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**Name:**

Supervisor: Ore Fika

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# **MASTER'S PROGRAMME IN URBAN MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT**

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## **Gentrification in Malmö, Sweden**

Isatou Bah  
Sweden

Supervisor: Ore Fika  
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## Summary

The title of the thesis is *Gentrification in Malmö, Sweden*. The identified research problem is the lack of affordable housing in a city that is growing and experiencing significant physical, social, and economic changes. Changes that are partly influenced by urban redevelopment projects, enabling gentrification and affecting equity in the city of Malmö. The objectives were to (1) explain the extent to which urban spatial redevelopment leads to gentrification in Malmö, Sweden; and (2) explain the impact of gentrification on social and economic equity in Malmö, Sweden. The research was designed as a case study, employing three data collection methods, interviews, observation, and content analysis. The research found that there are multiple physical changes in Malmö, there are still socio-economic challenges, in particular, to improve the employment rate and decrease the number of people with a low disposable income. In addition, it is recognized that there is gentrification and in places where it is less clear, there are still gentrification tendencies. Regarding equity, there are significant differences for the population in the quality of their welfare. One point made was the importance of equitable public spending. One conclusion is that the impact of redevelopment has made the differences within the city of Malmö more tangible. Another conclusion is that there is a high interdependency between the public and private sector, which is shaping the city's development, and a third conclusion is that redevelopment to some extent impact gentrification, as these areas have a meaning for the city's development overall and has changed the narrative of the city to some extent. One proposed recommendation is to test policies in order to implement more equitable distribution policy.

Key words: Malmö, gentrification, redevelopment, equity, Sweden

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter introduces the research topic with the context in which the research was conducted in, as well as introducing the research objectives, research questions guiding the research, justification of the significance in conducting the research, and finally, the scope and limitations employed.

## ***1.1 Background***

### *Redevelopment, gentrification, and equity*

The city of Malmö, once a typical industrial city in Sweden, is now better characterized as a city of knowledge production (Nylund 2014), innovation, and sustainability. While the contributing factors to this are multiple, part of the explanation falls on the city's development and milestones achieved since the millennium, here including greater urban redevelopment projects, and ventures in academia and infrastructure. This study focuses on some of the milestones, shaping the city as it is today, namely the redevelopment projects and their impact on the gentrification of the city, and consequently the state of social and economic equity in the city.

Gentrification is a process taking place worldwide, including in Swedish cities. It is a process that varies in its intensity and impact but is topical in and outside of the academia to this day. It is a process that can be described as a *“market-driven ‘class remake’ of cities throughout the world”* (Shaw 2008, 1). Gentrification is a broad and complex concept as it (1) occurs in different types of locations (example: disinvested residential neighborhoods and brownfields), (2) can be planned or unplanned, (3) have different consequences, but displacement is often one consequence of gentrification, and (4) affect different aspects of life (political, economic, social, cultural, and environmental). The basic idea of gentrification is that it is a process that entails an upgrade of an area, which changes the physical attributes, the social make-up of the area, and is fueled, and maintained by economic investments. The literature on gentrification reveals that urban redevelopment in some cases has caused gentrification (Essoka 2010, Hamnett and Whitelegg 2007). This relationship brings us to the city of Malmö.

Since the millennium, major redevelopment projects, defined here as urban developments that are reshaping neighborhoods, have taken place in the city of Malmö. Some projects, including the redevelopment of the Western Harbour and Hyllie, have attracted great attention. The redevelopment that has, and are, taking place have been a result of broad consensus among stakeholders (Nylund 2014) and locational advantages, which will be further addressed in the following sections.

Equity is a concept that is relevant to address in the discussion on gentrification. Equity is about fairness and justice, and in the context of cities, it is about how cities are shaped, by whom they are shaped, and for whom they are shaped. Gentrification is a process, that has shown to exacerbate inequities, for minorities and other typically vulnerable groups (Essoka 2010). This makes equity a relevant accompanying topic to that of gentrification. In addition, seeing as gentrification is a current widespread phenomenon opposed by some due to specifically its implications on equity (see Romano and Franke-Ruta 2018, Bellamy-Walker 2017, Bo-Kaap Rise 2018).

### Setting: the city of Malmö

To enable an understanding of the relevance of conducting a study in Malmö on gentrification, the city of Malmö, its key characteristics, and related research will be addressed in this section.

The city of Malmö is the fastest growing city in Sweden and the third largest city in Sweden with a population of 333 633 inhabitants as of December 2017 (Malmö Stad, 2018a). Also, the city has 182 nationalities represented, and a third of the whole city population are born abroad (Malmö Stad 2018b). Located in the south of Sweden, with infrastructure connecting it to Europe through the Öresund bridge, Malmö is a gateway to the continent and benefit economically from this infrastructure. In addition, the local airport, the proximity to Copenhagen airport, and the national and international railway connections are additional factors adding to the city's locational advantages. These advantages, in turn, benefits the regional economy through the elements of accessibility, labor, and knowledge.

Situating Malmö in a global perspective, with the advent of globalization the city was impacted by the global restructuring of manufacture, which led to the closure of some industries in the city. In addition, other domestic issues impacted the welfare of the city, for example, the national devaluation policy in the 1980s, and that the business taxation stopped being municipal, decreasing the tax income for the city (Dannestam 2009). These are some events that continue to shape the policies of today.

Major urban developments are processing, or are partly finished in the city of Malmö. The developments are of mixed-use character, however, they are largely influenced by the developers, while remaining within the framework of the land use plans. Therefore, while developers set the bar, the municipality set the foundation.

Current redevelopment of neighborhoods in the city of Malmö, in which the neighborhoods Western Harbour and Hyllie are two clear examples of, are shaped by entrepreneurial forces and the pursuit to attract investors, businesses, developers, and consumers, and as a result strengthen the local economy and create a Malmö that will be attractive for years to come. While the redevelopment projects enhance the visual impression of the city with design, the creation of new public spaces, and increase the housing stock, the developments are sharp contrasts to what can be observed in nearby neighborhoods in the city.

Moreover, housing is a key concern for the city (Malmö Stad 2018c) and with the developments of the city, increasing the housing stock seems to be one of the main concerns of the projects based on the land use plans for these developments (Malmö Stad 1999, Malmö Stad 2008, Malmö Stad 2017). Housing is an issue that is not only a challenge in the city of Malmö but in many other cities of Sweden (Mokhtari 2018). However, it is not the lack of housing, but rather the lack of affordable housing (Mokhtari 2018) that is a concern.

Previous studies on the city of Malmö and gentrification have focused on individual neighborhoods and includes studies ranging from a focus on the characteristics of the built-up environment to social and environmental justice, and from testing theories to explaining gentrification processes in the city. Building upon recent trends in Malmö, previous studies, and the occurrence of gentrification in urban areas in Sweden, and worldwide, the redevelopment in Malmö and the extent to which these contribute to gentrification becomes a subject of interest.

#### **1.2 Problem statement**

The identified problem is the lack of affordable housing in a city that is growing and experiencing significant physical, social, and economic changes. Changes that are partly influenced by urban redevelopment projects, enabling gentrification and affecting equity in the city of Malmö.

