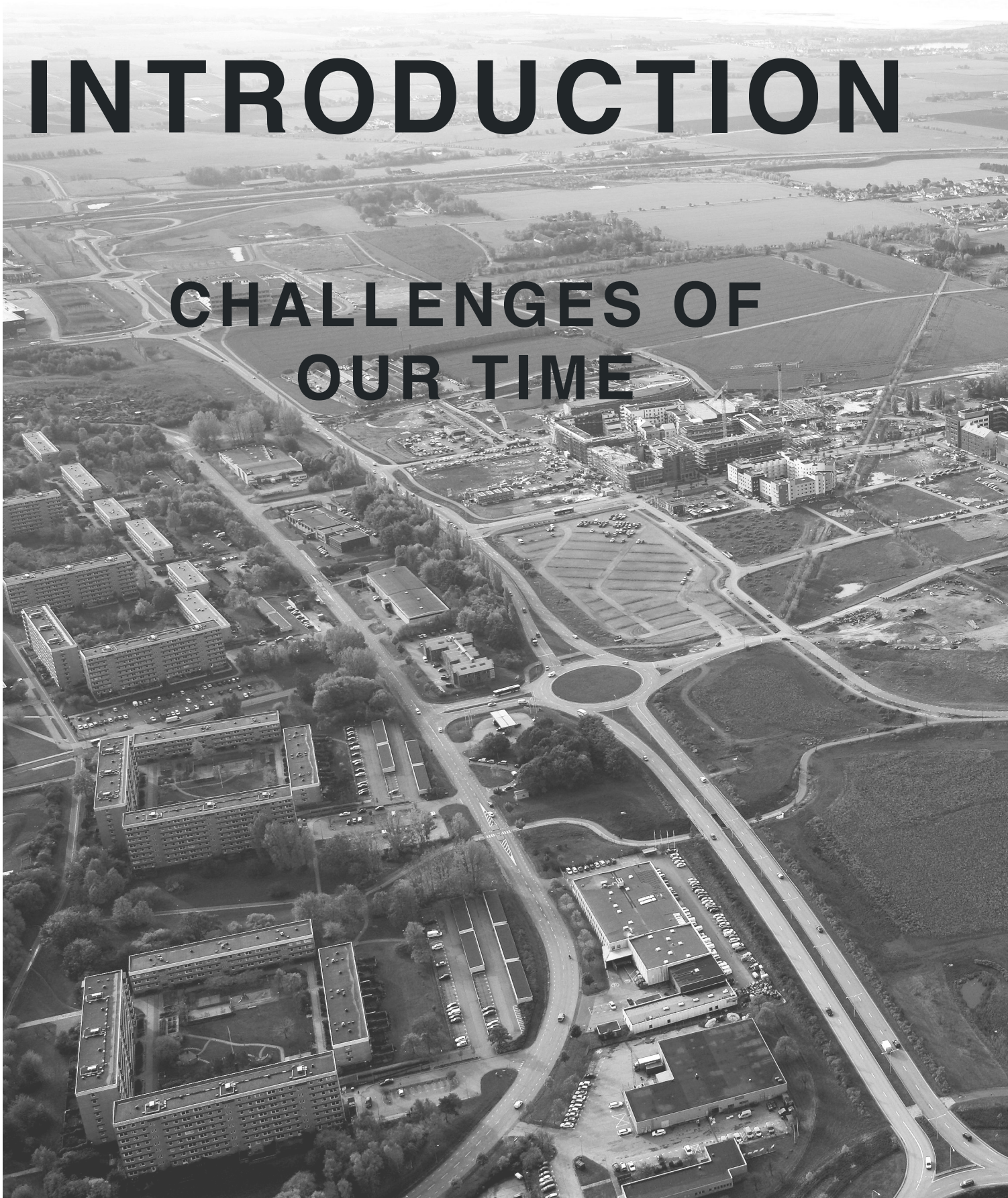




Fig. 1: The new development in Hyllie, with a large traffic place in front (Nordeng, 2016a)

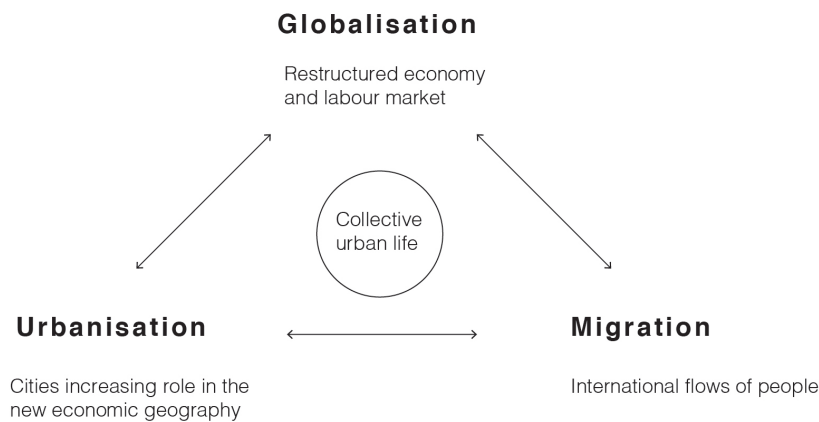


Fig. 2: Drivers of the great transformation (Image by author, based on Abrahamsson, 2015)

Social transformations

Many Western cities were centres of social transformations in the last decades. The figure 2 above shows how these social transformations were influenced and reinforced by the processes of globalisation, migration and urbanisation. These processes have a major effect on the cities and their role and function within these dynamics. Several consequences are increasing diversity, increasing inequalities between groups and places and a lack of political representation, experienced in city life ([Lefebvre, 1984] in Righard, Johansson & Salonen, 2015).

These consequences are reinforced by the restructuring of the welfare state. Scandinavian countries were generally seen as extensive, universal welfare states with high income taxes,

substantial welfare services and relatively low levels of inequality. Access to social protection and social rights were an essential part of that, but changed during the restructuring of the welfare state.

This research analyses the social transformations in the city interdisciplinary and on different scales in order to discover how the contemporary collective urban life is influenced, in public space. In the next pages is explained what the processes of globalisation, migration and urbanisation meant for Sweden and Malmö more specific. Thereafter, the consequences of increasing diversity, increasing inequality and the changing political climate are described, with new challenges and potentials for collective urban life.



Fig. 3: Malmö University, Öresund bridge, Turning Torso and Hyllie Station (Image by author)

Globalisation

Globalisation processes intensified in the 1980s and 1990s, which led to a shift from the world's economic epicentre in the West moving towards the East and the South, increasing a multipolar world order. Flows of capital and labour across national boundaries emerged and European societies tried to maintain their position by becoming knowledge societies (Abrahamsson, 2015). The role of the state changed and urban policies adopted a neoliberal approach to attract companies, investments and inhabitants (Madureira & Baeten, 2016). Urban development, planning and government were pushed towards a market-oriented direction (Tasan-Kok, 2012). These processes reshaped many cities in the Western world. A variety of terms is used to describe the changes, including (post)Keynesian, (post)industrial, (post)Fordist or entrepreneurial, neoliberal, creative, consumer or knowledge city (Holgersen, 2015). All of them highlight different aspects of the changes and processes going on.

Malmö has done surprisingly well in mobilising the necessary resources to become an attractive, competitive node in the global network. Many investments in IT and advanced technology have reversed the economic stagnation of the 1990s and reshaped the city into an attractive and forward-looking green knowledge city (Abrahamsson, 2015). The processes are visible in the architectural makeover of the city. In 1998 a new university opened and in 2001 experimental housing projects were built in the former Western Harbour area. The most important development has been the opening of the Öresund bridge in 2000. It connects Malmö with Copenhagen in Denmark, facilitating crossings by car and train. The airport Kastrup just outside Copenhagen is located close to the bridge, only eighteen minutes by train from the city centre of Malmö. Since 2010 a city-tunnel connects the Öresund bridge and the inner city centre for trains, with two new stations: Hyllie and Triangeln (Nylund, 2014), see the pictures on the left in figure 3.



Fig. 4: In 2015 Sweden took more refugees in per capita than any other country in Europe (Independent, 2016)

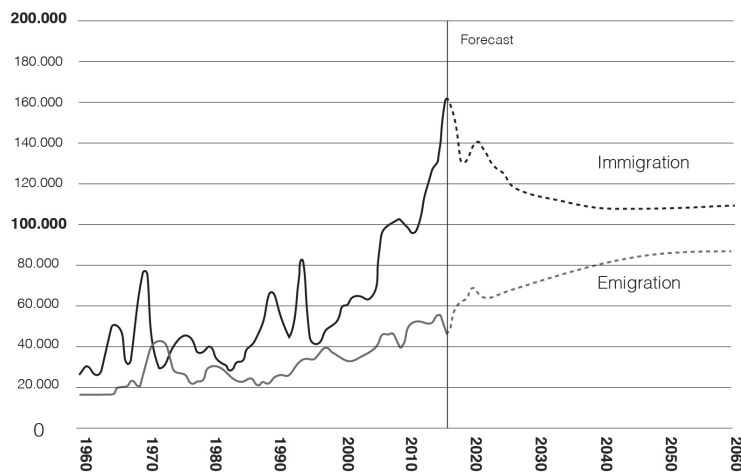


Fig. 5: Immigration and emigration in Sweden (Image by author, based on SCB, 2017)

Migration

The processes of globalisation had a strong impact on the pattern of migration, which is the flow of people between different places in global times (Abrahamsson, 2015). Populations became more mobile and migration less permanent. Cities attract new inhabitants with job opportunities and a modern lifestyle, as well as social networks and meeting places.

Migration flows to Sweden since the Second World War are accelerating in the last three decades. It has been an important aspect of the Swedish welfare state to extend their social rights to foreign citizens (Abrahamsson,

2015) and accept many refugees. From all Scandinavian countries, Sweden has received the most migrants in the post-war period and their national integration policy can be described as inclusive (Righard et al, 2015). During the 1990s, Sweden had a generous intake of refugees from war countries and these numbers continued to increase until 2015, when Sweden had more than 160.000 asylum requests (SCB, 2017), see figures 4 and 5.

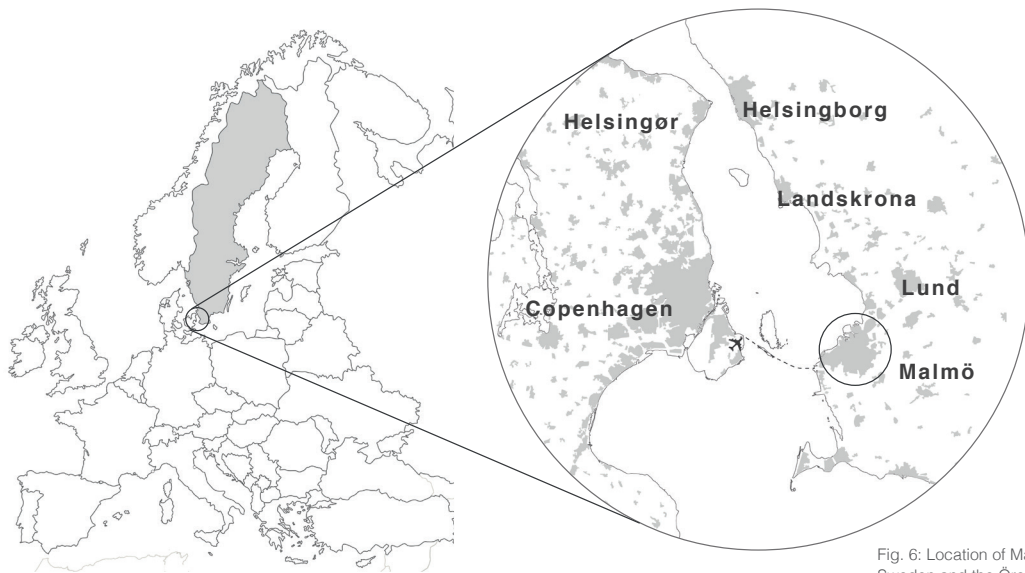


Fig. 6: Location of Malmö in Sweden and the Öresund region (Image by author)

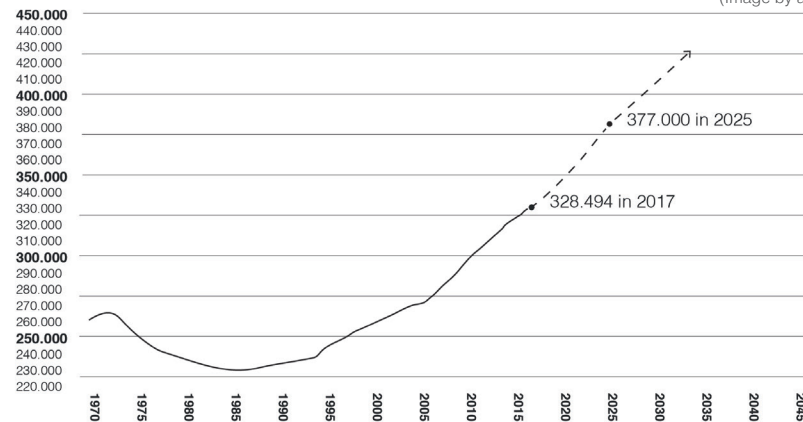


Fig. 7: Growth and expected growth in Malmö (Image by author, based on SCB, 2017)

Urbanisation

Malmö is the third largest city in Sweden, after Stockholm and Gothenburg. It is located in the most Southern area of Sweden, and part of the growing Öresund region, see figure 6. This region is counting around 3,7 million people in the greater trans-boundary region, which makes it the largest and most densely populated urban region in Scandinavia. In the end of 2016, Malmö itself counted 328.494 inhabitants and it grows steadily with around 5.000 people per year (SCB, 2017) with the expectation to have 377.000 residents in 2025 (Malmö Stad, 2017b), shown in figure 7.

The city has also known a period of depopulation. In the period from 1970 to 1984 Malmö lost its popularity and the population went down from 265.000 to 229.000 inhabitants. Causes where

related to movements towards the countryside, due to starting globalisation processes and the changing economy and labour market, with rapid de-industrialisation and lack of employment opportunities. The closure of the large shipyards in 1987 was a major event (Baeten, 2012b). The following financial crisis of the early 1990s exacerbated the decline as an industrial city and the economy was compromised (Anderson, 2014).

From the 1990s on, the city's population increased again. Globalisation and migration processes are here interlinked with urbanisation processes in the sense of attracting new inhabitants for the new labour market, as well as receiving many foreign born citizens from former war countries.

1|2 CHANGES IN SOCIETY

The next pages explain the changes and consequences of the three main trends for the society: increasing diversity, increasing inequalities and changing political climate, highlighted in figure 8. Thereafter, the impact to the collective urban life is explained.

Increasing diversity

Nowadays, Malmö counts 178 different nationalities, which makes it one of the most diverse cities in the world (Malmö Stad, 2017b). Its multicultural mix is often used in the marketing of the city's continental and international sphere (Abrahamsson, 2015).

Malmö has a high percentage of immigrants due to its 'gateway' location from Denmark. Its demographics and multiculturalism changed until the fact nowadays that Malmö is home to 106.222 foreign-born persons (SCB, 2017), which is 32% of its total population (see figure 9). This is much more than Stockholm and Gothenburg which have respectively 21% and 25% foreign-born. Immigrants in Malmö are born in 178 countries all over the world, with the largest groups in December 2016 from Iraq (11.281), former Yugoslavia (7.963), Denmark (7.579), Poland (7.078) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (6.330), see figure 9 (Malmö Stad, 2017b).¹

In general, cities are nowadays characterised by extreme urban heterogeneity, where differences are juxtaposed within close proximity from each other (Amin, 2006). This brings new challenges such as the close juxtaposition between the well-off and hyper-mobile and the poor and marginalised, but also a potential of expanded social and human capital, enriching urban life (Amin, 2006).

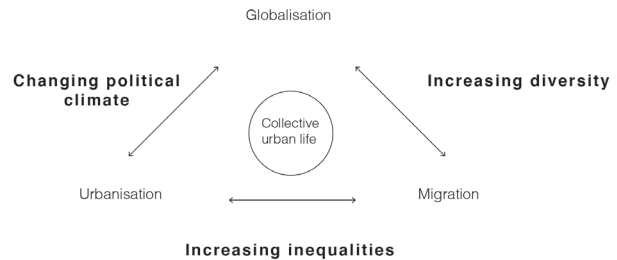


Fig. 8: Challenges of the great transformation (Image by author, based on Abrahamsson, 2015)

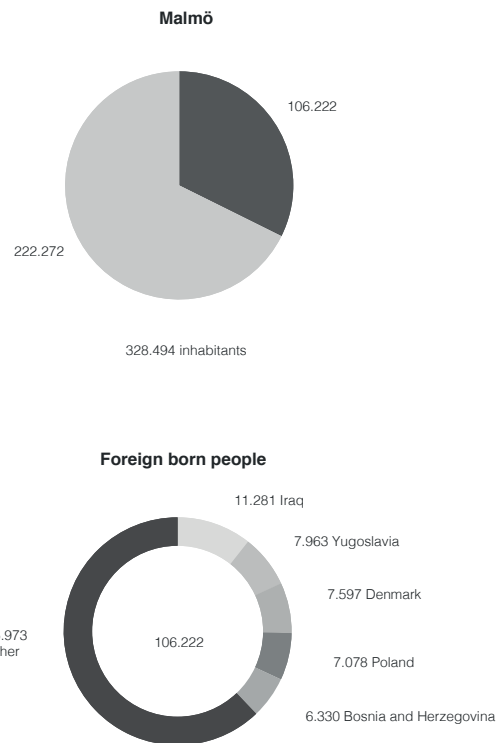


Fig. 9: Statistics on Malmö's population (Image by author, based on Malmö Stad, 2017b)

¹ According to the statistics of Malmö (Malmö Stad, 2017b based on SCB, 2017) Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina are considered separately.

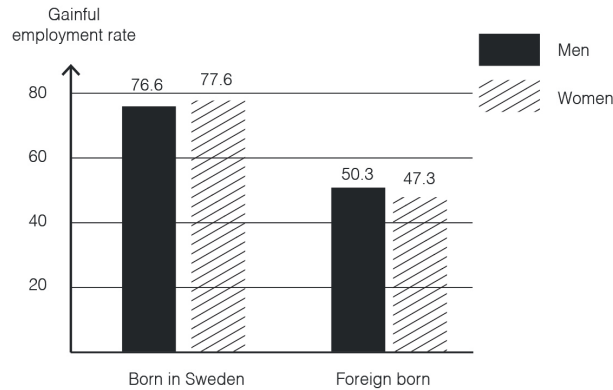


Fig. 10: Gainful employment rate of Swedish-born and foreign-born people in Malmö (Image by author, based on SCB, 2017)

Increasing inequalities

Inequality has been increasing in the last three decades in many places all over the world. In Sweden, increasingly so since the 1990s. This is visible in the widening gaps in the population when it comes to poverty, employment, education, and health (Righard et al, 2015). Sweden used to have very low income inequality during the heydays of the welfare state, however this has changed to European averages nowadays. Migrants experience more barriers in order to achieve a higher social position after establishment in Sweden, which is the reason that they typically are over-represented in the groups lagging behind (Righard et al. 2015). The large difference of employment rate between Sweden-born and foreign-born people in Malmö is shown in figure 10: almost 25% lower.

As in many other countries, patterns of inequality in cities tend to overlap with residential segregation. Segregation means that areas with residents with a low degree of participation in society are separated from areas with residents with a high degree of participation in society. This is also the distinction between social exclusion and social inclusion (CSSM, 2013, p. 73). Segregation in Malmö is related to class and ethnicity which means that the poorest districts are also the ones with the highest proportion of foreign born people (Nylund, 2014). Due to the restructuring of the welfare state, it became more difficult to meet people's

demand for economic safety and social welfare. The social contract which was the base for internal legitimacy and societal belonging started to disappear (Abrahamsson, 2015). The reduced social spending has affected the most vulnerable groups of the population. Especially ethnic minorities, the people who have recently arrived, suffer from the most disadvantages. Not knowing the local culture and without access to social capital it is hard to become part of the society. They experience a greater risk of social exclusion.

When people get dissatisfied or experience reduced societal belonging, caused by a lack of basic needs in terms of housing and employment, the risk of violent social conflict increases. Especially in times when people's identity is based on their affordability to consume (Abrahamsson, 2015). Exclusion and alienation creates frustration, shame, and outrage ([Scheff & Retzinger 2001] in Abrahamsson, 2015). In Malmö, riots in 2008 in the suburban area of Rosengård are seen as major social conflict and the expression of increasing inequalities.



Fig. 11: Newspaper images (Image edited by author)

Changing political climate

Sweden, as well as other Western European countries and the USA, have nowadays politically turbulent times, see figure 11 for some newspaper images. Societies seem to divide more and more along national and group identities. During the post-war period, social justice and support for the welfare state was mobilised on the base of shared national identities and national solidarity. It is often argued that increasing immigration and multiculturalism policies weaken the sense of national solidarity. This creates the so-called "progressive's dilemma", forcing a choice between solidarity and diversity (Kymlicka, 2016). People started to defend the national solidarity and the welfare state, increasing the thresholds for access of immigrants. This is visible in a rise of the far-right wing parties. These parties are often characterised by xenophobia and exclusionary racism, and they have successfully implemented their ideas into the national political agenda's throughout the years. The Sweden Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna) is in Sweden the radical right populist party and the fastest growing party of the country. They gained 12,9% of the votes in the last elections of 2014, which makes them the third-largest

political movement (Coman, 2015). This number has doubled from 5,7% of the votes in the 2010 elections. The Sweden Democrats had close collaboration with 'openly undemocratic, neo-Nazi, and other radical right groupings' and an inflexible attitude towards immigration, as well as a restrictive stance on citizenship (Norocel, 2013). The 2018 elections will tell us how this movement is proceeding. Latest polls put the party above 18%, which is almost as much as the Social Democrats, running a minority government at the moment (Coman, 2015).

Dahlstedt & Neergaard (2016) call it a crisis of solidarity, where the migrant 'other' plays an important role. As said before, Sweden has traditionally been very open to refugees, defending human rights and multiculturalism, also called the Swedish exceptionalism. This democratic, inclusive society has changed and the Swedish model is being transformed, or maybe, about to end (Dahlstedt & Neergaard, 2016). However, solidarity can also be dealt with on the very local level, when direct encounters between different people and groups are shared. Collective urban life and meetings with the strange 'other' is therefore very important.



Fig. 12: Maps of the context and research location (Image by author)

Collective urban life in public space

The ability of a city to manage the challenges of cultural diversity, social inequality and discrimination, will be decisive for their opportunities to develop in an increasingly globalised world (Abrahamsson, 2015). As can be concluded from the previous pages, Malmö has to improve to manage the challenges for today's society related to ethnic and cultural differences: decreasing inequalities, discrimination and increasing the political stability. The social transformations in the city need to be analysed interdisciplinary and on different scales in order to discover how the contemporary collective urban life is influenced. Social transformations have an enormous impact on the collective urban life, happening in

the public space. On the other hand, there may also be chances in the urban space to improve social processes.

In Malmö, the changing society is reflected in the way collective urban life and public space is organised. It is especially clear with a new large scale development project in Hyllie. It is located in the south-western part of Malmö, well-connected to Copenhagen in Denmark and adjacent to the deprived neighbourhoods of Holma and Kroksbäck. All the trends and challenges described are coming together at this location, shown on the maps in figure 12.

1|3 CHANGES IN URBAN SPACE: HYLLIE, HOLMA AND KROKSBACK



Fig. 13: Aerial picture of the new development in Hyllie (Nordeng, 2016b)

Hyllie

A new city district in the southern Malmö, Hyllie seems to be an example of intensifying inequalities and exclusion, contributing to further segregation. In this large scale development project, the spatial planning pursues neoliberal approaches that contribute to enhance the barriers in the city (Madureira & Baeten, 2016). The neighbourhoods' construction started in 2007 and is still going on. It has emerged on former agricultural land in the southern part of Malmö, where the land was already in municipal hands. This brought huge potential profits when turning it into prime offices and hotels (Madureira & Baeten, 2016).

Figure 13 shows an aerial picture from the new neighbourhood. It is planned around a new station which is part of the railway between the Öresund bridge and the inner city of Malmö. There is a large station square and the main aspects of the development project are the largest shopping centre in Sweden Emporia,

the events and sports hall Malmö Arena, a trade fair and convention centre Malmö Mässan, hotels as Point Hyllie and office blocks, which shows that it is clearly designed for commercial activities at the regional scale (Madureira & Baeten, 2016). Besides, there will be around 3000 new dwellings in the next 20 years (Hyllie, 2017).

The development is strongly related to the restructuring of the welfare state and the trend of globalisation described on page 13. It is clearly visible that the role of the city has changed in order to compete in the globalised, profit driven world. Urban policies have adopted a neoliberal approach of city development to attract companies, investment and inhabitants. Also, the trend of urbanisation is visible, it is a major city expansion and attracts new city inhabitants. However, with a planned housing stock of 70% sale, it seems that the city would like to attract wealthy, high-educated people.



Fig. 14: Aerial picture of Kroksbäck (Google Earth, 2017)

Holma and Kroksbäck

This new development in Hyllie is located south of the suburban, deprived areas of Holma and Kroksbäck, see figure 14 above. These neighbourhoods were developed during the 'Million Homes Program' in the 1960s and 1970s. This program tackled the housing shortage in the Swedish cities, with the construction of over 1 million dwellings between 1965 and 1974, in a country with 8 million inhabitants at that time (Anderberg & Clark, 2013). The areas lost their popularity quite soon after their construction and are nowadays characterised by a high proportion of foreign-born people. The area can be seen as a 'transition zone', which functions as arrival place for newly arrived immigrants (Baeten, 2012b), characterised by large apartment blocks. Many of those 'Million Homes Program' areas are nowadays prioritised for redevelopment (CSSM, 2013).

The variety of backgrounds and foreign-born residents from Holma and Kroksbäck will be a

huge contrast with the urban newcomers who will live in Hyllie. Baeten (2012b) predicts that inhabitants from Holma and Kroksbäck may well make use of the new railway station in Hyllie, but would most likely not stay there longer than needed.

The trend of migration is has clearly influenced this area, with many immigrant residents nowadays. All the consequences of the trends are coming together at this location: increasing diversity, increasing inequalities and the changing political climate. This makes it a very interesting case to discover the chances of the urban space in improving the social processes and consequences.

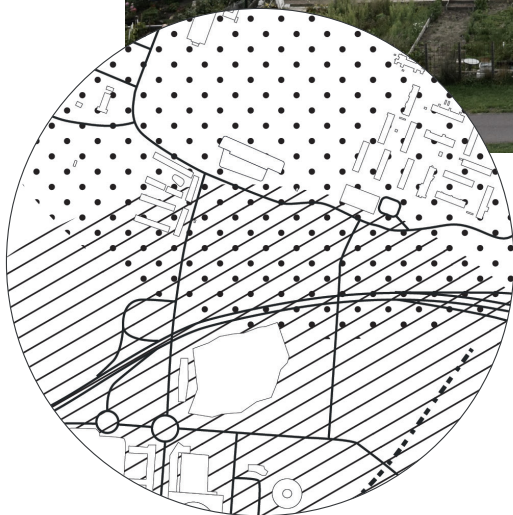


Fig. 15: Picture and diagram of the vacant site between Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie (Image by author)

Towards inclusive public space?

The neighbourhoods of Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie show how extremely different groups are juxtaposed in close proximity of each other. This eventually creates tensions and social inequality that become clear in the making and use of public space (Madanipour, 2010 p. 14), when there is a lack of encounters and interaction between people. There is a danger of disconnection and damage caused by fear, hate and anxiety, but also a potential of expanded social and human capital, enriching urban life (Amin, 2006). Key in this project is therefore dealing with pluralism and inclusion in public space.

A plot in between Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie is still undeveloped, see figure 15, which rises the question if it will be possible to connect the areas with each other. What is the future of this plot and what should be created to turn it into a place for the public?

It must be said that the development of inclusive public spaces can only have a limited direct effect on social issues, but it offers a space for social interaction as a counterweight to the forces which are driving the society even more apart (Madanipour, 2010 p. 11).



1|4 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Malmö struggles to manage the trends and accompanied challenges of ethnic and cultural diversity, increasing inequalities and the changing political climate in today's society. They have a negative influence on the collective urban life which is experienced in public space. The large scale development project in Hyllie is being made for certain social groups, excluding the local residents from Holma and Kroksbäck. Exclusion of people in the public space causes lack of interaction between individuals and people of different social groups. There is an increasing risk of disconnection and alienation from each other.



1|5 OBJECTIVES

Research objectives

The research aims to fill a gap in knowledge between exclusion and inclusion, using the public space. In this way, it is able to define how urban design can turn public space into an inclusive public space.

Design objectives

The design aims to create inclusive public space in the area between Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie. The inclusive public space should be accessible and attractive for all people to go there. This may increase the possibilities of encounters and exchange between people from different social groups, which would hopefully change perceptions about 'others'. This, as a counterweight to exclusionary processes which are driving the social fabric of the society apart.

Fig. 16: Overview of Hyllie development project with Holma and Kroksbäck in the background (Nordeng, 2016c)

1|6 KEY CONCEPTS

A closer look into the link between social and spatial processes is needed to get a grip on the desired effect. First, the values and requirements of inclusion are explained, especially during the welfare state reforms.

Thereafter, it is shortly explained what is said about inclusive public spaces already. The discussion in literature on how public spaces can become public domains is important. Besides, it is important to explain the extended notion of diversity to pluralism and solidarity. The figure 17 on the right shows a diagram of these concepts.

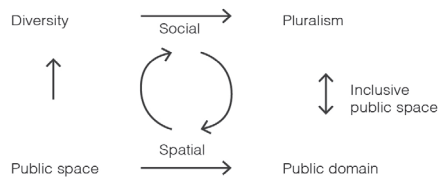


Fig. 17: Links between public space, public domain, diversity and pluralism (Image by author)

Inclusion during welfare state reforms

Improving social processes in (urban) development is often related to the concept of 'social sustainability'. Social sustainability is often defined as 'the ability to foster a climate that promotes coexistence between groups from different cultural and social backgrounds', which would encourage social interaction, as well as improved quality of life for all (Abrahamsson, 2015). Cities should be as inclusive as possible, which is here defined as treating citizens equally, making sure of social security and rights with the recognition of ethnic and cultural differences.

These values are related to the core values of the Swedish welfare state with the start of the socio-democratic regime back in the 1930s, converted in the concept of 'Folkhemmet', People's Home, as a metaphor to describe the country as a home where everybody is equal, contributes and participates in the collective process of building society. Class differences were fought and inequalities decreased. Today, we are facing partly the same issues, but related to ethnic and cultural differences. Due to the welfare state reforms, it is not possible for the state anymore to combat this on their own. It is the role of the cities to develop themselves

as places of collective urban life. This depends on politics, how citizens and decision makers rate the values of inclusion, as well as the ability of citizens to truly participate in the city's development. Measures designed to empower people, increasing their participation in political life and social recognition could create conditions for increased social cohesion and social trust, and thus strengthen people's right to safety and security ([Lidskog, 2006] in Abrahamsson, 2015). The most important is the involvement of and co-creation with concerned citizens. This requires a shift from both above and below. Urban governance already has increased partnerships and should involve citizens, whereas citizens themselves are required to participate more fully in political decision-making, as well as understanding and acting on complex issues related to inclusion. It might be an ideal of active citizenship, but it is the way they would influence decisions affecting their everyday lives. Methods of dialogue are essential as a way to create space for diverging preferences and dealing with asymmetric power relations. In this way, cities would be able to contribute to sustainable development (Abrahamsson, 2015).

Inclusive public spaces

From public space to public domain

Cities have grown with heterogeneous populations and became more impersonal, where people are 'strangers' to each other. A common approach in dealing with public space, shared by thinkers as Richard Sennett, has been to see public space as a space characterised by the co-presence of strangers (Kärholm, 2012). The meaning of public space is more transient, at best still functional or symbolic (Madanipour, 2010 p. 5). It is argued that public space is an essential part of a public culture and open society, where everyone has the right to enter and to participate in the collective experience. The key of public spaces is their accessibility, without any fixed identity and where flexibility and inclusiveness are enhanced (Madanipour, 2010 p. 8).

However, this link between the public space and public culture is often assumed and adopted. It is far from predictable if the users of the public space are representing the diverse population. Simply said, some people will use a public space, some will not. The 'sociology of public gathering' cannot be read as the 'politics of the public realm' (Amin, 2008). This is different when a public space becomes a public domain. Public domain is defined as 'those places where an exchange between different social groups is possible and also actually occurs.' (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001 p. 11). It entails additional requirements to the public space; public domain is when spaces are positively valued as places of a shared experience by people from different backgrounds or with dissimilar interests. The 'quality' of a public space has a diversity of requirements when a diversity of people would use it. The 'public' is thus supposed to have a broad interest in the users. When this is the case, it can be called an inclusive public space.

From diversity to pluralism

Diversity is often associated with people's diverse backgrounds. In this project the concept is extended to the notion of pluralism. Pluralism means the 'multiple, legitimate conceptions of the good among individuals and groups who coexist with each other in society', (Moroni & Weberman, 2016 p. 4). These conceptions are mostly shaped and part of people's culture, language and religion. Pluralism recognises the diversity of people and their nature of self-realisation, and that we should learn to live with such disagreement and diversity. It is also a broader concept than 'multiculturalism', which is more about our diverse environment nowadays. Connected to pluralism are concepts of 'tolerance' or 'solidarity', when encounters between individuals or groups are shared. This is mostly pressing in urban life when there are direct encounters with the strange 'other' (Moroni & Weberman, 2016 p. 6). Tolerance and solidarity concern equal terms of inclusion in the urban realm, where everyone has rights to citizenship, as well as enjoyment of the status of citizenship (Moroni & Weberman, 2016).

The questions are then, how can inclusive public spaces contribute to pluralism, tolerance and solidarity? What gives a place its broad public quality? And how can urban planners and designers influence that? This research and design project deals with inclusion and pluralism in public space.

The main research question and sub questions are explained on the next page.

1|7 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Main research question

How and to what extent can urban design contribute to increasing inclusion in public space, in order to reduce social inequalities?

This will be explored at the site between Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie, Malmö.

Sub questions

The main question results in several sub questions below. Answering these questions will help to give a final answer to the main question.

1. How have historic and current urban policies changed the urban and social fabric of Malmö?

2. How are inequalities reflected in public space?

3. Is there progress in current planning and development to reduce social inequalities?

4. How can inclusion in public space be made tangible?

5. Which planning and design measures can accommodate an inclusive environment?

6. How can actors be involved in the process of development?

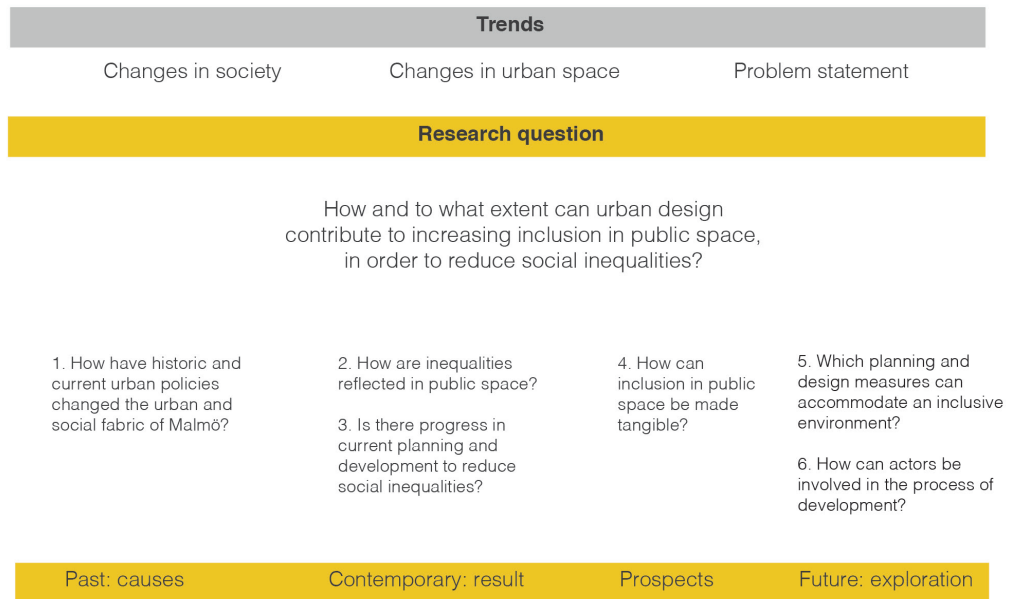


Fig. 18: The research questions connected to time (Image by author)

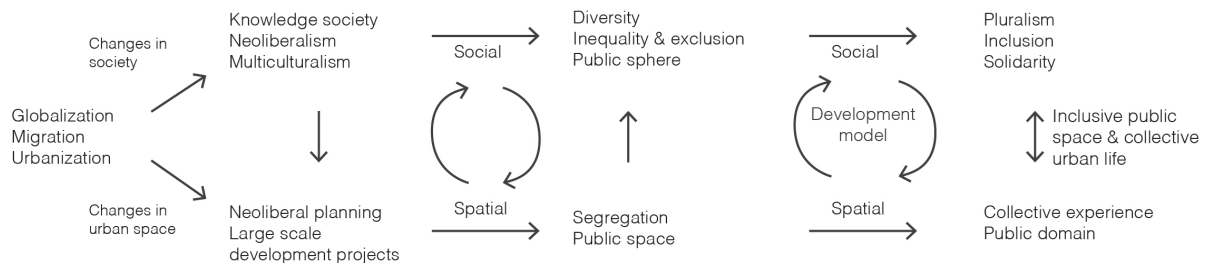


Fig. 19: A diagram showing the social and spatial processes dealt with in this project (Image by author)

In figure 18 shows how the questions are divided in their relation to time. Looking back into the history is an important aspect of this project, to see what we can learn from it. It explains the coherence between social and spatial developments in the past which are the causes of today's result, continuing towards a future exploration of dealing with inclusion in the public space.

The coherence between social and spatial processes, introduced with concepts and notions in the last paragraphs, is shown in figure 19. It organises the research in a framework. In the Methodology on the next pages is explained which methods are used to give an answer to the research questions and shows a diagram with the research framework integrated.

1|8 METHODOLOGY

Research and design

Research and design are the two tools to give an answer to the research questions. In the beginning of the project there is a focus on the research, while the design tool will blend with research on the way, see figure 20 on the right page. An iterative process going back and forth from research to design include different methods, which are explained below. Most of the methods are analytical and theoretical input for the design, in order to know what aspects have to be improved. This is visible with various 'literature reviews'. However, reversed process explains how design may improve social processes and results in a development model highlighted with 'prospects'. All methods are used in order to link the social and spatial processes to each other. They are described below as well as shown in figure 20.

Methods

Literature review

A theoretical background in chapter 2 explains the growth of the city within the welfare state. Theories on the neoliberalisation of policy and economy explain how neoliberal planning in Malmö constitute new developments. These developments are contradictory and the underlying issue of inequalities nowadays is explained with the progressive's dilemma. They have consequences for urban society in terms of inequalities and segregation.

Historical analysis

A historical analysis with a focus on large scale development projects is linked to the socio political processes going on in Malmö in the last decades.

Statistical analysis

The statistical analysis looks into the demographic numbers and facts about the population, focussed on the neighbourhoods of Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie. It shows the contrast in social fabric and the changes of the last decades.

Mapping

Mapping is used to find out how the urban space in the areas of Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie work and function.

Primary data: site visit

Primary data is collected during a site visit to Malmö in August 2017. Observations from the use and users of public space, as well as talks with people from the municipality highlighted challenges and opportunities for the future. Besides, the Opportunity Space Festival in Malmö gave insight information about urban development and its need to focus on social inclusion.

Secondary data

Secondary data includes several reports and plans from the municipality, which describe the approaches and progress in urban development, especially in the sense of equality and ethnic and cultural differences. Main report is from the Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö (CSSM, 2013), as well as Comprehensive Plans from the last two decades (Malmö Stad 2000, 2005, 2012 and 2014).

Literature review

More literature is reviewed in order to understand exclusion and inclusion in public space and to be able to link spatial and social processes together. Important aspects has been to think beyond the progressive's dilemma as well as think beyond solely the importance of social interaction in public space as the formation of a public culture.

A development model

A development model combines the social and the spatial research and turns it into a useful model to design. It highlights which aspects in urban space are important to develop inclusive public spaces. It explains how public spaces can become public domains, by linking the public space to the public culture with the total dynamics of human and non-human. This means that the nature of the setting - the visual and material culture of a place - are as important as the nature of the social interaction in a place (Amin, 2008).