In the 2017 survey on homelessness (Stadskontoret 2017), statistics from the city office establish that to meet the demand of the increasing population, 1900 housing units need to be produced annually on average, up to the year 2027, in addition to the 800 housing units that need to be produced annually to address the deficit of housing construction in recent years. However, housing is not only an issue in Malmö. All around in Sweden, municipalities that are growing face similar problems. It is a topical subject recently addressed in media, pointing out that the housing market in Sweden faces serious problems. This, it was stated, is due to the lack of sales of new condominiums, that have been built in excess for its expected profitability, but is now a market that is satisfied (Nylander 2018b). Construction companies and economists are now projecting (Nylander 2018a) that units built will change, with more focus on rentals, and that the construction industry will struggle economically since some existing housing units cannot be sold. This brings us back to the city of Malmö.

With approximately an increase of 4600 inhabitants per year in Malmö, only 1300 homes on average have been built (Malmö Stad 2018c). In addition, not all housing is accessible for low-income families, and homelessness increases each year. As of October 2017, 2822 inhabitants were homeless (Stadskontoret 2017), whereof 74 percent of all homeless adults were born outside of Sweden (Stadskontoret 2017). While some homelessness is connected to social issues of the individual, another aspect is the structural problem of who has the right to certain municipal services. This is, in particular, an issue facing migrants as upon arrival they do not qualify for the requirements for receiving some types of municipal support (Stadskontoret 2018). Furthermore, the lack of affordable housing is one of the main challenges the municipality has identified in terms of housing the inhabitants (Malmö Stad 2018c). The demographic change and migration, internal and international, is significant for cities everywhere, and not the very least in the pressure it puts on the housing market and public resources.

Part of the urban redevelopment in the city of Malmö involves the construction of housing. An example is the redevelopment of the neighborhood Hyllie. Here, both rentals and condominiums have been built, however, the financial capability of the locals varies and to some groups in society the accessibility to new housing is low. This is because of finances but also because of requirements attached to some housing. This type of situation is an equity problem because it exacerbates existing inequities between high and low-income earners, which in turn has various determinants, for example, age, gender, and ethnicity. Gentrification is not a process isolated from other phenomena present in cities, gentrification can take place in segregated locations, and segregate. Segregation and the consequences of segregation often target those groups in society that are vulnerable, for example, minorities, which is also the case for gentrification, and segregation is and has been for a long while an issue for the city of Malmö.

In summary, as clear as it is that there are some that benefit and some that do not from spatial redevelopment, and the consequences of such which can involve gentrification, the foundation of this reality is equity. Equity in distribution which becomes clear in gentrification processes in who the winners and losers are in society. Meaning, while gentrification can be seen from different perspectives, positive and negative, what is absolute about the process is that it is always revealing structural inequalities that have been growing over time.

### ***1.3 Research objectives***

The research objectives are:

To explain the extent to which urban spatial redevelopment leads to gentrification in Malmö, Sweden.

To explain the impact of gentrification on social and economic equity in Malmö, Sweden.

### ***1.4 Research questions***

#### *Main research question*

To what extent does spatial redevelopment impact gentrification in the city of Malmö, Sweden?

#### *Subsidiary research questions*

1. What type of gentrification occurs in the city of Malmö?
2. What changes can be observed, following redevelopment, on the redeveloped sites and those neighborhoods adjacent to the redevelopment sites?
3. What are the consequences of gentrification on social and economic equity in the gentrified neighborhoods?

### ***1.5 Significance of the study***

The research question addresses contemporary issues relevant to the academia and societies. The possible answers to the research question will be telling of the actual impact of redevelopment projects on gentrification in the chosen context. In terms of informing policy-making, the research contributes with an analysis on the linkages between policy and practice and explains the impact of urban redevelopment, which is of relevance to the municipality in question, but also to similar cases.

The study took place in a time and space that, as was described in the introduction, is constantly changing and is influenced by international, regional, and local changes. Changes that have forced the city to quickly adapt and manage the current state of affairs. Those changes include especially migration, the rapid pace of urbanization and demographical changes which are now more important than ever to understand and consider.

Knowledge production on gentrification is important because the topic is complex, it is spread globally and hold significance on the development of cities. Moreover, as societies evolve, it is important for the concepts that we use to describe and understand societies also evolve. The research is conducted in a setting that for some countries is more familiar than for others, however, the common ground is the societal implications, and the frequency of gentrification worldwide. In addressing contemporary issues that are constantly evolving, and are a concern for policymakers and people everywhere, the research becomes relevant, in particular, because of its focus on equity.

Researching on gentrification in the city of Malmö contributes to the local knowledge and understanding of what is happening in the direct environment, and how policies, the market, and the stakeholders in that certain space, shape the development of the city. There is a need for research on redevelopment and gentrification in Malmö to better understand the social consequences of these processes, and for informed policy and development decisions to be made.

While research has been conducted on urban development and gentrification in some neighborhoods, there is yet a study that specifically addresses the impact of urban redevelopment on gentrification and the consequences on equity. The assumption is that gentrification is not necessarily a process that solely has consequences bound to the sites of redevelopment, rather the impact of gentrification spills over to neighboring districts. This, the study will give insight to.

### ***1.6 Scope and limitations***

This study addresses the city of Malmö and draws experience from a few selected neighborhoods that are in a process of redevelopment or are explicitly a sustainability project. This study is not about the cultural or religious aspects of gentrification or displacement per se. This study is about the relationship between urban redevelopment, gentrification, and equity. Therefore, it addresses the influence of the economy, policy, and stakeholders in these processes, its implications on equity, but also on how these aspects shape the city. The methodology chapter will elaborate on the limitations of the methodology employed to answer the research questions and the limitation to the units of study.

## Chapter 2: Theory

This chapter addresses theories and concepts of relevance to the research on gentrification in Malmö, Sweden, and presents the conceptual framework. The purpose of the research is to better understand the link between redevelopment and gentrification, and how equity is influenced by gentrification. Moreover, after this chapter, the following should have been established, (1) what gentrification is and entails based on academic research, (2) the academic debate on the impact of gentrification and related concepts and theories, and (3) the linkages between the concepts and theories that comprise the foundation of the research.

The literature review begins by addressing spatial redevelopment, and the ideas and debate on land usage in relation to government intervention and the market, with the purpose of laying the foundation to how land is viewed, and the relationship to gentrification, a topic that is addressed thereafter. The section on gentrification provides a summary of gentrification, present debates on gentrification, and link the concept with spatial redevelopment and equity, which are of relevance to the research in the sense of topic, objective, and setting. Therefore, the review is employing a theoretical approach rather than an empirical approach that would entail description on individual cases in where gentrification has been observed. Thereafter, the chapter finalizes with presenting the conceptual framework employed for the research.

## Literature Review

### 2.1 Spatial Redevelopment

In this first part of the literature review, spatial urban redevelopment will be approached by looking at the factors behind such change, with a focus on economic factors. Defining spatial redevelopment here, as large-scale urban developments that are re-shaping areas, often including changes to the current land use, and in some instances, takes place on land that has not been planned in detail before by authorities (Smith 1979, Essoka 2010, Hamnett and Whitelegg 2007, Ley 1981).

#### **Organic development (economic process) vs Top-down development (State-led process)**

Zukin (1987) explains that urban redevelopment takes place because there is a decrease in the value of land, which for example is the case for brownfields. Actors can then acquire the land to a low price, and following the redevelopment of the land, the same actors can capture the increased value of the land. This makes urban redevelopment projects a profitable economic adventure. However, other authors emphasize that redevelopment take place because of an economic transformation. Here referring to the economic transformation from a primarily industrial economy to a post-industrial economy, influencing land use changes from industrial and commercial, to residential, motivated by the demand that accompanies the economic change (Hamnett and Whitelegg 2007, Ley 1981). This is a demand that is influenced by the middle class and their ability to pay for a desired type of living – living with proximity to the city center and a beautified environment (Hamnett and Whitelegg 2007). This is an economic process leading up to redevelopment which is shaped by incentives, the condition of land, function of the economic market, and actors with the capability of making investments in redevelopment projects.

The other side of the coin is the extent to which redevelopment is state-led. While factors such as profitability and demand, incentivize urban redevelopment, governmental authorities fill a

certain function in society, which consequently means that they, to a certain extent, impact the redevelopment of land. In the process of decreasing the land value, that Zukin (1987) explained contributes to redevelopment, it is the disinvestment in the land and the infrastructure on the land that have implications on the value. Investments that can be private or public. Moreover, the public sector creates policies, enforces policies, and have the power to allow or deny redevelopment plans, which make them a necessary partner in such an adventure. The state-led top-down approach to redevelopment is multifaceted. It is because while authorities hold certain mandates and have instruments to exercise their power, they are still relying on the market, in particular regarding economic resources to realize redevelopment projects as these types of adventures are costly. This means that the economic process influencing redevelopment, and the state-led process to redevelopment, have a strong correlation.

Smith (1996) initially distinguished gentrification from redevelopment, meaning that gentrification entails of rehabilitation of existing stock, and redevelopment entails of new construction from the scratch. However, with time argued that the distinction between the two is no longer useful in the discussion because of the changing nature of urban space, the change in the expression of gentrification, and because both processes influence a so-called “class-remake” of the city. While redevelopment has its own definition, such process might still give a similar effect to that we normally characterize gentrification by in terms of physical changes and societal impact. What can be seen to unite the two concepts, redevelopment and gentrification, is the role disinvestment play in both processes. Therefore, the following section will address the rent gap. The rent gap is a term used to describe disinvestment and its impact on the value of land, a development that relates to gentrification and redevelopment due to the land and financial aspects the term addresses.

## Rent gap

Coined by Smith (1979), rent gap is a term used to explain “*the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalized under the present land use*” (1979, 545). The rent gap has in the literature been posed as a cause of gentrification. However, there are contesting views on what causes the rent gap and on its conceptualization. The significance of addressing the rent gap in relation to spatial redevelopments is the economic explanation of why investments are made, the process towards spatial redevelopments and, consequently gentrification.

Neil Smith’s academic contributions, to a great extent, represents the Marxian approach to the rent gap and gentrification. Smith explained the rent gap as a gap between the actual land value and the potential land value of the same plot – a gap that explains why investments are made in property. The rent gap explains why gentrification does not only occur in areas with the lowest housing cost, but where there is a large rent gap (Smith 1987). Following the publication (Smith, 1979) in which the term was coined, opposing or complementary views have been added to the academic discussion regarding the rent gap. Hammel (1999) argued that “*...rent gap grew not through gradually increasing potential land rent and declining capitalized land rent, but by growth in potential land rent that outpaces the still increasing capitalized land rent.*” (1999, 140). Some authors of the time (Hamnett 1984, Rose 1984, Williams 1984 and Beauregard 1986) criticized Smith’s hypothesis on the rent gap, highlighting the pure economic emphasis and the structural design of the theory, and the approach to development (Clark 1988). As a response to some of the critique, Smith (1986) stated that the rent gap theory “*is only a partial explanation*” (1986, 25).

The neoclassical approach to land rent theory “*was to conceptually unite land and capital by obscuring their differences*” (Clark 1988:242) and is partly based on the work by Marshall (1961) who argued that “*the site value of any piece of building land is that which it would have if cleared of building and sold in a free market*” (1961, 44). These assumptions reflect on the neoclassical approach to the rent gap and are what differentiates the approach from the Marxist approach to the rent gap.

Another difference between the views is the value in closing the rent gap. The Marxian view highlights the consequences of closing the rent gap, for example, gentrification. While the neoclassic approach remarks that through closing the rent gap, which can be done through redevelopment, the result is “*an increased, economically more effective utilization of the land*” (Asplund et. al. 1982, 29). However, this assumption is critiqued for being limited (Smith and LeFaivre, 1984; Smith, 1986).

The different takes on the rent gap illustrate the difference in interpretations rooted in ideologies and it is an indication of the takes on related issues. While some have sought to explain why redevelopment happens through land value, the theorizing on that issue has been important for the discussion on gentrification. Gentrification is a process that has been studied during a significant time and redevelopments is a factor explaining gentrification. Gentrification is a complex process that has proven to not necessarily be a process that solely has consequences bound to the sites of redevelopment, rather the impact of has no precise spatial boundary and varies. Therefore, the second part of this chapter addresses the gentrification process, while addressing the issue in relation to redevelopment.

## **2.2 Gentrification**

### **Defining gentrification**

Gentrification is known as a term coined by Ruth Glass (1964) who described the idea of gentrification as a process that entails movement of people and changes in the built-up environment. The original story of gentrification is of a middle class who buy historic or run-down units, following up with a renovation of the units that results in an increase of property prices, forcing the lower class to seek elsewhere for housing because the housing in the area becomes less affordable. Moreover, while the definition presupposes that the gentrified area is residential, some academics would argue that other areas exposed to gentrification entail industrial areas, and empty plots on urban land (Hamnett and Whitelegg, 2007). While these do not directly replace groups of people according to their position in society, these types of development on urban land can still trigger gentrification in nearby neighborhoods.

Determining what is gentrification is part of the academic debate on gentrification. Some argue that not all urban changes that are similar to what constitutes gentrification, is in fact gentrification. In these cases, the use of language is what significantly steers the conversation. In example, Davidson and Lees (2010) point to the use of terms such as reurbanization and residentialization by different authors (Lambert and Boddy 2002, Butler 2007, Boddy 2007, and Buzar et al., 2007), that differentiate between gentrification and processes that they argue are so-called “*inner-city new-build developments*” (Davidson and Lees, 2010, 396) that do not mean gentrification. While the views on what constitutes gentrification, a common guideline is whether the process has led to displacement. However, displacement is also a topic that twisted and turned, and where the line goes between displacement and replacement is a topic that divides the field.