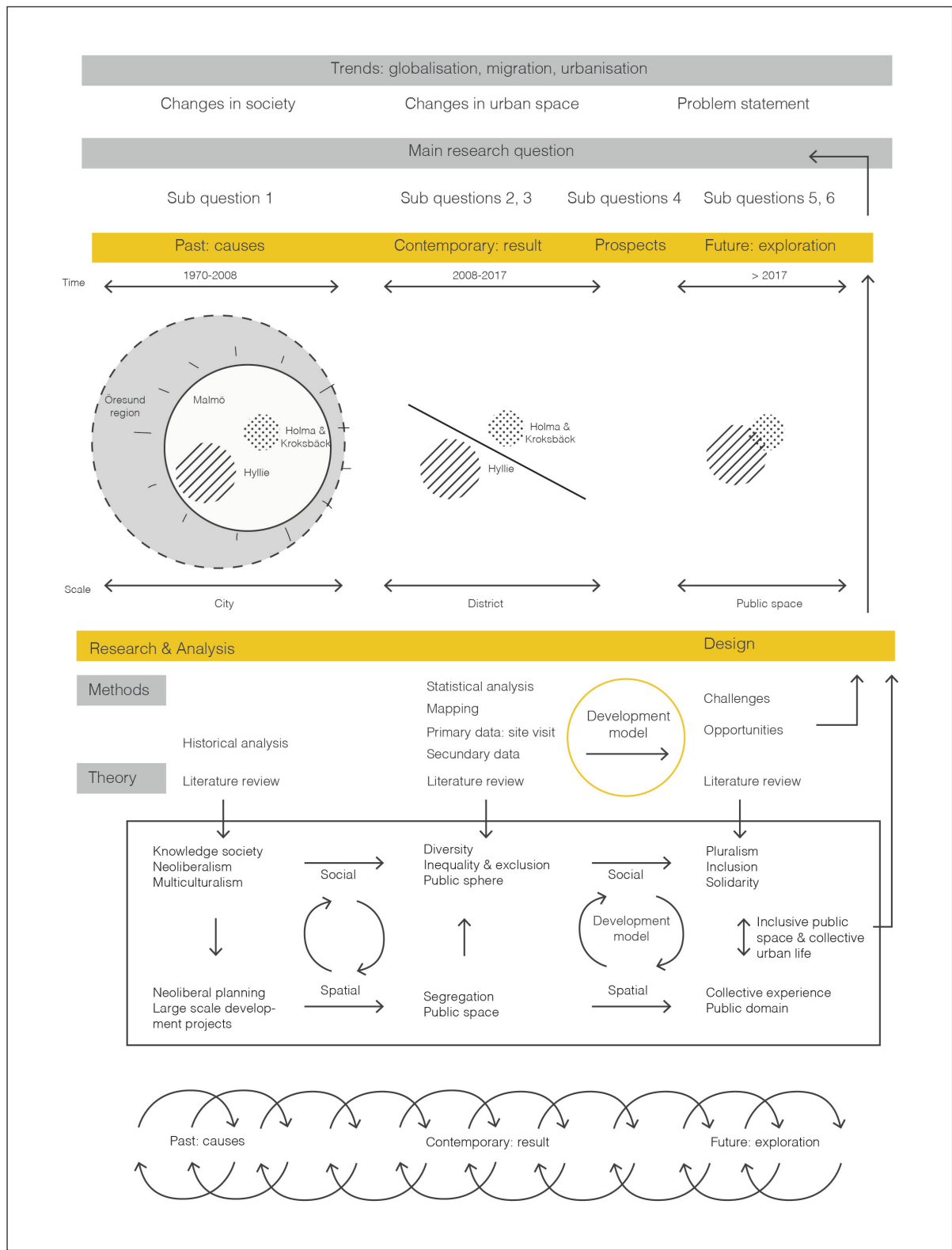


Fig. 20: Methodological framework (Image by author)

1|9 RELEVANCE

Scientific relevance

This report contributes to the academic field by connecting urban design to today's diverging society. The research fills a gap in knowledge between exclusion and inclusion, using the public space. In this way, it is able to define how urban design can turn public space into an inclusive public space. The social processes which are driving our society apart, may be countered with spatial processes occurring in public space. The link between the public space and the public culture is traced in the total dynamics of 'human' and 'non-human' interactions. The 'non-human' interactions mean the visual and material culture of a place. This part can be designed, and is able to influence the 'human' part. When a place is designed with the values of inclusion - equality, social security and rights, with the recognition of ethnic and cultural differences - a multiplicity of people would feel tolerated and welcome in the place. This may increase encounters with strange 'others' which are lacking in today's more and more segregated society.

Societal relevance

This report contributes mainly to the local context of Malmö. The place specific development of Hyllie glances over aspects of equity and integration while the city is facing problems of socio-economic and spatial segregation (Madureira & Baeten, 2016). The report is focused on these specific adjacent neighbourhoods with different social worlds. However, issues related to social inequalities are relevant to more Western cities in the world. Trends and challenges related to globalisation, migration and urbanisation processes as we see them in Malmö are going on in many places. Especially in the Scandinavian countries where inequality has been increasing in the last three decades and the former, strong welfare state is about to disappear. City's role has changed and urban governance, planning and design should be able to facilitate an environment for a diversity of people. This report shows how inequalities can be decreased in Malmö by creating public spaces made through inclusive processes. This method could be applied in many other places.

Ethical paragraph

This report is questioning the way our cities are currently managing the challenges of cultural diversity, social inequality and discrimination. Cities should be as inclusive as possible; treating citizens equally, making sure of social security and rights with the recognition of ethnic and cultural differences. Only then, the city would be able to develop in the globalised world. When cities are focussed on economic growth and to be environmentally conscious, it will eventually lead to issues of social sustainability.

Social sustainability starts with the recognition of social and ethnic inequalities. This goes back to the core of human rights, where people should be able to support oneself and have opportunities for development. Resources should be accessible for everyone. Those labelled as 'strangers' or 'others' face multiple disadvantages, often the ethnic minorities.

Social inequalities are already based in the production of our cities. Therefore, as urban planners and designers we have to be critical and ask ourselves crucial questions: who are we making our cities for and how do organize the urban space? When recognizing the inequalities and knowing how we can reduce it, the only ethical option is to do so.

GROWTH

MALMÖ, SWEDEN



2.



Fig. 21: View of the new development in Hylle (Franzen, 2015)

2|1 INTRODUCTION TO GROWTH

Following upon the problem field, this chapter describes the growth and historical development of Malmö over time.

The social transformations of Malmö previously described cannot solely be related to the trends of globalisation, migration and urbanisation. The context of a restructuring welfare state has been - and still is - a major aspect of transformation as well. Due to decentralisation of welfare provision to lower government echelons, the city and region suddenly got way different roles and responsibilities. This shift is called 'government becomes governance', where 'the state rather steers than rows' (Baeten, Berg & Lund Hansen, 2015). Therefore, the first paragraphs describe the national policies and reforms that were important for the urban development of Malmö. Afterwards is elaborated on the processes of globalisation, migration and urbanisation in the sense of multiculturalism and neoliberalism in Malmö. The wider context is explained related to developments on a regional scale. The chapter ends with contradictions found within urban development during multicultural and neoliberal times and the restructuring of the welfare state. The consequences related to inequalities are shown, as well as the underlying 'progressives dilemma'.

The time line and maps (figures 22 and 23) on the right page show the social, political and spatial development of Malmö. Many developments are strongly related to each other. For example the crises in '73-74, '90-'93 and '07-'08 are often related to new discourses on demand for economic growth. The time line is divided into the periods of growth of the welfare state, welfare state reforms and end of the welfare state. In short: the industrial era with a strong welfare state model and a social-democratic government has brought much prosperity and growth until the end of the 1970s, in Sweden, but especially in Malmö. Welfare state reforms were needed when rapid de-industrialisation turned the prosperity into high unemployment and decline in a post-industrial era. A new mayor in Malmö changed everything with a focus on green policies. The city got an architectural makeover and experienced returned growth.



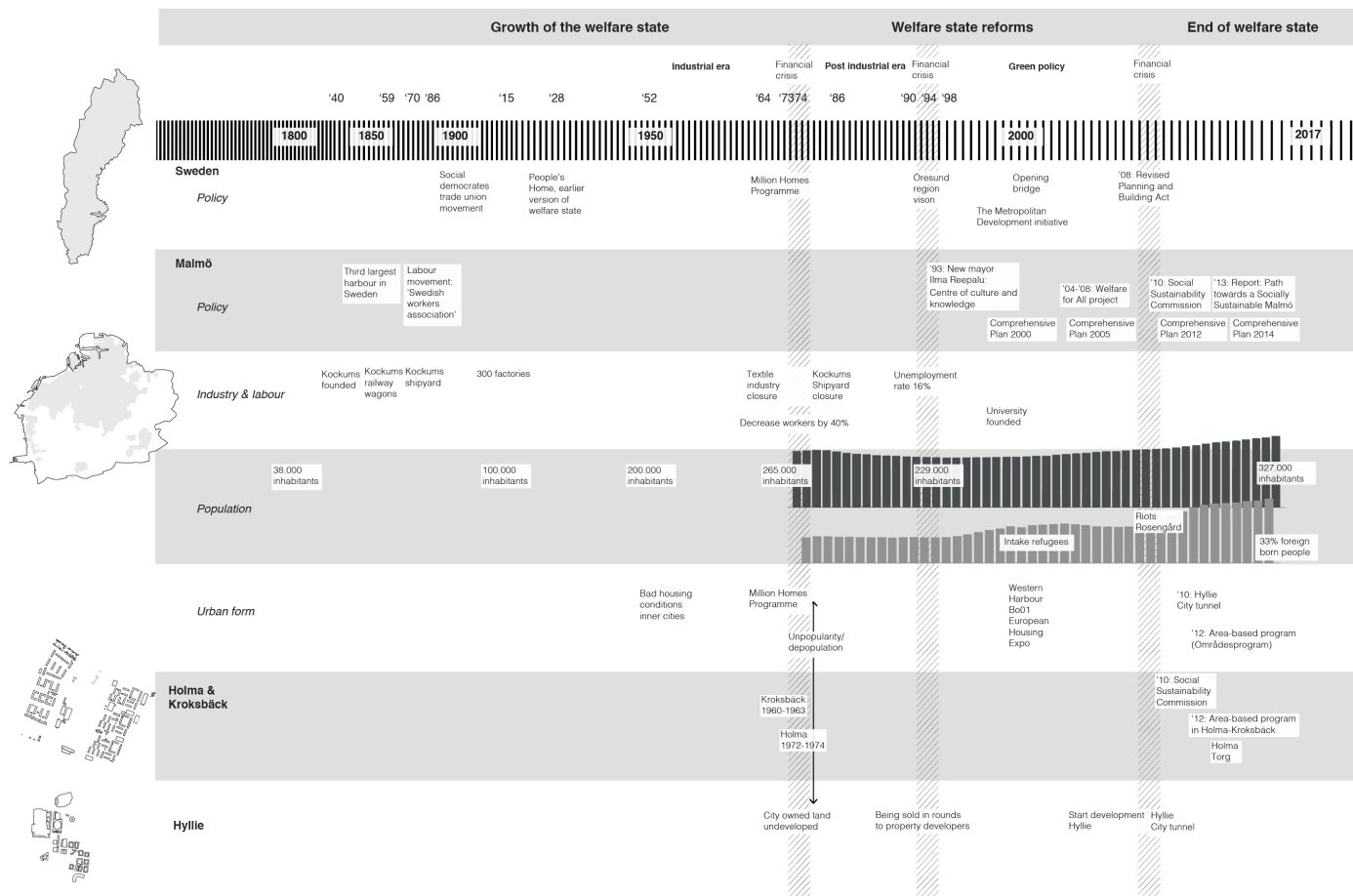


Fig. 22: Time line of the social, political and spatial development of Malmö (Image by author)

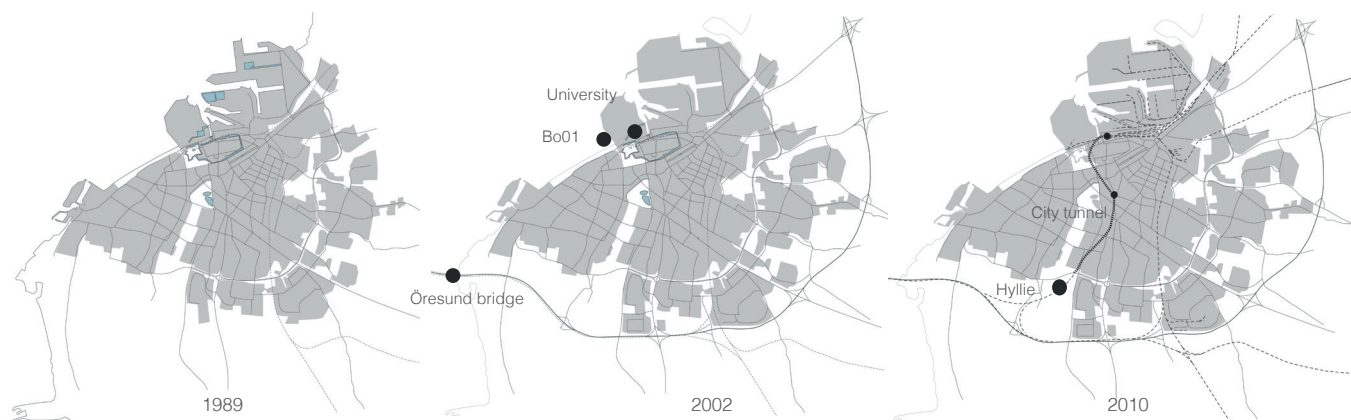


Fig. 23: Maps of the urban development of Malmö (Image by author)

2|2 GROWTH OF THE WELFARE STATE

This paragraph describes the period of a growing welfare state and social-democratic government in the industrial era, where Sweden and Malmö were prosperous and wealthy. As introduced in paragraph 1.1, Scandinavian countries were often associated with universal welfare states. This involved high income taxes, substantial welfare services and relatively low levels of inequality. This social model in the sense of housing, urban planning, welfare organisation and industrial production has been implemented on Malmö.

Actually, the model and accompanied socio-democratic tradition started in Malmö with the labour movement back in 1886 and when the 'Swedish Workers Association' was formed. In 1889, the Social Democratic Workers party was established (Urban Historia, 2017). Malmö's location close to Denmark and continental Europe served as a kind of gateway, which means that many political and cultural ideas were introduced here first. Local Social Democrats bought in 1891 the 'Folkets Park' 'People's Park', and 'Folkets Hus' 'People's House' and were the owners for the next hundred years (Urban historia, 2017). The park was located next to labour areas and was a gathering place for the working class. It served as a place for the workers' political mobilisation during a great strike in 1909 as well as a place for important speeches with more than 20.000 listeners, see the pictures in figure 24 on the right page (Malmö Stad, 2017f). It was an open park to enjoy leisure time and visitors were offered a variety of activities, such as a park restaurant and a pavilion, sometimes with music performances or theatre. This public space thrives on the values of equality and inclusion, being accessible for everyone. Malmö became an important place for the evolution of national social democracy and the labour movement due to the social democratic breakthrough in the 1920s.

People's Home

In national politics it took a while before the Social Democrats gained their power. Until the 1930s the government was mostly run by center-right coalitions. This changed in 1928. A very important person within this process was Per Albin Hansson. He was in 1928 the leader of the Social Democrats and was looking for an ideal to rally people behind the Social Democrats (GUL, 2017). Being branded as a left-wing extremist before, he was looking for a way to gain power and become a mainstream party. He wanted to unite people in a national and a socialist vision, and used the (former conservative) notion of 'People's Home' in his own way. This was a brilliant move and in 1932 the Social Democrats gained power, keeping it until 1976, see figure 25. The concept of 'People's Home' can be seen as a normative concept underlying the welfare state, meaning everyone is taken care of, not just the rich, nor only the poor, but everyone, regardless of income. It contained 'general welfare', so provisions were equally given to all, such as public services, education, healthcare, sports and libraries (GUL, 2017). From 1946 a new prime minister took over: Tage Erlander. Sweden was not harmed during the war, the industries were well equipped and able to export machineries and ships all over the world. Malmö was a major player with the largest shipyard of the world at that time; Kockums. Next paragraph will elaborate on this. Due to economic growth Sweden was very rich. A few reforms were expanding the public sector as well as changes in the education and pension system. An equal pension fee for everyone, as well as a higher fee for people with higher income created much income for the state. This was the basis of an ambitious housing program during 1965-1975: The Million Homes Program.



Fig. 24: Top left to bottom right: strikes in 1909, entrance 1930, performance of The Kinks in 1968, aerial picture in 1977 (Sydsvenskan, 2015)

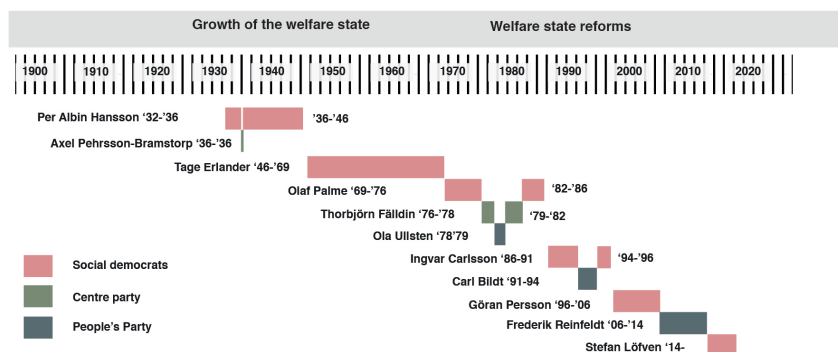


Fig. 25: The prime ministers of Sweden and their parties (Image by author)

Million Homes Program

The Million Homes Program - or short Million Program - is named after its goal to build a million apartments in ten years (1965-1975). The goal was achieved, resulting in a percentage of 25% of Swedish housing being Million Homes housing. The homes were built for the working class during the industrialising Sweden to make sure everyone could have a home for a reasonable price. The housing conditions in the inner city were miserable and the government promised modern, well-equipped, bright and spacious apartments. This resulted in large scale apartment blocks based on modernistic architectural ideas and these were often placed on the outskirts of the city, on former agricultural land (Baeten, 2012b).

In Malmö several neighbourhoods were built during this period, for instance Holma and Kroksbäck as well as Rosengård and Fosie. This is shown in the map of figure 23 on page 38. Kroksbäck was one of the first areas, built in 1965. Holma was one of the last, built in

1971-1972. Pictures of Kroksbäck (figure 26) and Holma (figure 27) are shown below. The relatively long time between the constructions, made them differ a lot from each other. In Kroksbäck most blocks are eight stories high and traffic flows are separated. Here, this means that the ground floor is made for parking and storage. Living starts from the first floor and the pedestrian areas are connected with bridges between the different blocks. In Holma more blocks have only four stories and parking is on the sides of the area, which makes the inside area car-free. Living starts from the ground floor and there are smaller, shared courtyards. There is more focus on outdoor living and the transitions from private to public are more subtle than in Kroksbäck, where there is a strong division between private to public and a lack of focus on outdoor living. Over time, the Million Home areas lost popularity more and more and were being criticised for their soulless look.



Fig. 26: Kroksbäck when newly built (Malmö Stad, 2016)



Fig. 27: Holma when newly built (Malmö Stad, 2016)

Preventing further growth of the state

In 1969, a new prime minister took over, Olof Palme. His goal was to take welfare a step further and realise 'democratic socialism'. Palme wanted to take some new left-wing radical ideas into the mainstream and economic and welfare policies. Taxes were raised to higher levels than ever before. At the same time, the economy stagnated everywhere in the Western World. A global economic crisis in '73-'74, shown in the time line in figure 22 on page 39, changed things for the worse. However, Sweden managed it quite well and compared to other countries in the Western World unemployment was low, growth remained high and public finances strong. *"Until 1975, Sweden remained the fourth richest country in the world in GDP/capita"* (GUL, 2017) and Palme's reforms have been definitely a huge part of that.

Things changed when people started to think that the state had become too big and bureaucratic. Too high taxes in combination with the unpopularity of the Million housing areas made people dissatisfied and other parties such as the Centre Party and the People's Party were doing better during elections. They were not opposed to the welfare system but wanted to prevent further growth of the welfare state,

more local freedom and halt raising the taxes (GUL, 2017).

In 1976, the centre-right opposition won the elections and the social-democratic government, which ruled for 44 years came to an end, see figure 25 on page 41. Fälldin became prime minister of a coalition government. The late 1970s were a difficult time for Sweden, some industries got bankrupt and the state tried to support failing industries. The taxes were lowered and the public debt expanded. Some governments were formed but little was done in policies.

The Social Democrats managed to win the elections in 1982 and Palme returned as prime minister. The next years were a combination of a wealthy society with low unemployment but also stagnating wages, high taxes and industrial decline. Some neoliberal ideas were gaining ground among the ministry of finance.

Palme was shot in Stockholm in 1986, which caused a sense of shock and national trauma. *"A foreboding sense that this might be the end of the 'people's home'"*(GUL, 2017).

2|3 WELFARE STATE REFORMS

This paragraph describes the period of welfare state reforms, when rapid de-industrialisation turned the prosperity into high unemployment and decline in a post-industrial era. During these times, the state was mainly challenged by processes of globalisation, which led to a global shift from worlds industrial epicentre in the West move towards the East and the South. Industries left the city while simultaneously, processes of migration took place, resulting in high immigration numbers in Sweden and a multicultural Malmö more specific.

First is explained what the de-industrialisation meant for Malmö, thereafter its multicultural aspect. The accompanied shift towards a knowledge society, with neoliberal processes changed the whole city, explained with the vision work. Afterwards, the wider context is explained related to developments on a regional scale.

Malmö in decline

The industry of Malmö was dominated by textile and clothing, foodstuff and metal. However, the foremost dominating factory was the shipyard of Kockums. It was the city's biggest workplace and shaped the image of the city with the establishment of the Kockums crane in 1973-74, see figure 28 (Holgersen, 2015). In the meantime the other industries started to decline and also the shipyard decreased after the (oil) crisis of 1973-74. This led to high unemployment in Malmö and its surrounding Skåne region and many people left the area or moved to smaller

houses (Anderson, 2014). Kockums was taken over by the Swedish State in 1979, however, it could not survive and it was over in 1986 when the yard entirely closed after 113 years. In the years from 1970 to 1984 the city's population decreased from 265.000 to 229.000, see figure 7 on page 17, due to the lack of employment possibilities and growing unpopularity of the Million Program areas (Baeten, 2012b).

New hope arrived to compensate the industrial decline, when a new large industrial company took over the Kockums site in 1989. The Swedish government made an agreement with Saab about a 'Malmö factory', 'world's most modern car factory'. It would employ 2.700 people and have a production of 60.000 cars each year. It turned out to be a disappointment when the factory reached only 1.400 jobs and 15.000 cars in the best year, 1990. Already in 1991 it was over, and the factory was relocated to another Swedish city: Trolhättan (Holgersen, 2015). 'The municipality tried to solve the crisis of the industrial city with the tools of the industrial city, and understood too late that it was the industrial city as such, that was in a crisis.' ([Dannestam, 2009 in Holgersen, 2015). The industrial city of Malmö ended here, while at the same time another financial crisis hit the city between 1990-94.



Fig. 28: Kockums shipyard in 1974 (City of Malmö via Hard Rain Project, 2017)

“ The municipality tried to solve the crisis of the industrial city with the tools of the industrial city, and understood too late that it was the industrial city as such, that was in a crisis. ”

Tove Dannestam, 2009
(in Holgersen, 2015)

Demand for economic growth

The whole of Sweden's economy was crashing in the 1990s. It was the deepest crisis since the 1930s. The government was led by a center-right coalition with the conservative prime minister Carl Bildt (see figure 25 on page 41). A number of reforms were introduced in relation to finances but the economy continued to decline and public debts were exploding. In 1994 the Social Democrats regained power and the Minister of Finances became the prime minister, Göran Persson. He, however, did not reverse the reforms introduced by the center-right parties and the welfare state was cut down more and more (GUL, 2017). The need to make cut-backs leading to radical reductions in public spending (Nylund, 2014). To many, this was the real end of the 'people's home'.

In Malmö, this was no difference. Just as the national government, the city of Malmö is led during the twentieth century mostly by the Social Democrat party, with the exception of two short periods from 1985-1988 and 1991-1994. When the state faced its hardest times during the beginning of the 1990s, this was similar for Malmö and all the other cities in Sweden. The increasing unemployment and poverty therefore became a political issue that urged a state-led urban policy (Righard et al, 2015).

Many scientists and writers analysed the changes during this period. The city transformed, focused on growth, new economic policy and new relations with other nations (Holgersen, 2014). Before entering that period, another important aspect has simultaneously changed Sweden and the city of Malmö. These changes are related to the trends of migration.

Intake of refugees

As introduced in paragraph 1.1 and 1.2, the trends of globalisation, migration and urbanisation have reshaped our society during the 1980s and 1990s. The development of information technologies has compressed time and space, which increased people's mobility and connectivity. The patterns of migration changed, which means an increase in the flow of people between different places in global space. Internet made it possible to 'be' at two different places at the same time, which made migration less permanent and transnational.

During the 1990s, Sweden had a generous intake of refugees from war countries. It has been an important aspect of the Swedish welfare state to extend their social rights to foreign citizens (Abrahamsson, 2015) and accept many refugees. From all Scandinavian countries, Sweden has received the most migrants in the post-war period and their national integration policy can be described as inclusive (Righard et al, 2015). Due to Malmö's gateway location, it received many refugees.

One of the consequences for Malmö was increasing diversity. Malmö had a very generous intake of refugees, in particular from Iraq and the Balkan countries during the early 1990s, which reversed the trend of depopulation. Many wealthy people left the city in decline to neighbouring municipalities (Baeten, 2012b). Malmö can be seen as one of Europe's most cosmopolitan cities nowadays. The ten largest groups of immigrants are shown in figure 29 on the right. As shown, people from Denmark are also a large part of them. Later is more elaborated on this.

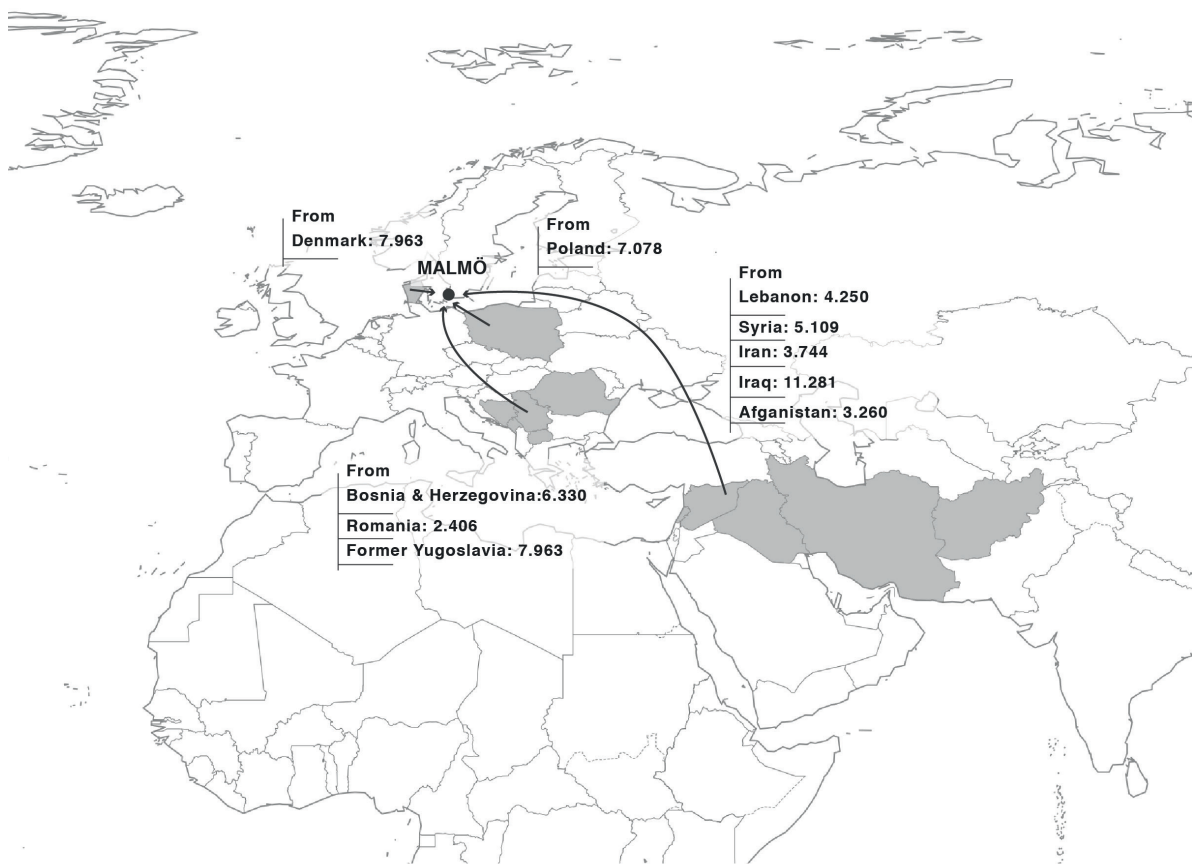


Fig. 29: The ten countries where most immigrants in Malmö are from (Image by author, based on SCB, 2017)

2|4 END OF THE WELFARE STATE

Many important changes occurred in Sweden during the 1990s. After a period of de-industrialisation and decline, many cities have been transformed in the wake of globalisation from an industrial city to a knowledge and information society. In literature, a variety of terms is used to describe the changes that reshaped the cities, like (post)Keynesian, (post) industrial, (post)Fordist or entrepreneurial, neoliberal, creative, consumer or knowledge city (Holgersen, 2015). All of them highlight different aspects of the changes and processes going on.

The state's role in this period changed and the welfare state model has been under attack for some time now. In general, there has been a shift towards the post-welfare state with decentralisation of welfare provision to lower government echelons as cities and regions. The cities and private market got much more responsibility of the financial burden. This shift is also called '*government becomes governance*', where '*the state rather steers than rows*' (Baeten et al, 2015). Urban policies adopted a more entrepreneurial approach, meaning that cities wanted more local economic promotion and place marketing to attract companies, investments and inhabitants (Madureira & Baeten, 2016). This process is called neoliberalisation, in which urban development, planning and governance discourses and practices are pushed towards a

market-oriented direction (Tasan-Kok, 2012). As described by Brenner & Theodore (2002): '*The linchpin of neoliberal ideology is the belief that open, competitive, and unregulated markets, liberated from all forms of state interference, represent the optimal mechanism for economic development.*' Politicians have been influenced by neoliberalism and the financial sector that was looking for greater profits through participation of primitive accumulation ([Marx, 1976] in Baeten et al, 2015) and accumulation by dispossession ([Harvey, 2005] in Baeten et al, 2015). This meant a continuation and intensification of accumulation practices that were 'primitive' during the rise of capitalism. These include the privatisation of land and conversion of various forms of property rights (common, collective, state, etc.), dispossessing of people's economic rights as well as the suppression of the rights to the commons (Harvey, 2005). Neoliberalism can be seen as the intensification of influence and power of capital where a small group of economic elites want to regain power. The main achievement of neoliberalisation has been to distribute wealth and income, rather than to generate (Harvey, 2005).

The next pages describe the neoliberalisation processes in Malmö beginning in the 1990s. Thereafter it is argued that Malmö's role within the region has changed, with a larger process going on in the whole Öresund region.

“

The industrial society is followed by the knowledge and information society.

”

Comprehensive Plan for Malmö 2000

Neoliberalism in Malmö: Vision work

One single most important actor in the transformation of the city was Ilmar Reepalu, Malmö's mayor from 1994 to 2013 (Holgersen & Baeten, 2017). In 1994 he started with the 'vision work' for the new Malmö, which was the foundation for the new Comprehensive Plan adopted in 2000. It was very much inspired by the K-society from Professor Åke E Andersson: knowledge, capital, communication and culture (in Swedish kunskap, kapital, kommunikation and kultur) (Holgersen & Malm, 2015), including the following statement that 'the industrial society is followed by the knowledge and information society' in which growth should take place in the private sector (Holgersen, 2014). Also, the role of the municipality is to assist these developments, by '*providing land for new businesses, a good business climate and expansion of infrastructure*'. Besides, the plan stated also the desired demographic change: '*This expansion assumes that the population's educational level increases quite rapidly, which in addition to efforts in the area of education, also requires a relatively large immigration of highly educated people*' (Holgersen, 2014). This is in line with Florida's (2003) theory about attracting the 'creative class' as drivers of innovation of regional growth. The members of the creative class include scientists, engineers, as well as designers and architects. They produce meaningful new forms or designs, which can range from products to strategies or methods. Typically, they are required to have a high degree of education.

The clear vision and new approach to local economic development is described as the entrepreneurial city approach by Madureira and Baeten (2016). They argue that policy-making with this approach is characterised by '*risk-taking, inventiveness, promotion seeking and profit motivation*'. The shift in governance processes is described by Nylund (2014). She uses and translated the analysis of Dannestam [2009] that conceives three main storylines in the governance processes where discourses are related to materiality. 1) Malmö as a new, transformed city. 2) The local government as a growth and welfare provider. 3) The city as a regional growth engine. The first discourse of the transformed city concerned the transition

from the industrial to the knowledge society. The foremost example of materiality is the establishment of Malmö University, as well as the transformation of the Western Harbour with the housing exhibition Bo01, which contributed to attract affluent inhabitants to Malmö. The second discourse concerned the storyline in which economic growth would automatically trigger wealth for all, materialised by projects that aimed to improve living conditions in poor districts. Lastly, the discourse of the city as a regional growth engine concerned the idea that economic growth of the major cities Malmö, Copenhagen and Lund would strengthen the whole Öresund region, materialised foremost with the Öresund bridge between Copenhagen and Malmö. The transformations are also shown in the time line and the map of 2004 in figures 22 and 23 on page 38 and 39.

The state has supported some of these materialisations, the establishment of the university in 1998 and the bridge in 2000. This was of course a huge advantage for the financial sector of the municipality. On the contrary, the transformation of the Western Harbour was really part of urban policy. Madureira (2015) describes it as the first large scale development plan that really should change the image of the city towards the knowledge economy. With sustainability and urbanity as main goals this specific profile should provide growing intercity competition and attraction of inward investment and companies. Within the Western Harbour area, the housing exhibition Bo01 was the first part of the development, carried out in 2001. The area is developed on a former shipyard and contains Europe's highest residential tower, the Turning Torso, a 190 meter tall skyscraper designed by Santiago Calatrava, which was located only 800 meter away from the former place of the Kockums Crane. It became a landmark for the new Malmö, see figure 30 on the next page. It is located close to the city centre and central station, which makes it a unique location and an important centre of development. Changing tax rules, as well as funding for cities with high immigration benefited the city of Malmö during this time.

Green fix and housing project Bo01

Malmö's transformation has been acknowledged internationally and this is recognised with many different awards. It succeeded to gain a global reputation for exceptional progress towards environmental sustainability with the most prominent example of the green Malmö: the Western Harbour, former industrial area (Holgersen & Malm, 2015). In their essay Holgersen & Malm (2015) analysed the transformation of Malmö as 'green fix' crisis management. They describe from an interview: *'According to the director of city planning, 'environmental issues have been a very important part of getting Malmö out of the crisis in the 90s.'* The housing exhibition Bo01 in the Western Harbour was the basis of the success of branding the city as green and it became a business strategy in the real estate market of the entrepreneurial city of Malmö.

Anderson (2014) describes the development of the Western Harbour. The Western Harbour, also known as 'The city of tomorrow' established itself as the first carbon neutral neighbourhood in Europe and is home to 4000 people now. The first part was the housing exhibition Bo01 which is currently home to 1000 people. Throughout the whole development, there is a strong focus on eco cycles with unique solutions for waste water and solid waste. Also, heat and electricity are produced on site, whereby the houses have low energy use and environmental-friendly construction materials. It aimed to be a model for the following development in the Western Harbour, where ecological guidelines and a sustainability focus should be incorporated. With the project is also stressed how important the architectural and urban design in sustainable development is. The environment became step by step a larger category in the plans of the municipality. During the 'vision work' the environment was one of eight categories, after economy, business and education. Later in the Comprehensive Plan 2000, environmental issues were related to regional and European relations, and in the updated version of the Comprehensive Plan 2005, adopted in 2006, the primary goal of physical planning was defined as 'an attractive and sustainable city' (Holgersen & Malm, 2015).

A green fix is according to Holgersen and Malm (2015) 'an attempt to overcome a crisis of capital accumulation in a particular locale' and is 'the logic of the urban green fix to attract capital to the city through the production of a green image. It is related to Harvey's original 'spatial fix' ([Harvey, 1999], in Holgersen & Malm, 2015) which implies the expansion of capital beyond the locale. This is explained by the way that capital enters a crisis: *"it can respond by leaving the room it has occupied for some time, suddenly finding it repellent, and moving into another. It relocates in space."* The green fix is then more of an invitation to capital to step into another room to regenerate profits there. Holgersen and Malm (2015) found that in politics, the greening of the place is promoted in the public arena as a solution for political problems such as unemployment, sagging competitiveness, slow or non-existent growth and finally environmental degradation. However, the greenery has mostly the function to attract further capital in the sense of investments and citizens.

Anderberg and Clark (2013) argue that environmental quality and awareness are increasing important elements in the competition between metropolitan regions. Investments in place marketing, 'imageeering' and branding are part of that move, where efforts are made to ensure consistent communication of the city's profile. They conclude that *"the Öresund region, and in particular Copenhagen and Malmö, have successfully eco-branded themselves and become visible on the global sustainability scene"*. As Madureira (2015) describes: *"Bo01 is a place-marketing tool, with a municipally acknowledged intention of attracting external investments and specific socioeconomic groups as new inhabitants—middle- upper classes."* Also, Holgersen (2012) claims that the Western Harbour was built explicitly for the rich, in order to attract tax-payers and for the entrepreneurs who could stimulate the economic growth. According to Holgersen and Malm (2015) are all these dynamics together, forming the green fix, a strategy for crisis management, where state and capital have encouraged each other to proceed along a green path to prosperity and profit.



Fig. 30: New development in the Western Harbour with Bo01 and the Turning Torso (Highshot.se, 2016)



Fig. 31: Map of the Öresund region with neoliberal projects (Image by author)

The wider context: Öresund region

The neoliberal projects in Malmö are part of a larger project in the Öresund region, according to Baeten (2012b). Several large scale developments stretch towards Copenhagen, becoming a network of wealthy 'superplaces', see figure 31. It is a combination of elite consumption, prime office locations, and housing for sale. Especially Ørestad, which is an area under construction for more than a decade on former agricultural land. It is located on the very south of Copenhagen, close to the airport of Copenhagen: Kastrup. The images in figure 32 on the right page show the spectacular architecture of hotels, offices and housing in the district. There is a lack of comfortable public spaces and walkability. If the metro line was not there, it would not be constructed.

Large scale developments in Malmö and Copenhagen create new places connected to the global scale. This will only be increased when the visions for an Öresundsmetro between Copenhagen and Malmö will be established (Öresundsmetro, 2015). It will increase its business climate and this is exactly the competitive power they wish for, just as many other major cities around the world as London, New York, Los Angeles or Paris. The latest Comprehensive Plan for Malmö (Malmö Stad, 2014) states: "*Malmö, together with Copenhagen, will function as an engine in the Öresund region to strengthen competitiveness.*"

“

Systematic construction of new places connected through excellent transport infrastructures is resulting in a new scale of built environment, a relatively autonomous functional whole of elitist places, that was simply not there a decade ago.

”

Guy Baeten, 2012b



Fig. 32: Pictures from Ørestad from up left to down right: AC Hotel Bella Sky Copenhagen, VM House, Ørestads boulevard, the 8-HOUSE (Image by author)

2|5 CONTRADICTIONS

Neoliberal planning

Tasan-Kok & Baeten (2012) have analysed the neoliberalisation in terms of urban planning in their book. The system of neoliberal urban development can only function if the land-use decisions are regulated by planning institutions, so actually planning is a prerequisite for neoliberal urban development. Planning institutions are located in the public sector, seeking for public betterment of cities. This is in contrast with the neoliberalisation processes and market mechanisms, which are seeking private profits. As Madureira (2015) explains in the dilemma of the planning practitioners: on the one hand a plan should preserve diversity and deliver state welfare for all, on the other hand a plan should promote knowledge-based activities, attract the 'creative classes' and increase economic growth.

However, cities are more and more accommodating the investors and developers. Baeten (2012b) describes a new attitude towards the city, where one of the planner's main task is to let the city fit for global competition. *"One of planning's foremost tasks is to sustain the myth that the urban built environment has to be fit for global competition; hence its primary goal to seduce investors, wealthy taxpayers and the creative classes to make use of the city's unique locational advantages which are carefully imagineered and promoted through costly marketing efforts"* (Baeten, 2012b). In contemporary neoliberal planning the strategies of 'flexible' accumulation by dispossession centering on land acquisition and property development are key elements ([Harvey, 1989]

in Tasan-Kok, 2012). Private property rights become the most dominant right to the city. Cities are in this perspective transformed to spaces of neoliberalism and entrepreneurial urban politics, focused on economic growth centered on consumption and elite type of consumers.

Brenner & Theodore (2002) argue in the same line that neoliberalisation processes have led to uneven geographical development *'in which some places, territories and scales are privileged over and against others as site for capital accumulation'* (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). This has promoted new forms of urban inequality that distinguishes individuals and social groups from each other according to whether or not they fit into the desired type of citizen. The results are *'new forms of social polarisation, a dramatic intensification of uneven development at all spatial scales.'* (Brenner & Theodore, 2002).

This is applicable to Malmö, the city had a total population growth between 1985-2004 while unemployment decreased. However, the new labour market was not for everyone and average income decreased significantly ([Lundquist and Olander 2007] in Holgersen, 2015). He argues that the city has become a divided city with increased income inequality, related to city districts. The next paragraph shows these increasing inequalities. First, more insights on the new urban crisis.

The new urban crisis

Richard Florida, the man behind the 'creative class' thesis has recently explained how 'winner-take-all urbanism' has actually deepened inequality, segregation, and poverty (Florida, 2017a). In his book 'The new urban crisis' he sheds light on the problems not only occurring in the city centres, but especially the suburbs. He argued in 2002 that the key of urban success was to attract and retain talent in the sense of knowledge workers, techies, artists and other creatives, and not just companies. The groups belonging to the creative class seemed to be located in cities with a lot of high-paying jobs. But over time, he started to think that this was too optimistic, that the creative class could not bring a more inclusive kind of urbanism with it. The movement only benefited a small group of wealthy people and others were (and are) being priced out. He calls it "*confronting the dark side of the urban revival I had once championed and celebrated*" (Florida, 2017b).