Displacement is conceptualized differently by academics. While some literature makes up the pillar stones of what constitutes displacement, the debate is ongoing. Marcuse's (1985) definition is frequently used to support claims of displacement as his definition address different forms of displacement, capturing part of the complexity of displacement in practice. Marcuse proposes multiple different forms of displacement, distinguished by the process leading to people leaving places. Exclusionary displacement is one form of displacement that is relevant to urban redevelopment. Quoting Marcuse (1986) exclusionary displacement is *"when a particular housing unit is voluntarily vacated by one household and then gentrified [...], so that another similar household cannot move in, and the total number of units available to such a household has thereby been reduced..."* (Marcuse 1986, 156). While this type can easily be identified in cases claimed as gentrification, justifying displacement as a result of redevelopment, according to the definition of redevelopment is a more difficult task. Displacement here can mean that residents cannot access affordable housing, or a type of housing, rental versus condominiums, that suits them, but it can also encompass how lack of affordable and accessible housing leads to homelessness. Davidson and Lees (2010) defend their position on gentrification and displacement as a result of brownfield redevelopment (also in Essoka 2010) and support their claim by referring to Marcuse's term *exclusionary displacement*, which addresses the access to housing and how people cannot access housing due to gentrification. Therefore, making a case that redevelopment indirectly displaces people by restricting their access to housing. However, the opposite of this position towards redevelopment, gentrification, and displacement is also argued for, mainly based on the notion that is someone do not inhabit a place (redevelopment site), they cannot be displaced from it. This is seemingly an issue of perception, and stance towards these kinds of urban changes, as it depends on how broadly the concepts are defined and the willingness to broaden the concepts based on new developments within the field of each concept.

Displacement is an important variable for gentrification, but gentrification is defined by more than solely displacement as a consequence. Gentrification is a process that is also characterized by social, economic and physical changes. These are changes that benefit some but at the expense of others. This will be addressed in subsequent sections.

### **Location of gentrification**

The rent gap theory that was earlier addressed, provide a partial explanation of under which conditions a certain place need to be in, to be gentrified. But the theory does not address other insights into how the locality of a certain place influences its susceptibility to gentrification. While gentrification is commonly associated with taking place in low-income residential communities that receive physical improvements in the form of new infrastructure and changes in the public space, Lees (2003), for example, reckons that gentrification can also take place in middle and higher income communities. If one employs the take on the rent gap theory that argues that the rent gap can stem from the outpace of the potential land rent over the capitalized land rent (Hammel 1999), then this a logical assumption. Based on the reviewed literature, the ratio between gentrification in low-income communities and middle and high communities is unknown. However, based on the available studies on gentrification, the tendency of gentrification in low-income communities is higher.

Traditionally, the focus lies on the gentrification of low-income neighborhoods that are struck by poverty, are physically declining, through for example disinvestment, and inhibited by people of color (Zuk et al., 2017). Essoka (2010) argued that when investments are made in a neighborhood to improve the physical structures and the neighborhood, as a result, is gentrified, *economically disadvantaged people* are not able to receive the fruits of such investment.

Consequently, the process creates inequities. It is in low-income neighborhoods that the rent gap can occur as a result of disinvestments that cause the neighborhood, as a whole, to decline (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008).

Brownfields, which are land plots that are no longer in use, are objects of redevelopment. As Essoka (2010) remarked in his study on brownfield redevelopment, brownfield redevelopment had, in the four cases studied in the US, resulted in displacement as part of a gentrification process that came with the redevelopment of the brownfields. Other types of land that is susceptible to gentrification are in areas where a transit plan is in place. Such a plan may increase property values in advance of building on the land (Knaap, Ding and Hopkins 2011 in Zuk et al., 2017:9) In addition, Zuk et al., (2017) also remarks that the price premium of a place can go beyond the average if the location has *“a strong housing market and a reliable transit system”* (2017, 9).

### **Gentrified**

Displacement is a term generally understood as when something is moved out of its position. Displacement of people usually occurs as a result of conflicts or environmental disasters, but also by gentrification. The issue of displacement has already been addressed, but it is important to emphasize which groups are displaced. Displacement is understood as a process that includes movements in where residents move “voluntarily”, meaning not by force, but as a consequence of forces that makes residence in a particular place impossible. While the understanding of what constitutes displacement is discussed in the academia, Bernt and Holm (2009) point out that the concept is not only defined by the academia, but by politics. Regardless, displacement negatively impacts those that are displaced, and the consequences of such process are insecurity and damage to social networks. An argument for gentrification is that the process might impact crime rates and improve safety in the neighborhood. It is debatable of whether gentrification decrease or whether it, similar to people, displaces crime. One study on gentrification and crime (Papachristos et al., 2011) concluded that the impact is racialized, and while homicide rates declined in gentrified neighborhoods, in Black gentrified neighborhoods (the study was conducted in Chicago) street robberies increased.

The cost of gentrification, social and financial, is paid by low-income earners, a group that is marginalized in society, characterized by its composition of people belonging to minorities and other marginalized groups (Essoka 2010). This assumption is further supported by Zuk et al., (2017) who refer to so-called residential gentrification as taking place *“in declining urban neighborhoods, which are defined by their physical deterioration, concentrations of poverty, and racial segregation of people of color.”* (2017, 2). It is the injustice in the distribution of benefits that is a societal problem. As it shows, that those that are already disadvantaged, bears the burden for the ethnic majority’s economic and social advancements, consequently increasing inequities. This also been found in cases of greening cities, in where vulnerable groups are threatened by displacement as a result of this type of process (Cucca 2012).

Furthermore, addressing whose space is being gentrified demands not only to view those who are negatively impacted by gentrification, but also those that benefit from gentrification, which are real estate developers that gain revenue, affluent citizens whose living demands are met, and governments, whose tax base increase.

### **Gentrifiers**

Gentrification as a process depends on multiple actors and events. Similar to how different groups benefit differently from the process, there is diversity in what roles there are in

gentrification. Simply, the division is between those who gentrify, and receive benefits from the process, and those that are gentrified, and experience negative consequences of the process.

*Gentrifiers* include real estate developers who produce units and change the existent physical environment with their capital assets, it includes a consumer group, traditionally the 'creative class' who replaces low-income groups in gentrified neighborhoods, and lastly government, such as local authority or the state authority. Holcomb and Beauregard (1981) argue that gentrification is a result of the intention of actors who have influence and are guided by the logic of capital accumulation. Smith (1982) state that *"Gentrification is part of a larger redevelopment process dedicated to the revitalization of the profit rate"* (1982, 152). Both have a very economic oriented explanation which is common in the discourse on gentrification. Another explanation is that gentrification is a natural process in where households who are on a certain stage, act in a certain way towards urban decay (Rose 1984). Households are the consumers who, on the market, seek for economic opportunities, low housing prices (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008), attracted by an environment that is appealing in design (Brown-Saracino 2009) or by unique experience (Ley 1996; Zukin 1982).

Moreover, governmental authorities have the ability to set the stage for where gentrification takes place. With their working relationship with private actors who are agents enabling gentrification, they work for a political economy *"that aims to accumulate capital through land use management and city development"* (Zuk et al 2017). Furthermore, recognizing the importance of private actors, Zukin (1987) remarked the weight held by the local government participating in greater projects for lending institutions to participate. Adding to the role of government, Davidson and Lees (2010) address gentrification as a result of government interventionism and used worldwide as a policy, justified by the notion of creating socially mixed neighborhoods, and also to raise tax revenues and decrease unemployment (Smith 1982). The physical upgrades performed in gentrifying a neighborhood are done through investments, both public and private, that both help gentrification (Zuk et al., 2017).

### **Making way for gentrification**

Gentrification is a process that involves many but it still requires strong forces paving the way for such process to take place. This section is about them. On one hand, authorities on all levels, state, regional and local hold certain powers to shape society, and may with or without intention fuel gentrification processes. On the other hand, gentrification cannot happen without finances, which make players on the economic market important, and determinant of gentrification processes. However, these forces feed into each other and enable the other to fuel gentrification processes.

### **State-led gentrification**

Davidson and Lees (2010) argue that recent gentrification has been a subject to government intervention, and argued for as a policy to create socially mixed neighborhoods. The activities of the public sector include urban development, revitalization, building infrastructure and imposing land regulations, such as zoning (Zuk et al., 2017). These activities have a significant impact on the physical environment and some which, depending on the purpose and design, create gentrification. However, Zuk et al., (2017) argue that there are methodological shortcomings in asserting the relationship between public investments and residential displacement, stating that the extent to which government influence impact gentrification has not been *"well-defined or quantified in the social science research"* (2017,1). Further arguing that academic literature need to improve the analytical distinction between gentrification and

displacement. The same authors argue that in addition to public spending on urban housing and the involvement of public spending on creating gentrification, this is supplemented to the influence of individuals and the market.

### **Economic-driven gentrification**

Approaching gentrification from an economic perspective, and simultaneously criticizing it can be summed up briefly by stating that *gentrification is a process that operates in a capitalistic system, driven by neoliberal policies to achieve more economic growth, while exacerbating economic and social inequities*.

Smith (1982) a critic of gentrification stated that *“These very visual alteration to the urban landscape are not at all an accidental side-effect of temporary economic disequilibrium but are as rooted in the structure of capitalist society as was the advent of suburbanization”* (1982, 152). Further arguing that gentrification and redevelopment, which is part of gentrification, is an *“occurrence of late capitalist urban development”* (1982, 152), the phenomena is not new, but it is far more systematic than before.

Lees, Slater, and Wyly (2008) explain gentrification through neoliberalism. An ideology that promotes privatization, deregulation, and less government. It is with neoliberal policies and letting these do what they do best that results in gentrification. Zukin (1987) simply put it that *“economic institutions establish the conditions to which gentrifiers respond”* (1987, 144). Approaching today’s gentrification, Lees, Slater, and Wyly (2008) argue that we are in the fourth wave of gentrification that is characterized by *“an intensified financialization of housing combined with the consolidation of pro-gentrification politics and polarized urban policies”* (2008, 179). Regardless of phase, it is clear that the market is an important factor for gentrification, and that it is part of an accepted system, both by civilians and politicians.

## **2.3 Gentrification and equity**

Contesting views exist on gentrification, which is demonstrated through the various demonstrations by people expressing the discontent with gentrification versus the fact that cities around the world are intentionally seeking to gentrify. This section of the literature review will address the social aspect of gentrification, more specifically the impact of gentrification on equity. Gentrification is opposed, or encouraged, due to the changes it causes – changes in the physical environment and the social and economic conditions. The previous sections of this chapter have addressed economic incentives and causes of gentrification. This part addresses the social aspect of gentrification and will address the impact of green spaces created in redevelopment and gentrification processes, what is meant by equity, and the relevance of equity in discussing gentrification and redevelopment.

One approach to the impact of gentrification on equity is seeing how people who already are economically disadvantaged, do not get to reap the fruits of the redevelopment of a neighborhood, which they belong to (Essoka 2010). Considering the physical changes, which include infrastructure for different types of services, housing, commercial infrastructure, but also, with emphasis, green spaces. The literature on gentrification and equity identifies the existence of green spaces as a causing factor for social inequity (Haase et al., 2017). A meta-analysis by Brander and Koetse (2011) on real estate markets, reached the conclusion that proximity to urban green spaces cause housing prices to increase. Logically, an increase in housing prices, impact who have access to adequate housing.

While certain actors argue for the importance of green spaces as a contribution to the value of urban life, and such value is argued for in strategies advocating for urban renewal and upgrades of neighborhoods, such an adventure have societal implications. Which include limitations to the accessibility of affordable housing, unfolding the foundation of the importance of creating green spaces, which is, except improving the visual experience of a space, the quest for profit. While environmental amenities tend to be abundant in neighborhoods in where the demography is characterized by well-off citizens, the production of environmental goods in less well-off neighborhoods has shown to result in gentrification (Anguelovski et al., 2016).

While cities across the world recognize that equity is important for development, even with the policies and activities that aim at improving the physical state of the city, the benefits are not always distributed fairly. Haase et al (2017) address the negative aspect of strategies to “green” cities through programs of ‘renewal’, ‘upgrading’, and ‘revitalization’. Arguing that such strategies are “*primarily market-driven endeavors targeting middle class and higher income groups sometimes at the expense of less privileged residents.*” (2017, 41). However, while programs to make cities greener exacerbates inequities, the already existent difference in green spaces between neighborhoods, whether it is size or quality of the spaces, reflect unequal socio-spatial distribution (De la Barrera et al., 2016).

Programs characterized by their purpose to renew or revitalize may implicate changes in neighboring districts (Wachsmuth & Cohen, 2016, 392). While there is an obvious problem to this, which is that it exacerbates inequities, it is far more serious considering the extent to which society is driving environmental policies and activities to compensate for the years of environmental destruction. This meaning, that conducting certain acts on the basis of ethics, in regard to the environment, simultaneously fails to serve the people in society and ensure justice for marginalized groups, which illustrates the power dynamic in society. It is reserved for the privileged to care for the environment before caring for other’s basic need and welfare.

### **Equity as a concept for public policy making**

Equity is not about equal treatment to all, but rather appropriate treatment to all based on their situation (Fainstein 2010, Nylund 2014). Equity differentiates from equality in that, it simply put, cannot be divided equally (Guy and McCandless 2012). What unites the two is a common idea that everyone is equal and have equal rights. The term equity is different in that it refers to justice and fairness (Stephens 2012). The discussion, in relation to public policy, tends to differentiate between so-called procedural justice and distributive justice. Procedural justice address just participation of communities in processes that concern them, and distributive justice address allocating resources to those in need of it the most.

The philosophical foundation of what constitutes social equity has been influenced of the works of a few, including Rawls (1971) who argued for two principles of justice, that (1) meant that all people have the right to basic liberty, and (2) that the least advantaged should be benefited, and provided with equal opportunities. Walzer (1983) points out the competitiveness in the distribution of goods, and that good has its own autonomous sphere of justice, which complicates equal distribution. Concluding that while an individual may not experience equal distribution in all ‘spheres’, but at least in some. Regens and Rycroft (1986) argued for a distinction between two types of equity- procedural and substantive. Procedural equity refers to the process of deciding the distribution of goods and services, and it also refers to the due process, equal protection and equal rights (Guy and McCandless 2012), while substantive equity refers to the effect by policy on the distributions on costs and benefits.