“

The stakes could not be higher. How we come to grips with the New Urban Crisis will determine whether we become more divided and slide backward into economic stagnation, or forge ahead to a new era of more sustainable and inclusive prosperity.

”

Richard Florida in April 2017 about his new book: The New Urban Crisis (2017b)

Clustering of economic activity, talented and ambitious people in cities is now needed for innovation and growth, and has increased our productivity. However it became clear to him that this clustering resulted in unequal urbanism with a concentration of activity on a very limited space and other places stagnating and falling behind. The well-off are privileged to take the best opportunities while the rest has to deal with the leftover neighbourhoods. Especially in these neighbourhoods the poverty, insecurity and crime are increasing as well as deepened economic and racial segregation. An advice from his side, is that mayors and local officials have to take the initiative to tackle the urban issues of transit, affordable housing and poverty (Florida, 2017a).

This has been applicable to Malmö in the sense of attracting people for the new knowledge society and labour market. Malmö has been looking to the 'west', towards Denmark, to attract innovative entrepreneurs. They forgot the working class people and the gap between rich and poor has only been increasing.

This could not have happened by accident. It seems that there is a larger issue behind the policy decisions, related to solidarity and inclusion. Dahlstedt & Neergaard (2016) explain that the neoliberal policy shifts of the last two decades have transformed the core social fabric and are partly the cause of today's crisis. They argue that the previous inclusive democratic society transformed into something quite different, in which the exclusion of the immigrant 'Other' plays a more and more defining role.

2|6 THE PROGRESSIVE'S DILEMMA

The underlying issue of inequalities nowadays is the so-called 'progressive's dilemma', according to Kymlicka (2015) and Banting (2016). It seems that, in policies, a choice is forced between solidarity and diversity. Increasing immigration is often assumed to weaken the sense of national solidarity, while this aspect used to be important for the welfare state support. Constructions of national 'we' and foreign 'they' are part of the contemporary society.

A sense of nationhood for welfare state support

To start with, in a democracy are people with diverse preferences. These preferences are diverged and have to be converged with some kind of similar preferences. This conversion is often based on the meaning of the shared nationhood. *"Nationhood provides a sense of belonging and a desire to act collectively."* (Kymlicka, 2015)

Nationhood has also been an important part to create or keep solidarity for the work (redistribution) of the welfare state. The welfare state is rooted in an 'ethic of social membership'. This means that all members of the shared society have a mutual concern and obligation towards each other, based on equal relationships and social justice.

As described earlier on page 40, a breakthrough of the Social Democrats was when they presented themselves as a 'people's party', representing the nation as a whole. Solidarity amongst co-nationals became the basis for social justice. This is explained in the vision of the welfare state as an expression of national solidarity:

"We form a community, and the function of the welfare state is to ensure that everyone feels equally at home in the community, that everyone can equally partake in the cultural life of the community and enjoy its civilisation, and

that everyone can feel that they belong to the community and that the community belongs to them." (Kymlicka, 2015)

The risk

This expression of national solidarity has helped to secure the ethic of social membership and the support for the welfare state, but it also resulted in bounded solidarity when people are not seen as 'members of the society', the foreigners, the immigrants. Solidarity does apparently not go beyond nationhood. In a way, democracy has for a long time benefited from nationhood, but minorities did not.

The role of multiculturalism is difficult and raises the progressive's dilemma: on the one hand multiculturalism is needed for the liberal democracy, but on the other hand it may weaken the sense of nationhood and its secured stability and solidarity. Is it true that multiculturalism erodes national solidarity?

“

We need multiculturalism to make liberal nationalism legitimate, but multiculturalist reforms may weaken the bonds of nationhood and hence its ability to secure stability and solidarity.

”

Will Kymlicka, 2015

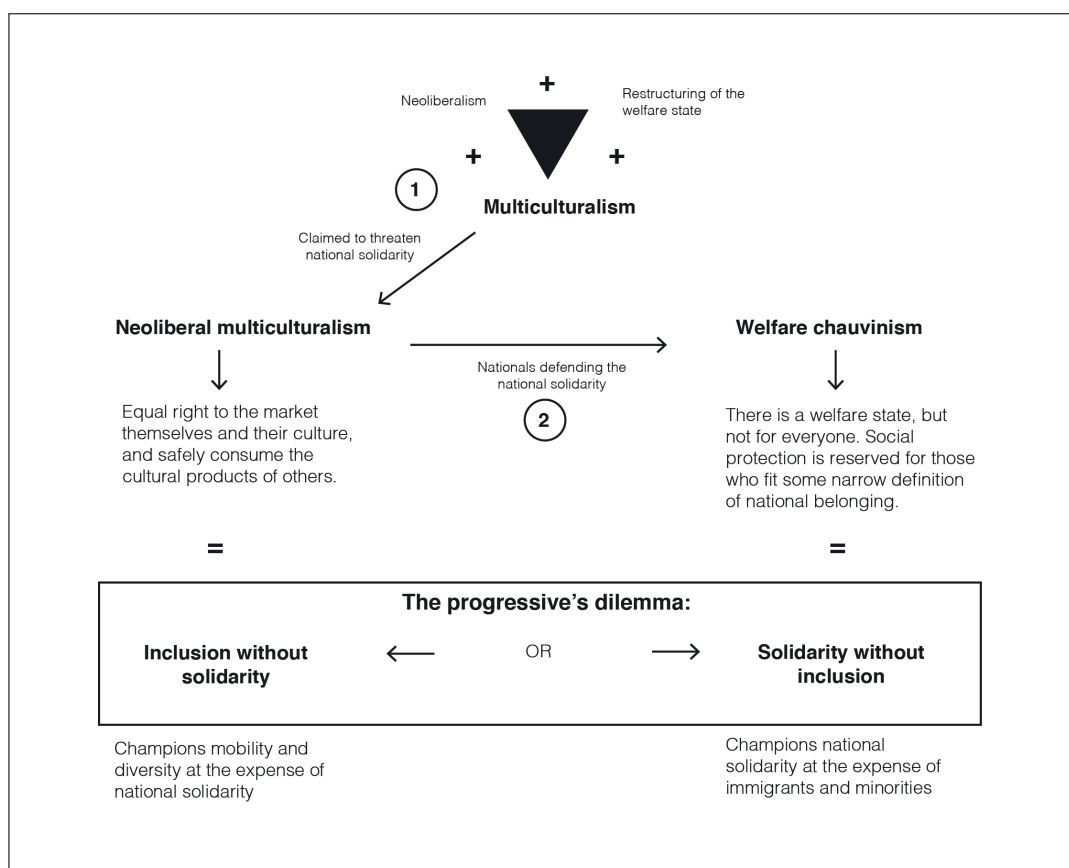


Fig. 33: The progressive's dilemma (Image by author based on Kymlicka, 2015)

Progressive's dilemma explained

In the diagram above (figure 33) is shown how the progressive's dilemma has been originated. The numbers in the diagram are explained here:

1. The rise of multiculturalism, neoliberalism and the restructuring of the welfare state has coincided in many countries. In this way, at least in some countries, citizens experienced multiculturalism and neoliberalism as one single phenomenon that threatened the national solidarity. As a result arose what has been described as 'neoliberal multiculturalism'. This is seen as a reformed way of 'equality' where citizens were told to extend equality to minorities, but this meaning of 'equality' was being reduced to essentially equal access to the competitive global market. In short, this means inclusion without solidarity. However, as Kymlicka (2015) argues, multiculturalism

did not emerge as a technique from neoliberal governance, but happened already before the era of neoliberalism. Multiculturalism was part of a social democratic impulse, defending civil rights and citizenship.

2. Both multiculturalism and neoliberalism were experienced as threatening the national solidarity. Therefore, people started to defend their national solidarity and welfare state. An inverse form of neoliberal multiculturalism was created: welfare chauvinism. This means that social protection is reserved for those who fit some narrow definition of national belonging. It has been mostly initiated by far-right populist parties, but becomes part of more and more public policies. It involves solidarity but without inclusion, at the expense of immigrants and minorities.

2|7 INCREASED INEQUALITIES

In Malmö many contradictions are to be found. As described on the previous pages, the city had returned growth and unemployment decreased. The newly created labour market, appropriate to the knowledge society, attracted new inhabitants. This did not benefit all people already living there, and the average income decreased. This paragraph explains the inequalities in Malmö. They are divided into inequalities in health, employment, income, education and ethnicity. Besides, segregation has been increasing in the last decades, since the inequalities in Malmö are related to city districts

Health and living conditions

Health inequalities are recognised for some decades now and did not decrease. Sweden in general has among the highest life expectancy in the world, as well as a lower risk of social vulnerability as many other countries. However, differences in health and between different social groups is increasing in the whole country, which is a drawback for a society that wants to grow and develop further (CSSM, 2013).

Of course has the health care system a significant effect on people's health, but even more important are variables lying outside that field. These are the social determinants influencing health, for example employment, income, education, ethnicity, sex, age, religion and many others.

Differences are visible in life expectancy between different parts of Malmö, as well as between different social groups, with a maximum of five and a half years between men from different neighbourhoods. Shown in figure 34 is the self-rated poor health among residents of different districts in Malmö. Differences are visible especially between the poorer districts of Rosengård, Hyllie and rich area Limhamn-Bunkeflo.

People's living conditions, diseases and consequences of diseases are strongly connected to someone's social position, as well as the other way around. In order to reduce health inequalities, special attention is required to the social determinants.

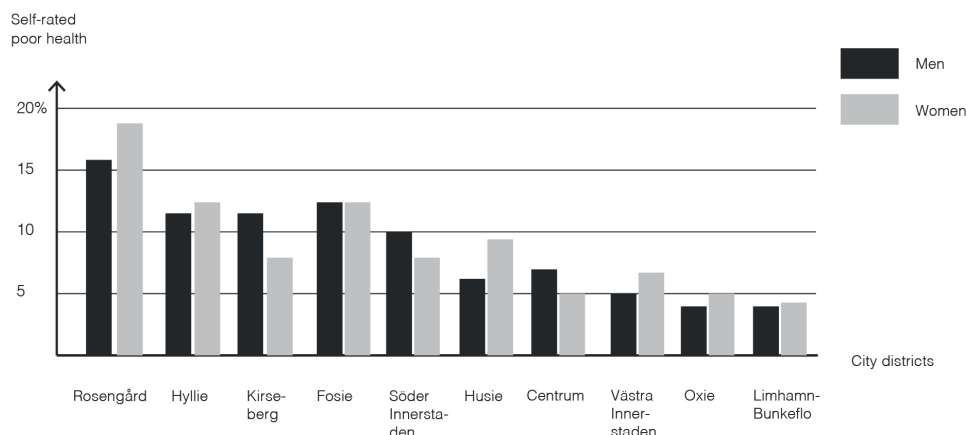


Fig. 34: Self-rated poor health among residents in different districts in Malmö. (Image by author based on [Lindström et al, 2012] in CSSM, 2013)

Employment, income and education

One of the most important factors for good health is the opportunity for gainful employment and reasonable employment conditions (CSSM, 2013, p. 97)

As shown in figure 35, the unemployment rate of Malmö is much higher than in Stockholm, Göteborg or the Sweden's average. Also, Malmö's median income is much lower compared to the whole of Sweden, see figure 36. Besides, Malmö has the highest proportion of people with a low income, shown in figure 37. Figure 38 shows how these people are clustered in the (dark) red areas. From the beginning of the 1990s, the poorest households have become poorer (in the absolute sense), while the most well-off households have become even better positioned (CSSM, 2013 p. 46).

Increasing income inequality is primarily explained by the household's relation to the labour market. *"Income poverty, measured according to the EU's definition, has increased and currently includes three out of ten Malmö residents."* (CSSM, 2013 p. 46)

Relatively many people in Malmö depend on the municipal social assistance, and more and more for a longer period of time. This is of course a financial drawback for the municipality, because the higher the unemployment, the less tax revenues they receive.

An analysis of socio-economic aspects of city residents, like in figure 37, partly explain the outcome. Some aspects are combined and appear together, for example an unemployed person may also have a low income and is born abroad, or a low-skilled person may be also young (Malmö Stad, 2017b).

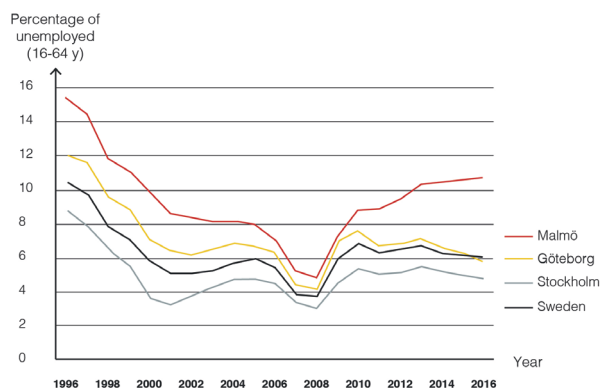


Fig. 35: Percentage of unemployed as percentage of the population 16-64 years (Image by author, based on Employment Service via Malmö Stad, 2017b)

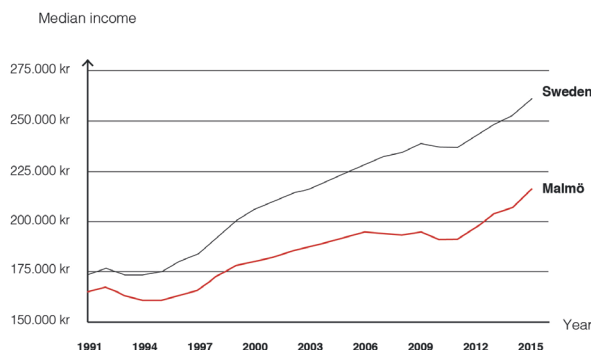


Fig. 36: Median income of citizens in Malmö compared to the whole of Sweden (Image by author based on Ekonomifakta, 2017)

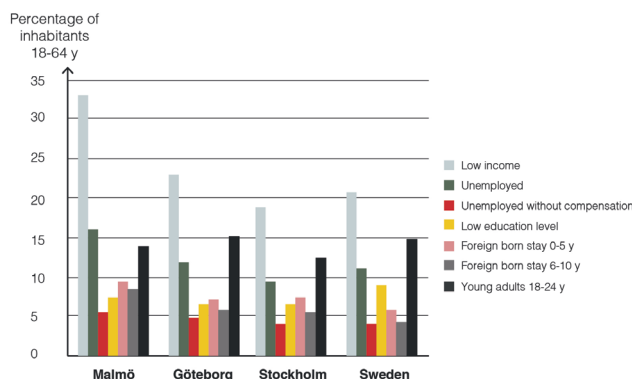


Fig. 37: Socio-economic aspects of Malmö's population (Image by author, based on Malmö Stad, 2017b)

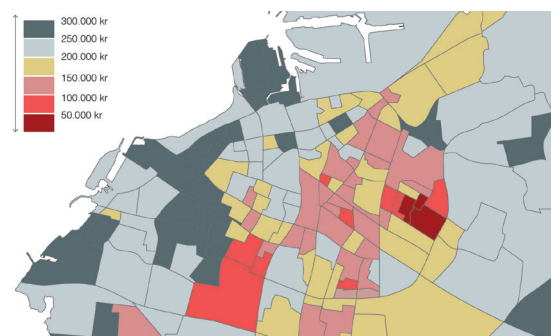


Fig. 38: Clusters of people with low income (Image by author, based on SCB, 2011 via gbg.yimby.se/)

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is often used as a social determinant of health. *“Several studies show that health among foreign-born individuals and their children is poorer than for Swedish-born individuals. Sweden has changed rapidly in recent decades from a relatively homogeneous society to a society with many different cultures, languages, religions and traditions.”* (CSSM, 2013 p. 42). Immigrants experience more barriers in order to achieve a higher social position after establishment in Sweden. Immigrants in Malmö are from many different countries so their health cannot be generalised. The clearest difference between Swedish-born and foreign-born individuals is the mental illness. Many immigrant groups have poorer mental health than Swedish-born people.

For many foreign-born people in Malmö, the social determinants of health are lacking in terms of access to work, a good income and good accommodation. Figure 10 on page 19 shows the large difference is shown between the employment rate of Swedish-born and foreign born people in Malmö: almost 25%. As employment is one of the most important social determinants of health, this can be considered the main cause of the low social positions of immigrants in Malmö.

In Malmö, the share of foreign born inhabitants has doubled between 1995 and 2012 (Nylund, 2014). Nowadays the city is home to 106.222 foreign born persons (SCB, 2017) which is 32%

of its total population of 328.000 people. 44% of the population has a foreign background, so either a persons' father or mother is born abroad. The ten countries that are most represented in Malmö are shown in figure 29 on page 47. Remarkable is that almost all of them are from the 'East'. There is one large group from the 'West', from Denmark. Due to its connection, the Öresundbridge, it is easy and fast to travel by car and train between the two countries. Many Danes still work in Copenhagen, but live in Malmö because it is often cheaper.

Salonen (2015) expects that the increase of the population will continue over the next 25 years, reaching 376.000 residents by 2025 and 470.000 by 2040, as seen before in figure 7 on page 17. Half of the population will be of foreign background by the early 2020s if the immigration trend continues. In the last years, the immigration has been dominated by Arabic-speakers from the Middle East and Asia, especially from Syria. Mainly due to its location has Malmö strengthened its position as Sweden's most important node in an increasingly global situation, with the corresponding challenges and scenarios (Salonen, 2015).

The rise in the number of first-generation immigrants has contributed to the demographic transformation from a largely ageing population to a young one. This is shown in figure 39 below, compared to the whole of Sweden.

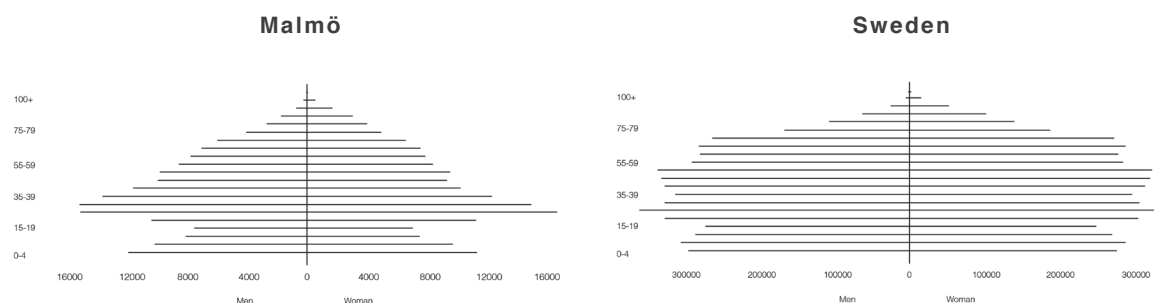


Fig. 39: Populations age Malmö and Sweden (Image by author, based on SCB, 2017)

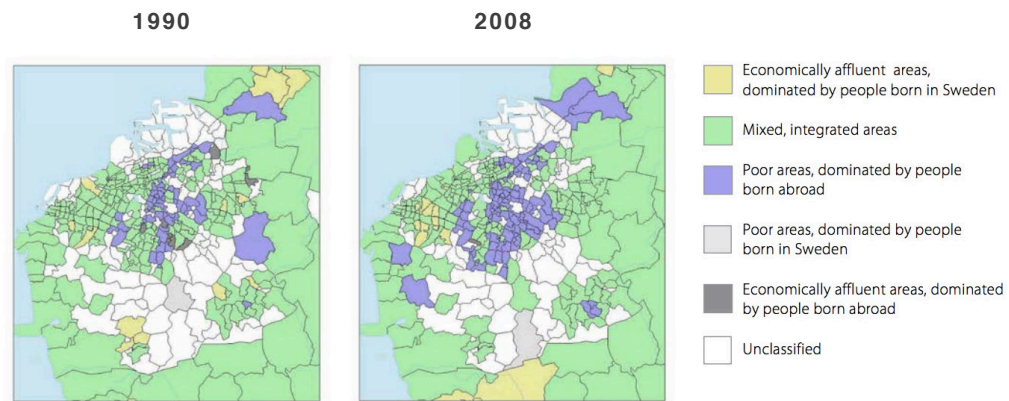


Fig. 40: Analysis of Salonen [2010]: Segregation patterns are based on income (proportion high and low income) and ethnicity (proportion of people born outside the Nordic region and Western Europe and the proportion born in Sweden) in 1990 and 2008 (CSSM, 2013) p. 71)

Segregation

The city has not always been satisfied with its large influx of refugees. In 2004, the mayor of Malmö wrote an open letter to the Swedish national government to complain about the disproportionate intake of refugees. The free choice of residence by refugees led to much pressure on Malmö, and the mayor would like to see an end of the free choice. By distributing them more equally around the country, they would 'share the burden' (Baeten, 2012b).

Newly arrived people tend to cluster in the same neighbourhoods, also called 'transition zones' (Baeten, 2012b). These are often the areas built during the Million Program due to the unpopularity of the apartments. In Malmö are the Million Home areas Holma, Kroksbäck, Rosengård and Fosie. Immigrants in those areas lack basic needs, like sufficient housing and employment.

Figure 40 shows increased segregation, mapped by combining income (proportion high and low income) and ethnicity (proportion of people born outside the Nordic or Western Europe region and the proportion born in Sweden) in 1990 and 2000 ([Salonen, 2010] in CSSM, 2013). Segregation has clearly increased in those years. Segregation is not necessarily a problem, when different groups

of people choose to live in different areas, for example young and old people. However, it becomes a problem when it is related to the degree of participation in society, contribute to health inequality and if people cannot choose for themselves (CSSM, 2013 p. 73).

Contradictions

By combining all the processes of the last decades, it can be concluded that there are many contradictions to be found in Malmö. On the one hand, it has developed from a classic industrial city towards a knowledge-society with a focus on environmental sustainability. It has internationally become known for its environmental friendly planning, architecture and high-end living in the Western Harbour. On the other hand, it has also become known for its high levels of poverty, with violence and riots dominating the media, often in combination with racist and Islamophobic (under)tones. (Holgersen & Baeten, 2017)

The next paragraphs focus on the discourses of the municipality to compensate for the increased inequalities and polarisation.

2|8 SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY AND JUSTICE

Social sustainability

Malmö has chosen for a long time to use the rhetoric of social sustainability to compensate for the increased polarisation (Holgersen, 2015). Already for decades has 'sustainability' been a key word in urban and social policy. It explains the need to shift to a holistic view on economic, ecological and social development and the need for a long-term change.

As Gressgård (2015) describes, *'the strategic framing of social sustainability is reproducing idealised notions of the urban society, while directing away from diverging representations of the city and conflicting policy goals'*. It creates a unifying vision of the development towards the idealised future.

This can be explained by the way the municipality uses the concept in their long-

term strategy, connecting 'cultural diversity' to 'prosperity' (Gressgård, 2015). The Overview Plan for Malmö 2012 names cultural diversity as *'a potential source of conflict, a threat to cohesion and safe living, but also a potential asset and future resource'*. Governmental ambitions show that a few steps need to be taken to convert cultural diversity from a 'problem' (for example segregation) into a 'resource' for urban development by way of integration, transforming the city into a 'whole', attractive knowledge city.

In this way, cultural development has broadened the sustainability agenda, in which can be assumed that economic development will result in a culturally attractive, socially inclusive and environmentally friendly city ([Kornberger & Clegg, 2011] in Gressgård 2015).



Fig. 41: Riots in Rosengård (Hansson, 2008)

Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö

Due to the necessity to focus more on the social sustainability, the local council established in 2010 a Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö, also known as the Malmö Commission. It is a knowledge platform with collaborations between researchers, politicians, municipality, the voluntary sector and individuals, and with scientific as well as experience-based knowledge, as input for the political agenda. It aims to improve the living conditions for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged groups in Malmö.

It is clear that the Commission was founded after the serious riots in December 2008 in Malmö (Nylund, 2014). The riots in the district of Rosengård, an area with 23,650 inhabitants of which 86% has a foreign background, started after the decision of the municipality to close a basement mosque. There were many fires, barricades were built and the police had to secure the safety of the fire-fighters who were attacked with stones, see the pictures in figure 41. This kind of disorder means a threat to the political stability in the city and was a clear expression of inequality.

The Commission focusses on the issue of social sustainability, in their report explained with different perspectives, with the overall focus on making the social determinants of health more equitable (CSSM, 2013 p.4). The social determinants of health include the factors lying outside the field of healthcare and welfare, for example education, profession, income,

geographical area, country of origin. The aim was to politicise the consequences of social inequality, and therefore it includes a series of concrete policy recommendations, translated into 74 so called action points.

Two overarching recommendations from the report are:

- To establish a social investment policy
- To establish knowledge alliances between researchers and stakeholders, which involves also a democratisation of management (CSSM, 2013).

The City of Malmö initiated in addition to the report five Area Programmes for Social Sustainability (Områdesprogram for social hållbarhet) between 2010 and 2015. In this programme, several stakeholders (local businesses, property owners, Malmö University, community groups and others) were engaged in an attempt to improve the living conditions of the local populations. The program had the ambition to contribute to the overall development of Malmö, in a way that those areas could be transformed into innovation areas, with the hope to convert problems into resources for the city as a whole (Gressgård, 2015). One of the focus areas was Holma-Kroksbäck. Other areas were Lindängen, Herrgården, Seved and Segevång.

Comprehensive plan versus Commission for social sustainability

The question remains whether the efforts of the Commission to democratise the management actually have an effect on any substantial change in politics. Nylund (2014) has looked into the Comprehensive Plan discourses over the past decades - from 2000, 2005, 2012 - and the changes in substantive (definition of goals) and procedural (the means to achieve these goals) aspects of justice in urban development. Also, she compares it with the report from the Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö.

Substantive justice

In the aspect of substantive justice, the comprehensive plans have all addressed issues of inequality.

- The 2000 Comprehensive Plan discusses housing segregation and growing income differentials, with a special note on the increasing correlation between social segregation and ethnic segregation. ([Malmö stad 2000] in Nylund, 2014). Housing segregation is said to contribute to alienation from society and this trend should be counteracted for a better future development. Districts with social and economic problems are viewed as 'improvement areas' and need special development plans. Besides, there are 'urban development areas' that are detailed and clearly prioritised above the more vague plans for the 'improvement areas'.

- The 2005 Comprehensive Plan gives even more priority to issues of inequality, with the notion that *"despite economic growth and increasing number of jobs, the income gap between different population groups is growing"* ([Malmö stad 2005] in Nylund, 2014). Besides segregation, social sustainability has broadened the discussion about inequality in this plan, as well as the important relations between economic, ecological and social sustainability.

A project 'Welfare for All' from 2004 till 2008 aimed to improve social sustainability on many levels. However, due to rapid population growth, the desired increased living standard did not occur and overcrowding was still an issue. Conclusions from the project state that time-limited projects cannot combat segregation.

- The 2012 draft Comprehensive Plan shows a shift from the way is looked at segregated districts: they could be connected to form a whole city (see also Gressgård, 2015). Also, the issue of economic inequality between social and ethnic groups is broadened towards a more general issue of inequality, also between gender and generations. Finally, the concepts of social and ethnic inequality became less important and instead discussions of social cohesion and social capital are taking place ([Malmö stad 2011] in Nylund, 2014). The new focus on the whole city is shifting away from the initiatives to improve only the vulnerable areas, and instead analyse how these areas are related to the rest of the city.

This plan has no mention anymore of the 'improvement areas' from the 2000 Comprehensive Plan. Instead, there are five districts supposed to become 'innovation areas', as part of the area-based program (områdesprogram) where the districts councils are given the responsibility for (Nylund 2014, Gressgård, 2015).

- Contrary to the Comprehensive plan is the report from the Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö. It has a clear focus on reducing social inequalities and based on Fainsteins (2010) suggestion, its major proposal is a 'social consequence analysis' prior to every investment in the physical environment. This report has given high priority to planning for justice.

Procedural justice

In sense of procedural justice, Nylund (2014) noticed that public involvement has been at the forefront of the comprehensive planning discourse during the last decades. However, the conceptions of the target groups and measures have transformed over time, connected to changes in Swedish planning legislation and the way planners perceive citizen participation.

- The Comprehensive Plan 2000 describes citizen participation as an important aspect of the planning process and introduces 'dialogue documents' as a way to expand the number of stakeholders involved.

- The Comprehensive Plan 2005 proceeds on the aspect of citizen participation: *"a precondition for sustainable development is that the inhabitants of Malmö feel included in the planning and implementation of changes"* ([Malmö stad 2005] in Nylund, 2015). Also, in the same year a publication on sustainability was published by the urban planning department. It discusses measures to increase participation and recommends feasibility studies prior to the choice of method, as well as clear goals and methods so participants know what to expect.

- The draft Comprehensive Plan 2012 downgraded the importance of citizen participation. Residents are in this plan on equal footing with businessman and property owners: *"All the involved stakeholders - building and property owners, public authorities, residents and businessmen - must participate in early stages of all planning processes regarding densification and transformation. Thereby conditions will be secured for creative solutions and local involvement with real citizens' influence"* ([Malmö stad 2011] in Nylund, 2014). This naïve hope to include everyone is comparable to the shift in substantive justice, where the discussion on structural inequalities was changed towards visions of increased social cohesion. Citizen participation is mandatory according to the Planning and Building Act, and therefore citizens are in some way still involved in the planning process. The plan proposes exhibitions, seminars, city walks, teaching materials, reference groups and focus groups as means. However, these are part of 'information and consultation', and do not go further to participatory influence or

self-determination, means which were seriously discussed in 2005 (Nylund, 2014).

The right of citizens to influence the planning process is in this way often limited to the last phase of the process, where there is in general no room anymore to contribute to decisions. From the planners point of view might this attitude comes from a fear that support for a certain group is threatening the common interest ([Johansson & Khakee 2008] in Nylund, 2014). When groups and individuals express their self-interests, it is hard to find the considerations of the collective good.

- The Comprehensive Plan 2012 proposes the need for more open public spaces as parks, squares, sports facilities and playgrounds, enabling contact among strangers. However, as described before, public spaces are not the same as public spheres. Public spheres offer an arena for dialogue and discussions, which is needed to deliberate the planning processes (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001).

- Contrary to the Comprehensive plan 2012, the Commission has given high priority to citizen participation. New methods of participation should be developed, with measures for increased dialogue and a balanced process of government and governance.

How the report from the Malmö Commission and the Comprehensive Plan are related, is quite unclear. Differences between both documents could be related to the time factor. It is clear that the Commission was founded after the serious riots in December 2008 while the Comprehensive Plan 2012 started its revision already after the Comprehensive Plan 2005 and is part of a very long process. However, since there are significant divergences between both documents, a revision of the Comprehensive Plan would be needed in order to have an overview of issues concerning social welfare and economic growth (Nylund, 2014). The next page shows a short summary of the revision of the Comprehensive Plan 2014.

“

Malmö's comprehensive plan looks two decades into the future. The overarching aim is that Malmö will be an attractive and sustainable city socially, environmentally and economically. The city should be able to continue to grow and there will be a need for more housing, work places and service. The aim is to create a robust and long-term sustainable urban structure for an increased population, green growth and a continued development of Malmö's attractiveness.

When Malmö is complimented with new development there is an opportunity to improve the existing qualities of the city. Malmö has the ambition to be a world leader in sustainable urban development which provides a range of challenges, for example regarding environmental issues. **Achieving a socially balanced city where everyone can enjoy good conditions for life is a decisive challenge for Malmö. A prioritised target is therefore to strengthen the economic base for the livelihood of Malmö's citizens.**

Malmö should be a neighbourly, compact and mixed-use city – a green city with a transport system that puts people in focus. Malmö, together with Copenhagen, will function as an engine in the Öresund region to strengthen competitiveness.

”

Comprehensive Plan 2014
(Malmö Stad, 2014)

Conclusions

As can be concluded from the last paragraphs, the city of Malmö is not ready to manage the issues related to inequalities. Social sustainability seems to be used as an unifying vision to bring several policy goals together. Issues of social and ethnic inequality are downplayed and often replaced with the notion of social cohesion and social capital (Nylund, 2014). Also, within the Commission, inequalities are focussed mostly on health, because that is in some way a measurable aspect. Issues related to inclusion and solidarity are not much discussed.

The solutions are therefore not ground breaking. The Comprehensive Plan 2012 proposes the need for more open public spaces as parks, squares, sport facilities and playgrounds, enabling contact among strangers. However, as described before on page 27, public spaces are not the same as public domains. Public domains offer an arena for dialogue and discussions and is a place where exchange actually occurs. The Commission has given high priority to citizen participation. New methods of participation should be developed, with measures for increased dialogue and a balanced process of government and governance. However, this is difficult and takes much time.

The conflicting policy goals are strongly felt in the new large scale development in Hyllie. As described before, this area seems to be intensifying the inequalities and segregation with adjacent neighbourhoods of Holma and Kroksbäck. The project has an enormous impact on the collective urban life, and public spaces are lacking many spatial qualities. The next chapter dives into the divide between Hyllie, Holma and Kroksbäck.

THE DIVIDE

**HYLLIE,
HOLMA AND KROKSBACK**



3.



Fig. 42: View of Holma (Image by author)

3|1 INTRODUCTION TO THE DIVIDE

This chapter describes the development of Hyllie, Holma and Kroksbäck. As introduced in paragraph 1.3, it is argued that the new large scale development project in Hyllie intensifies inequalities and exclusion, as well as segregation.

The development in Hyllie is one of the largest Nordic project going on, planned around a new station which is part of the railway Copenhagen and the inner city of Malmö. On the right page are two pictures showing the spatial transformation of Hyllie between 2004 and 2016 (figure 43 and 44). Remarkable is the transformation of the road into a large highway, forming a literal divide of Hyllie with Holma and Kroksbäck.

The maps in figure 45 show the transformation over time. The construction started around 2007 with the Malmö Arena, an event and sports

hall. In 2010, the city tunnel was finished and so was the station and station square. The shopping mall Emporia and the trade fair and convention centre Malmö Mässan were the next developments. Later on, the Point was constructed, a large building with offices and hotels, and it will expand with another tower of 100 metres high in the next years. Also, housing is established, as well as a school. More housing, a school and park is planned in the coming years.

First, the spatial characteristics which increase exclusion are explained, then, the contrasting demographics are shown based on a statistical analysis. Future plans of Hyllie are shown thereafter, to see if the future will bring more inclusion, as well as concluding maps from the whole area.





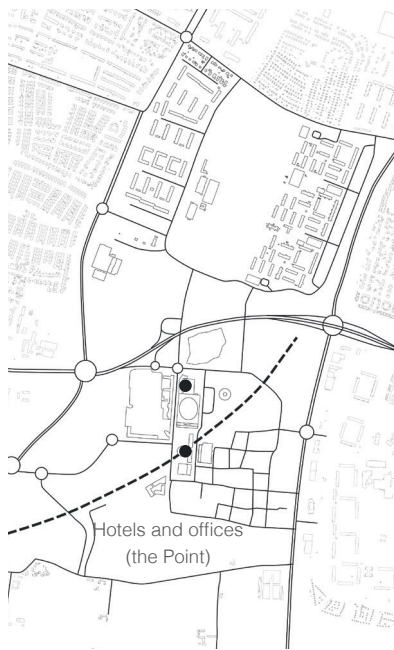
Fig. 43: Aerial picture from Hyllie in 2004 (Image by author, edited from Nordeng, 2004)



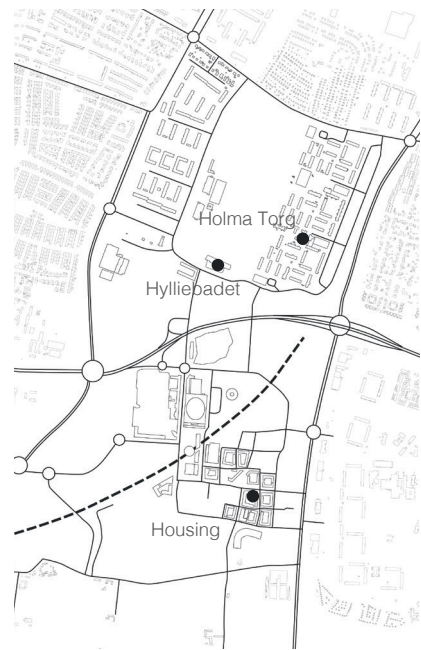
Fig. 44: Aerial picture from Hyllie in 2016 (Image by author, edited from Nordeng, 2016a)



2012



2014



2017

Fig. 45: Maps of the urban development in Hyllie from 2005 - 2017 (Image by author)

3|2 PLANS AND VISIONS OF HYLLIE

A closer look into the visions and plans of Hyllie is needed to see if the future will bring better, accessible and inclusive places.

Climate-smart Hyllie

One of the first, main brochures about Hyllie (Malmö Stad, 2013) is called 'Climate-smart Hyllie – testing the sustainable solutions of the future', see figure 46. It is clear that the vision to keep the lead in the development of a world-class sustainable city is still here. As described in the brochure; '*The City of Malmö has ambitious environmental goals: by 2020, the city's organisation is to be climate neutral, and by 2030, Malmö will be supplied with 100% renewable energy. Hyllie – Malmö's largest expansion area – will take the lead in the development of a world-class sustainable city.*' (Malmö Stad, 2013). This started in 2011, when the energy company E.ON, the local water and waste company VA SYD and the municipality signed a so-called 'climate contract'. In this contract was stated that Hyllie would be powered completely on renewable or recycled energy by the year 2020. The energy would be generated from local suppliers as wind, solar, biomass and waste (E.ON SE, 2017).

This collaboration and approach could be seen as the normalisation of neoliberal and experimental planning, started with Bo01 back in 2001, explained on page 48.

Plans have been updated over and over again. Especially since the crisis in 2008 the pace of constructing and building was slowed down. The latest update contains four clear goals for the area within the preferred identity: Öresund International (translated from Malmö Stad, 2017e).

1. The communication node

The well-developed infrastructure and location in the Öresund region will give Hyllie an international character. The built-up area in

Hyllie shall be a dense and attractive urban area to provide many living and working people access to the communications. Hyllie will contribute to the growth and development of the region's business community. Hyllie will contribute to increased social sustainability by means of more jobs and improved accessibility for people to travel to and from work.

2. The good soil

Hyllie is the northernmost part of Söderslätt, a well-known cultural landscape, and has one of Sweden's most productive soils. It is the signature of the place and an important natural resource to be used to create a distinctive green city centre and an exciting meeting with the cultural landscape. The local qualities are the only ones that can give Hyllie a truly unique identity.

3 Integration

Hyllie is centrally located in the Öresund region and will be a place characterized by integration between Sweden and Denmark. Hyllie is located in a landscape of suburban districts that today lack meeting places and variety. Hyllie will be a city centre in southern Malmö that connects and strengthens surrounding suburban districts.

4. Climate smart

Hyllie will be the most climate smart neighbourhood in the Öresund region. Energy-efficient buildings will be provided with renewable energy through smart systems. In Hyllie it should be easy to have a sustainable lifestyle.



Climate-smart Hyllie – testing the sustainable solutions of the future



Fig. 46: Flyer Climate-smart Hyllie (Hyllie, 2013)



Fig. 47: Strategic development plan of Hyllie South (Malmö Stad, 2017d)

Southern Hyllie

More recently, a development plan of the Southern part of Hyllie has been published. This strategic plan was necessary to provide a broad political consensus and predictability for the actors in the area (Malmö Stad, 2017d). Around the station area and major roads is a lack of parks, schools and kindergartens, and investments depend on the future developments in Southern Hyllie. The plan describes the future of Hyllie as an attractive city centre, where about 15.000 residents will live. The Southern part will accommodate 3000-4000 new homes, 3000-4000 new workplaces, 3 schools and a district park, see figure 47 above.

The urban design is based on three clear pillars (translated from Malmö Stad 2015):

1. Dense and mixed urban environment
2. Meeting of the dense city and the cultural landscape, developed into a 'city bridge' where Malmö meets Söderslätt (South

Plain, an agricultural district famous for its high quality soil). It consists of an urban environment inspired by Bo01 and a natural axis where the water is addressed.

3. Cultural landscape consisting of a 'common green space' with roots in the Middle Ages.

The former cultural landscape contains some historically interesting qualities, such as the old path 'Tygelsjöstigen', the longest willow alley in Sweden (Malmö, 2015). Other green qualities should be linked to cultural historically interesting areas.

The visions and goals show the desired residents, mainly young families and starters. An attractive urban environment to work, live and enjoy, and a new centre for the people from the Southern Malmö.

Neoliberalism in Hyllie

The large scale development project in Hyllie can be seen as a successor of Bo01 in the Western Harbour, where the planning department experimented for the first time with the sustainability discourse (Madureira & Baeten, 2016). It is clearly designed for commercial activities at the regional scale (Madureira & Baeten, 2016). Baeten (2012b) also argues that the Hyllie project contains a set of contradictory urbanities that typifies not just Malmö's neoliberalisation, but also could be seen as an example of contemporary urban neoliberalism which occurs in much of the Western world. It is clear that the Hyllie project constructs a new city for new (wealthy, high-educated) people (Baeten, 2012b). It is a remarkable aim to build for the desired immigrants, hoping to attract them instead of building for immigrants who actually have arrived.

In 2013 a new mayor, Katrin Stjernfeldt took over from Ilmar Reepalu, the man behind the 'vision work' described on page 49. The emphasis on social sustainability has increased, however sometimes more as a unifying vision to converge conflicting policy goals, earlier described on page 62.

According to Holgersen (2015) it is evident that Malmö's post industrial path established in the mid-1990s is still followed, as in many other cities around the world. It is argued that Malmö has met the crisis of 2007/2008 with the same method as the one in the beginning of the 1990s, by increasing its shopping centres, hotels, a new concert and congress hall. Famously quoted ([Harvey (1989)] in Holgersen (2015): *"How many successful convention centres, sports stadia, disney-worlds, harbour places and spectacular shopping malls can there be?"*.

Below in figure 48 is an overview from the developments in Hyllie. The tallest building has still to be built. It will become approximately 100 metres high, creating definitely a new landmark for the area. The original plan proposed a tower of 195 metres high, but this is (happily) toned down. On the right page pictures are shown in figure 49 from the main developments of Hyllie: a sports and events hall Malmö Arena, Hyllie Station, Hotel and offices of The Point and shopping mall Emporia.

Homes:	A total of approx. 8,000, of which at least 30% will be rented
Jobs:	A total of approx. 8,000
Shopping:	Approx. 220 shops, restaurants and cafés
Multi-purpose arena:	Capacity for 15,000 spectators
Exhibition centre:	17,000 m² (183,000 Sq Ft)
Hotel:	Approx. 500 rooms
Tallest building:	Point Hyllie, approx. 100 metres
Parking spaces:	5,000 car spaces, 1,300 bicycle spaces
Communications:	Rail, city buses, regional buses, cycle paths, preparations for tram line
Journey times (train)	
Malmö-Copenhagen:	30 minutes
Hyllie-Copenhagen Airport:	12 minutes
Hyllie-Malmö Central Station:	6 minutes
Hyllie-Malmö City Centre:	3 minutes
Hyllie-Lund:	19 minutes

Fig. 48: Overview of the developments in Hyllie (Hyllie, 2017)

“

The elites of Malmö have institutionalised the Western Harbour experimental planning and design techniques to push through high-profile urban development projects in Malmö. Plans are designed without people's needs and wishes as a starting point.

”

Guy Baeten, 2012b



Fig. 49: From top left to down right:
Malmö Arena, Hyllie Station, Hotel the
Point, Malmö Mässan (Image by author)

3|3 SPATIAL ANALYSIS



Fig. 50: Location of the development in Hyllie in relation to its surrounding (Image by author)

The meaning of this development

The large scale development in Hyllie is one of the main priorities of the municipality for development. It was a logical location for development, due to its gateway location, connection to Copenhagen and the land was still owned by the municipality from the Million Program. Due to its large amount of new functions and shopping, it acts already as a modern 'centre for the South', see figure 50 above. With the newly planned housing and densification (elaborated on the next pages) it will become a large new district.

The next pages show a spatial analysis which identifies where the public spaces are in the larger area of Malmö. Public transport and infrastructure are important factors, as well as green structures. Thereafter, on the neighbourhood level is shown where social networks and spatial structures are found.

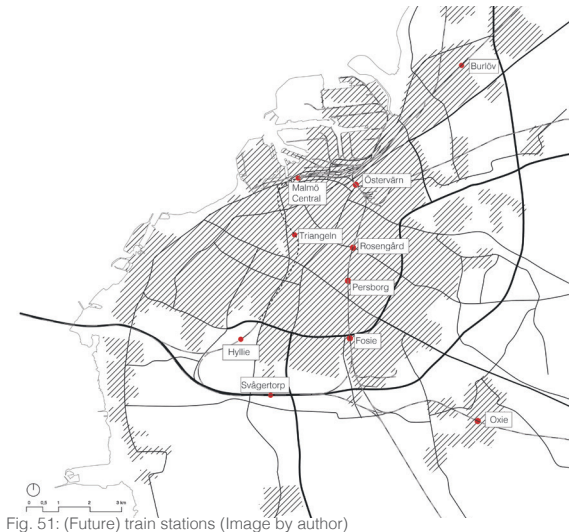


Fig. 51: (Future) train stations (Image by author)

Train stations

The city is planning to develop several new train stations in the coming years (see figure 51 above): Östervärn, Rosengård, Persborg and Fosie. Those will connect Malmö regionally better but also nationally.

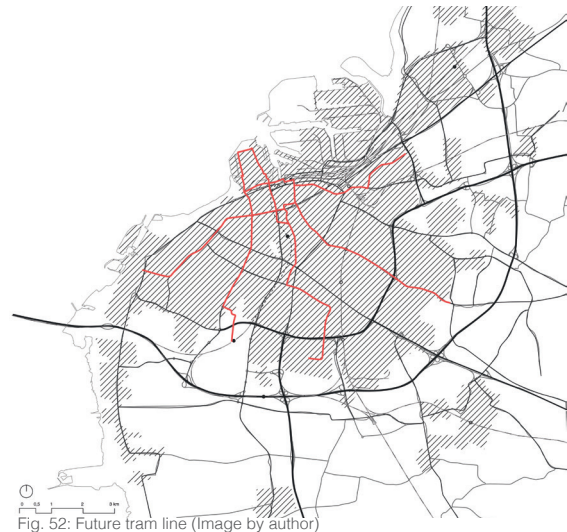


Fig. 52: Future tram line (Image by author)

Tram line

The municipality is discussing about a new tram line throughout the city. The map in figure 52 above shows where the tram line is proposed. One line would connect Hyllie along Kroksbäck with the city centre.

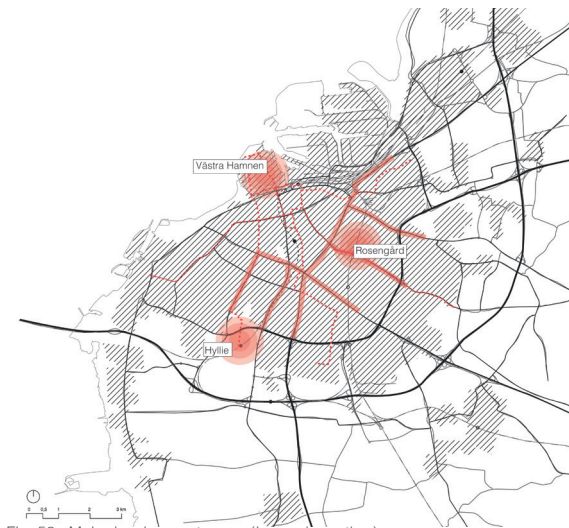


Fig. 53: Main development areas (Image by author)

Main development areas and densification along axes

Besides Hyllie are two other large scale developments going on in the city: the Västra Hamnen (Western Harbour), which started in 2001 with Bo01 explained on page 48, see figure 53 above. Rosengård is the other (re)development area, mainly due to the development of the new train station. In the map are also developments along large roads shown, where the municipality would start with urban densification and redevelopments.

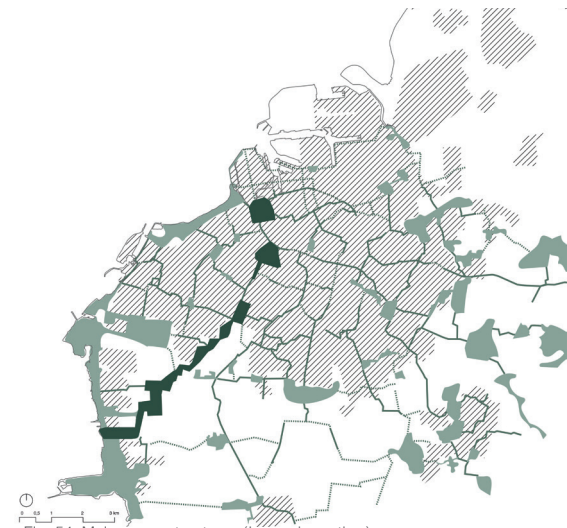


Fig. 54: Main green structures (Image by author)

Green structures

Although the city needs to densify and develop many new housing areas in the coming years, it is also important to keep the green areas and try to connect them better. In the map (figure 54) are the main green structures shown, as well as possible new connections. The dark green structure is the Pildammsstråket, which is one of the main green structures in Malmö, connecting Bunkeflostrand with the city centre.

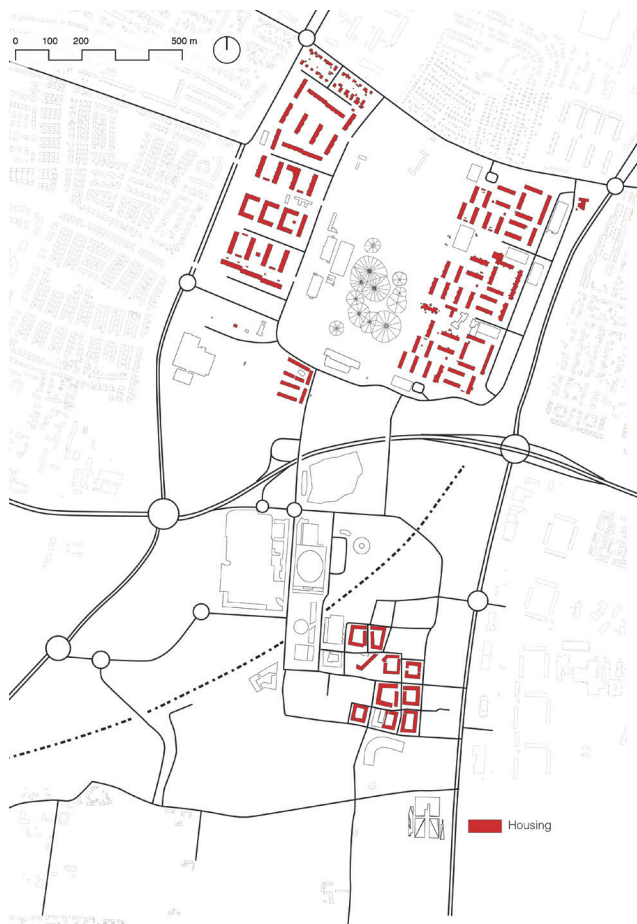


Fig. 55: Housing (Image by author)

Housing

Figure 55 above shows the housing around the area. Most housing consists of apartment blocks, primarily with apartments for rent but also for sale.

In Malmö, there are several property companies which own many of those rental apartments. MKB fastighet is the municipal company and the largest one, together with Riksbyggen responsible for the blocks in Holma and Kroksbäck. They also own some blocks in Hyllie, as well as other companies for example HSB, JM, Peab and Ikano Bostad (Hyllie, 2017).

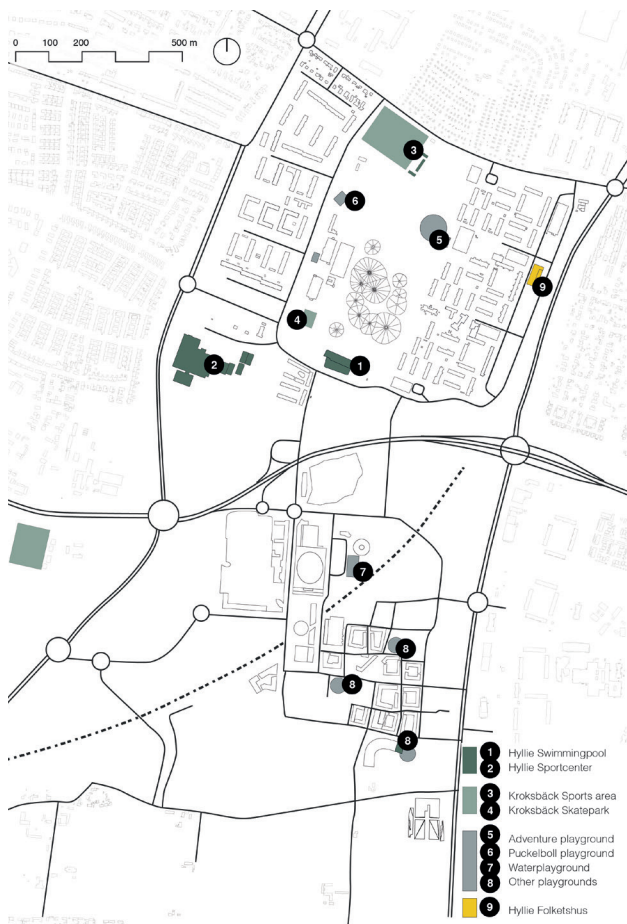


Fig. 56: Activities (Image by author)

Activities

The activities shown in figure 56 above are divided into indoor sports areas, outdoor sports areas, playgrounds and a community house 'Folketshus'. The Folketshus may need to move in the next years, due to the densification plans explained later. It provides an opportunity for relocating between Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie.

Many activities are developed in the last years. For example, the swimming pool opened in 2015. The Kroksbäck Skatepark was donated by skate-brand Vans for the Vans Park Series World Championship final in 2016. The Puckelboll playground, a bumpy football field, opened in 2010. The Adventure and Water playground are part of a larger project around the city to establish 'themed playgrounds'.

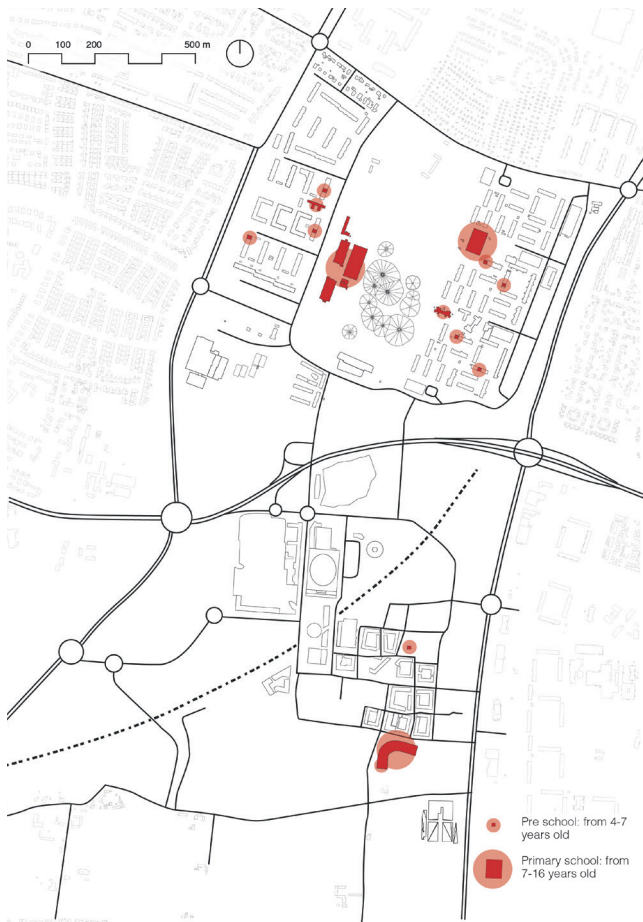


Fig. 57: Schools (Image by author)

Schools

The schools are really important in this area. Their location is shown in figure 57. There are especially many preschools (förskolor), where children between 4-7 years old go to. There are three primary schools (grundskolor) and children between their 7th and 16th go to this school. There are no high schools (gymnasium) located in the area, but more towards the city centre.

In the future is an international primary school planned in Hyllie.

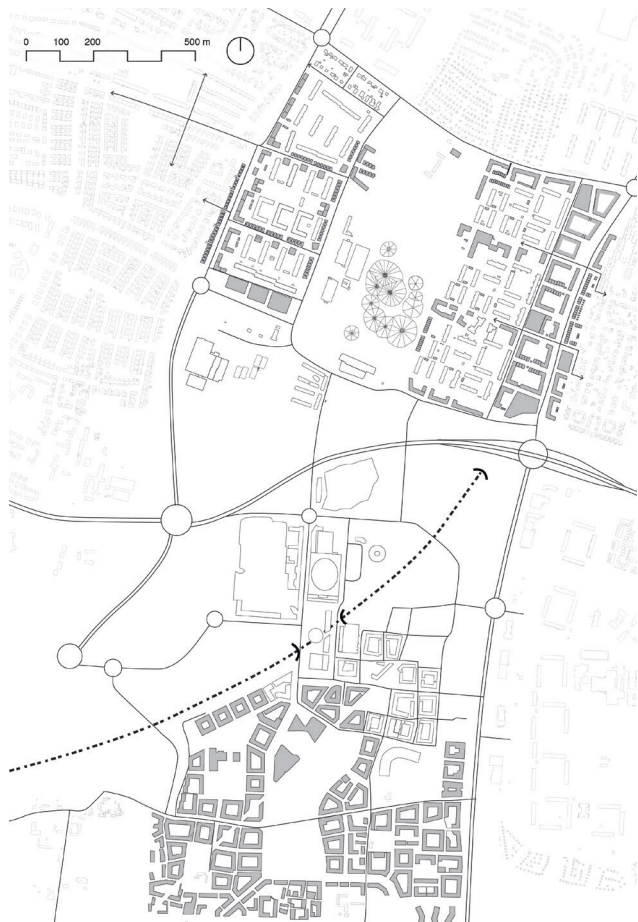


Fig. 58: Densification plans (Image by author)

Densification plans

As described on page 71, the area is prioritised for (re)development. Many new housing is planned in the southern Hyllie, as well as some new schools and culture centre. Also, the roads east from Holma and west from Kroksbäck are planned for densification and turning them into so-called 'city streets' with slow traffic, less cars and more bike lanes and pedestrian paths. See figure 58 above. Turning these roads into city streets will be a positive development for Holma and Kroksbäck, becoming better connected to their surrounding neighbourhoods and increasing the movements between them. Infrastructural barriers will be taken away. However, the highway in between Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie will still be a barrier.

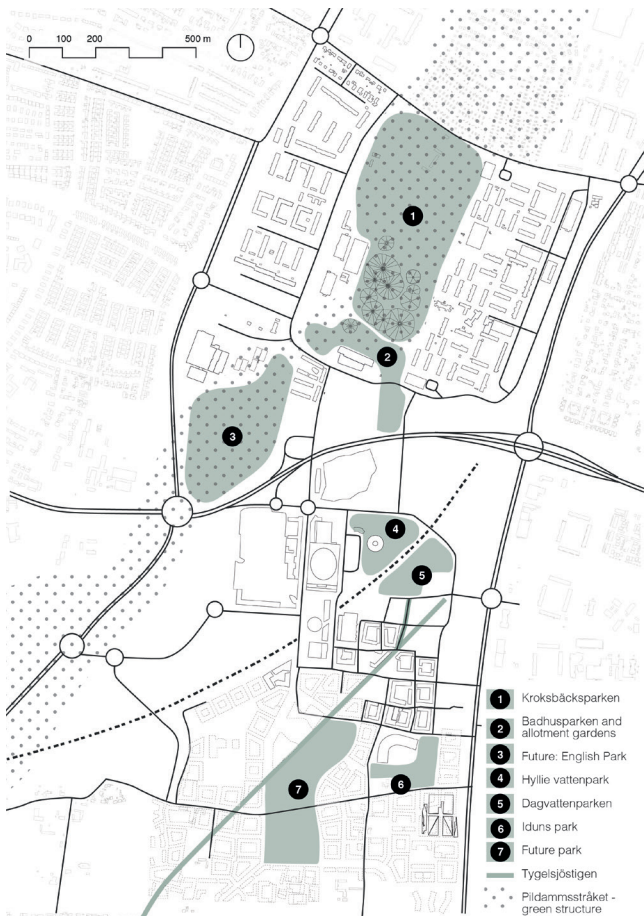


Fig. 59: Parks (Image by author)

Parks

The area is relatively green with many parks, see figure 59 above. This is mainly due to the Pildammsstråket, a connecting green structure going all the way into the city centre, earlier shown in figure 54 on page 77. Also, the area is famous for its high quality soils and cultural landscape.

The Kroksbäcksparken has characterising artificial hills, made during the construction of Holma and Kroksbäck back in the 1960s. They are a huge quality of the park with views all around. Badhusparken is finished in 2015 and contains (private) allotment gardens. Other parks (number 3, 5 and 7) are still to be made.

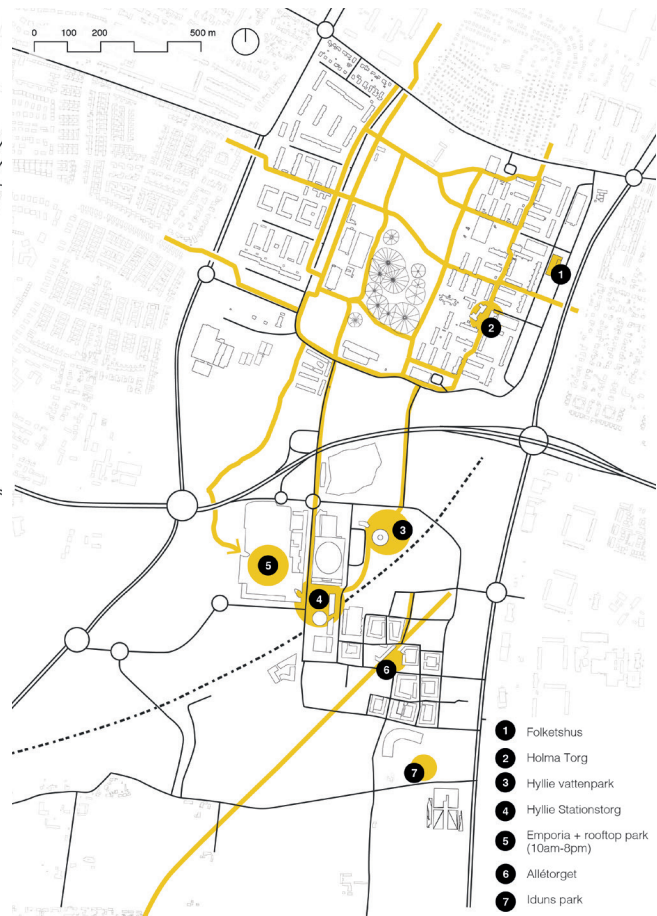


Fig. 60: Pedestrian flows and public places (Image by author)

Pedestrian flows and public places

The map above in figure 60 shows the main pedestrian flows and public places in the area. These places are public, but it does not directly mean that everyone actually goes there. The station square is used the most and also by most social groups. Besides, the shopping mall is a major attraction, with two large supermarkets on the ground floor. This leads to mostly north-south movements going in the area. Less movement is going east-or westwards, mostly caused by the large roads acting as physical barriers, as well as less amenities there. Hyllie vattenpark is mostly visited as a walkway towards the station from Holma and the other way around. Holma square with new buildings and amenities is quite new, and positively experienced.

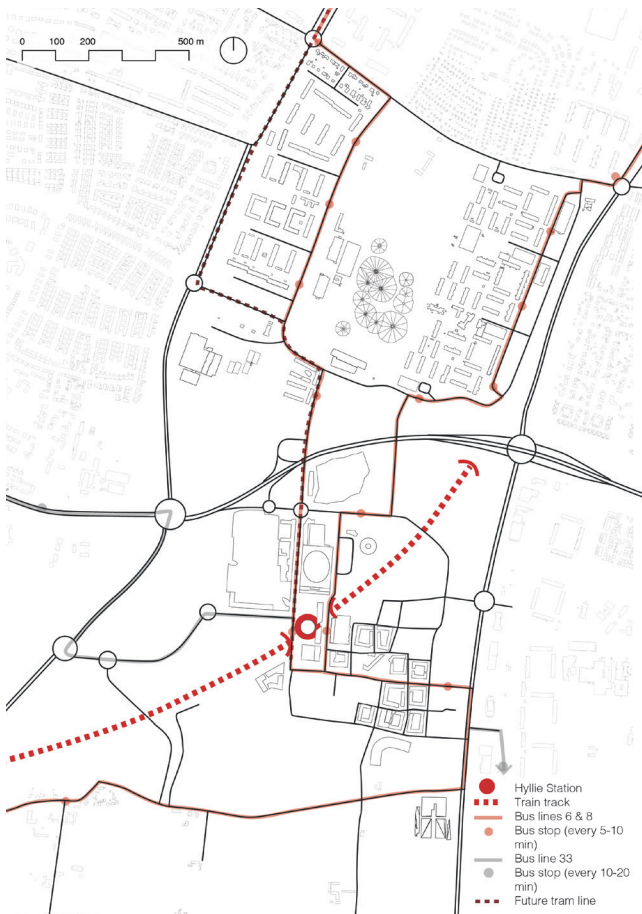


Fig. 61: Public transport (Image by author)

Public transport

The area is well connected to public transport. Mainly due to the new train station Hyllie, connecting to Copenhagen and Malmö Central. In both Holma and Kroksbäck there are several bus stops for the city bus connecting going to either Hyllie station or the city centre. Another bus line has an east-west connection passing Hyllie station. This is shown in figure 61 above.

The municipality is discussing about a tram line in the future, which then may be along Lorensborgsgatan (road west from Kroksbäck) towards Hyllie Station. This may be developed simultaneously with the densification in Holma and Kroksbäck and may change the road into the so-called 'city street', see also densification plans on page 79.

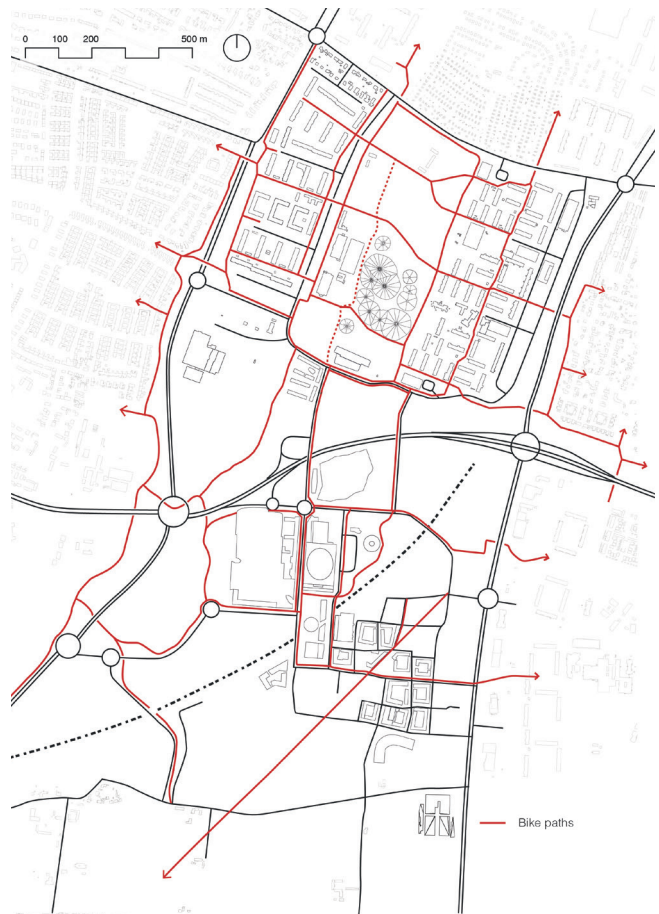


Fig. 62: Bike paths (Image by author)

Bike paths

Figure 62 shows the main bike lanes and connections in the area. Most movements are north-south again, just like the pedestrian movements. More and more attention is paid to connect areas better with each other. However due to the large roads around the research area this is difficult. This would need a larger transformation in the future.



Fig. 63: Tree structure and parks (Image by author)

Social networks

In figure 63 above is a map shown with the main social spaces and routes used by pedestrians and cyclists. The parks around the site are an important asset of the area, creating much green space for a variety of activities. In the parks people can move freely around and it is much used for running and other types of sports. Especially on the hills, which is shown in the pictures in figure 64 below. These artificial hills are a special feature of the Kroksbäcksparken and they are quite high, which is valuable for a relatively flat city like Malmö. Besides the streets, the only 'urban' social space around the site is the new Holma Torg. More 'urban' space would be welcome.



Fig. 64: The beautiful Kroksbäckshills (Images by author)

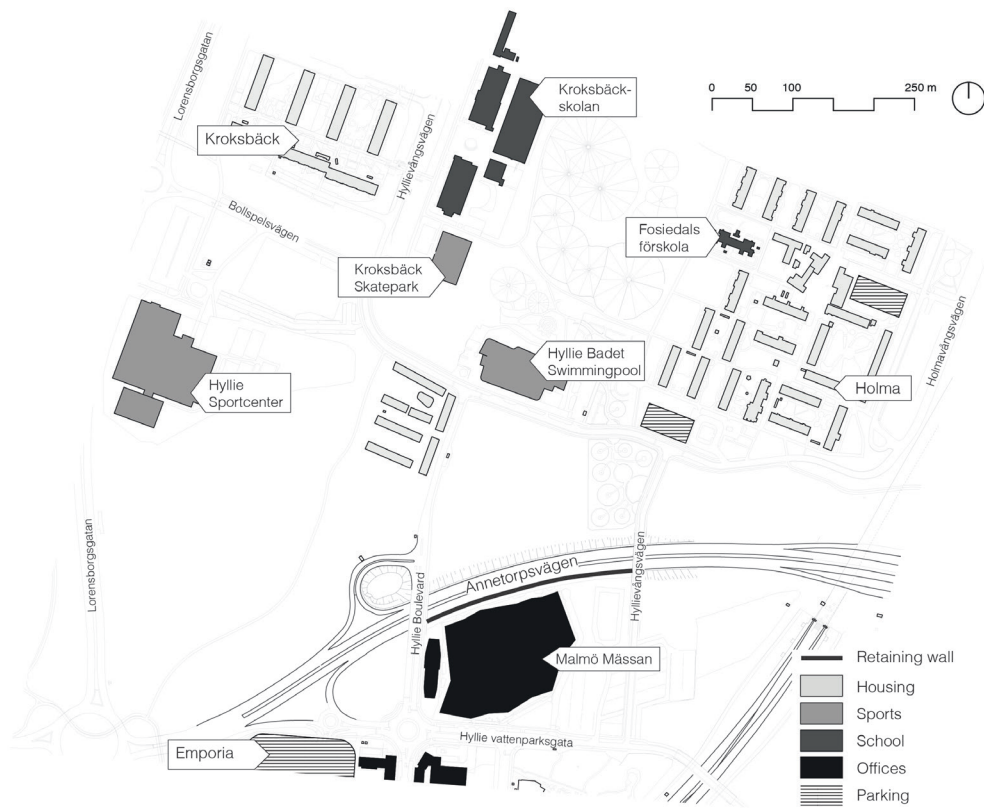


Fig. 65: Program (Image by author)

Program

In figure 65 above is a map shown with the program around the site, divided into housing, sports, schools, offices and parking. Besides, the main streets are visible. As visible in the map, the Annetorpsvägen is a large highway in between Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie. This highway lies sunken, with two roads bridging it; Hyllie Boulevard and Hyllievångsvägen. It forms a large barrier. With another retaining wall on the side of Holma and Kroksbäck, it would be possible to turn the highway into a tunnel.

The three pictures below in figure 66 show the views from the Kroksbäcksparken hills towards three different sides.



Fig. 66: From left to right: Views from Kroksbäck hills towards Kroksbäck, Holma and Hyllie (Images by author)

3|4 EXCLUSION IN PUBLIC SPACE

As shown with the spatial analysis on the previous pages, there are many developments going on. It showed a lack of 'urban' public spaces and movements going south-north. Currently, public places around the area are found in the parks, playgrounds, outdoor sports areas and the only two squares at the station and in Holma. Besides, there are many characteristics both in Hyllie, Holma and Kroksbäck which influence the publicness of these places, and even exclude people of going there. This paragraph describes the exclusionary aspects of the public spaces around Hyllie, Holma and Kroksbäck which influence people's experience of a public space. As introduced in paragraph 1.6, a public space is often seen as a space characterised by the co-presence of strangers (Kärrholm, 2012). Besides, a public space is essential for a public culture and an open society. Therefore, the key of a public space is their accessibility, without any fixed identity and where flexibility and inclusiveness are enhanced (Madanipour, 2010 p. 8).

Related to exclusion is the term participation. New societal boundaries aroused between

people with high participation and people with low participation. The people included are the ones who are participating in the system and society, while the ones excluded are characterised by a lack of participation (CSSM, 2013). The diagram below in figure 67 shows how these concepts are related to Hyllie, Holma and Kroksbäck.

The map on the right (figure 68) shows the areas of Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie. It shows where characteristics of the public space influence people's experience of exclusion. On the next pages are the characteristics further elaborated with pictures and explanations.

1. Large scale retail spaces
2. Privatisation of public space
3. Violence and insecurity
4. Claiming space
5. Homogeneous public space
6. Lack of human scale
7. Lack of interaction
8. Lack of accessibility

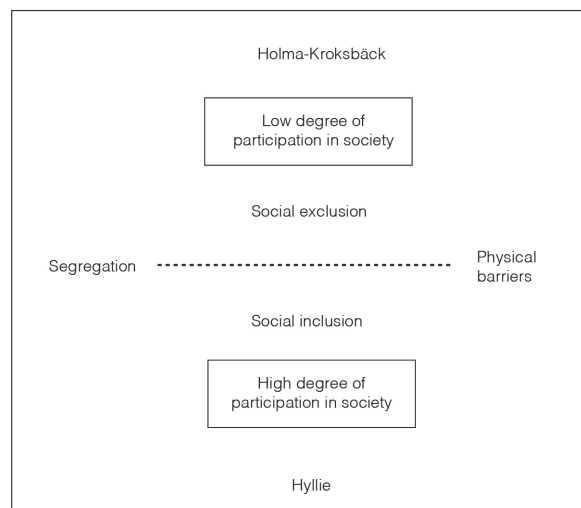


Fig. 67: The distinctions of the concepts segregation, in- and exclusion and participation, projected on Hyllie, Holma and Kroksbäck (Image by author)

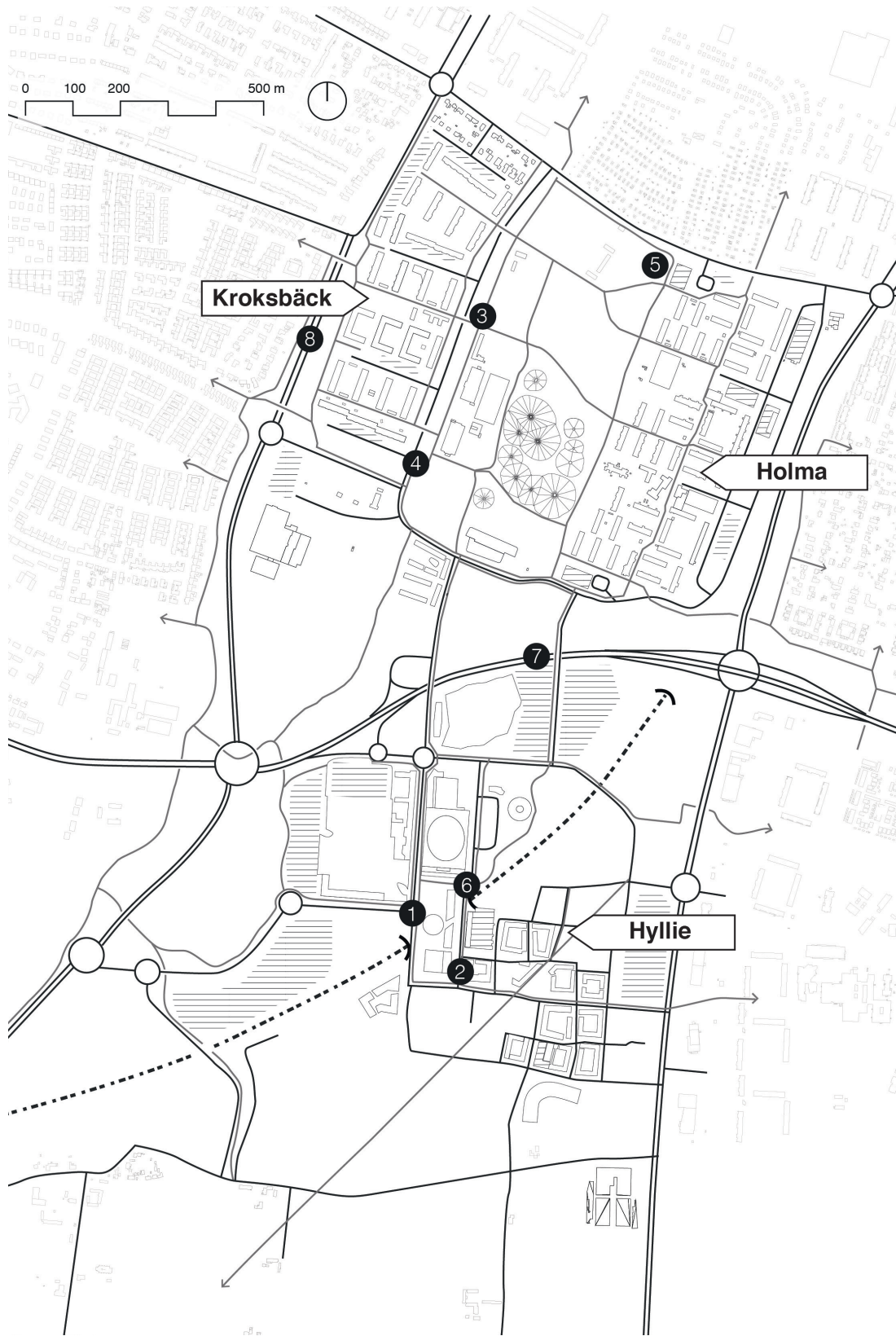


Fig. 68: Map of Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie with the spatial characteristics increasing exclusion (Image by author)



Fig. 69: Shopping mall Emporia (Image by author)

1. Large scale retail spaces

Since the service economy the public spaces became spaces of aesthetic value and consumption through the promotion of retail development (Madanipour, 2010, p. 7). These new retail developments bring about a territorialisation of urban public space, with transformation of materialities, architecture and urban design to meet the need of the consumer. Consumer spaces are more and more focusing on branding and place-making in which people can distinct themselves from others (Kärrholm, 2012). Emporia Shopping mall in Hyllie (figure 69) is with its spectacular design and materiality focussed on differentiation rather than basic needs.



Fig. 70: Arenagatan in Hyllie with hotel and offices of the Point (Image by author)

2. Privatisation of public space

Increasing mobility of capital has led to large-scale investments in the city, mostly materialised with large scale property-development projects (Tasan-Kok, 2012). Former agricultural land has huge potential profits when being transformed into prime offices and hotels (Baeten, 2012b). This has exactly happened here, with the hotels and offices in Hyllie (figure 70). These private interests of hotels tend to claim the urban space, undermining the publicness of its public spaces (Madanipour, 2010 p. 9). The large buildings of this hotel (in the future with another tower of 100 meter) is made for temporary residents and expresses international connections, forgetting the local residents.



Fig. 71: Carfire at Hyllievångsvägen in Kroksbäck (El-Alawi, 2016)

3. Violence and insecurity

In September 2017, the police discovered how several shootings were related to each other because of a conflict between a gang from Holma and a gang from Kroksbäck. Mostly the violence is about the control of trade in drugs and weapons, but also about personal conflicts (Sydsvenskan, 2017). These events, as well as car fires as shown in figure 71, lower the safety level of the residents in the neighbourhood, as they could have hurt or killed passers by. When public spaces lack safety, vulnerable people do not dare to go outside, especially during the evenings.



Fig. 72: Separate traffic flows make it impossible to avoid people around Hyllevångsvägen, Kroksbäck and easy for gangs to flee when police is coming (Image by author)

4. Claimed space

Related to insecurity is the challenge of claimed space. Besides private interests which tend to claim the urban space, also certain powerful social groups make claims over space, instigating a process of inclusion and exclusion (Madanipour, 2010 p. 237). The most vulnerable groups, as the poor, the disabled, the elderly, children, women, long-term unemployed and ethnic minorities are in this way exposed to the risk of social exclusion. Especially in Kroksbäck this challenge is visible in an overall lack of public spaces, but foremost the separation of traffic flows, shown in figure 72. Pedestrians do not have many choices of going, making it impossible to meet and to avoid.



Fig. 73: View from Krokshälssparken towards the apartment blocks of Holma (Image by author)

5. Homogeneous public space

The character of public spaces can be instrumental or expressive according to Madanipour (2010, p. 238). Instrumental is about the purpose of the place, for example a bus station or a park. Expressive means the projection or exploration of identity of a place. The public spaces around suburban areas lack especially the expressive quality of identification with the place, because of their homogeneity and lack of variety (Madanipour, 2010). Holma and Krokshäls are both built during the Million Program in the 1960s and 1970s and are characterised by large scale apartment blocks with a lack of variety in outdoor spaces, shown in figure 72 and earlier described on page 42. Often places lack a human dimension, see also number 6.



Fig. 74: Urban space in front of Malmö Arena in Hyllie (Image by author)

6. Lack of human scale

The new large scale development project in Hyllie has literally buildings of a very large scale. The buildings are often more than 30 meters high, with some exceptions of 60 meter. In the future a new tower of 100 meter will be added to the offices and hotels of The Point. Gehl (2010) stresses the importance of the human dimension in urban development, however, here, the public spaces are too wide and too big, which make people feel uncomfortable, see figure 74. Taking into account the weather conditions in the south of Sweden, these large buildings and places increase the south-western winds from the sea.



Fig. 75: Annetorpsvägen, part of the inner ringroad of Malmö, separating Hyllie and Holma-Kroksbäck (Image by author)

7. Lack of interaction

The highway in figure 75 above, has only two cross overs between Holma-Kroksbäck and Hyllie. It acts as a physical barrier between the areas, increasing the challenge of segregation. Roads like these create in this way homogeneous 'islands' of city neighbourhoods, belonging to different social, economic and cultural landscapes (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001). They are characterised by a lack of movement between them. Sennett (2017) would call it a border, with a lack of interaction and exchange between people from different sides. The noise and pollution make people not want to stay around it. It acts as a place 'in between'. In general, the area around Hyllie seems to prioritise the car above the pedestrian.