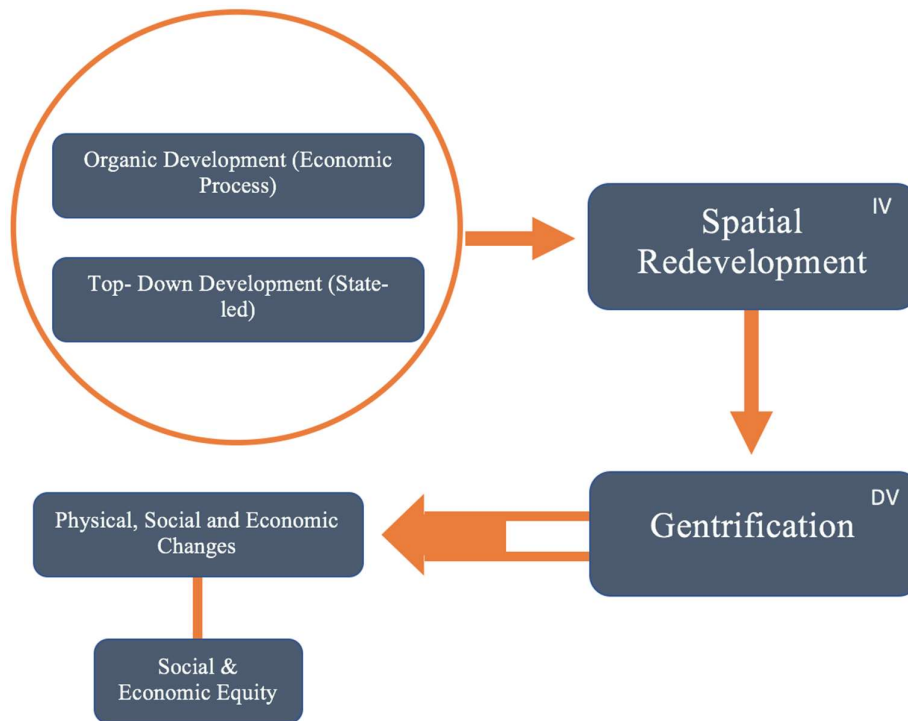
While social equity is historically rooted in the social contract (Guy and McCandless 2012), the concept has moved towards being an administrative concern for today's public institutions.

Social equity is concerned with the prevailing inequities in public distribution of goods and services including in housing, security, education and employment, and other public services and goods between socio-economic groups. It applies to differences in access and distribution and the quality of what is provided. Economic equity shares common grounds with social equity but is also about equitable economic opportunities for all.

Jucker (2004) points out the dependency of economic equity on social equity and bases the argument in that there is a conflict between social equity and economic growth. Seeing as economic growth in the context of capitalism distribute the benefits to the few, and neglects the majority because it is the inherent nature of capitalistic economic growth. This means that social equity is to some extent compromised, but not compromised for all. Glick (2008) argued, based on a study conducted, that in the United States gentrification is financially impacting black and Latino people negatively, seeing as gentrification occurs in areas in where these groups reside. While these areas might already have been segregated and neglected, the damage to these communities deepens when they pay the cost and misses the benefits of redevelopment and gentrification. One of the lessons from Krumholz's (1982) study on equity in Cleveland, US, was that there is a need for equitable city planning to address poverty and racial segregation rather than solely the built environment (Zapata and Bates 2015), this approach could be significant in aforementioned cases where the environment, rather than the well-being of the most vulnerable is considered. Furthermore, Anguelovski et al. (2016) found that in cases where land use planning is aiming for climate adaptation, the act may exacerbate socio-spatial inequalities. Their take is that with climate adaption, negative consequences, such as displacement affect vulnerable communities, and might produce an outcome in which elite groups are prioritized at the expense of vulnerable communities. This support the other arguments that have been presented in this section. However, it is worth to emphasize because equity is still a problem and a weakness of societies everywhere. Equity is influenced by institutions, stakeholders, but also by gentrification and redevelopment, which themselves are complex and a result of other underlying factors.

## Conceptual Framework

*Based on the literature review.*



The framework begins with two concepts located in a circle. The circle represents systems of cities, and the symbolic of these two concepts included in the system is telling that they occur in the same system, they feed into, and are affected by, the system, and each other, but are still separate forces. While one can question the separability of these two forces and their impact on developments of cities, it is safe to assert that they are not always equal, and one force may be stronger at times than the other. Nevertheless, they are separate forces but naturally influenced by each other as they do not exist in a vacuum separated from the other, or from other societal forces. This is the very same system which other concepts found in the conceptual framework also inhibit, however, the circle is in this framework not drawn around them because their continuity and magnitude differs. Organic development and top-down development are also two concepts that enable other societal processes to take place and therefore there is a dependency on these two concepts.

1. Organic development (economic process) – This concept is understood as a process that influences the occurrence of spatial redevelopment, explained by the rent gap, economic market, including the demand of consumers. (Smith 1979, Essoka 2010, Hamnett and Whitelegg 2007, Ley 1981, Zukin 1987). Furthermore, it is focused on the economic process here because of the unpredictability of where economic processes will steer cities. Although interventions on the market are done in different ways, economic processes are complex systems in their own right and are therefore here considered representing an organic development, or rather an organic economic development in a system of cities.
2. Top-down development (state-led) - This concept is understood as a process that influences the occurrence of spatial redevelopment through policies and other resources and mandate, motivated by the potential increase in revenue. (Smith 1979, Essoka 2010,

Hamnett and Whitelegg 2007, Ley 1981, Zukin 1987). Top-down development here is understood as when the main instruments used to bring about development are those of the public sector. The impact of a top-down development depends on the level of decentralization and how much government and government authorities can intervene, this differs from country to country. This type of development can be influenced and incentivized by economic processes in society, but in a similar manner, the opposite can be true. Which is why organic development and top-down development are situated in the circle of city systems.

Organic economic development and top-down development are two variables that create motion on the land market and influences changes in cities, which include the occurrence of spatial redevelopment. These types of input into city systems can generate spatial redevelopment in a time when populations are growing and cities are urbanizing, leading us to the next step of the conceptual framework, a part that both these concepts *feed into*, which is spatial redevelopment.

3. Spatial redevelopment (IV= Independent Variable) – Defined here as large-scale urban developments that are reshaping neighborhoods, and requires large investments and supporting institutions. (Smith 1979, Essoka 2010, Hamnett and Whitelegg 2007, Ley 1981, Zukin 1987). The variables of interest are land use types, as the land use often changes with spatial redevelopment. Considering spatial redevelopment entail analyzing the land use and the implications of land use in that place. Actors involved in spatial redevelopment varies from place to place, but nevertheless, it requires governance and extensive funding to work. In the conceptual framework, spatial redevelopment is the independent variable of the dependent variable gentrification. This *relationship* is defined by the significant spatial impact of spatial redevelopment and its contribution to gentrification processes by feeding the process with physical changes that spill-over to economic and social changes. Similar to gentrification, spatial redevelopment is influenced by economic development and to some extent state influence.
4. Gentrification (DV= Dependent Variable) – Is a process that entails changes to the physical attributes (supposedly for the better), the social make-up of the area, and is fueled, and maintained by an economic input. Causes displacement of vulnerable groups, but benefits more affluent groups in society. (Glass 1964, Zuk et al., 2017, Holcomb and Beauregard 1981, Davidson and Lees 2010, Smith 1982). Gentrification is the dependent variable following spatial redevelopment. This is because it is not a variable that is independent in its nature, it always relies on external influence, here represented as the variable spatial redevelopment. Gentrification is a process that occurs in a system with rules and regulations, economic development and demographic changes, and with actors on all levels of society, state, corporate, grassroots and more. With the input of spatial redevelopment, certain conditions are created for gentrification to take place.