Fig. 76: Lorensborgsgatan with walls on the side separating the villa area and million home area in Krokshäck (Image by author, edited from Google, 2017)

8. Lack of accessibility

The homogeneous 'islands' are reinforced by walls on their sides, shown in figure 76. Along a large road in Krokshäck, which is already a physical barrier in itself, this is even increased with walls. Walls and fences decrease the accessibility and freedom of movement. As Madanipour (2012 p. 8) states: *"Without being accessible, a place cannot become public."* Public spaces are places equally accessible to everyone, despite their age, gender, background, income, disabilities and social status. It seems that more and more places are made for smaller social groups, reinforcing social division and potential tensions, conflicts or mistrust between different groups.

3|5 CONTRASTING DEMOGRAPHICS

The development in Hyllie has already an impact on the social fabric in Malmö. A closer look into statistical information explains the changes and the contrast with the districts Holma and Kroksbäck.

Statistical information is divided into different areas in the city, see the map on the right page (figure 77). The city consists of five main areas: Innerstaden (Inner city), Nörr (north), Öster (east), Söder (south) and Väster (west).

Väster area is divided into two main districts:

- Limhamn-Bunkeflo
- Hyllie

Whereas Hyllie is divided into fourteen different neighbourhoods.

The neighbourhoods Holma and Kroksbäck are part of the district Hyllie. Just as the new urban development, which is in the neighbourhood Hyllievång, part of the district of Hyllie. Before in the report, Hyllie meant the whole new development, in statistical information, it is limited to Hyllievång.

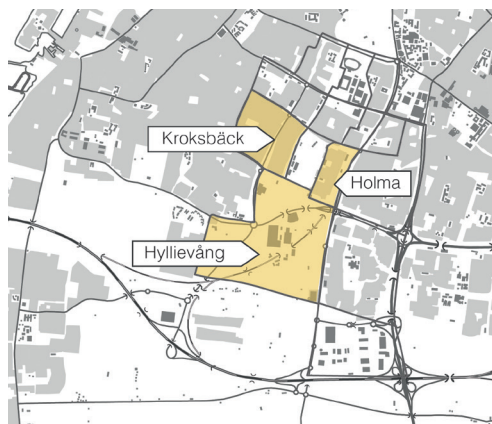
The research area is part of three neighbourhoods, Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllievång, see figure 78.

Within districts and neighbourhoods are large differences between socio-economic situations of people, however, it gives some indication of the social fabric. For example, in Kroksbäck, is a strong division between the research area and outside the research area. A large road divides the areas whereas on the west side of the road (outside the research area) are approximately 625 villas located and people there have higher living standards (Malmö, 2016a).

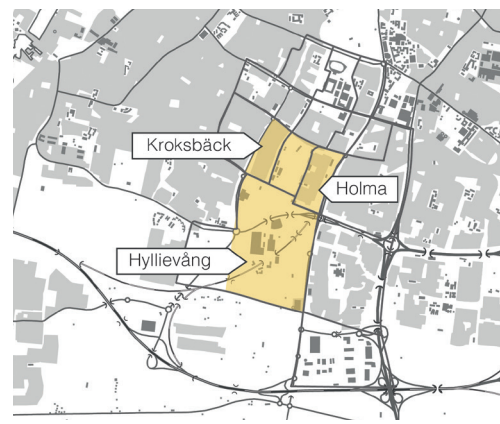
In the table is the population of Malmö shown (figure 79), district and neighbourhoods. The assumption is made (based on Malmö Stad, 2016) that approximately 3.800 people are living inside the research area.



Fig. 77: The city districts and neighbourhoods according to statistical information (Image by author based on Malmö Stad, 2017b)



Neighbourhoods according to statistical information



Research area

Fig. 78: The difference between statistical information and this projects' research area (Image by author)

	Malmö	Väster area	District Hyllie	Kroksbäck	Holma	Hyllievång
Population 31-12-2016	328.494	81.745	34.568	5.302 (appr. 3800 in research area)	4.169	1.483

Fig. 79: Population numbers (Image by author based on SCB, 2017)

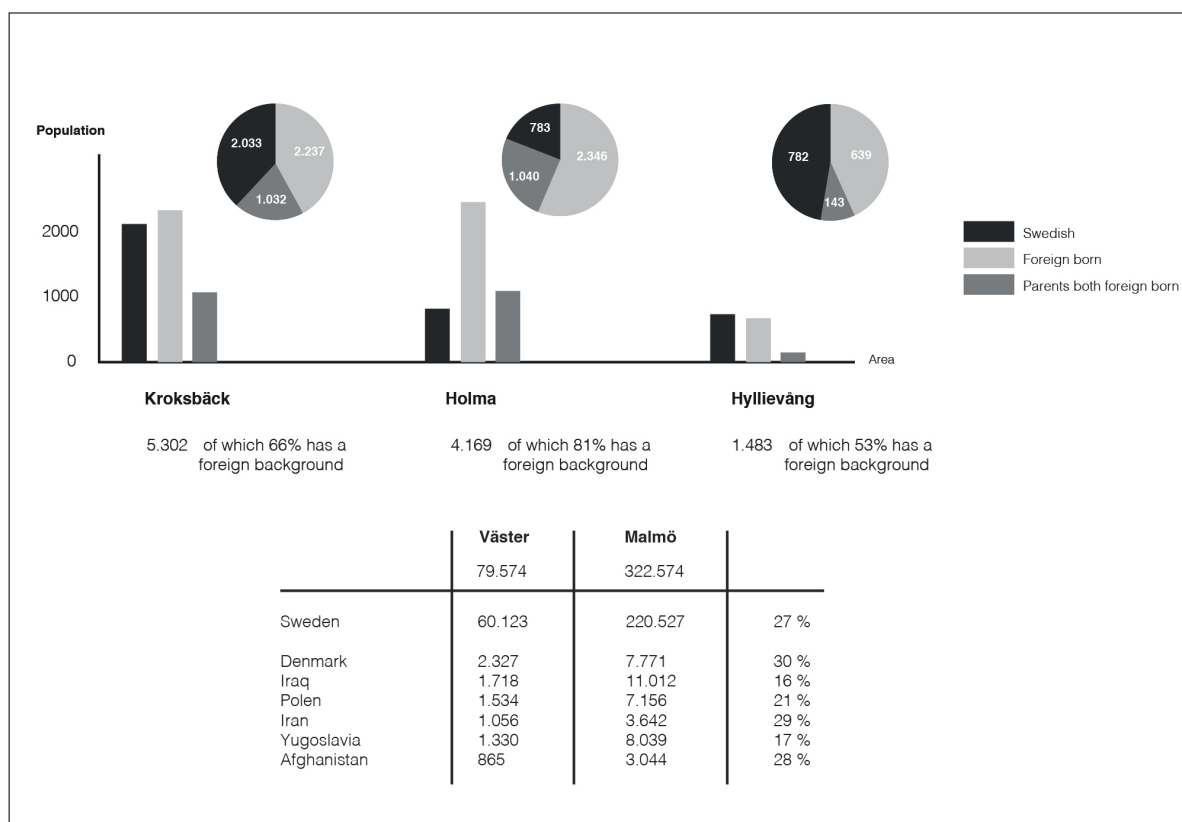


Fig. 80: Statistics of the population's background per neighbourhood (Image by author based on SCB, 2017)

Foreign background

In figure 80 is shown the background of the population in Kroksbäck, Holma and Hyllievång. In Holma, the largest amount has a foreign born background, 81%. In Kroksbäck 62% and in Hyllievång 53%.

Remarkable it that Hyllievång has quite a high percentage. This could be related to a high amount of Danish people, the group that Hyllievång would like to attract.

Only seven other neighbourhoods in Malmö have a higher percentage of people with a foreign background than Holma. Hermodsdal, Apelgården, Kryddgården, Törnrosen, Örtagården, Herrgården and Persborg. Six of these neighbourhoods are located in the district of Rosengård, also known for its high percentage of people with a foreign background.

In the table above is shown what the largest ethnic groups are in the Western district: from Denmark, Iraq, Poland, Iran, former Yugoslavia and Afghanistan. As the Western district is the largest district of Malmö, it is hard to tell where most foreign people live.

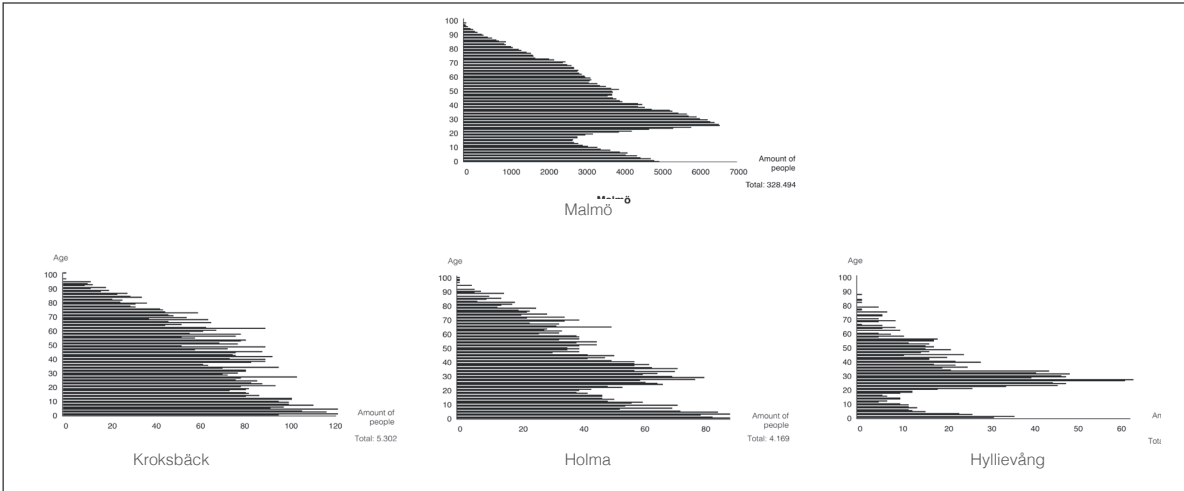


Fig. 81: Statistics of the age of the population per area (Image by author based on SCB, 2017)

Age

The population statistics are divided into age and background. In figure 81 is the age of the population per area shown. As said earlier, Malmö has compared to the rest of Sweden a pretty young population, shown in figure 39 on page 60.

The most remarkable of the age statistics is the difference between Holma-Kroksbäck and Hyllievång. Both Holma and Kroksbäck have a very young population with the largest amount of young children. 37% of the population in Holma and Kroksbäck is younger than 25 years old (Malmö Stad, 2016). In Hyllievång, the amount of children is much smaller and there is a very large amount of people in the age group 25-35. This could be explained with the newly built area with housing where this age group likes to settle.

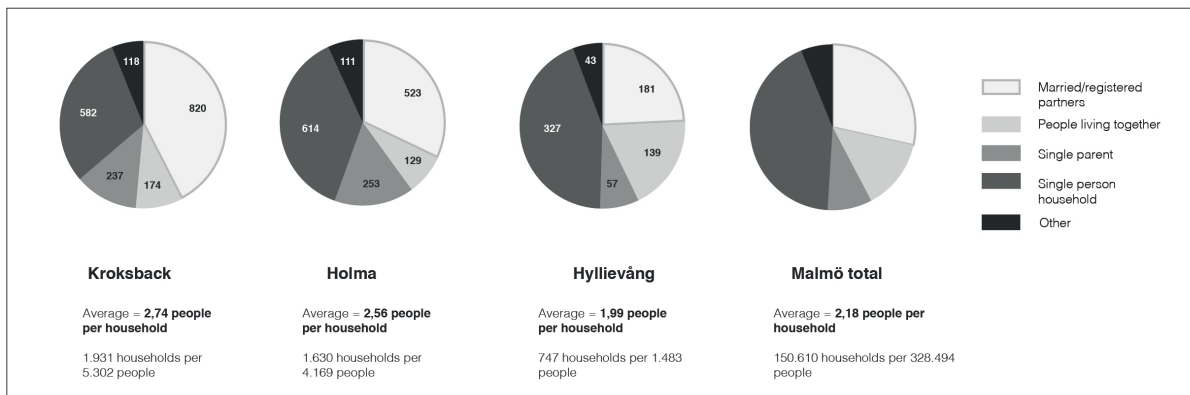


Fig. 82: Statistics of the number of people per household per area (Image by author, based on SCB, 2017)

Households

In Kroksbäck is a high number of people per household, 2,74 (see figure 82). Remarking as well is that the largest group in Hyllievång is single person household. This could be related to the newly built homes for young professionals and starters in Hyllie.

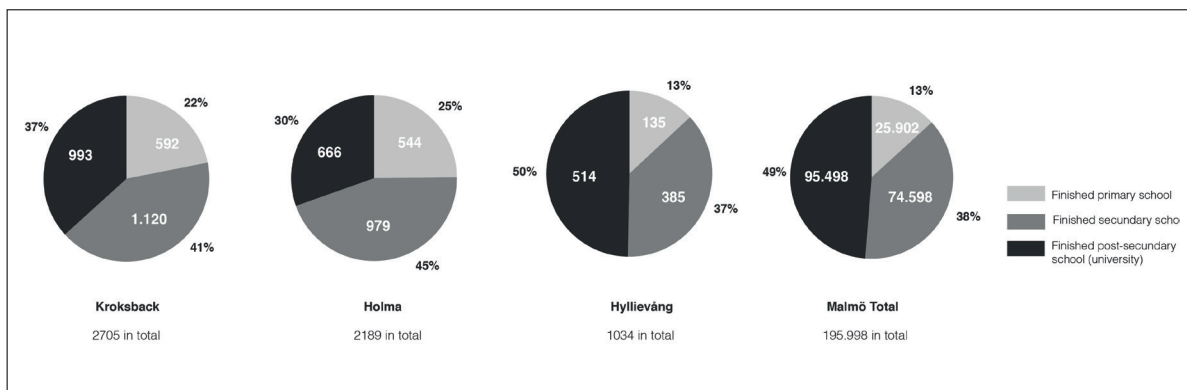


Fig. 83: Statistics of the education level of the population per area (Image by author based on SCB, 2017)

Education

In figure 83 is the education level shown from the residents from Holma, Kroksbäck, Hyllievång and a total of Malmö.

Both in Kroksbäck and Holma the largest group of people has finished secondary school as the high school, respectively 41% and 45%. In Hyllievång, the largest group has finished post-secondary school, as university: 50%. This is comparable to the whole of Malmö.

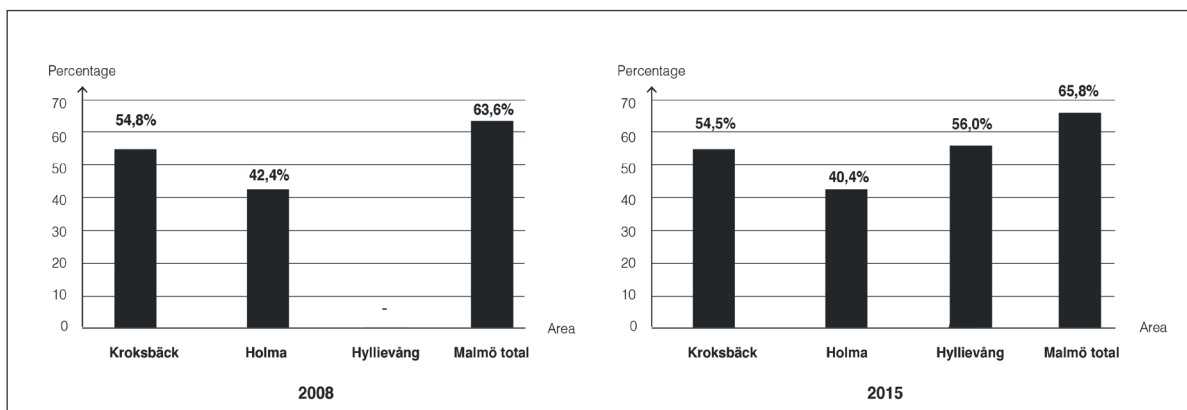


Fig. 84: Statistics of the employment rate of the population per area (Image by author, based on SCB, 2017)

Employment rate

In figure 84 is the employment rate of the areas shown, both in 2008 and 2015. Overall in Malmö has the employment rate increased.

The employment rate of Holma is very low, 40,8%. It is one of the lowest of Malmö. Remarking is that both the employment rate of Kroksbäck and Holma actually went down from 2008 to 2015.

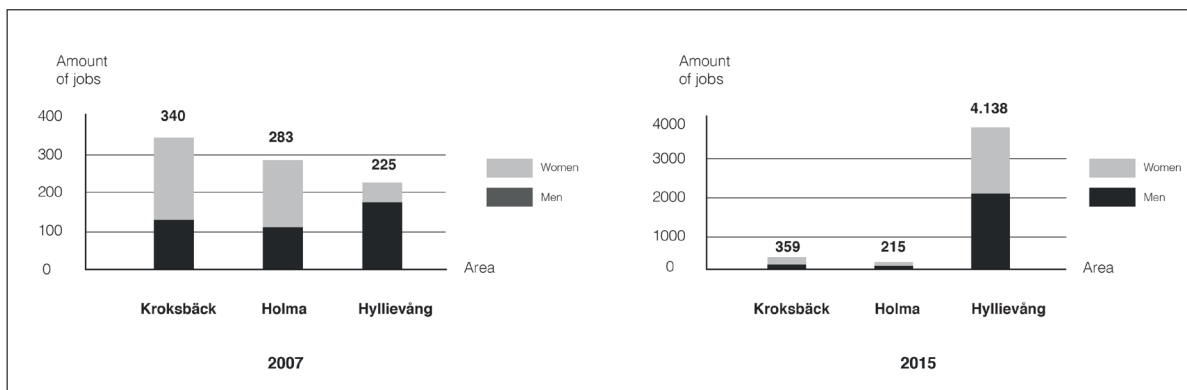


Fig. 85: The amount of jobs in 2007 and 2015 per area and gender (Image by author, based on SCB, 2017)

Jobs

In figure 85 is the amount of jobs shown. With the establishment of the large scale retail developments in Hyllie, many new jobs in the service economy are created. However, as shown in figure 84, the employment rate of Holma and Kroksbäck is lower in 2015 than in 2008, so the jobs created were not in advantage of the people living there.

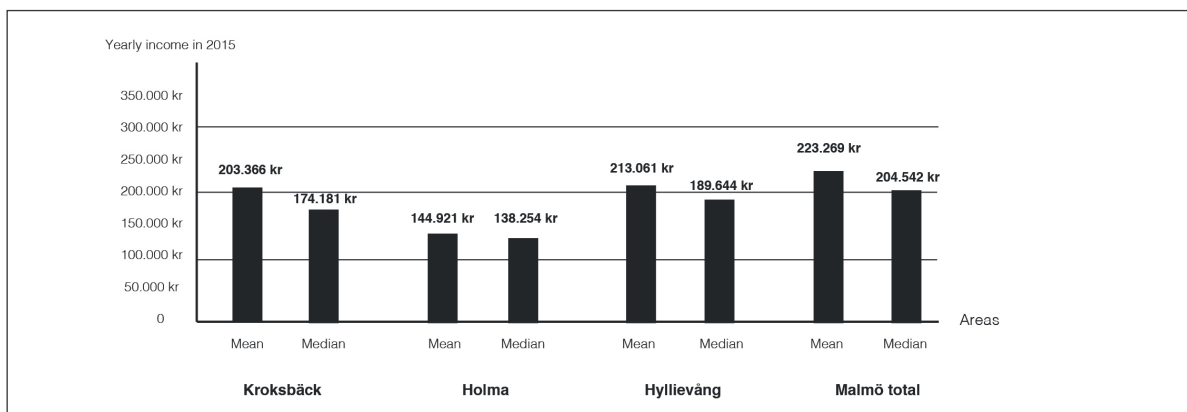


Fig. 86: Mean and median income in 2015 of people 20-64 years old, per area (Image by author, based on SCB, 2017)

Income

The median income of the working people in Holma is very low: 138.254 kr/year compared to 204.542 kr/year of the whole of Malmö, see figure 86. Only the people in the areas of Hermosedal, Kryddgården, Törnrosen, Örtagården, Herrgården and Persborg have lower income. From the 106 neighbourhoods of Malmö in total, is this quite low.

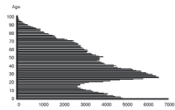
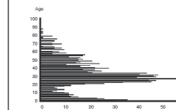
	Malmö	Kroksbäck	Holma	Hyllievång
Population 31-12-2016	328.494	5,302 (appr. 3.800 in research area)	4.619	1.483
Age				
Foreign background	44%	66%	81%	53%
Education	46,9% finished post-secondary	34,9% finished post-secondary	28,3% finished post-secondary	45,8% finished post-secondary
Unemployment rate 2008 18-64 years	3,2%	4,6%	8,8%	-
2015	5,7%	6,5%	12,4%	6,9%
Employment rate 2008	63,6%	54,8%	42,4%	-
2015	65,8%	54,5%	40,4%	56%
Amount of jobs 2007	151.008	340	283	225
2016	170.218	359	215	4.138
Median income/year 20-64 years 2015	204.542 kr	174.181 kr	138.254 kr	189.644 kr
People/household 2016	2,18	2,74	2,56	1,99

Fig. 87: Overview (Image by author, based on SCB, 2017)

Overview

From the analysis of the three areas Kroksbäck, Holma and Hyllievång can be concluded that people living in Holma have the worst living conditions. However, since the statistics from Kroksbäck are combined with a villa area next to the interest area, it could be that the people living in the villa area are compensating the numbers of the people living inside the interest area.

The overall conclusion is a clear difference between the conditions in Hyllievång compared to Holma and Kroksbäck. Have a look at figure 87. In Hyllievång are people mostly between 25-35 years old and have post-secondary education, is the employment rate higher, the amount of jobs higher, the income higher, mostly single persons household and less people per household in general.

In Holma and Kroksbäck are most people living together with a family and likely young children and have finished secondary education. They have a low income and they live in an area with less jobs. A high percentage of them have a foreign background.

3|6 THE DUAL CITY

From the analysis can be concluded that the attraction of a new desired immigrant population has succeeded. The economic policy to attract money and resources for economic growth has led to increasing inequalities related to city districts.

Holgersen & Baeten (2017) explain the resulting inequality. They use the concepts 'production' of the city and 'distribution' in the city. Production can be seen as the economic policy which aimed at economic growth and distribution as the social policy aimed at human well-being. The concepts are linked with the theory (or belief) of 'trickle down'. This means in general terms that economic growth (production) will benefit everyone (distribution) and increases the consumption by all. If the amount of money in an area increases, it will automatically be distributed to all or most people in the area. Different programs have been launched to actually make the money and resources distribute or trickle down, but in the end it did not occur and economic polarisation and spatial segregation have significantly increased (Holgersen & Baeten, 2017). This is caused by two separate developments going on, 'the dual city', with two different problems and objectives in the same spatial context. One is about the planning of progress and growth of the city, while the other is about planning for community. Production in terms of city building, economic policy and constructing an image is on the one side, and distribution in terms of welfare and social policy, aiming to 'include' people in the planning process on the other side (Holgersen & Baeten, 2017).

The dual city is clearly applicable to Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie. The focus of the development in Hyllie has been to plan for progress and growth while Holma and Kroksbäck are dealing with welfare issues and a social policy is applied to plan for the community. See figure 88 on the right.

Seeing this in the way of trickle down, it is argued here that production is actually distribution. With the development of certain city districts designed for certain people, the municipality gives priority to some above others. This leads to the distribution of wealth and power through the production of the city.

Tackling inequality and polarisation must happen within the production of the city, which starts with bringing economic and social policy together instead of keeping apart. In her book 'The just city' Fainstein (2010) clearly cautioned for the ongoing neoliberalisation of urban policy and emphasises the need and most urgent challenge to foster a just city.

“

Malmö's urban-economic policy has produced a city for the well-off and then aimed at distributing parts of the wealth to some deprived neighbourhoods through a range of social programmes.

”

Ståle Holgersen and Guy Baeten, 2017



Fig. 88: The dual city. Holma-Kroksbäck versus Hyllie (Image by author)

PROSPECTS

A DEVELOPMENT MODEL



4.



Fig. 89: Hyllie's cultural landscape with the Öresund bridge in the back (Image by author)

4|1 INTRODUCTION TO PROSPECTS

This chapter explores the prospects to foster a just city through urban design, enabling a reduction of inequalities. As shown in the previous chapter, there are many aspects in public space influencing people's experience of exclusion. This may be tackled by creating public spaces which increase people's experience of inclusion.

As mentioned before, the development of inclusive public spaces can only have a limited direct effect on social issues, but it offers a space for social interaction as a counterweight to the forces which are driving the society apart. To increase its effect on social issues, the aspects of inclusion should be valued by everyone involved in city-making: politicians, stakeholders and also residents. Then, inclusion would also increase people's experience of inclusion in social and political life and thus also in the public culture.

Cities should be as inclusive as possible, which is here defined as treating citizens equally, making sure of social security and rights with the recognition of ethnic and cultural differences.

Already in the 1960s Henri Lefebvre came up with the term 'right to the city'. His analysis of an emergent urban society explains a 'double process' (Merrifield, 2006 and Lefebvre, 1968),

of industrialisation and urbanisation, growth and development, economic production and social life. His writings have caught renewed interest in the last decades, mainly because of his belief that the urban environment is most suited to an egalitarian and just society (Gressgård & Gudrun Jensen, 2016). The rights and freedoms of the city dwellers is emphasised to make their own city, producing urban space, taking away the decision-making from the state. This should be understood as assigned rights to the citizens based on their presence, rather than their citizenship status. The right to difference should be added and combined with the right to the city whereas some scholars even see the right to the city as the spatialisation of the rights to difference ([Rossi & Manolo, 2012] in Gressgård & Gudrun Jensen, 2016).

On the following pages, a method is described how cities can create inclusion by linking the public space with the public culture. This is based on learnings from the Opportunity Space Festival, which took place in the end of August 2017 in Malmö, as well as a combination of theories.



Fig. 90: A moment of (digital) interaction when individuals are playing Pokémon Go on their phone in Hyllie vattenpark (Image by author)

“

It is on this basis that public spaces should be designed and developed, as places that embody the principles of equality, by being accessible places made through inclusive and democratic processes.

”

Ali Madanipour, 2010

4|2 INCLUSIVE CITIES

Opportunity space festival

How can cities create more socially and economically inclusive spaces and communities? This was the main question of the Opportunity Space Festival held from August 22 until September 2, 2017 in Malmö. The festival was full of free workshops, performances and discussions with the goals to let people from different backgrounds meet each other, learn new skills, exchange ideas or prepare to enter the job market, see some pictures on the right. The challenges of inequality and exclusion were brought on the table and widely discussed, see figure 91 and 92.

The festival was initiated by the Van Alen Institute (Van Alen, 2017a) from New York, which wanted to explore the opportunities for people during one of the toughest challenges of our time, the huge amount of refugees and migrants entering Europe in 2015. Malmö was the gateway to the rest of Scandinavia and the point of arrival for the vast majority of refugees. Besides, Malmö is a city in transition, it is growing rapidly and there are many urban development projects underway, also to accommodate the large number of new arrivals.

Those starting points were the basis of the festival, with a temporary pavilion in the Enskifteshagen Park in Malmö. This park is in the middle of the changes and challenges, located between Möllevången and Rosengård, both neighbourhoods with high amounts of immigrants and a very diverse population. A new train station will open in 2018 in Rosengård, which is a long term process and will have an enormous effect on the neighbourhood.

During the festival the activities were divided into three different themes.

- Food and cultural exchange
- Jobs skills and entrepreneurship
- The inclusive city

Process

Many learnings were the outcome of discussions about the main question. Key is the 'process' of inclusion. It means that inclusion cannot be created from one day to another. Of course, it is partly the cities' task to help the

vulnerable groups and help them to mobilise. It is also about the ability of citizens to truly participate in city's development. It is a two-way street, about changing perceptions and practices among everyone, top-down and bottom-up. Measures to empower people could increase their participation and they should get the possibility to do so from the leaders in charge.

In the word 'process' is also the time factor highlighted. *"Planning for long horizons and sustained engagement, as well as short-term progress."* (Van Alen, 2017a) This is very important, because it takes time to establish trust among strangers and to understand the underlying thoughts of perceptions between people from different backgrounds. The awareness of underlying issues related to inequality is also needed, but takes time (elaborated in the next paragraph).

Design

Design is able to take some responsibility in the process of inclusion. It may create experiences and physical places that encourage people to meet, work together, and develop connections across languages, cultures and preconceptions (Van Alen, 2017b). This would start by making the process visible in physical space. Activities related to social inclusion, for example such a festival or other temporary events, achieve multiple goals such as attracting people to participate.

"Researchers have found that to change people's behaviour, their perceptions of social norms are more important than their personal beliefs. If city government is prominently involved in creating public spaces that promote social inclusion, it can send a clear message to everyone about that city's values and priorities." (Van Alen, 2017a)

Finally, inclusion can start with small activities and rituals that are part of people's daily life. This means for example, making outdoor spaces where people can safely (learn to) ride a bike. Encouraging daily activities which are shared among strangers will increase a sense of shared culture. What is the shared culture then?

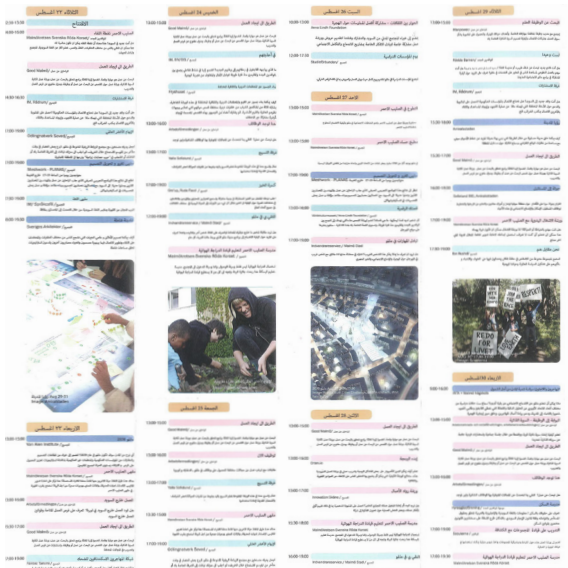


Fig. 91: From top left to bottom right: Discussion about 'inclusive cities', the temporary pavilion, the program in Arabic, the park around the pavilion (Image by author)

Collaborators

**VAN
ALEN
INSTITUTE**

white



im INDIVIDUELL
MÄNSKORHÄLP
SWEDISH
DEVELOPMENT
PARTNER

Sveriges Arkitekter **SKANSKA**

Fig. 92: The collaborators (Van Alen, 2017a)

4|3 PROCESS OF INCLUSION

Beyond the progressive's dilemma

The shared culture has for a long time been related to the shared nationhood. "*Nationhood provides a sense of belonging and a desire to act collectively.*" (Kymlicka, 2015) The role of multiculturalism in here is difficult and has changed the shared culture of our societies nowadays. On the one hand, multiculturalism is needed for liberal democracy, but on the other hand it may weaken the sense of nationhood and its secured stability and solidarity. This is earlier explained with the 'progressive's dilemma' on page 55.

Kymlicka (2015) argues that the stance for minorities can only change when multiculturalism would be supplemented to the link between liberal democracy and nationhood. The question is, would such a multicultural welfare state be possible? A welfare state from and for everyone, as a participation society. Is it possible to create inclusive solidarity? The diagram on the right page (figure 93) shows the option to think beyond the progressive's dilemma.

According to research, decline in solidarity has to do with the attitude towards the recipients of welfare, with judgements related to the 'deservingness' of welfare and the question if this welfare was under voluntary control ([Van Oorschot, 2006] in Kymlicka, 2015).

Deservingness has to do with:

- Identity (the extent to which recipients are seen as belonging to a shared society)
- Attitude (the extent to which recipients are seen as accepting benefits in the spirit of civic friendship)
- Reciprocity (the extent to which recipients are seen as likely to help others when it is their turn to do so)

This is logically in line with the vision and dimensions of the welfare state, about the ethic of social membership. Also logically, these dimensions are disadvantageous for immigrants, which is an explanation of the rise of welfare chauvinism. Counteracting these trends is related to time, when immigrants will gain enough vote clout. Also, it is related to a hope of a change in views from citizens from a welfare state on ideas of community membership towards a more universal humanitarianism view, where

there is no 'us' and 'they' anymore. This process of awareness, as explained in the previous paragraph, needs also time.

National inclusive solidarity

The importance of national solidarity is stretched before, so the question is: how can immigrants be part of an inclusive national solidarity?

Immigrants are judged with low deservingness because of two reasons:

- Perceptions of economic burden (immigrants as free-riders)
- Perceptions of cultural threat (immigrants as irremediably 'other')

The cultural threat seems to be the more powerful aspect, according to several studies of the sources of anti-immigrant attitudes. Perceptions of cultural otherness needs therefore to be tackled and perceptions of shared membership needs to be supported.

According to Kymlicka (2015) there are two choices:

1. More mandatory integration, of forcing to learn the language, to contribute to the public and to take classes. This may counteract the trends of not belonging or not reciprocating. But these integration policies are unfortunately not overcoming exclusionary forms of solidarity ([Goodman & Wright 2015] in Kymlicka, 2015).
2. Highly speculative and not on evidence based is a more free manner of multiculturalism, where immigrants can show on a voluntary basis their sense of belonging, civic friendship and reciprocity. Giving immigrants the possibility to express their culture and identity as a way to invest and contribute to the national society, in a deeper social sense. Would it form more inclusive national solidarity?

A vision for a third way is still tied to the ethic of social membership. Difference is that solidarity among people in the shared society is reinforced by participation. Therefore, it can be seen as a turning point towards a participation society. This is about giving people opportunities of participation as well as empowerment of people themselves. This may happen in public space.

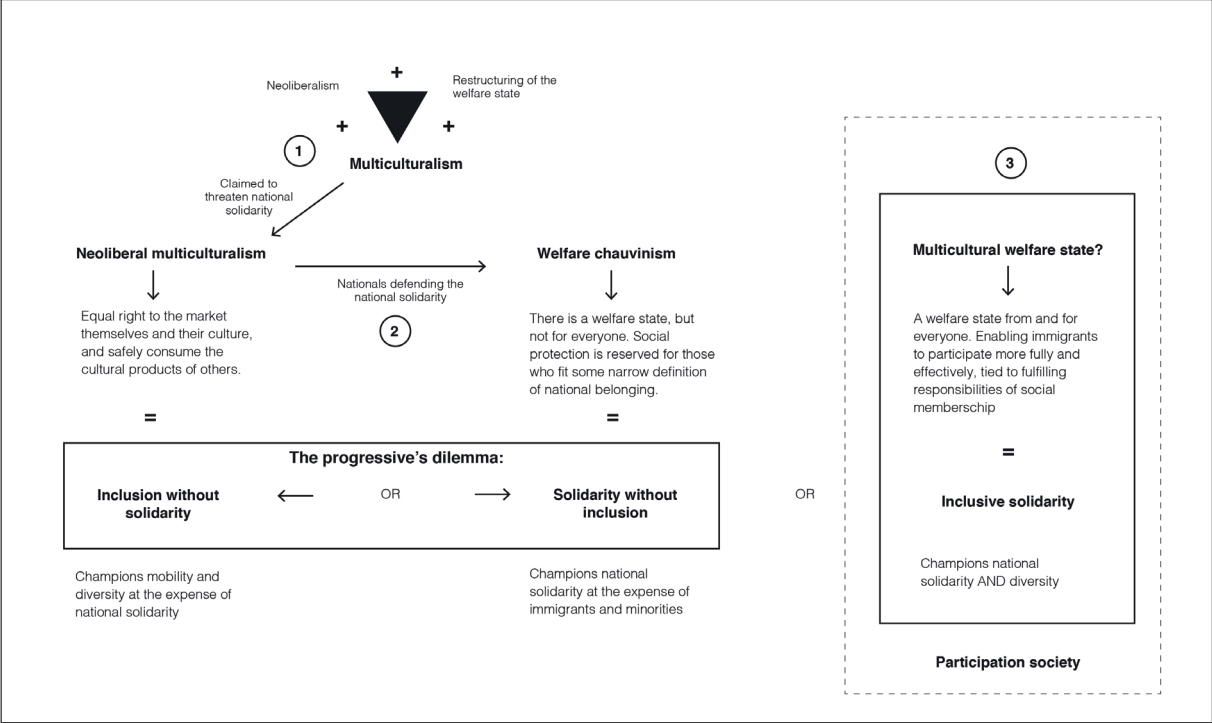


Fig. 93: Beyond the progressive's dilemma (Image by author, based on Kymlicka, 2015)

Interaction

Several concepts are related to the inclusive solidarity and a multicultural welfare state. The question remains how such inclusive solidarity should be created, and which physical environments are supporting this.

An important part of inclusion is interaction, in the way it can combat alienation and increase the level of trust between people. To explore what urban design is able to improve in the level of interaction, this search is taking place in the outdoors, the public space. This, because in the traditional view it is often assumed that social dynamics of public space play a central role in the formation of publics and public culture (Amin, 2008), and thus for the wished inclusive solidarity and multicultural welfare state. See the diagram in figure 94 for this traditional view.

Interaction starts with people being outdoors in the public space, having direct 'contact' with each other, being in the same physical space. People's lives are mixing and they become part of the urban life. Still, they have their own activities and wishes of going, but they share (at least) the being. Walking is therefore seen as at its core a special form of communion between people (Gehl, 2010).

Gehl (2010) explains what the city as meeting place means. He uses the concept of 'life between buildings' to explain all kinds of activities that take place when people use the common city space. He divided them into three categories in which each activity demands a different physical environment. First of all, the necessary activities. These activities are more or less compulsory and are assumed to take place anyway. Everyday tasks belong to this group, mostly related to walking such as going to work, school, waiting at the bus stop, doing groceries, and so on. These activities are necessary, functional, are not influenced by weather conditions or the quality of the outdoor area. Secondly, the optional activities. These activities are only taking place when participation is wanted and time and place make that possible. Activities belonging to this group are related to recreational, pleasant activities, such as taking a walk for some fresh air, sunbathing, standing, observing, enjoying the urban life, and doing sports. They take place when conditions are favourable and depend therefore fully on the exterior physical conditions. The quality of the outdoor area is important in a way that it could invite people to a range

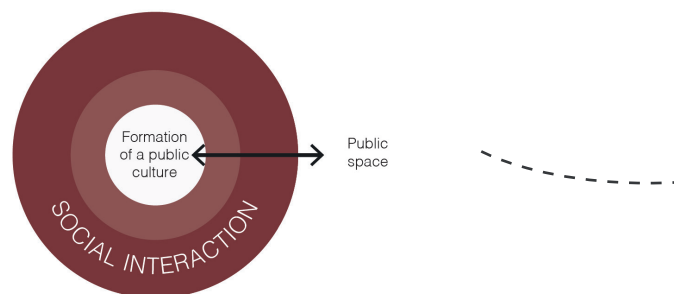


Fig. 94: Diagram of the traditional view: the formation of a public culture is formed by social interaction in public space (Image by author)

of activities. Thirdly, social activities depend on the presence of other people in public space. They could be seen as the result of the other two activities, when the conditions are supporting. Activities include active contact as greetings, conversations, children playing, but even more important, passive contact just as seeing and hearing other people. They take place whenever people are moving and being in the same outdoor space.

The connection between public space and interaction is important in relation to physical planning. Although the physical framework does not have a direct influence on the quality, content, and intensity of social contacts, architects and planners can affect the possibilities for meeting, seeing, and hearing people – possibilities that both take on a quality of their own and become important as background and starting point for other forms of contact. (Gehl, 2010, p. 13)

In line with observations and the value of possibilities of activities, we can assume that people and their activities attract other people. They tend to gather, move to others or place themselves near others (Gehl, 2010). Think about a busy boulevard or a lively performance on the street. Human activity attracts others' attention and interest. However, this is an assumption and counts for most of the people, not for all. Cultural diversity can make active social activities more complicated or not even possible. More barriers exist, for example language or perceptions towards other people, influenced with prejudices or stereotypes. Therefore, a closer look is needed to understand the complexities of interaction in public space.

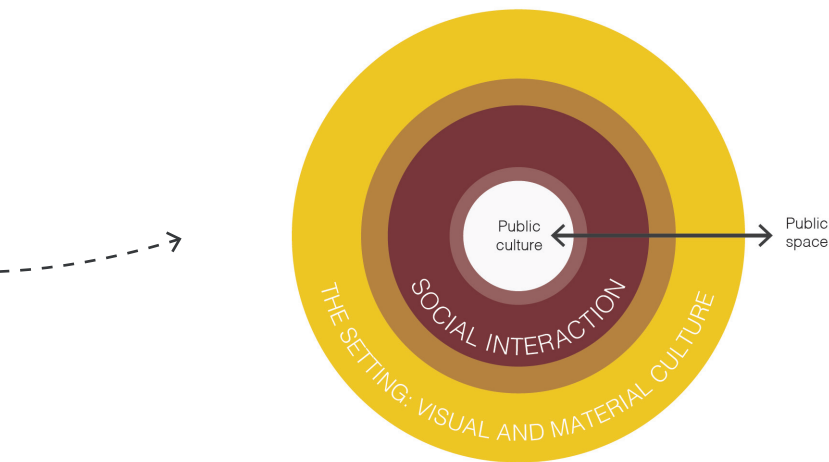


Fig. 95: Diagram of the extended view: the public culture is formed by the social interaction and the setting: visual and material culture of the place (Image by author)

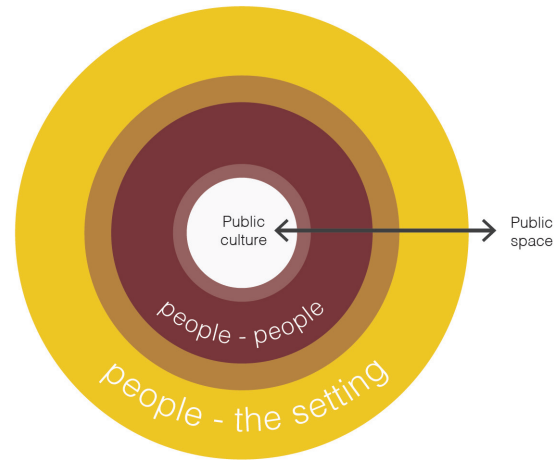


Fig. 96: Diagram of the link between public culture and public space with two types of interaction: between people, and between people and the setting (Image by author)

Beyond social interaction

Amin (2008) has found a way to think beyond solely the importance of social interaction in public space as the formation of a public culture.

He extends the link between the public space with social interaction and the public culture, with the 'nature of the setting'. He argues that the nature of the setting is of significant importance in the collective promise of public space. He places this in the entanglement between people and the material and visual culture of public space, because *'technology, things, infrastructure, matter in general, should be seen as intrinsic elements of human being, part and parcel of the urban 'social'.'* In figure 95 is the extended link between public space and public culture shown. This is very important in relation to urban planning, because these are elements which can be designed. In this way, the physical framework may have influence on the quality, content, and intensity of social contacts, more than Gehl might expect with his explanation on the left page.

This is explained with the following quote of Ash Amin (2008):

"My argument is that the link between public space and public culture should be traced to the total dynamic—human and non-human—of a public setting, and my thesis is that the collective impulses of public space are the result of pre-cognitive and tacit human response to a condition of 'situated multiplicity', the thrown togetherness of bodies, mass and matter, and of many uses and needs in a shared physical space."

This 'situated multiplicity' explains the whirl and juxtaposition of global diversity and difference within contemporary urban life, the shared physical space. Its visibly leads to the circulation of multiple bodies in a shared physical space, with the potential of strong civic connotations. The spaces with a swirl of surplus matter (many activities, many impulses, many people, many impositions) produces an experience with impact on the urban public culture. When mobilising situated multiplicity, urban civic culture – a sense of the commons, shared assets, civic involvement – can be strengthened. In other words, the interaction between people and the setting of the public space is as important as the interaction between people, see figure 96.

4|4 DESIGN OF THE SETTING

The nature of the setting: visual and material culture

The link between people and the setting is explained with six keywords (figure 97 & 98), which are to unlock new principles to design inclusive public spaces. These keywords are inspired on theories from Amin (2008), Gehl (2010), Hajer & Reijndorp (2001), Madanipour (2010), Sennett (2017), Rieniets, Sigler & Christiaanse (2009), as well as learnings from work in the field. The visual and material culture of a place influences someone's experience of inclusion. Public space is closely related to other dynamics of inclusion and should ensure participation for all humans. Sustenance should be provided to everyone and is a basic right of urban participation (Amin, 2008). The choice of the words has taken into account that Sweden is a developed country and standards of public spaces are higher than in many third world countries.

Conviviality

Conviviality means in this case the solidarity with space. One kind of urban conviviality is the daily negotiation of difference with encounters. It means the civic ease in public space, the design and lay-out of mundane intermediaries (Amin, 2008).

Human scale

With human scale is meant how the human dimension in urban public space is essential to create places where people want to stay. A certain level of variety and complexity is desired for human senses.

Nature

Nature and green in the city is essential for people's health and well-being. Nature is able to make public spaces more likely to stay for people and enjoy the urban life.

Symbolic solidarity

Public spaces which project and reflect social togetherness and diversity. The kind of public commitment which is made to reinforce a civic interest in the plural city, the rights of the many (Amin, 2008).

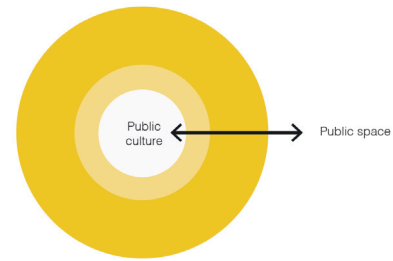


Fig. 97: Diagram of interaction with the setting (Image by author)

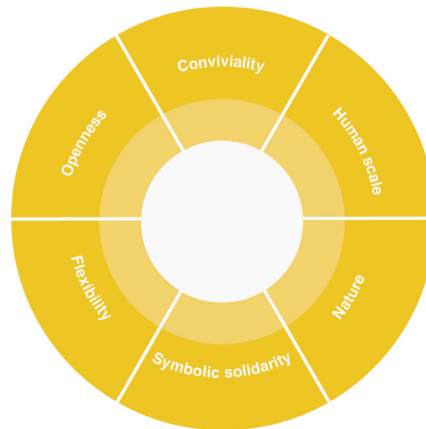


Fig. 98: Diagram with the keywords of the nature of the setting (Image by author)

Flexibility

Cities are constantly changing, inhabited by dynamic people. There is no final shape for a city, and therefore the public spaces should be able to adjust over time (and during seasons) and accommodate these changes, rather than be a fixed place with a fixed identity (Madanipour, 2010 p. 13)

Openness

The more accessible and permeable a place becomes, the more public it will be. A place is public when it concerns people as a whole, is open and available to them and is used and shared by all the members of the society (Madanipour, 2010 p. 9).

Each of the keywords described above is divided into three main physical elements or qualities, described on the next page.



Conviviality

Objects

These are the things in urban space which make it easier in use, for example, traffic signs, furniture, lighting and so on.

Technology

This is the hidden hand of urban organisation and social practice. For example commuting patterns, WiFi, telephones, software, databases, networks of buses, trains.

Maintenance

This has to do with the maintenance of the place. When there is a lack of maintenance, a place becomes less attractive and the quality decreases.



Human scale

Proportions

The proportions (sizes: height, length, width and volumes) of buildings and public space should be designed with the human dimensions in mind.

Complexity

Complexity refers to the visual richness of a place. The complexity of a place depends on the variety of the physical environment, related to buildings, objects and other elements.

Orientation

The ease of which the spatial structure of a place can be understood. A sense of orientation is improved with the legibility of the place, for example with signage and reference points.



Nature

Comfort

Nature offers comfort in the sense of temperature regulation, shades, blocking winds and can be easily be combined with street furniture.

Trees

Especially trees account various values in urban public space. In terms of enclosure, sight lines, air quality, climate regulation, and more. They change with the seasons, adding aesthetic values as well.

Aesthetics

Nature has the ability to make places more beautiful and pleasant. Also, it may show and reflect diversity in the sense of different species and types of nature.



Symbolic solidarity

Diverse displays

The projection of social togetherness in public space. This means mostly visualisations with billboards, advertisements, popular events.

Expressions

This means the (cultural) expressions of individuals or groups, for example with public art. Art can be a very powerful signal or reflection to the urban public.

Imageability

The imageability of a place is the quality that make is a distinct, recognisable and memorable place. It is related to the sense of place where the visual quality may contribute to a cohesive place. Besides, it is influenced by a lot of urban design qualities.



Flexibility

Incomplete form

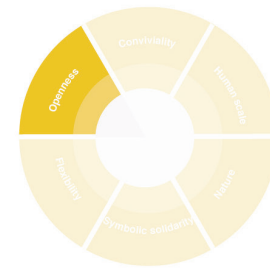
An incomplete form of public space (and in a sense also the buildings) can accommodate changes and leaves certain aspects still open for the (then) present residents and users. The place should not be made with any fixed identities.

Temporality

The temporality of public space means the ability of the place to accommodate short, temporary events, such as markets, festivals or other festivities.

Seasonal change

The ability of the place to change with the seasons. Offering seasonality may be to have a pond in the summer and an ice rink in the winter.



Openness

Ambiguous edge

The edge condition of a public space should be ambiguous, reinforcing movements between the places.

Accessibility

A public space should be accessible in the first place. Increasing permeability through a well connected network of footpaths and bike paths will increase the accessibility of the place.

Transparency

Transparency refers to the degree to which people can see or perceive what lies beyond the edge of a street or other public space and, more specifically, the degree to which people can see or perceive human activity beyond the edge of a street or other public space.

The nature of social interaction

When the nature of the setting is as inclusive as possible - with the concepts from the previous page taken into account - it is argued to have a positive effect on the nature of social interaction. The qualities influencing the nature of social interaction could be seen as the goals to achieve within urban public space.

Social interaction is the kind of contact between people, which can be active, like greeting and a conversation, or passive, like hearing and seeing other people. It is related to the coexistence of people in the same physical space, where the inclusion of a diversity of people is essential. In this way, more and diverse people will take part in urban life, which may combat alienation and increase the level of trust between people.

Below is described which keywords are the most important for social interaction, see also figure 99 and 100.

Multiplicity

Multiplicity means the thrown togetherness and diversity of people in a shared physical space, or else said; people's being together in an informal setting, producing a sense of the commons. The urban good in its own right. 'Wisdom of the crowd' and 'eyes on the street' as Jacobs (1961) famously put it (Amin, 2008).

Tolerance

Tolerance is the positive attitude towards diversity. It means respect, acceptance and appreciation of the diversity of our world's cultures, forms of expression and ways of being human ([UNESCO, 1995] in Madanipour, 2016). By showing tolerance, diversity is connected to freedom, being free to express oneself. Direct contact is therefore required.

Equality

Besides the fact of it being a basic human right, equality is about the inclusion of all citizens equally. It means a broad interest in the public and recognises vulnerable social groups. Everyone should have the chance to enjoy the status of full membership in society. Equal opportunities of access and mobility are essential and embodying the principles of equality mean to ensure public visibility and participation in the life of the collective (Madanipour, 2016).

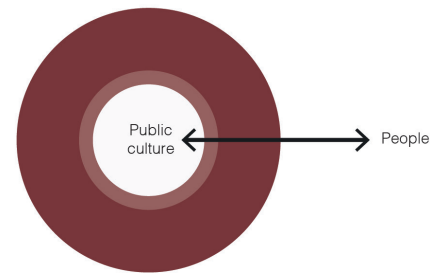


Fig. 99: Diagram of social interaction (Image by author)



Fig. 100: Diagram of the nature of social interaction (Image by author)

4|5 DEVELOPMENT MODEL

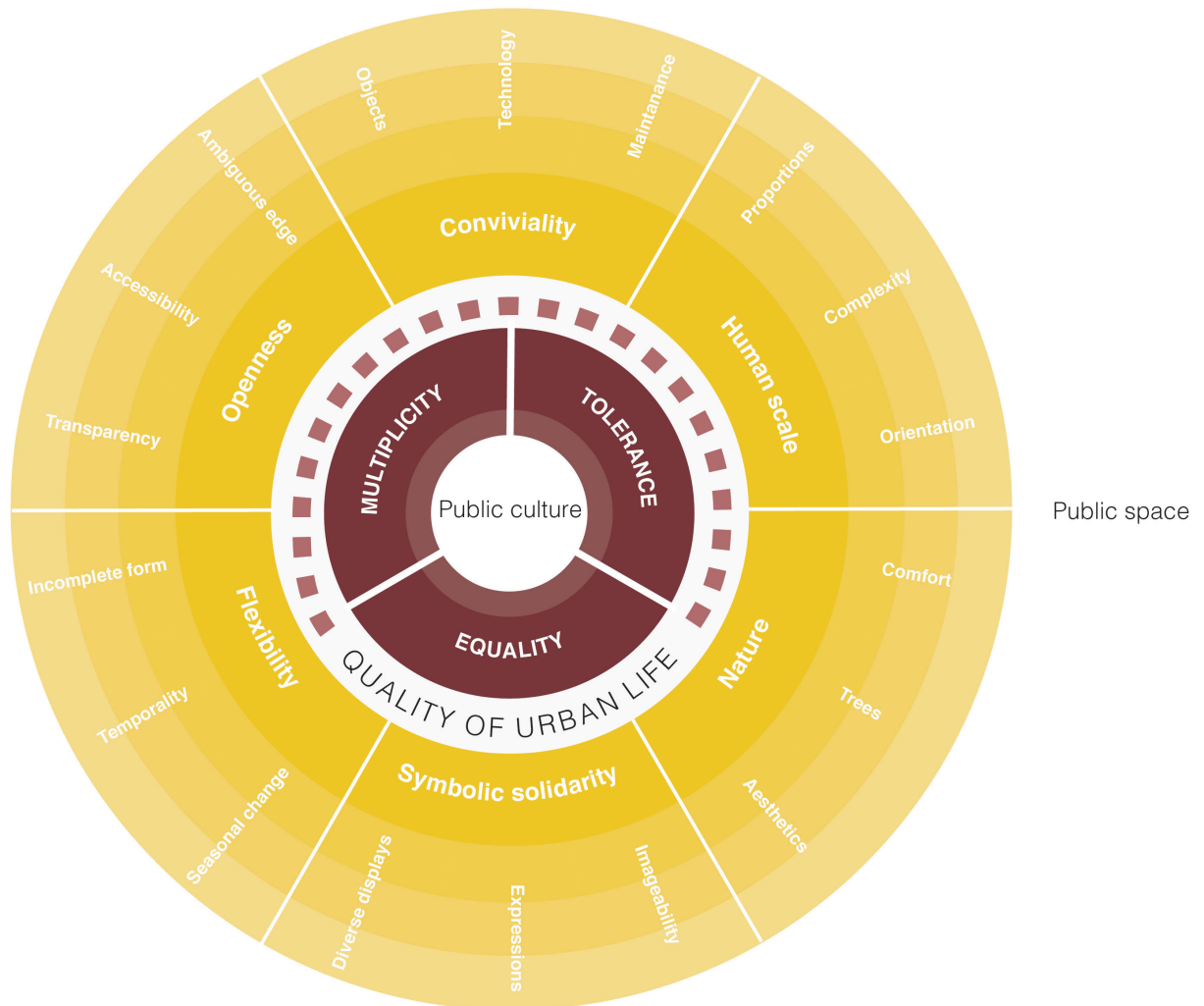


Fig. 101: The development model (Image by author)

The development model captures the link between the public space and the public culture, see the figure 101 above. The qualities of inclusive public space described on the previous page with conviviality, human scale, nature, symbolic solidarity, flexibility and openness are supposed to reinforce the conditions for social interaction and a sense of shared space. The quality of urban life may be increased when spaces have all the principles described here. It gets closer to a public culture with inclusive solidarity, aimed for with the multicultural welfare state and participation society. Perceptions of cultural otherness may be tackled and perceptions of shared membership are supported. How the development model is used for the design is showed in the next chapter.

4|6 EXAMPLE: FOLKETS PARKS, MALMÖ



Conviviality



Human scale



Nature



Play elements and lighting



Intimate atmosphere



Water pond with fountains and old trees



Seating, tables, bins, skate ramp



Seating covered from the back



Large tree making space, as well as grass used for event

The Folkets park in Malmö is an excellent example of an inclusive public space, earlier showed in figure 24 on page 41. It was established during the 1880s by the Social Democrats and is still a very open, accessible public space, where everyone is welcome to be. The park is used to describe the different concepts. Have a look on these pages (figure 102).

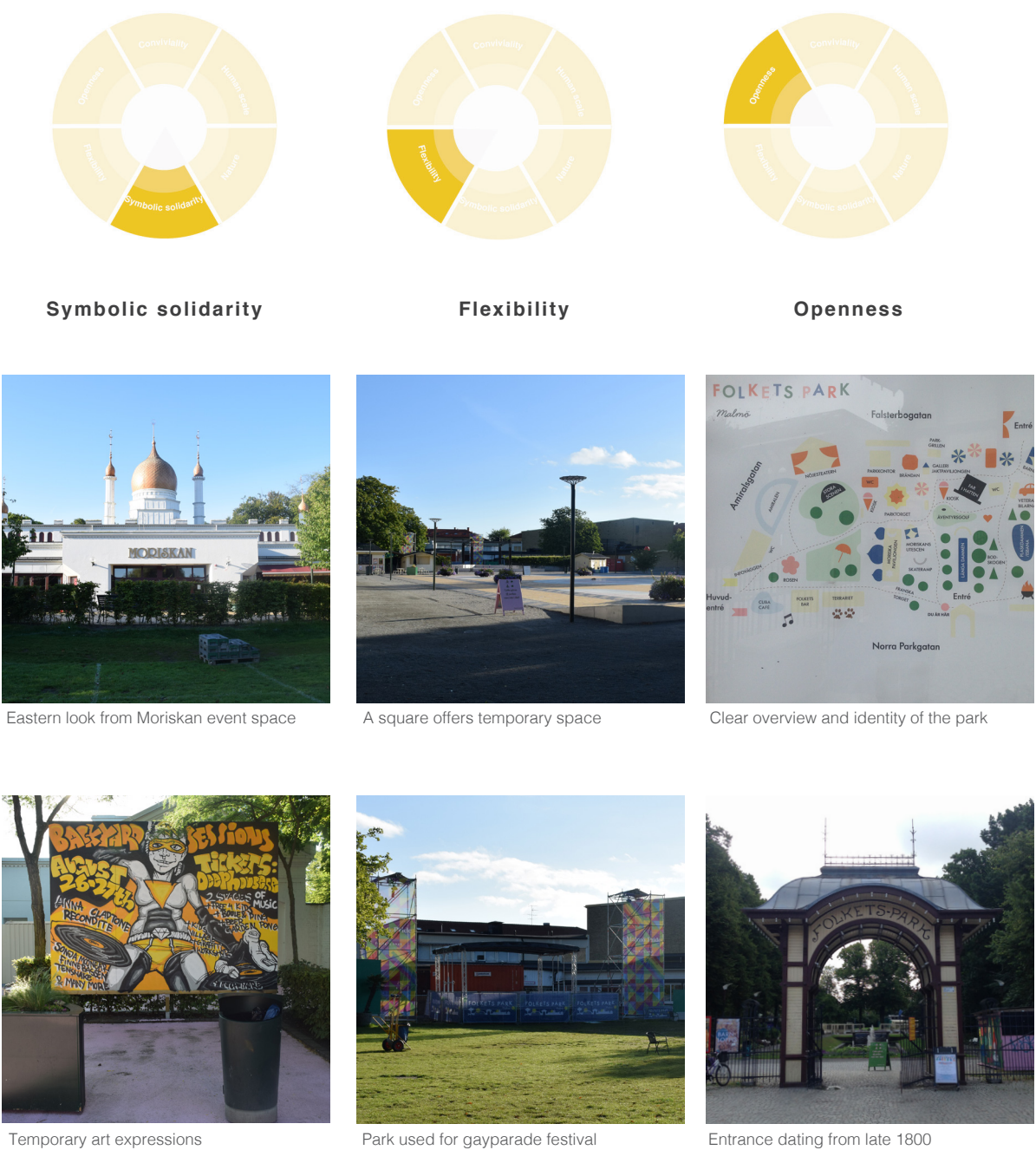


Fig. 102: Pictures from Folkets Park (Image by author)

INCLUSIVE DESIGN

IN BETWEEN SPACES



5.



Fig. 103: Well-made use of the hills in Kroksbäcksparken during the Skate Championship (Nyman, 2016)

5|1 INTRODUCTION TO INCLUSIVE DESIGN

This chapter describes how the area in between Hyllie, Holma and Kroksbäck will be turned into an inclusive public space, through a strategic process and urban design. The space is located between two fundamentally different areas and social groups: Holma and Kroksbäck and Hyllie.

Concept

The political concept of the People's Home (Swedish: Folkhemmet) is in a metaphorical way the concept for the strategy and design. The quote from Per Albin Hansson (from 1932 Prime Minister of Sweden) in 1928 explains this concept:

"The basis of the home is commonality and mutuality. A good home is not aware of any privileged or slighted, no darlings and no stepchildren. You see no one despise the other, no one who tries to gain advantage of others... In the good home you find compassion, cooperation, helpfulness."

The concept of the home captures all aspects of inclusion: equality, social security and rights, with the recognition of differences. Back in the 1930s, it was a metaphor to describe the country as a home where everybody is equal, contributes and participates in the collective process of building society. It was a start of a new period and society where class differences were fought and inequalities decreased. It brought different social groups together and therefore sometimes referred to as 'The Swedish Middle way'.

Today, we are facing partly the same issues, but related to ethnic and cultural differences. Therefore, this spatial reinterpretation extends the home and inclusion is defined as equality, social security and rights, with the recognition of ethnic and cultural differences. It represents

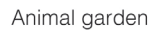
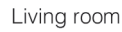
the start of a new period and society, where solidarity among people in the shared society is reinforced by participation.

The spatial concept of a home is shown in figure 104 on the right page. A home is a comfortable place, where men can be themselves and invite friends and family. Each house becomes a home for someone when personalised and used in its own way. In general, the interior consists of several elements. All these elements have a place in the home. They are part of different rooms, as a kitchen, dining room, play area, toilet, garage, office and studio. Smaller elements but important are lighting, book shelves, wardrobe, mirror, art, plants, music installation as well as internet connection and first aid.

A home is always in transition. It provides a modular structure which can adapt to different circumstances, for example when new people move in. These people might want to swap rooms or expand the home with another room. The place has to give the opportunity and allowance to changes and represents in this way a continuous process. This is where the key of public space comes back in: without any fixed identity and where flexibility and inclusiveness are enhanced (Madanipour, 2010).

This chapter describes the translation of this concept into an urban space and providing a home for everyone. First, more about the concept is explained, continued by a strategy for development. The strategy consists of different phases, which are explained thereafter.





The interior of a home consists of many different elements as shown on the previous page. A literal translation of this interior into urban space, means giving all the elements of the interior a place in the area. This is shown in figure 105 on the left. Certain elements together form a room, for example the living room or the kitchen, as the diagrams left shows.

Such rooms are used to order the place and provide places for different activities. The living room is a place for playing, relaxing and gathering with others. The kitchen is a place for getting food and having a coffee. In the studio, arts, crafts and music are performed. The garage has tools and machinery for creating and recycling. The office offers spaces to work and study. The sun room is a relaxing, comfortable place under a glass roof. A veranda functions as a seating area and entrance. In the garden there is room for sports, walks and resting. The animal garden is the place for the pets of the home and where organic waste may be collected. The toilet and bathroom are self-evident, as well as the bedroom.

A literal translation of the concept and the rooms into the urban space show opportunities for activities. On the next pages a strategy for the development is explained taking into account the transformation process, actors and design of the area, in order to increase the level of inclusion.

5|2 STRATEGY

The strategy is a process-oriented development approach. Inclusion cannot be created from one day to another but takes time to increase. A process should provide increasing participation and collaboration. Besides, urban development contains many uncertainties and developing over time helps to get grip on these uncertainties. A process reflects a continuous change, related to an ever changing population, as well as economy, technology or policy. This continuous change should be taken into account for developing new places. Places should become a modular structure which is undergoing different social and spatial processes.

The strategy is divided into three aspects: transformation process, actors and design.

Transformation process

In the beginning of a development process, a place can accommodate temporary installations. In this way, people will be attracted to the place already. On the way, more permanent aspects are being made, but it is essential to keep the temporary aspects as well. In this way, places are flexible and able to adjust to different needs at different times. It can be called a permanent-temporality approach, which means that the place should have a permanent flexibility to adjust to certain circumstances.

On the right page is the transformation process shown in different phases (figure 106) and on the site (figure 107). It consists of five phases, whereas the last four phases reinforce themselves and the others by creating a loop. There are crucial moments within the process in order to fully succeed as the design proposal will show. Besides, the development relies heavily on the involvement of actors which is explained on the following pages. The strategy will show the full potential of the site, when all investments will be possible.

First, the process is explained according to the following phases:

1. Attract

The development starts with an experimentation phase, needed for support and involvement. When enough participation is reached, phase two starts.

2. Structure

In the second phase the area will connect to its surroundings and increase its access. The new activities take place in urban public space. When enough public investments can be made, a third phase continues. When this is not the case, the construction of housing is an outcome.

3. Create

The third phase consists of construction of public functions, increasing the variety of activities taking place, also indoors.

4. Expand

A fourth phase starts when the investment in a highway tunnel can be made. The area is then able to expand and increases again with green public space and activities.

5. Maintain and revise

The fifth phase is to maintain and revise the other phases, that could use a reconnection or reconstruction in due time. This needs investments for continuation.

On the next pages the actors and design are explained, as base for the paragraphs that follow.

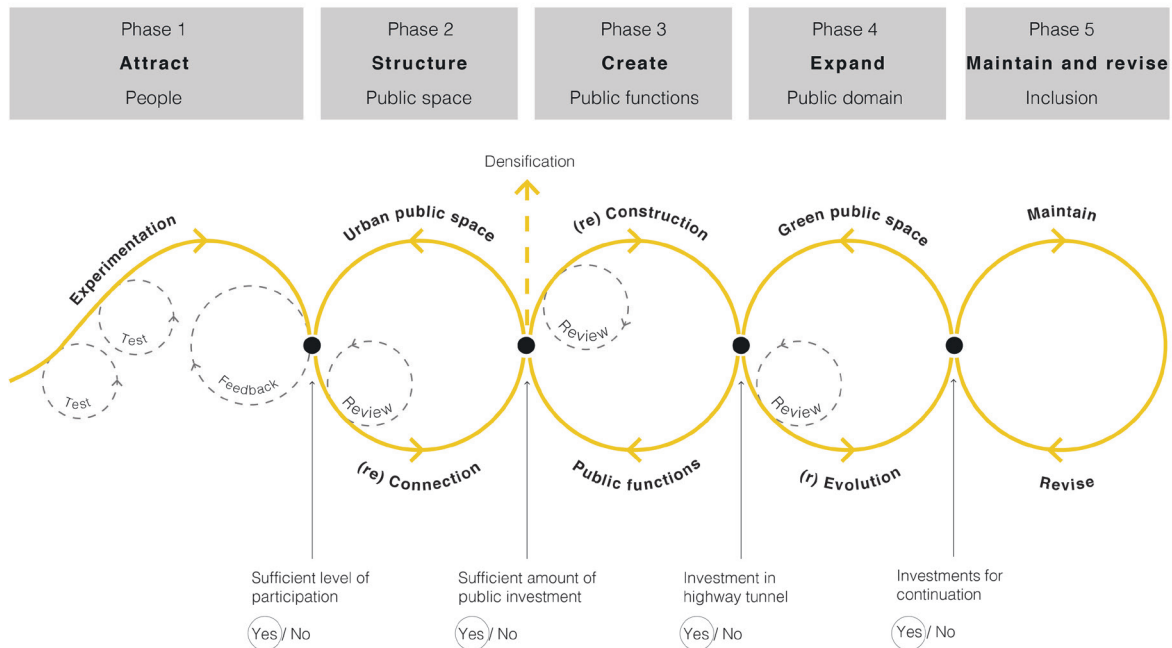


Fig. 106: The process of development divided into five phases (Image by author)

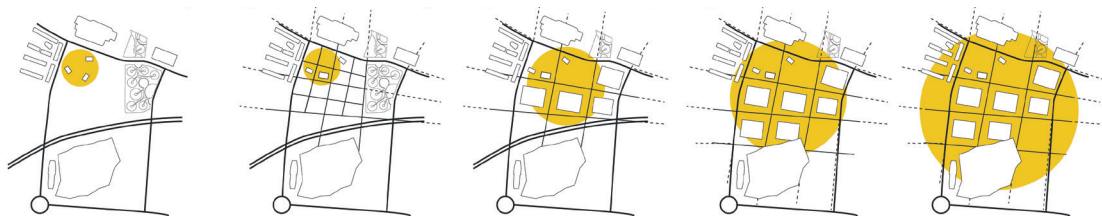


Fig. 107: The process of development on the site shown per phase (Image by author)

Actors

Collaboration and participation is essential for this strategy. Within a development process are different actors involved at different times. Some actors are important for decision-making or investments, while others are important because of their local or practical knowledge and tools.

The actors are divided into four different groups: 1. public, 2. local initiatives, 3. NGO's and existing collaborations, 4. central, divided into public and private sector. Besides, there is a group of visitors of the area. A collection of possible actors is shown in figure 108.

Each design phase in the next paragraphs shows a diagram explaining which actors may be involved and what their role is. First, in general is explained how the actors and their roles differ from each other:

1. The public means the residents from Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie. They are meant to participate with activities and initiatives, as well as being a volunteer or having a job in the area.

2. Local initiatives are small businesses, start-ups, associations and membership

organisations. Some are in the neighbourhood of Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie, others may be based elsewhere in Malmö. They help with the program and to realise projects.

3. NGO's and existing collaborations are (inter) national organisations working for the betterment of the society. They act as a bridge between the civil society (public and local initiatives) and the central (private and public sector).

4. Central includes the public and the private sector. The public sector means local, regional and national government as well as educational organisations. The private sector includes housing corporations, constructors and project developers. The actors in this group have the most power and influence within the process, because of their needed investments.

The development relies heavily on shared interest to work towards the participation society, where both top-down and bottom-up change their mindset.

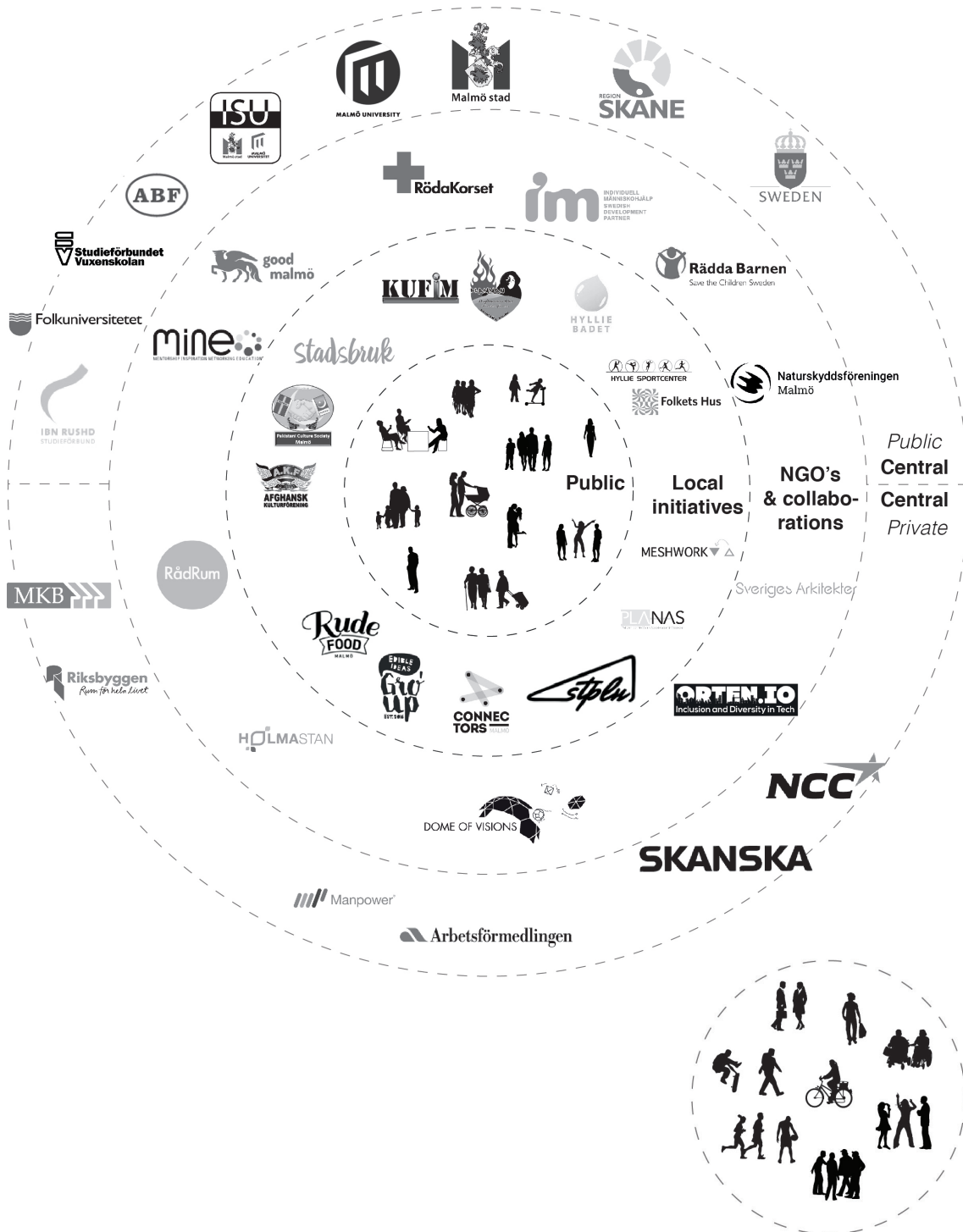


Fig. 108: The possible actors involved with the development (Image by author)

Design

The design of the area is developed in different phases. On these pages, the figures show this development. It follows the process shown on page 126 and 127. Within this idealised scenario, all steps were possible to take: there would be enough investment possible for public functions, to move the allotment gardens and to turn the highway into a tunnel.

Figure 109 shows the current situation. Already existing buildings are apartments, the swimming pool Hylliebadet, offices and Malmö Mässan, the conference centre.

Phase 1 is about attracting people, shown in figure 110. This is the temporary phase.

Phase 2 in figure 111 shows the development of a public square and the provision of basics as WiFi, lighting, water and electricity. The area transforms with more space of permanent-temporality.

Phase 3 shows the creation of public functions, shown in figure 112. One by one the functions are constructed, still keeping the square active. A food area includes a market hall, bazaar, community kitchen, tea house, terraces and small shops. The building for creative and cultural expressions functions as community house (Swedish: folkets hus). Lessons and groups are able to gather in this place. Another building offers workshop spaces, or 'maker space', for creative projects, learning and recycling. A second-hand shop is also part of this area. The office area contains a library and work or start-up spaces.

Phase 4 is shown in figure 113. The area evolves with green spaces. It includes an indoor park area within a glasshouse, a green square and park area which is part of a larger green structure, connecting to Hyllie vattenpark. A main bike path through the area connects the cultural landscape outside Hyllie with the inner city. Besides, there will be a preschool with animal garden and food production connected to the English park.

Within this scenario, the area becomes a vibrant area full of city life. Residents from Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie may use the spaces on daily basis. Passers-by would be attracted to visit the area, to experience the diversity of activities and users.

How these developments can be reached is explained in the next paragraphs, within the strategic phases of 1. Attract people, 2. Structure public space, 3. Create public functions, 4. Expand public domain and 5. Maintain and revise inclusion.

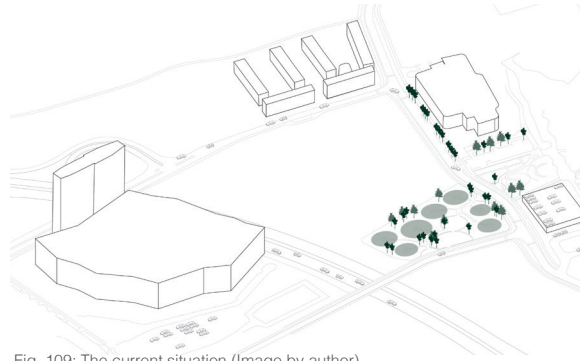


Fig. 109: The current situation (Image by author)

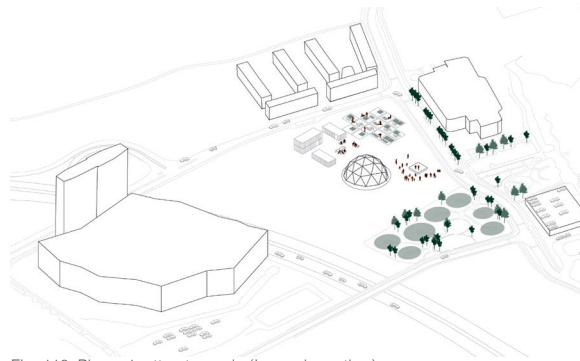


Fig. 110: Phase 1: attract people (Image by author)

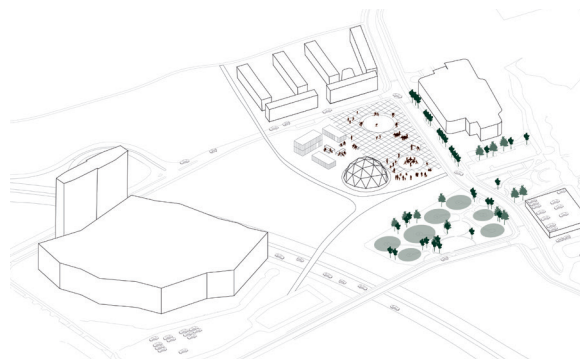


Fig. 111: Phase 2: structure public space (Image by author)

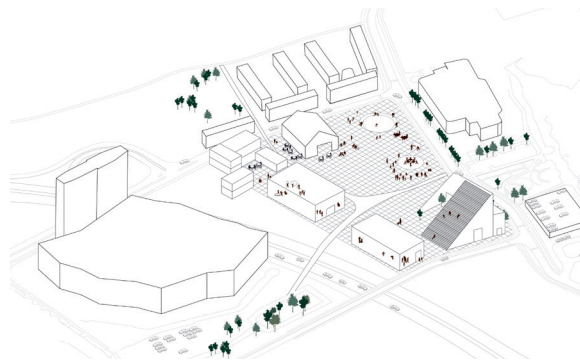


Fig. 112: Phase 3: create public functions (Image by author)



Fig. 113: Phase 4: expand public domain (Image by author)

5|3 ATTRACT PEOPLE

The goal of this phase is to attract the local inhabitants, organizations and initiatives to the site. It should provide opportunities for increased involvement and the potential of this site to develop it together with different people, groups and local authorities.

The main means to reach this are temporary interventions and pilot projects.

In figure 114 is an overview shown of the possible actors involved. Many of them are located around the area, which is shown in figure 115. It is important to get them on board, because they have local knowledge and insights about the area and might know which interventions and pilot projects would attract most and diverse people. Besides local actors can also other actors be involved, which have experience with events and working towards inclusion.



Fig. 114: Possible actors in phase 1 (Image by author)

Local actors



Local civil society associations as Pakistani Culture Society of Malmö, Afgan Association (Afganska föreningen) or womens association Hand i Hand.



Hyllie Sportscenter is a meetingplace and hosts several sports associations.



NCC is a large project developer and constructor group.



Skanska is a large project developer and constructor group.



Stadsbruk is a project aiming to create jobs and growth through organic cultivation and food production in the city.

Other actors



Gro'up is Malmö's first food space; a place where food and the culture are at the heart of all that they do.



Rude food is a collaborative initiative working against food waste and organize pop-up events and catering.



Connectors society combines art and design to transform places, create new worlds and play with people's minds.



Red Cross strengthens community resilience in the areas of migration / integration, health, and civic participation. It has meeting places and second-hand shops which are run by volunteers.



Dome of Visions is an inspiring meeting place in a recyclable building that invites people to talk about a sustainable future. It had a partnership with NCC and local university.

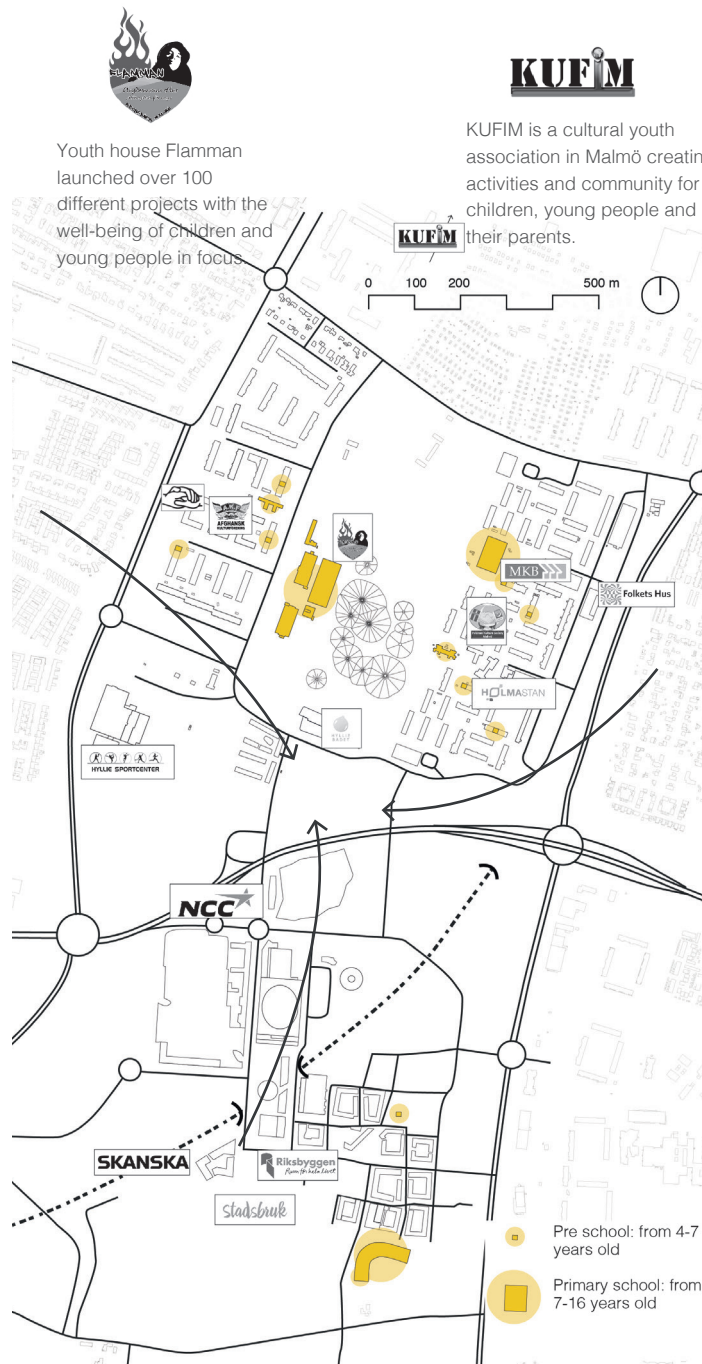


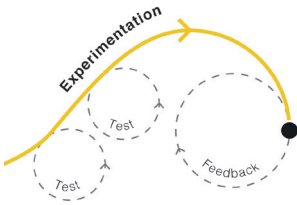
Fig. 115: Map with location of local actors and schools (Image by author)



Fig. 116. The corner of the site is used for a variety of temporary activities (Image by author)



Charlotte & Carlos
grönsaker, odlade
i Malmö enligt
ekologiska principer



Experimentation

The vacant lot becomes a place for experimentation with temporary interventions. This could start directly when allowed, else it can be claimed until other development. The area is open for all types of interventions, as shown with the diversity of possible actors.