Furthermore, gentrification is a process that entails changes regarding the physical environment, the social aspect of living and demography, but also economic changes that are connected to the social, for example, the tax base and commercial activities. The left arrow of the *gentrification box* in the framework forms an “equal to” sign before the arrow direction, used to symbolize that the output of gentrification is

physical, social and economic changes. This output is the next part of the conceptual framework in where changes that occur because of gentrification are highlighted.

5. Physical, Social and Economic Changes - a result of gentrification but also natural processes in growing cities.

Cities and societies are constantly changing, but the direction varies from place to place and from time to time. Changes accompanying, and shaped by, gentrification processes are multiple. It includes physical changes in form of new infrastructure or significant changes to current infrastructure and public spaces (Zuk et al., 2017). Social changes can include the change in types of housing, who inhabits the space and the safety in the neighborhood (Marcuse 1985, Papachristos et al., 2011). Economic changes can include a change in the municipal tax base, employment and the household economy (Zuk et al 2017, Davidson and Lees 2010, Smith 1982) in the gentrified area, as a result of physical and social changes. For all changes, the issue of equity is relevant. This is because the process leading up to the changes or the distribution of the fruits of these changes is a question of equity. The line between *physical, social and economic changes* and *social and economic equity* is a line representing *constant connection and exchange* between the two. Regardless of what precedes the changes, changes always have an impact on equity, while at the same time the state of equity impact societal development and social, economic and physical changes accompanying that development. This leads to the next component of the conceptual framework, social and economic equity.

6. Social Equity and Economic Equity- influenced by the changes created by gentrification, can be divided into procedural and distributive justice (Rawls 1971, Walzer 1983), but in relation to gentrification, the distributive justice of goods and services is especially relevant because it addresses what is received, and who receives it. This final step is included because equity matters. The discussion on gentrification can circle around the changes that come with it, however, equity is what determines an individual's living quality, and that is what is important with the gentrification debate. It is hard to oppose changes that improve buildings and environment, however, it is less hard to oppose processes that discriminate and exclude.

## Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter presents the structure for how the research will be conducted by addressing the research design, strategy, and methods for answering the research questions.

### 3.1 Revised Research Question(s)

The main research question, as well as the sub-research questions, remain the same. See the following.

#### Main research question

To what extent do spatial redevelopment impact gentrification in the city of Malmö, Sweden?

#### Subsidiary research questions

1. What type of gentrification occurs in the city of Malmö?  
*The context of subsidiary research question 1: The two types of gentrification that are of interest in this research is gentrification induced by an economic process and the type of gentrification that is state-led. The reasoning behind this question is to establish how gentrification comes about in the city of Malmö. The fact that gentrification occurs in the city of Malmö is already accepted but what induces it is of interest. This is where redevelopment enters as a variable of interest that precedes gentrification in the conceptual framework. The interest stems from the literature on gentrification that argues that redevelopment can create gentrification (in example Smith 1982). With this assumption and the knowledge of the city of Malmö's current redevelopment projects, the inclusion of redevelopment as a variable in the conceptual framework following the types of gentrification and preceding gentrification as a variable is relevant and justified. Which leads to the next subsidiary research question.*
2. What changes can be observed, following redevelopment, on the redeveloped sites and those neighborhoods adjacent to the redevelopment sites?  
*The context of subsidiary research question 2: Acknowledging that redevelopment of neighborhoods entails changes in the physical, social, and economic aspects and changes the character of a neighborhood. This question establishes what changes followed redevelopment of chosen neighborhoods (see the scope in 3.3 Research Strategy), which can then be compared to changes associated with gentrification. This question explores the relationship between redevelopment and gentrification and aims to establish whether redevelopment leads to gentrification in all chosen cases by looking at the changes associated with the processes.*
3. What are the consequences of gentrification on social and economic equity in the gentrified neighborhoods?  
*The context of subsidiary research question 3: Grounded in the preceding subsidiary research question and the structure of the conceptual framework, this question targets the consequences on equity in the city of Malmö from the potential gentrification of neighborhoods followed by redevelopment.*

### 3.2 Operationalization

This section of the chapter presents the operationalization which is based on the variables derived from the theoretical framework, which are found in chapter 2. *Theoretical Framework*.

The chosen concepts for operationalization are: spatial redevelopment (independent variable), gentrification (dependent variable), and equity (dependent variable). Other concepts present in the framework are reflected to a certain extent within the chosen variables. The operationalization has been developed based on the main concepts and variables identified in the literature review to enable accurate measurement methods and valid indicators. The purpose of this approach is to ensure that the appropriate indicators are measured and have a solid theoretical foundation.

#### Defining the concepts

The following definitions of the chosen concepts for the operationalization are based on the author's conceptualization of the concepts, following the conducted literature review.

Spatial redevelopment is conceptualized as large-scale pronounced urban developments that are reshaping neighborhoods, this commonly involves a change of the main land use or development on land that has not been planned in detailed before by authorities. Spatial redevelopment requires the involvement and approval of local authorities, however, other driving stakeholders, especially stakeholders with economic capital are needed as the element of economic investment is crucial (Smith 1979, Essoka 2010, Hamnett and Whitelegg 2007, Ley 1981).

Gentrification is conceptualized as a process that entails an upgrade of an area, which changes the physical attributes, the social make-up of the area, and is fueled, and maintained by economic investments. (Glass 1964, Zuk et al., 2017, Holcomb and Beauregard 1981, Davidson and Lees 2010, Smith 1982)

Equity is defined as justice and fairness. The literature review addressed two types of equity, namely, procedural and distributive justice. Based on the debate and what they refer to, the main interest of this study is distributive justice, as distributive justice address fairness in the allocation of resources (Rawls 1971, Walzer 1983). Social and economic equity is therefore in this study conceptualized as the extent of distributional justice in the matter of social and economic resources.