Tests

The tests may be related to the public functions and spaces which will be developed. They are related to themes of food, culture, innovation and education. Empty land can easily function as a temporary urban garden. It is often assumed to strengthen social networks as well as promoting a healthy lifestyle. On empty land can also easily containers be placed. These containers provide places for storage of seating, tables, tents, tools and other material. It could also provide working places, when connected to electricity and water. See figure 118. Other ways to test the attraction of different social groups is the organisation of markets and festivals. Markets such as farmer markets or flea markets are a good way to invite people to visit the site and have a look around, even without buying something. These markets can be combined with for example (music) performances from local associations or schools. Larger events such as festivals could reach even more people than markets. Traditions could start here, which can continue in the next phases.

Pavilion

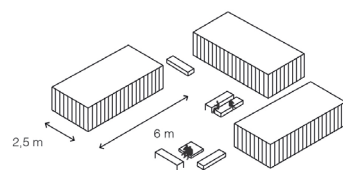
An important element of the experimentation phase is a temporary pavilion. This pavilion would provide a place for meetings, discussions, lectures, readings and conversations. A community centre for a variety of people, because of a diversity of events. A good example of such a pavilion is the Dome of Visions. This exists currently in Sweden and Denmark, as a collaboration between different actors. The specific dome is deconstructable and therefore able to move to another site after a while. In the meantime, it creates a special environment and a space where initiatives can grow. See figure 117.

Participation

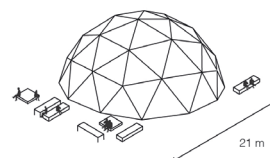
Involvement is essential in this phase. A certain level has to be reached, before continuing to the next phase. People are needed with their presence and curiosity. The area should slowly become more and more a place of meaning them. Only then, they start to feel more responsibility for their living environment and care about the future development.

Feedback

At the end of the phase, it is learned which interventions worked the best, which ones attracted most and diverse social groups. This feedback is valuable for further development.



Containers



Pavilion

Fig. 117: Possible constructions (Image by author)

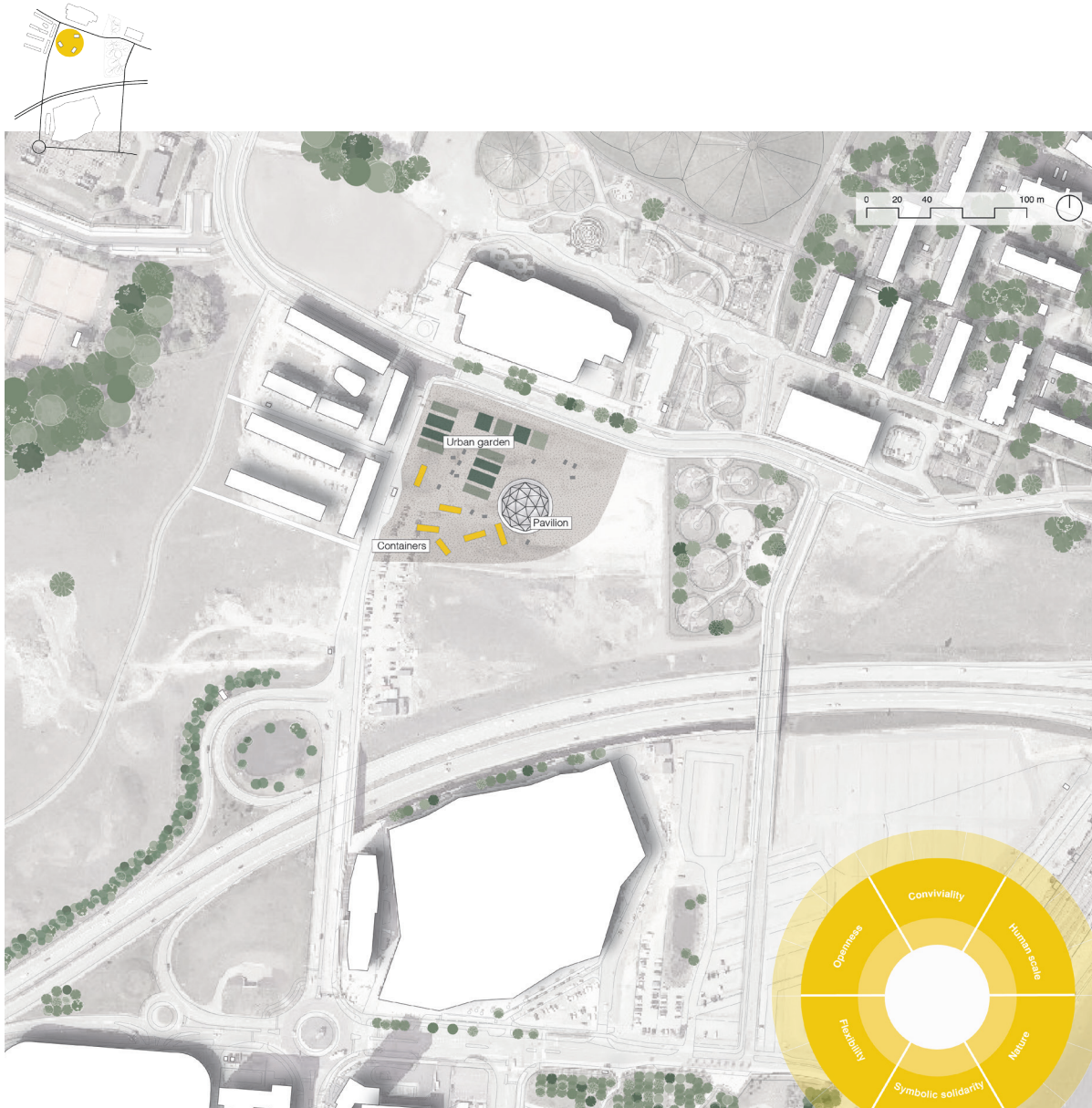


Fig. 118: Plan of phase 1: attract people (Image by author)

Fig. 119: Diagram of increased inclusion in public space (Image by author)

Plan

The plan in figure 118 above shows how the area may look in phase 1. The corner is claimed by several initiatives and organisations. There, they have the least burden from the highway. The area offers space for temporary interventions and pilot projects. Urban gardening, a pavilion and containers can easily be placed on the site.

In this way, the area increases already the values of inclusive public space, shown in the

diagram in figure 119. Conviviality increases by connecting the area to a public Wi-Fi network, electricity and water. Human scale relates to the addition of temporary structures and objects. Nature is enhanced with gardening. Symbolic solidarity with possible expressions. Its flexibility is visible with its temporality and finally, the area creates more openness by becoming better accessible.

5|4 STRUCTURE PUBLIC SPACE

The goal of this phase is to structure the urban space and to organize the space as inclusive as possible. The structure should be able to change to current needs and wishes, expressed with permanent temporarility. Key is therefore its conviviality, flexibility and openness. In this way, spaces are intentionally left undefined as well.

The main means to reach this is to develop connections and a square. Collaboration between different groups in this phase is essential to define priorities.

In figure 120 is shown which actors might be involved in this phase. They would be a huge help to accomplish the goals set. Besides many local actors which may be involved from the first phase, there might be important additional actors with knowledge and experience about developing inclusive public space. These are shown on the right page.

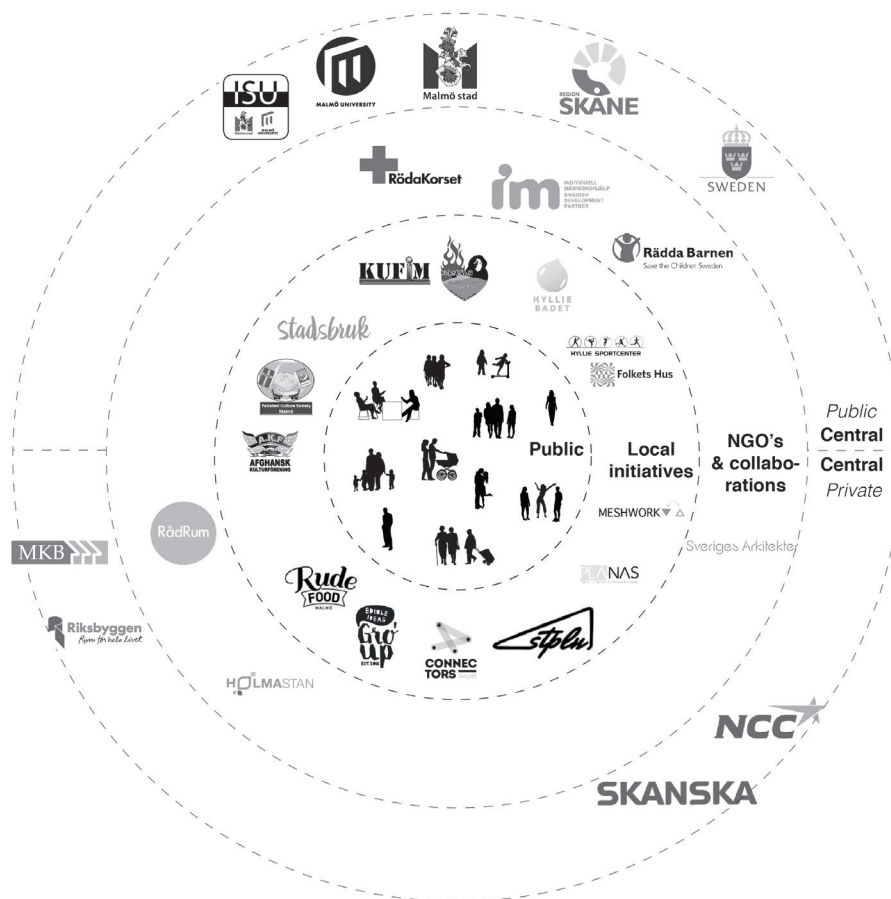


Fig. 120: Possible actors in phase 2 (Image by author)



Malmö Municipality



Region Skåne



Swedish State



Malmö University as collaborator and knowledge contributor for education and spatial innovations.



ISU means Institute for Sustainable Urban Development, a joint venture between the City of Malmö and Malmö University.



Individuell människohjälp is a Swedish development partner focusing on integration and inclusion into society. Strengthening of civil society is both a means and an objective in all activities.

Sveriges Arkitekter

Sveriges Arkitekter is a professional organization for architects, interior architects, landscape architects and spatial planners with 13 000 members (including 2600 students).



PLANAS: Platform for Networking Acceleration in Sweden. Team of job-seeking built environment professionals, engaging in real projects.

MESHWORK

Meshwork is a company which spans between various organizations and sectors, aiming at equal partnerships in urban development.

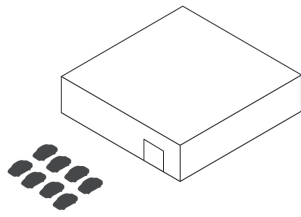


Possible actors

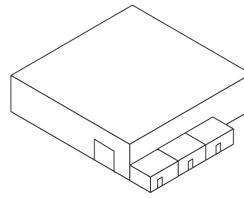
The actors listed above might play a role during the structuring of the public space. The ones in power, the municipality, region, even the state, need to be convinced of developing a different area than currently planned (mostly housing). ISU, the institute for Sustainable Urban Development as collaboration between Malmö University and Malmö municipality might be a right mediator in communicating knowledge. IM, as development partner would have the means of including local associations and organizations, for example local architects

and planners connected to PLANAS or Sveriges Arkitekter. The company Meshwork which spans between different actors and organisations might be able to involve the residents as well and make sure various social groups participate.

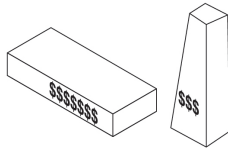
The next pages show the principles of structuring the urban space, related to characteristics of inclusion in public space, with different ways of connection and fragmentation.



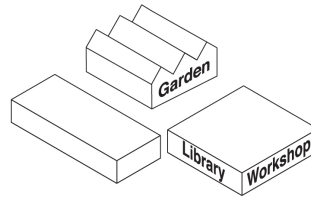
1. Large scale retail spaces



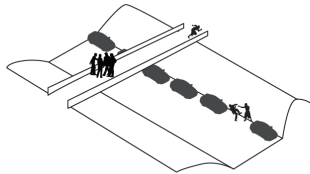
1. Multi-functionality, with non consumer spaces



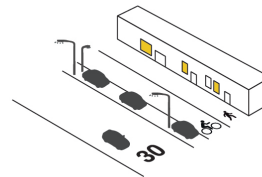
2. Privatization of public space



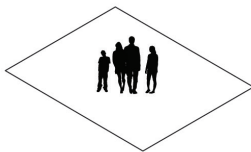
2. Public facilities



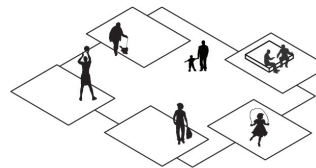
3. Violence and insecurity



3. Combined infrastructure and lighting



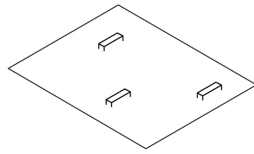
4. Claiming space



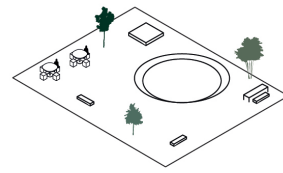
4. Design fragments
Possibility to meet and to avoid

Turning challenges into opportunities

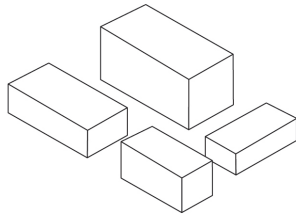
First of all, the structuring of the public space should take into account the characteristics of the public space which influence people's experience of exclusion. These were explained from page 86 until 93 and were related to eight challenges. These challenges can be turned into opportunities, which is explained with the diagrams (figure 121) on these two pages. They are basic principles taken into account during the process and design.



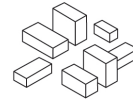
5. Homogeneous public space



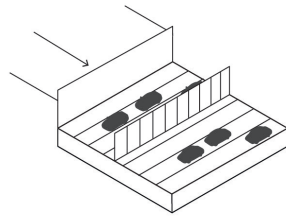
5. Variety in public spaces



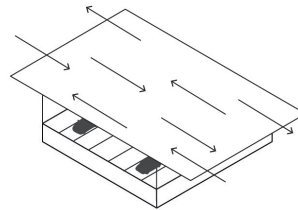
6. Lack of human scale



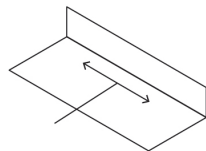
6. Add space and buildings related to human scale



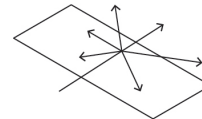
7. Lack of interaction through infrastructure barrier(s)



7. Increased movements through highway tunnel



8. Lack of accessibility



8. Increased accessibility

Fig. 121: Diagrams of the strategies: turning challenges into opportunities (Image by author)

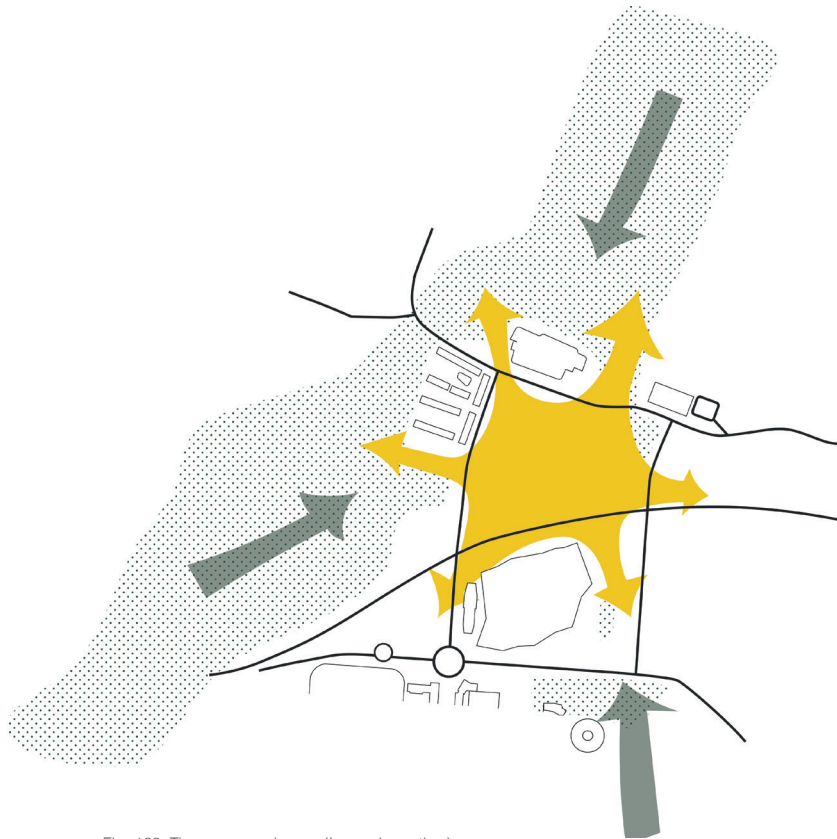


Fig. 122: The area opening up (Image by author)

Connection

The area as space in between Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie has to become a connectors space, a public place for everyone. The place should be open and accessible to all, with vibrant urban life, highlighted with the yellow arrows in figure 122. The green arrows in the figure are the parks around the area, which are used to create connections with other social spaces.

Spatial interaction is strengthened on the neighbourhood scale in different ways, explained on the next pages. First, by connecting the social spaces better with the pedestrian paths and bike lanes of the parks. Second, through infrastructural changes, streets become safer and more accessible. This is strengthened with additional public transport. Third and last, with densification will neighbourhoods be better integrated with each other, increasing the movements between them.

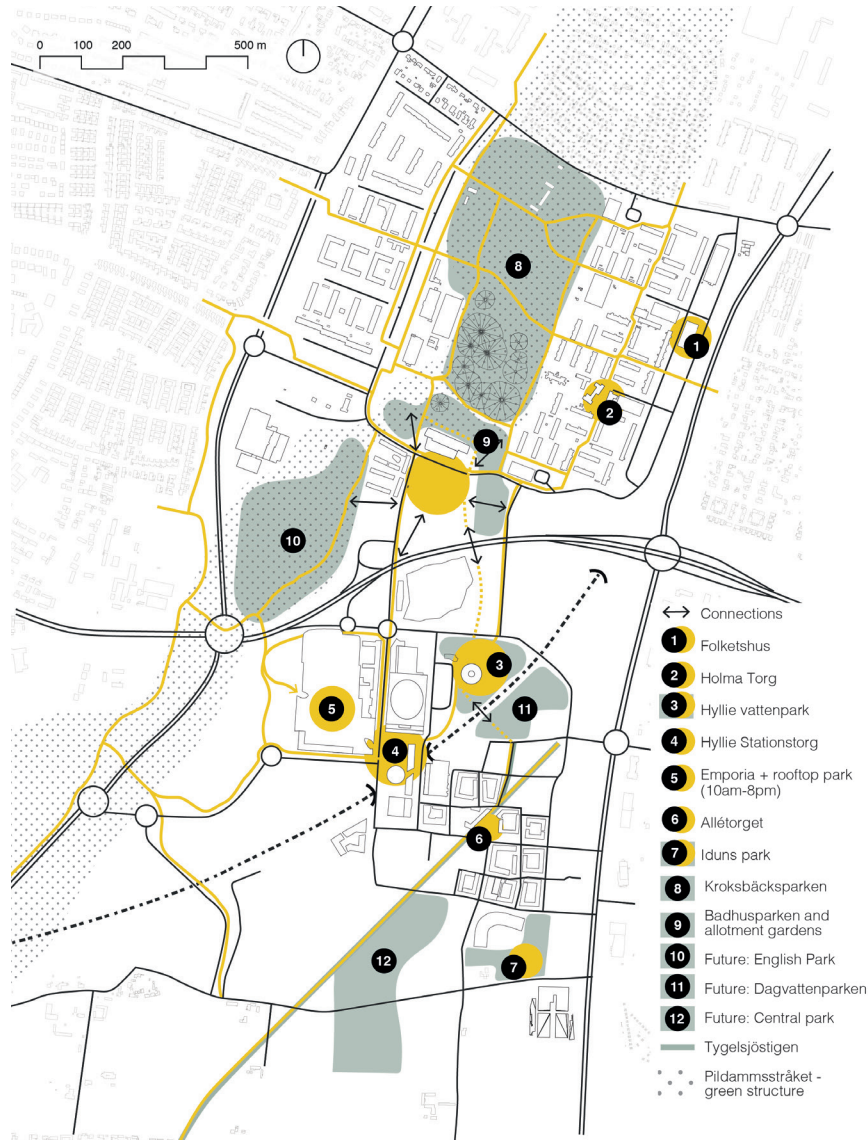


Fig. 123: Connecting the area to the existing network of public spaces (Image by author)

Connection through social spaces

The map in figure 123 shows the existing network of public spaces, as squares, shopping mall and main walk and bike routes. It is combined with the existing parks, as well as future planned green spaces, according to the municipal plans (Malmö Stad, 2015, 2016a).

The project area is to become a new public space between Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie. Connections are made in all directions, overcoming two large barriers of the highway and the railway. Currently, movements are mostly going north-south, because in Hyllie are many services as the mall and the station. The project will increase movements going south-north because of new services and easier access. Thresholds need to be reduced in order to get people from Hyllie to actually go there.

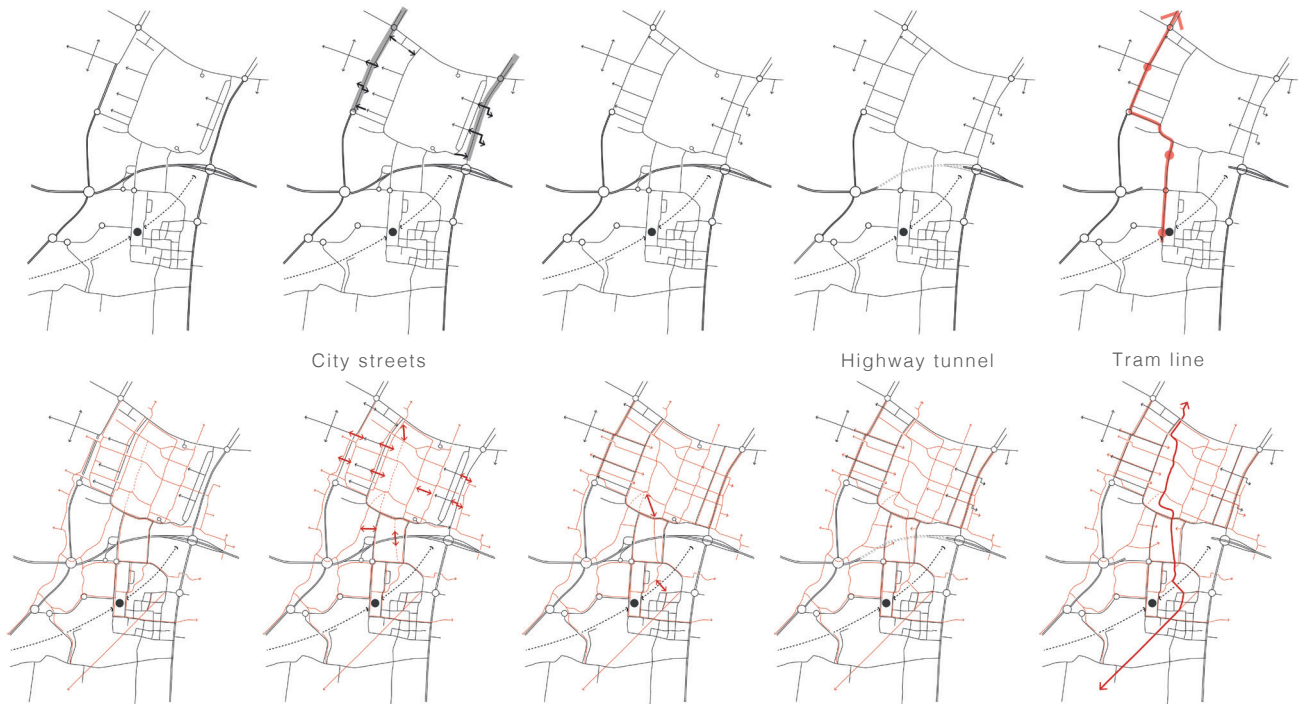


Fig. 124: By steps the area becomes better connected and integrated with its surrounding (Image by author)

Connection through infrastructure and housing

The city of Malmö has plans to densify within the outer ring road. Densification will mostly happen along densification axes, see the map in figure 125 on the right page. These axes are currently very wide streets and form large barriers between neighbourhoods. By transforming these streets into 'city streets' with additional housing, bike lanes and sidewalks, they become accessible and safe for pedestrians and cyclists. It increases urban life and the city road contributes to further spatial integration of the neighbourhoods.

In Holma and Kroksbäck this means a transformation of the streets on the western and eastern side. In figure 124 above is shown how the streets and bike lanes transform and how the area becomes better connected. Simultaneously, the area will densify shown in the map in figure 126. It will become a mixed-function area with new housing, (pre)schools, small-scale businesses and commercial spaces, combined with public space and green. The neighbourhoods will grow together, social and spatial interaction will increase, and further segregation will be countered.

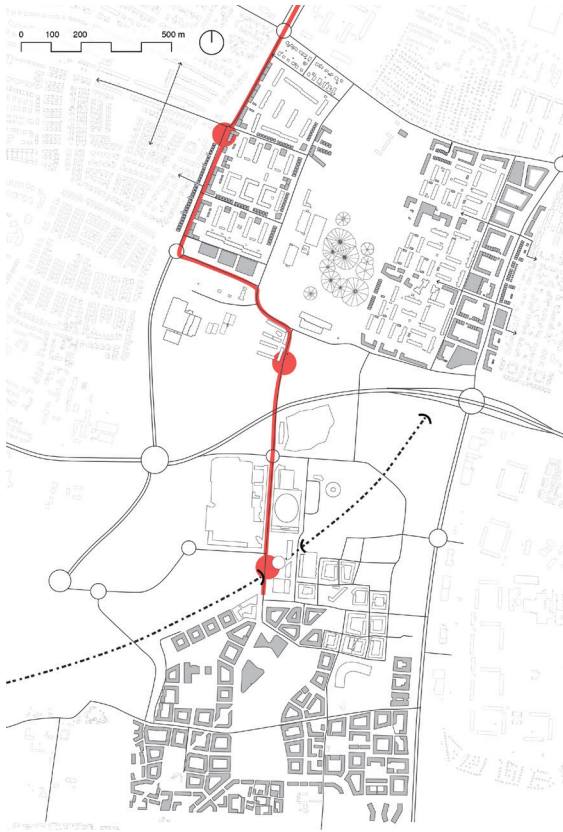


Fig. 125: Plans of densification and future tram line in Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie (Image by author)



Fig. 126: Densification and integration plan within the inner ring road, with a new tram line (Image by author)

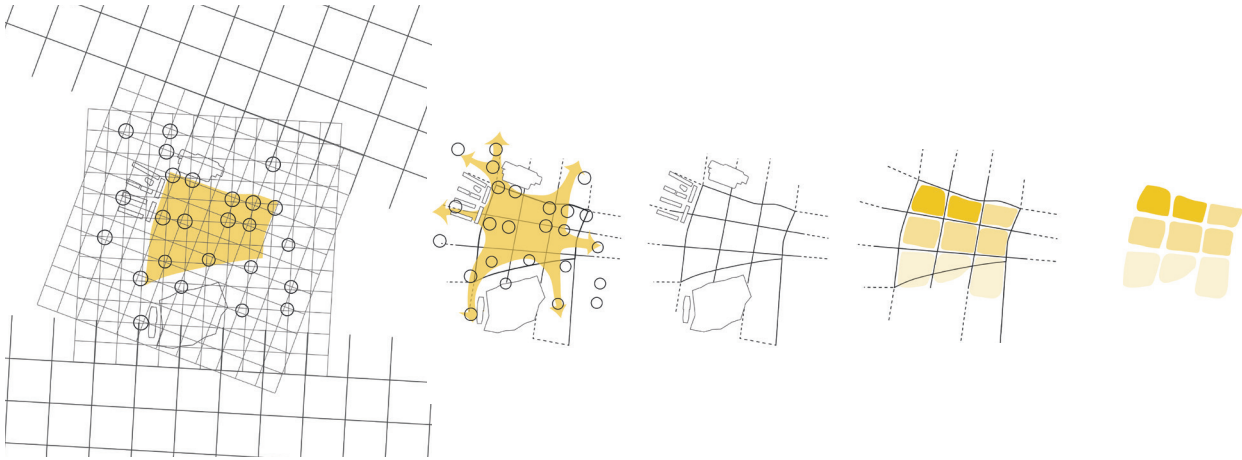


Fig. 127: Combining the grids and structure the rooms of the home (Image by author)

Fragmentation

The space of the area is structured by breaking down the scale into several 'fragments'. This is based on a combination of the two grids from Holma and Kroksbäck and from Hyllie. Fragmentation refers hereby to a tension between connection and disconnection. The fragments are dealing with the deconstruction of a former entity, but at the same time with the reconstruction of new patterns. It can be seen as a representation of the society, which is continuously tensed between connections and disconnections.

The rooms are important on their own, while they also need each other to form the desired unity. This forms a structure of spaces which are common enough to maintain the overall identity. Spaces are seen as equal units in the structure, which makes it a modular construction, allowing heterogeneity. The system will not collapse when just one unit will be removed. This is very important when thinking about coexistence, diversity and cooperation, especially with future changes. Such a system of rooms offers shared space, but does not force it. People are allowed to go to just one unit, perhaps seeing the other, but do not have to go there. Unity of the area is formed by elements in the public space, as lighting and furniture. This is later shown in visualisations.

The combined grids indicate a certain level of complexity, shown with the circles in figure 129. This complexity is interesting to use to structure the public place and public functions. It is divided by different priorities, related to the process of transformation.

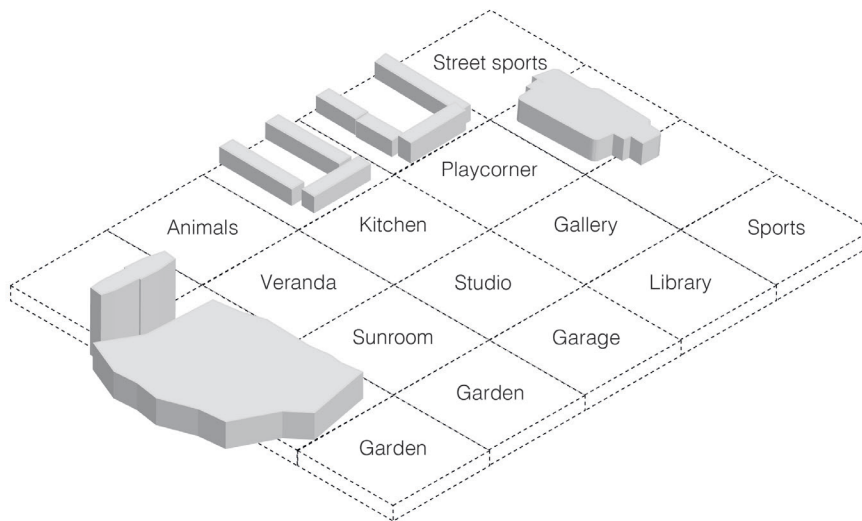


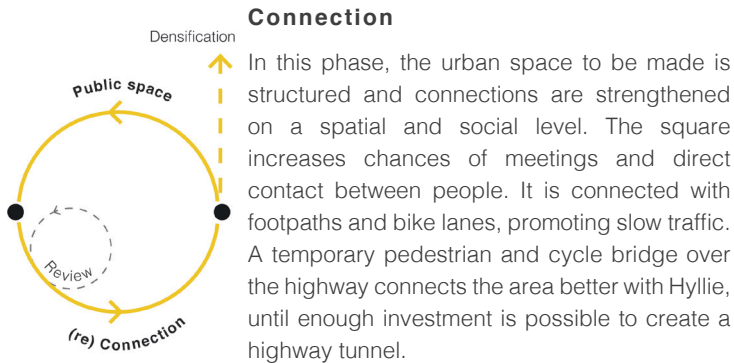
Fig. 128: The different rooms of the home (Image by author)

Structure of spaces

In figure 128 is an abstraction shown of the structured spaces. It follows the concept of the home, as well as the process of transformation, taking into account the priorities and investments.

A play corner and the gallery form together an urban living room and the first public space. Thereafter, the kitchen, studio, office and garage will be established, forming the public functions. In the end, more green public space will be established with a veranda, sun room and garden.

Such an abstraction shows the full potential of the area and gives an overview of the spaces to be made. The rooms are placed in this order and direction, mainly because of the connections and activities taking place. In essence, within their own phase, they are interchangeable. For example, the kitchen, studio, garage and library. However, due to the future infrastructure connections, flows of people and activities, this order seems to be most suitable.



Connection

In this phase, the urban space to be made is structured and connections are strengthened on a spatial and social level. The square increases chances of meetings and direct contact between people. It is connected with footpaths and bike lanes, promoting slow traffic. A temporary pedestrian and cycle bridge over the highway connects the area better with Hyllie, until enough investment is possible to create a highway tunnel.

Public space

The public square acts as an urban living room, where people can play, relax, gather or walk through. The space grows with more permanent elements, but still keeping its flexibility. It is meant to facilitate a variety of activities by a variety of users. It is large enough to host events as an outdoor cinema, performances, festivals. Also, the markets that were introduced in the first phase could still be on the square. A weekly food or flea market invites people to come to the area regularly.

Bowl

An important element of the public space is the bowl. This is a lowered area, at the corner of the area. It is multifunctional in its use per season, activity and people. See figure 129. On the next pages are two visualisations shown, one during summer, one during winter (figure 132 and 133).

Free zone

The free zone offers a space for the most diverse activities. It includes a stage area, as an urban carpet where different groups, associations or initiatives can perform or exhibit. Flexible structures as poles are easily built up, see figure 129. It provides permanent-temporality with continuous change. An idea to make sure to equally provide these opportunities, is to appoint someone or some group as curator(s) of the place for a certain amount of time. For example, the cultural associations located around the area, or the schools.

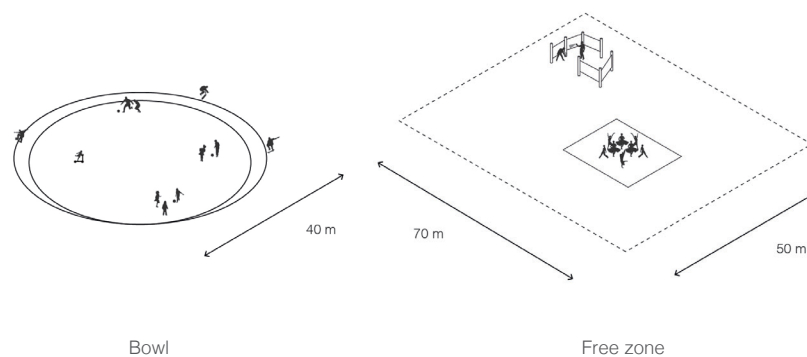


Fig. 129: Diagrams of the constructions of the public square (Image by author)

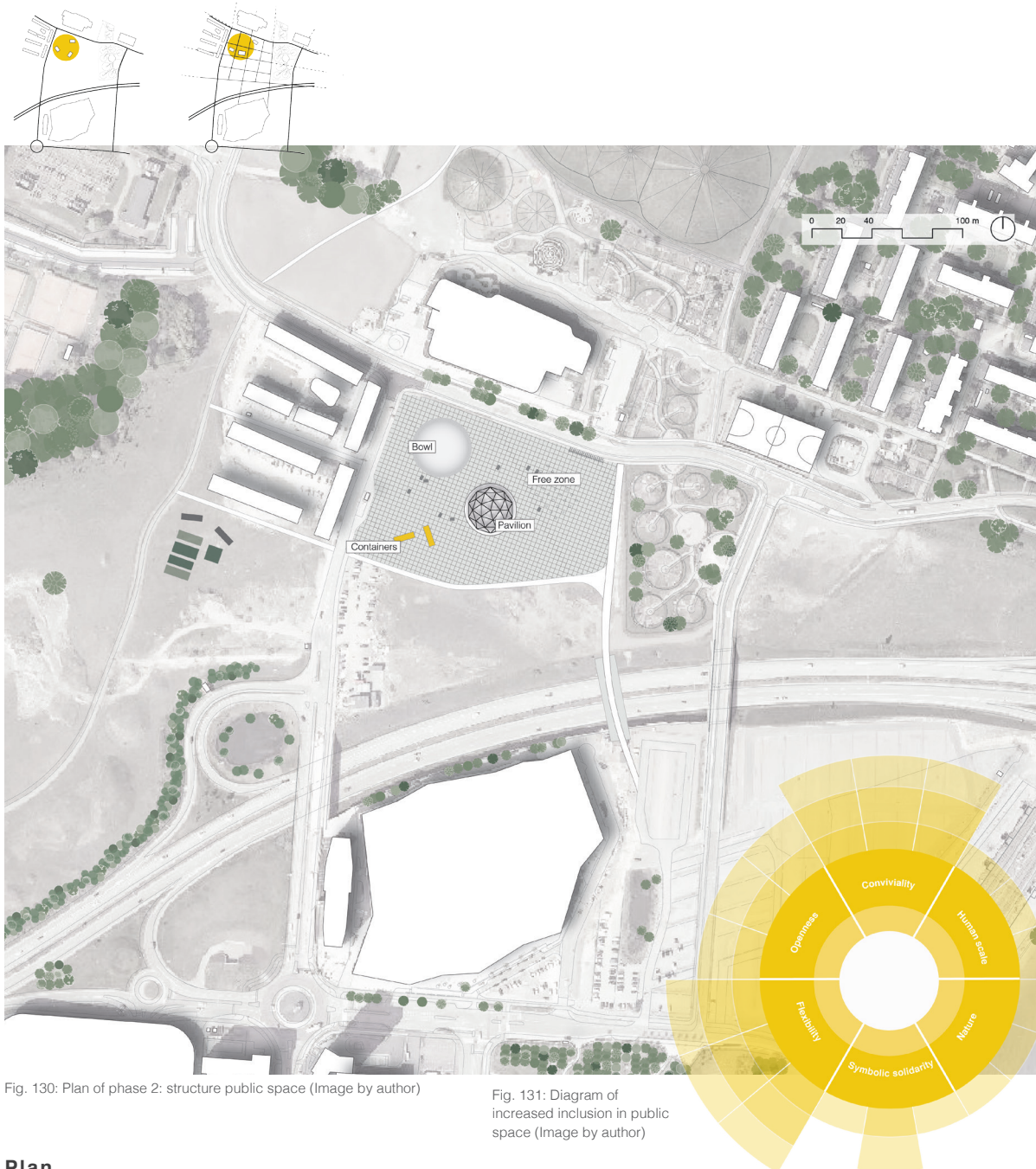


Fig. 130: Plan of phase 2: structure public space (Image by author)

Fig. 131: Diagram of increased inclusion in public space (Image by author)



Plan

The plan in figure 130 shows the area in phase 2: structure public space. An urban square is firstly established, creating an urban living room for a variety of activities.

In this phase, mainly the conviviality, flexibility and openness of the area are enhanced, see the diagram in figure 131. Conviviality by providing objects and basics in urban space making it easier to use: pavement, furniture, lighting and

so on. Flexibility through the incomplete form of the square, including an urban carpet as free zone for temporary use. The bowl highlights the seasonal change offering a play or relax area in the summer and an ice rink in the winter. The openness is enhanced with increased accessibility by the bike lanes and footpaths.

Besides, the symbolic solidarity has increased, with the possible expressions in public space.



Fig. 132: The bowl in the corner of the square can be used in summer for playing, gathering, skating or relaxing (Image by author)



Fig. 133: The bowl can be used during winter for ice skating (Image by author)

5|5 CREATE PUBLIC FUNCTIONS

The goal of this phase is to create indoor spaces, increasing the options for meeting, learning and working. It aims at decreasing inequalities by offering opportunities of employment and education, as well as physical closeness to others. Key in this phase are the relation of the buildings to human scale, their openness and symbolic solidarity.

The main means to reach this, is to develop spaces related to food, technology, learning and culture. This results in a market hall and small shops, a community house, workshop

and innovation spaces and a library with office spaces. Collaboration between different residents and organizations is essential to make a difference.

In figure 134 is shown which actors might be involved in this phase. Besides many other actors which may be involved from the first two phases, there may be important additional actors with experience of employment, education and meeting places. This is shown on the right page.



Fig. 134: Possible actors in phase 3 (Image by author)



Arbetsförmedlingen is Sweden's Public Employment Agency, providing employment services to both job seekers and employers, prioritizing those who are furthest removed from the labour market.



ManPower is a world leader in the field of staffing-related services



Good Malmö is an initiative from the business sector collaborating to engage companies to employ young talents.



Studieförbunden (Study Federations) offer meeting places for free, voluntary learning. With funding from federal, regional and municipal government, Study Federations support all people's access to education and culture.



Folksuniversitetet is an adult educational association that offers a wide range of adult education.



Ibn Rushd is a Muslim education association open to all, working to ensure democracy and human rights, and to strengthen the Swedish Muslim identity. They offer a wide range of seminars, study circles, discussions, and cultural events.



ABF Malmö is a meeting place for knowledge, education and culture, for participation and democracy. They offer study circles, courses, lectures and cultural events.



MINE is a non-profit member organization aiming to increase diversity in the workplace.



Orten.io is a platform about inclusion and diversity in technology and tech entrepreneurship, especially working within segregated areas.



RådRum Malmö is a meeting place where newly arrived people in Malmö can get free advice and guidance about various social issues.

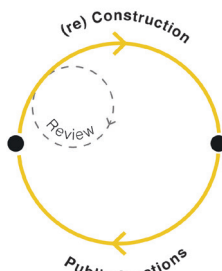


Possible actors

The actors listed above might play a role during the creation of public functions. The actors are related to employment services, educational services and actors working towards diversity and inclusion in the workplace. For example, they might be able to connect the work-seeking residents to the constructors of the area, Skanska or NCC. Combined with possible education, people might get closer to getting a job within one of the new functions. Besides, there may be tasks for volunteers, such as supervision of the different spaces, sellers at

the second hand shop or teaching Swedish to immigrants. It could also be a collaboration, for example students who take care of elderly, in exchange of a certain discount.

The next pages explain how the creation of the public functions are adding much more inclusive values to the area.



Construction

In this phase, there is enough (public) investment possible to build the public functions.

The constructions do not have to be complicated. It is mostly about their function. They need to be accessible and express openness. This means that they should have many entrances, an active ground floor and proportions related to human scale. This is also related to the sun and wind direction shown in figure 135. The buildings should be an extension of the public space, for example with stairs on a roof as shown with the library in figure 136, creating places to stay and look over the square. The other façades should allow change over time, providing place for example for contemporary art. The buildings may offer the chance to top them up with additional housing when needed, in order to be sure they can be created.

Public functions

The functions of the buildings are related to food, culture, innovation and learning. These increase the options for meeting, learning and working. Education and employment are essential elements for inclusion in society and providing places for this will invite people to participate more. The functions are divided in different buildings, to give people the chance to visit them separately, and get curious about the others.

Market hall and food area

This area includes first of all a hall for indoor markets. Besides there is an area with cafés, small shops, tea houses and a community kitchen. This community kitchen can be used for example by associations with events related to culture and food.

Folkets hus

The Folkets hus is mainly a community house, focussed on cultural activities. Creative spaces are here, related to arts, music, crafts, dance and other expressions.

Workshop

The workshop area includes 'makerspaces' and areas where people can repair their havings with tools. Important aspect of this area is recycling and innovation.

Library

This building includes mainly a library and it offers spaces for rental purposes, for example for start-ups. Besides, there are spaces for lectures, language cafés, discussions and other lessons, related to education.

See visualisations about the public functions on the next pages.



Fig. 135: Diagram of sun and wind direction (Image by author)

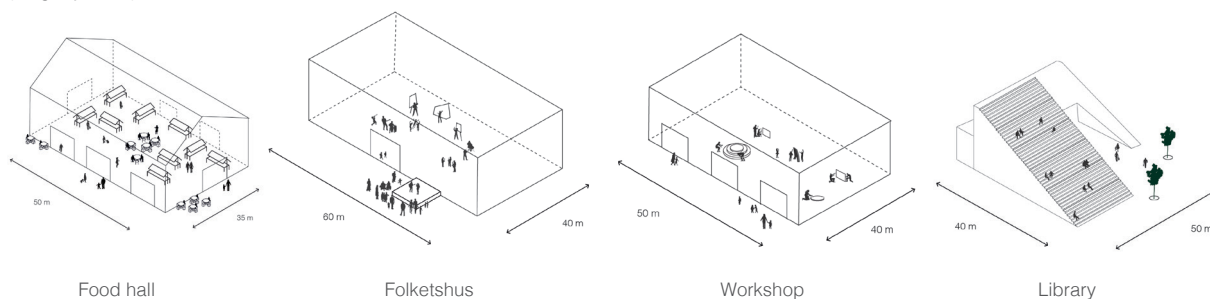


Fig. 136: Diagrams of the constructions (Image by author)

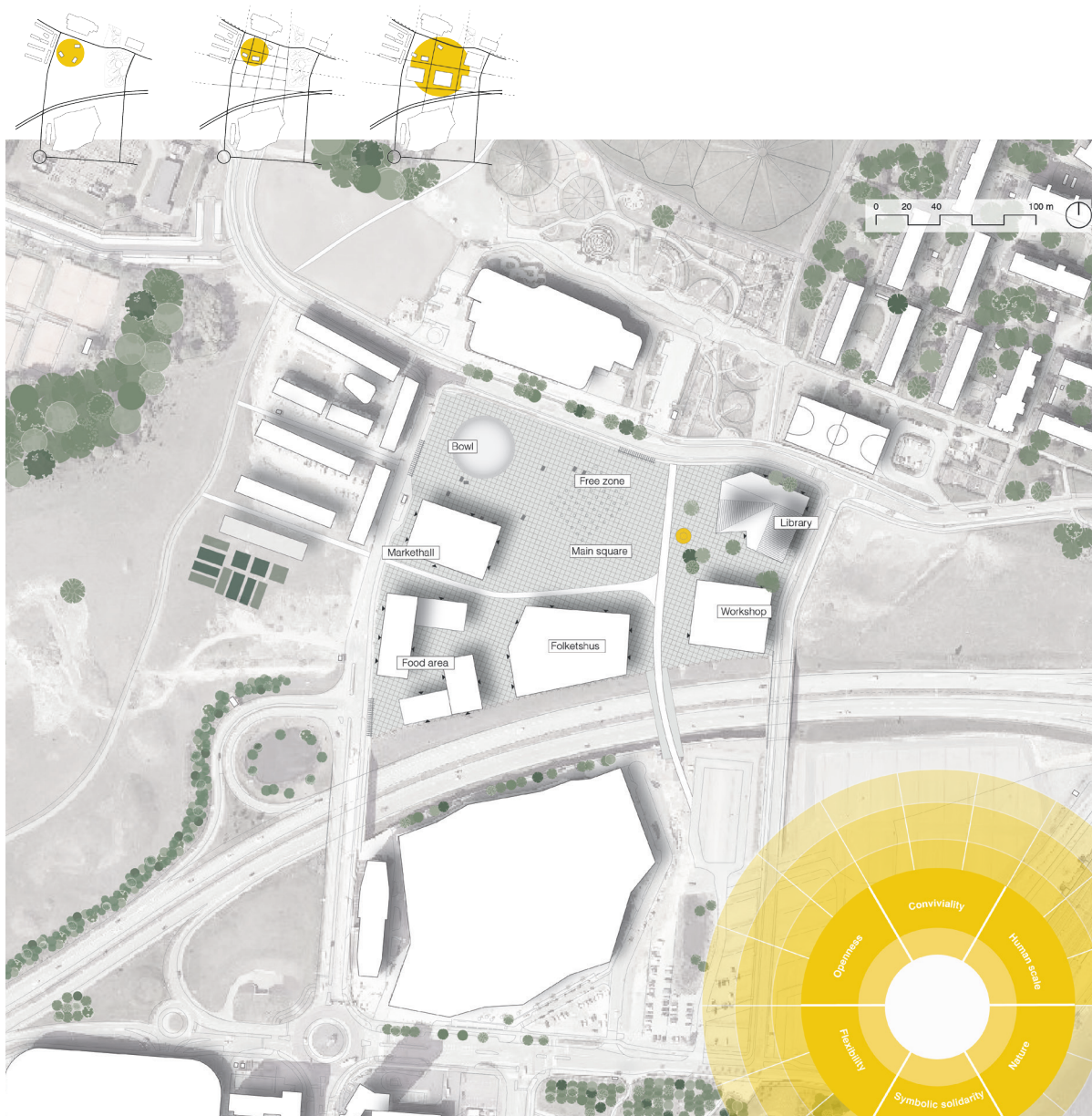


Fig. 137: Plan of phase 3: create public functions (Image by author)

Fig. 138: Diagram of increased inclusion in public space (Image by author)



Plan

The plan in figure 137 shows a growth of the area with buildings and public functions. These are places for possible employment and working as well as education and learning. Also, the area increases with places for meeting.

In this phase, mainly the openness, human scale and symbolic solidarity are enhanced, see figure 138. The openness due to the provision of public functions between Hyllie,

Holma and Kroksbäck, reinforcing movements between the areas. The human scale is created with proportions related to human dimensions, increased complexity and orientation. Symbolic solidarity increases due to possible expressions of people with public functions related to food, technology, learning and culture. Besides, a variety of façades and displays offer places for expressions. Its imageability increases and the area becomes more and more recognizable.



Fig. 139: The food hall offers a place for markets, meetings and a mix of food-cultures (Image by author)



Fig. 140: The Folkets hus as community house offers a place of creative, cultural expressions and meetings (Image by author)



Fig. 141: The workshop area includes a hall, a makerspace where people can create and recycle things (Image by author)



Fig. 142: The library with stairs on the roof offers an extension of the square (Image by author)

5|6 EXPAND PUBLIC DOMAIN

The goal of this phase is to expand in and outdoor spaces, increasing the options for meeting and social gathering. It aims at increasing the visual quality and aesthetics of the place and improve peoples' experience of the site. The area should become a place where people like to go. Key in this phase is the addition of nature.

The main means to reach this, is to develop a highway tunnel and connect green spaces.

Besides, the area will be connected to a tram line going between the city centre and Hyllie. The pedestrians' experience becomes more pleasant which allows people to stay at the site at different times.

Figure 144 below shows the possible actors involved in this phase. Many have been involved from the first three phases. On the right page are the essential actors shown.

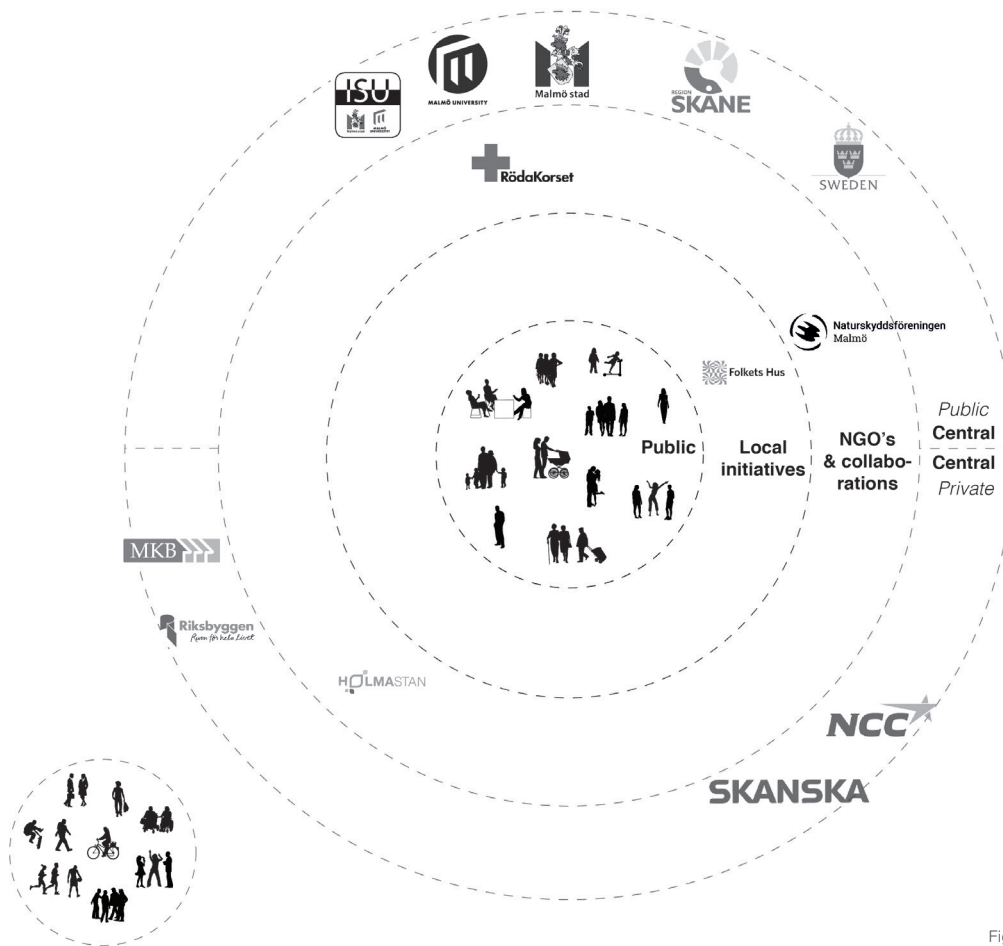


Fig. 143: Possible actors in phase 4 (Image by author)



Malmö Municipality



Region Skåne



Swedish State



NCC is a large project developer and constructor group.



Skanska is a large project developer and constructor group.



Naturskyddsföreningen
Malmö

Naturskyddsföreningen Malmö is Sweden's largest environmental organization with over 200,000 members.



Possible actors

To be able to reach the goal of this phase, the main actors to be involved are the municipality, the region Skåne and the Swedish State. They should become aware of the necessity of developing a highway tunnel. The development would be an example for the rest of the inner ring road.

The municipality aims to become a 'close, dense, green, mixed-function city', according to the Comprehensive Plan 2014, whereas "walking, cycling and public transport will form

the basis of the transport system." (Malmö Stad, 2014)

It is time to realise the urgency to change the current situation and barrier. Many people, both residents and visitors, would be able to enjoy the area of which the environmental values will increase enormously. The large scale development of Hyllie may get more positive publicity, overcoming the barriers it has caused.



Fig. 144: A green hub on top of the highway tunnel connects the green spaces around the plot (Image by author)

Connection of green spaces

The area covering the highway offers the possibility to become a green hub, offering a different type of green space than already around. This means more 'urban' green with a diversity of species. Figure 144 shows how the green spaces around the area will be connected. The Kroksbäcksparken from the north, the future English park from the west and Hyllie vattenpark from the south.

The cover on top of the highway will provide full access to the area for pedestrians and cyclists. This is highlighted with a green cycle path going between the inner city all the way to the coast, shown in figure 145 and 146. Green connections on the city scale are enhanced and movements between south-north, east-west and the other way around will increase.



Fig. 145: A cycle path connects the 'Tygelsjöstigen', the longest willow alley of Sweden, with Holma, Kroksbäck and the inner city (Image by author)



Fig. 146: The cycle path is connected to one of the most important green structures of Malmö, the Pildammsstråket (Image by author)

Evolution



This phase is an evolution of the previous pages. As explained, it is possible to evolve when investments for a highway tunnel are there. The highway is than no barrier anymore and there is access from all sides. Noise would be reduced and green areas can be connected. After the previous phases with essential spaces and functions, this phase would give the area an aesthetic upgrade. It provides more comfortable spaces, also during the winter. The area is connected to a tram line going between the city centre to Hyllie Station.

Public space

This phase adds more intimate public spaces to the area, both indoor and outdoors, where people can easily stay in a more quite and green environment, see the diagrams in figure 147. This in contrast to the lively urban square. It provides spaces for small gatherings and relaxing. For example during a break from work or to take a walk. The spaces have a high visual quality because of the additional natural elements.

Glasshouse

A major aspect of this phase is the glasshouse. This is an indoor park area, publicly accessible during opening hours. It is connected to the existing building of Malmö Mässan, incorporating the closed façade. The park is especially a pleasant place to stay during harsher weather conditions, because it warms up by the sun. Besides, different species are able to grow in this glasshouse due to the warmer climate. This adds visual diversity and quality to the place where people from Southern countries can identify with.

Green square

This area acts mostly as welcoming space. It draws people in, with attractive natural elements and seating. It is connected to the future English park.

Park

The park area is part of a larger green structure, connected to Hyllie Vattenpark. A cycle path through the park area increases movements, as shown on the previous pages. The park is attractive to walk, sit down and enjoy the urban nature. It is a natural low area, which will flood when heavy rains.

Animal garden

Another additional aspect of this phase is the animal garden. This area is related to a new preschool, where children can play and learn in a green environment. There is also the possibility of food production and organic waste collection.

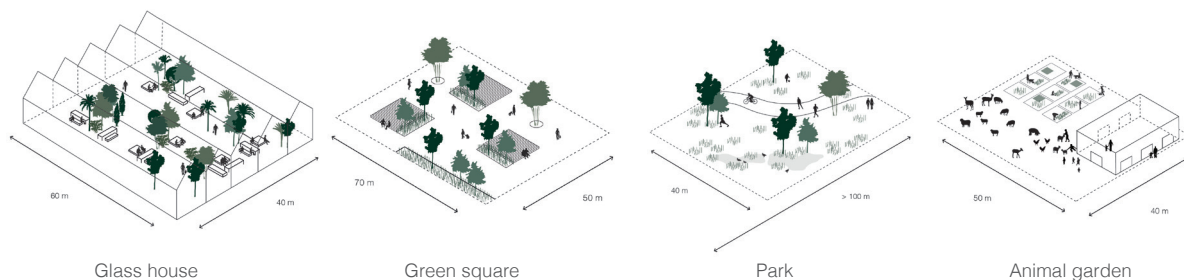
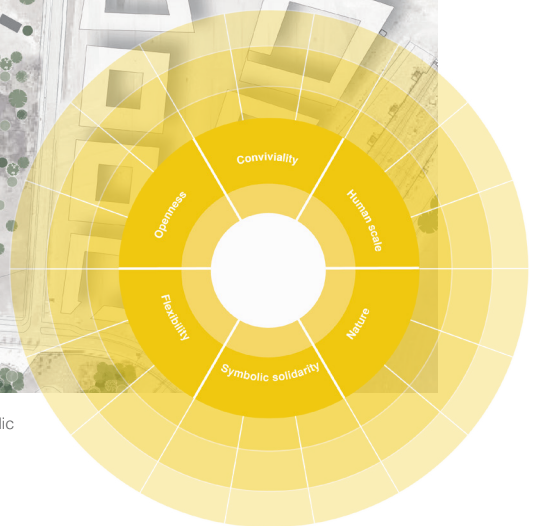


Fig. 147: Diagrams of the constructions (Image by author)



Fig. 148: Plan of phase 4: expand public domain (Image by author)

Fig. 149: Diagram of increased inclusion in public space (Image by author)



Plan

The plan in figure 148 shows the expansion of the site. Foremost change is the cover on the highway, creating full access and possible movement between Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie. From now on, it becomes actually one development without barrier.

In this phase, the most important additional inclusive value is nature. The development model is complete in figure 149. Nature is

enhanced with a glasshouse, connected to the Malmö Mässan as well as a green square, park area and animal garden. An increasing amount of trees and other natural elements create more comfort, by blocking the most common wind from the south-west. The winter garden inside the glasshouse offers comfort year round and a natural area which is distinct from the other parks around. The aesthetic value of the area increases and will only grow further in time.



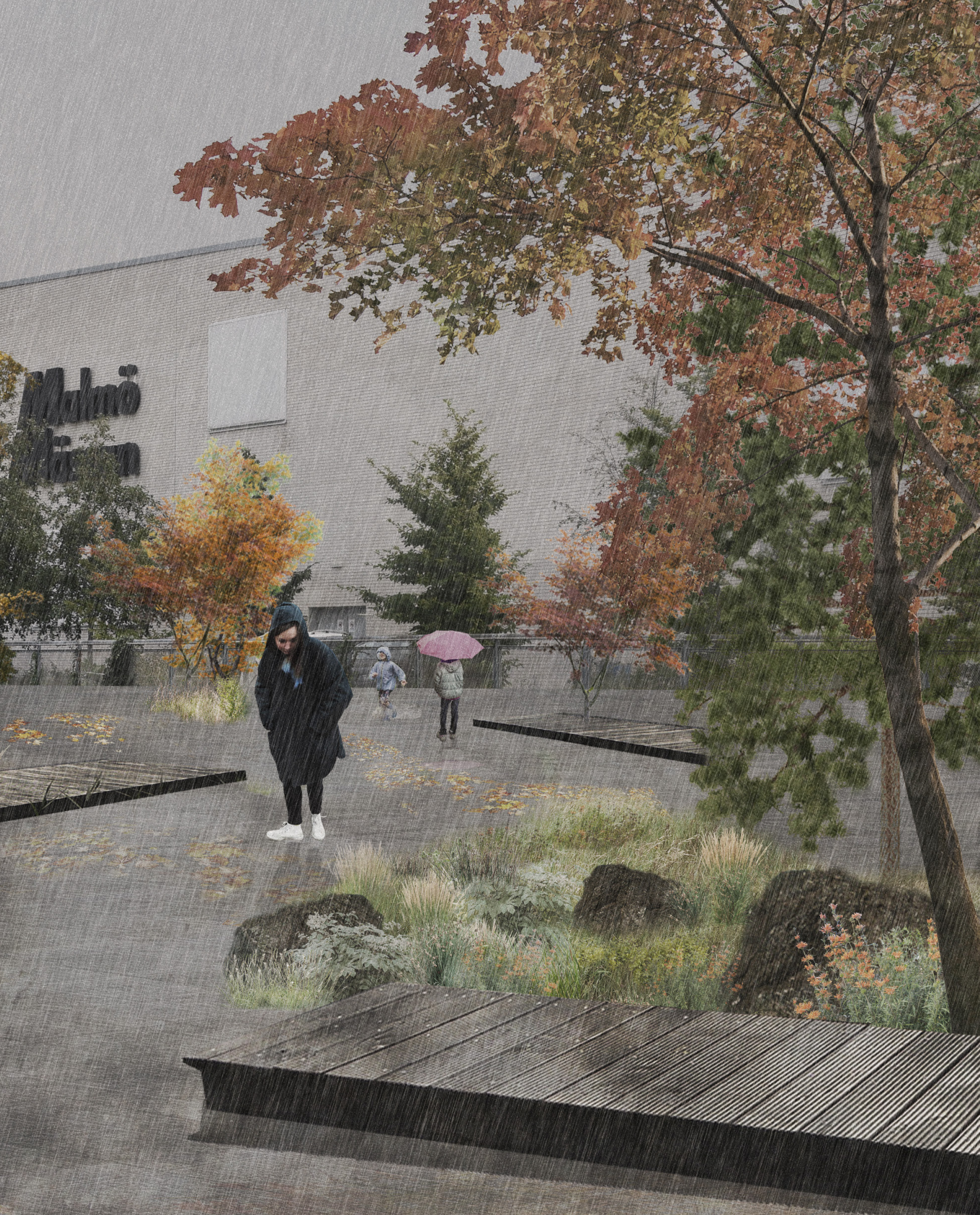


Fig. 150: A look towards the glass house with a public indoor park during a rainy afternoon on the green square (Image by author)

5|7 MAINTAIN & REVISE INCLUSION

The goal of this phase is to maintain and revise the spaces and constructions of the other phases. Social networks are established but need to be maintained or extended, spaces need to be revised in order to measure their success of inclusion. Are there enough and diverse activities taking place? Is the public space still functioning as it should? Do the buildings need a reconstruction? Are the connections still working? All these kind of questions. This phase highlights the continuity of the area and its ability to adjust to new circumstances as new

residents or changing weather conditions. The revision takes into account all the qualities of inclusive public space: openness, conviviality, human scale, nature, symbolic solidarity and flexibility.

The main means to reach this, is maintain incompleteness and letting space for own interpretations. A visualisation on the next pages shows how the square may be full of informalities and where the plural society is reflected.

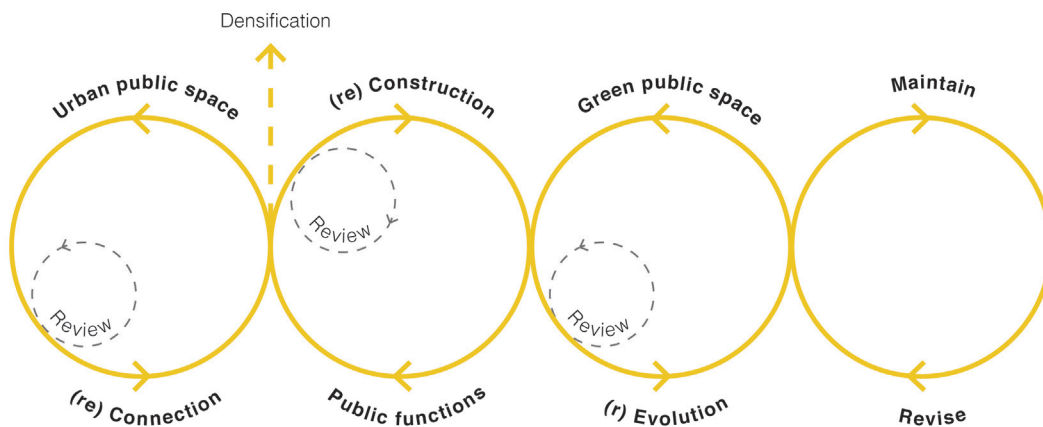
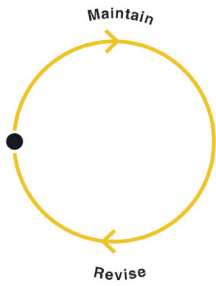


Fig. 151: Diagram of continuous development (Image by author)



Maintain

This phase evaluates and reflects on the previous phases. Together with the revision it creates a full loop of continuing development, see figure 151. Most essential is to maintain the incompleteness of the area. This offers permanent temporality and the possibility to adjust to contemporary circumstances. It also means that elements might be removed and others build up.

Revise

Some spaces or structures would need a reconnection or reconstruction in due time when they do not fulfill anymore the qualities of inclusive public space and thereby the conditions for social interaction: multiplicity, tolerance and equality. This should be done on the basis of the development model shown in figure 152 below. It is related to the sense of shared culture with inclusive solidarity where perceptions of shared membership are supported. This should be valued by everyone involved.

Participation

Participation is increased due to the social networks built up during the first phases. It creates feelings of responsibility to take care of the surrounding environment while people may experience more social security in return. It decreases inequalities and exclusion and people may enjoy the presence of being in the public space. To be able to maintain these conditions, investments of the public or private sector are still essential to be able to keep developing. However, hope and expectations are that the residents of Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie participate and collaborate to built society together, by providing a place for everyone to be.

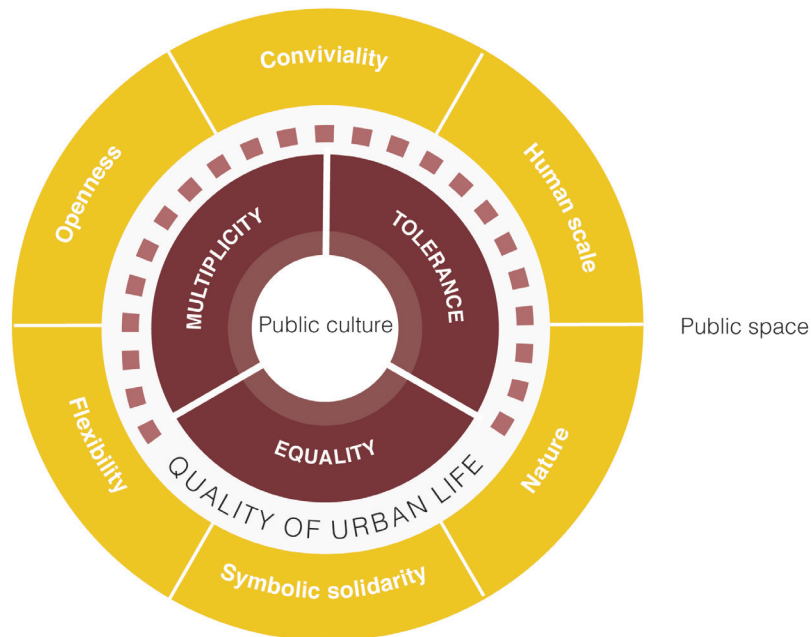


Fig. 152: Diagram of the development tool (Image by author)



“

*The good city might be thought of as the challenge
to fashion a progressive politics of well-being and emancipation
out of multiplicity and difference and from the particularities
of the urban experience.*

”

Ash Amin, 2006

CONCLUSIONS

Through this thesis project it has been the intention to increase the inclusion of people in the public space between the neighbourhoods of Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie, in Malmö, Sweden. The role of the public space has been examined throughout the project, aiming to fill the gap from exclusion to inclusion and to define how urban design can contribute to increase of inclusion. The research and design brings together social and spatial dynamics in an ever changing city.

Recognise inequalities and exclusion

Since the beginning of the 1990s Malmö started changing in the wake of globalisation, migration and urbanisation. Consequences related to neoliberalism and multiculturalism have changed the social and urban fabric of the city, which is reinforced by the restructuring of the welfare state. Contradictions are found in policies and urban planning, where experimental planning projects such as Bo01 in the former harbour area are build for desired immigrants instead of the ones who have actually arrived. The large scale development Hyllie follows the same path, trying to keep the lead in developing a world-class sustainable city. On the contrary, it creates places which are privileged over and against others and hereby exclude others of using it.

The public spaces around Hyllie highlight many characteristics of exclusion. The large shopping mall and events hall have made it a place of aesthetic value and consumption through the promotion of retail development. Besides, private interests of hotels and offices undermine the publicness of the place through their international expression, forgetting local residents. The lack of human scale has created too wide and too big public spaces, making it an uncomfortable place to stay. A large highway acts as a physical barrier between Hyllie and Holma and Kroksbäck, creating a lack of interaction and movements between the areas, as well as prioritising the car above the pedestrian. A lack of accessibility and freedom of movement increases places for certain social groups that tend to claim public spaces, reinforcing social division and potential conflicts or mistrust between groups. This is expressed with violence in public space, increasing the feeling of insecurity of vulnerable people. Finally, a lack of

variety in public space as well as an expressive quality of identification make undefined places where no one feels related to.

Apart from the efforts of the municipality to compensate for the increased inequalities and polarisation, policy goals are still conflicting. Social sustainability is for a long time used as a unifying vision to bring several policy goals together and to turn problems related to cultural diversity into resources and prosperity for the city as a whole. In contrast, the underlying issue of the changing political climate is related to the fear of being overwhelmed by immigrants and refugees, especially during the last years. The role of multiculturalism is difficult and changed our societies nowadays. The progressive's dilemma explains that a choice is forced between diversity and (national) solidarity. On the one hand multiculturalism is needed for today's liberal democracy, on the other hand it may weaken the sense of nationhood and its secured stability and solidarity. The stance for minorities can only change when multiculturalism will be supplemented to the link between liberal democracy and nationhood. The welfare state has come to an end and we now move towards a participation society. Perceptions of cultural otherness have to be tackled and shared membership supported, which means inclusive solidarity.

Development model to enhance inclusive solidarity

Inclusive solidarity is about creating a public culture by taking into account the process and design of inclusion. The process of inclusion is about the transition towards a participation society, in which the aspects of inclusion are valued by everyone involved in city-making: politicians, stakeholders and also residents. Besides it is about social interaction, the contact between a diversity of people. This is based on the values of multiplicity, tolerance and equality. The design of inclusion is related to the link between people and the visual and material culture of a public space, the nature of the setting.

By means of a development model it is shown that design is able to enhance the social process of inclusion by taking into account the spatial values of conviviality,

human scale, nature, symbolic solidarity, flexibility and openness. These values are supposed to reinforce the conditions for social interaction and a sense of shared space.

Inclusive design

The strategy creates inclusive solidarity and a public culture based on the process and design of inclusion. The process shows the importance of the time factor and the participation of different actors over time. The design finds a way to improve the level of social interaction between people by improving the interaction between people and the public space. This is reflected in an urban design of the site in between Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie as well as connections to the larger district. The level of inclusion will be enhanced with details and placement on the small scale, while the public functions increase the level of inclusion on the district scale. In this way it includes all citizens and social groups.

Social inequalities may be reduced because there will be much more opportunities of physical closeness to others, or even meetings. The area will be much better connected with the surroundings and the place will offer a variety of functions. Besides, opportunities of employment, education and participation will be created with spaces related to food, technology, learning and culture. The public and private sector, organisations and residents have to collaborate to make a difference. Finally, the area will become visually more attractive with the addition of natural elements. With enough investment, the highway will be turned into a tunnel which creates full access and movement between Holma, Kroksbäck and Hyllie. The development of this site connects the two neighbourhoods of conflicting policy goals. Such an inclusive place between two fundamentally different areas brings people closer to each other and it would be an example for many other cities with increasing inequalities and segregation.

Participatory process

Inclusion is in itself a process which involves and engages with people over time. So for inclusion to be able to work out in reality, urban development should not be a blue print from top down. It should have a participatory process where citizens have to take on their responsibility as well. With the involvement of the (future) users, a stronger sense of identity and attachment to a place is created, as well as a network with a sense of trust and social cohesion. The process becomes more democratic which could eventually prevent potential conflicts. This research and design project has not been able to develop an urban design together with different actors. The wishes and needs of the different groups are therefore based on assumptions and the notion of the 'public' has been as broad as possible. However the strategy shows an indication of possible stakeholders which have been involved in related projects before, so there is a start.

REFLECTION

Above all, this project has been an exploration to get a grip on social processes, through design. The exploration took place in the city of Malmö, which was mainly due to personal interest. This interest started from being impressed about their environmental approach to urban development, to a more and more critical look towards this, in relation to the social challenges the city has to deal with. It touched me in the way that urban development can be really unfair. It is well known that there is a widening gap all over the world, between the rich and the poor, but I did not expect it to happen that much in Sweden. Sweden was to me a country of the social right movements and equality for all. These times are apparently over, however, I have the feeling that a new movement is on its way. This became clear when I went on a site visit during the summer of 2017. The Van Alen institute from New York, in collaboration with the municipality and more than 30 NGO's, organised a festival in the city, the Opportunity Space Festival. Main topics were inclusion and inclusive spaces. It all fell in place, especially since the wider context became clear to me; the restructuring of the welfare state and perhaps the transition towards a participation society like elsewhere. Everyone's role is changing and need to take their responsibility. Inclusion cannot be created without a shift from the government, stakeholders and the people themselves. Of course it takes much more time for this awareness to come. Therefore, this research and design project contributes to this, with emphasis on the connection between social and spatial processes.

Research and design

In the project, research and design are related to each other with mutual effect. An iterative process going back and forth from research to design resulted in a 'development model' which links the social and spatial perspective of urban development. The development model explains how spatial design can improve social processes. The link between social and spatial processes works throughout the whole project. First, as a way to explain how social processes as globalisation, migration and urbanisation have certain consequences for the society, which are experienced in the public spaces. Thereafter, the link the other way around is explored to

see what design is able to solve for the social issues in the society of today.

During the first part of the project there has been a focus on research and analysis, to clearly define the situation of today's society. A historical analysis and an analysis of national and urban policies, as well as urban theories guided me to the understanding of the context. An in-depth analysis of the specific neighbourhoods contained demographic data, and many plans and reports from the municipality. The municipality is well organised and many plans, documents and statistical data are published online, although often in Swedish. Major help was the report from the Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö, which gave insight into the (recognition of) social inequalities within Malmö. A spatial analysis focussed on the public spaces (indoors and outdoors) around the location, as well as future plans. The exploration phase was a search to material and visual aspects in the public space which may turn a public space into an inclusive public space or public domain. Combining different theories as well as own interpretations resulted in the development model. This model explains the requirements that a place has to meet, in order to contribute to social inclusion. This method has been revised over and over again, until I found it the optimal version. It started with eight general concepts influencing collective urban life, ended with six spatial design concepts influencing the social processes. The final design draws back on the historical research with a concept taken from the 1930s welfare state; People's Home (Folkhemmet). It shows which values we have to take with us from the former welfare state to achieve a socially just city. The design expresses publicness, variety and includes all people in the urban space.

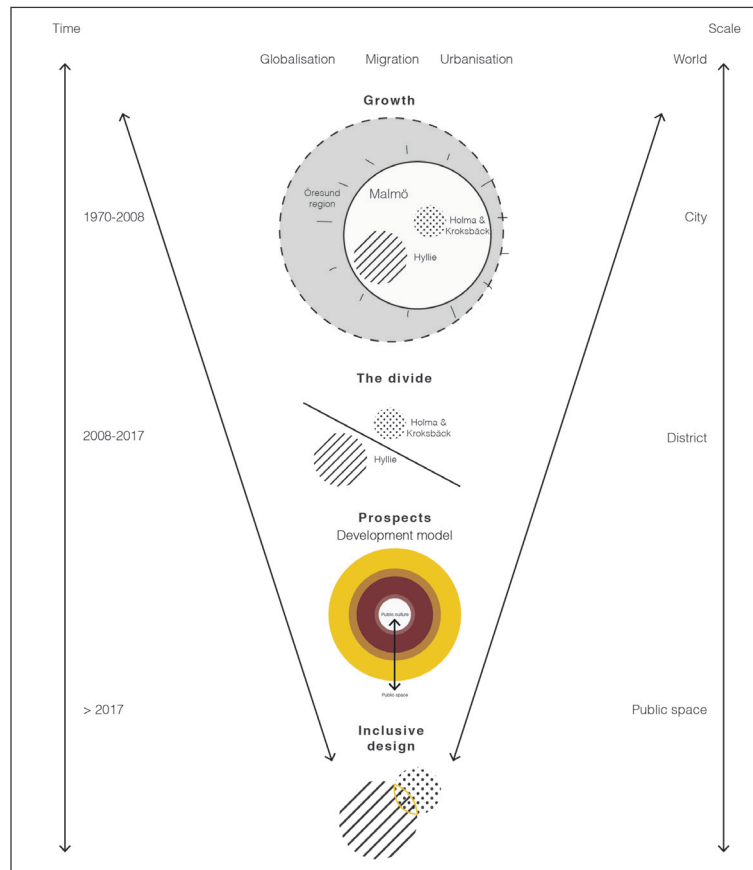


Fig. 154: Framework of the project approach (Image by author)

Project approach

The structural line followed during the project is related to time and scale, see the figure 154 above. This started with the causes of the past on the city scale, towards the contemporary result on the district scale. Thereafter the exploration of the future started, on the scale of the public space.

The first two phases contributed to a clear social and spatial context, which is in my eyes essential for developing new places. The role of the urban planner and designer is to deeply understand the conditions and structures that are there, and combine the different needs and wishes of several groups to transform it into something which would benefit all. During this project, the 'all' has been essential, when working with exclusion and inclusion. Vulnerable groups are often not heard or not able to express themselves, but are equally important as all the others. One of the tasks of the urban designer is therefore to recognise the vulnerable groups. The exploration phase has been a combination of research and design. To be able to explore the chances to improve the public space, the development model has been made. This combined different theories and tangible

aspects of the public space as a way to combine the spatial to the social.

Important aspect of this project has been the process-oriented approach. I believe that an urban planning and design can not be a blueprint. Of course, it is important to show how the end result could look like, in the end we are still the experts. However, I think urban planning and design become more and more a process. It contains a lot of uncertainties and developing a design over time helps to get grip on these uncertainties. In the beginning a place can accommodate temporary installations. On the way, more permanent aspects are being made, but it is essential to keep the temporary aspects as well. In this way, places are flexible and able to adjust to different needs at different times. Here comes back the 'all' as said before. I think that places should be able to host all kinds of people and not made for certain groups at certain times. City development becomes in this way a skeleton which is undergoing different social and spatial processes. This permanent-temporality approach fits well in the line of approach, to take transformation literally and offer places for different needs and at different times.

Limitations

The location is currently being constructed and the municipality updated plans during my project. Working within such changing spatial setting is therefore difficult, because it is highly dynamic. It helped a lot when I visited the location and saw the developments with my own eyes. It may have been too late in the graduation process and this caused time shortage for the design phase. On the other hand, during the visit was also the Opportunity Space festival which helped me way further in the understanding of the context.

Besides, for this research it would have been very helpful to get empirical data from the residents. However, there were difficulties getting input from them. I prepared an online survey, but no one filled it in. This may be related to me - what is this Dutch girl thinking to solve in here - but another reason became also clear when talking to an urban planner from the municipality. She explained that even they had also difficulties reaching the residents. People from Holma and Kroksbäck do not seem to be interested in the coming developments or giving input. There is talked already so much about the area and it gets a worse image in the media, so there might be a lack of trust here. It was sad that it did not work out for me, but it learned me something about the attitude of the people, and also their role to change when to achieve inclusion. I have solved this problem with more secondary data and some assumptions.

Site specific project

This research is part of the research group 'History and heritage'. Malmö as location fits very well within this group. It has been through many social and urban transformations during the last decades. Compared to other Western cities, the city transformed relatively late towards a knowledge society. Besides, the restructuring of the welfare state changed a lot for the people in the city already. Together, this makes it a highly dynamic place where many challenges are coming together. The project highlights the strong social values of the welfare state and if this 'social heritage' would be valued, the city would be able to manage the challenges of today's society. However, it is not only the role of the city to do this, it requires a change from everyone.

Project and wider social context

It has become clear that in many places around the world inequalities are increasing, as well as a changing political climate. Issues related to immigration and refugees are leading the debate. When looking at the elections of the last year in Western Europe and the U.S.A as well as the events of Brexit show that we have entered a new political era. It is more and more about identity and the right wing is rising. The society is dividing along national or group identities, in reaction to a globalising world. It is essential to assess these issues and look critically to city-making. The risk of alienation is really something we need to watch out for. As urban planners and designers, work is often commissioned by politicians and their views are not always for the best. Therefore, it is essential to reflect on ourselves if we are creating ethically responsible spaces.

I think my project is showing what urban design is able of to achieve. If design and its process are based on the values of inclusion, a place can be made for the many instead of the few. It can create more encounters between different people and social groups, which starts with just to be in the same space with each other. It is to hope that perceptions of people are changing and that people realise that we have to coexist with respect to each other in the same society. And this, in the end, can be really fun too!

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