## Operationalization

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Values	Data type	Data source
Gentrification	State-led process	Policies on gentrification	Presence of policies encouraging gentrification / Absence of policies encouraging gentrification	Qualitative	Document (secondary) Interview (primary)
		Advocacy on gentrification	Political visions and strategies encouraging gentrification / Political visions and strategies discouraging gentrification	Qualitative	Document (secondary) Interview (primary)
	Economic Process	Ability to invest	Available partners/ Incentives	Qualitative	Document (secondary) Interview (primary)
		Corporate social responsibility (realization of policies)	Realization of policies on corporate social responsibility / non-realization of policies on corporate social responsibility	Qualitative	Interview (primary)
	Displacement	Direct or indirect displacement	Observed/documented displacement of residents / No observed/documented displacement of residents	Qualitative	Interview (primary)
		Renovictions	Odds to move following renovations	Qualitative	Document (secondary)
	Housing market pressure	Change in property prices	Increase/ decrease of property prices	Quantitative	Document (secondary) Data base (secondary)

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Values	Data type	Data collection method
Redevelopment	Land use	Commercial	Yes/No	Qualitative	Maps (secondary) Observation (primary) Documentation (secondary) Interviews (primary)
		Agriculture	Yes/No		
		Residential	Yes/No		
		Mixed-use	Yes/No		
		Industrial	Yes/No		
Physical changes	New infrastructure	Redevelopment and development projects constructed in the last 10y	Number of redevelopment projects and	Qualitative	Maps (secondary) Observation (primary) Documentation (secondary)

		development areas			
<b>Social changes</b>	Open space	Parks	Numbers of parks	Quantitative	
		Meeting places	Presence of meeting places	Quantitative	
	Housing	Affordability	Reasonable housing cost	Quantitative and Qualitative	Documentation (secondary) Interview (primary)
		Availability	Supply and demand	Quantitative and Qualitative	Documentation (secondary) Interview (primary)
		Homelessness in the last 10y	Increase / Decrease	Qualitative and Quantitative	Documentation (secondary) Interview (primary)
	Safety	Crime rate	Increase / Decrease	Quantitative	Data base (secondary)
		Vulnerable neighborhoods	Yes/No	Qualitative	Documentation (secondary) Interview (primary)
<b>Economic changes</b>	Municipal finances	Change in municipal revenue – taxes	Increase / Decrease	Qualitative and Quantitative	Interview (primary) Documentation (secondary)
	Employment	Unemployment rate	Percent	Quantitative	Data base (secondary)
	Household economy	Persons in households with low equalized disposable income	Disposable income	Quantitative	Data base (secondary)

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Values	Data type	Data collection method
<b>Economic and social equity</b>	Distribution policy	People in poverty	Percentage of people in poverty	Quantitative	Data base (secondary)
	Segregation	Household segregation index	Index value	Quantitative	Data base (second)

The indicators that have been included in the scheme are deemed to be feasible for data collection and relevant for the answering the research questions, and reach the research objectives.

### 3.3 Research strategy

The chosen research strategy is a multiple case study strategy. Case study as a research strategy is suitable for studies that seek to explain (here, the impact of redevelopment on gentrification

and consequently equity), that address few units (in this case a city and three of its neighborhoods), but that has a larger number of variables (Van Thiel 2014), which can be observed in the operationalization scheme.

A case study addresses a “*bounded system*” (Punch 2014) in a specified context (a global and urbanizing Malmö). However, there is still a limited scope for the case and sub-cases since focus, and a limited scope, on what matters for the research objective and research questions is still required even in case studies that capture the wholeness of the cases (Punch 2014). The context of the cases is the determinant factor for what makes the research a case of something. The city of Malmö and its main characteristics has been described in the introductory chapter and what stands out the most, that makes the city a particular case, is its diversity in all spheres of society and how the city grows in its diversity.

The study addresses one main case, which is the city of Malmö and considers three sub-cases to concretize the findings. These three sub-cases are neighborhoods in the city of Malmö: Hyllie, Rosengård, and Sorgenfri. The selection of three sub-cases was to ensure that the study was feasible in terms of time and the ability to collect and process collected data. Furthermore, the selection was made following the literature review which enabled a selection that was relevant to the content and debate on the concepts presented in the literature review. What connects the cases is (1) they are all part of a redevelopment or a development program, that works with altering the physical space, (2) the initiatives for these neighborhoods have been running for a few years, which means that the impact can be observed and empirically measured and, (3) they are situated in the same context, the city of Malmö. However, they differ in their geographical location and their historical background in terms of land use. It is these differences and commonalities of the cases that enabled a comparison between the cases on the same topic.

The scope of the study, which was addressed in the introductory chapter, limit the study to investigating into the case of Malmö and the three sub-cases but also addressing the three neighborhoods that were observed adjacent to the neighborhood of Hyllie. These three neighborhoods are Holma, Kroksbäck, and Lindeborg which all lie adjacent to Hyllie and within walking distance. The reason for this inclusion is what type of land Hyllie has been redeveloped upon, which is empty land plots. This means that gentrification cannot take place on Hyllie itself, but the redevelopment of Hyllie can still impact adjacent neighborhoods, which is why three of the adjacent neighborhoods to Hyllie were observed in addition to the neighborhoods that make up the three cases.

The neighborhood of Sorgenfri differs from Hyllie in that the area used to be dominated by industries which can still be observed to this day. Sorgenfri is a large neighborhood that is currently being redeveloped, an adventure that to a great extent is comprised of the construction of housing. It is mainly the northern part of Sorgenfri that is of interest considering that is where the redevelopment takes place. The neighborhood of Rosengård differs from both cases in that it is a development area which includes smaller changes such as improving the pedestrian paths, to larger changes such as the construction of a train station (Malmö Stad 2016).

All three cases are unique in themselves because of their history and their contemporary and prospective attributes and design. However, the context that unites them is the city of Malmö and all social, economic and political factors that come with it.

### **Managing validity**

Using a case study strategy for social science research there are a few limitations influencing the level of validity. Here the issue of how validity was gained will be addressed.

## **External validity**

With cases that are context specific, it is difficult to generalize (Van Thiel 2014). Approaching external validity, the research performed and the elements that shaped the research, including question, objective, framework, all have a theoretical foundation. Furthermore, the assumption is that the selected (3) cases are representative of similar contexts and that in choosing multiple cases with commonalities and differences, realistic assumptions can be drawn and the external validity strengthened. However, it is worth noting that while it is inheritably hard to achieve a high level of generalization using the case study strategy, the case study still holds value in its ability to provide deep insight into the cases but also into the topics covered.

## **Internal validity**

In case studies and in qualitative studies internal validity is challenged because the research output is often based on interpretations of the researcher. This holds true for this study because the collected data was analyzed and put together by the researcher who had made prior conceptualization and analyzed material accordingly. Triangulation of data collection methods was used to strengthen the internal validity and produce valid results through the diversity in the data collection. Throughout the data analysis process, continual examination of the researcher's own bias and revision of the data was crucial to ensure that the results are valid and the diversity in data collection method and the diversity in the interviewees enabled that. This helped avoid the subjectivity and selectivity of the researcher which would negatively impact the validity of the research.

## **Managing reliability**

To ensure the reliability of the research which means having consistency throughout the research (Punch 2014) certain measures were taken. First, with the interviews, the interview guides that were designed prior to the interviews all had the same points of reference in terms of variables while always being targeted towards the type of stakeholder group. Second, when carrying out the analysis one code list was used to code both the interviews and documents for the content analysis. The observation aspect of the research has one scheme and instead of allowing more items on the observation scheme, note taking was used if anything in particular showed up and to elaborate on the specifics of an item found in the neighborhoods. This means that the point of reference was constant for all methods and that when faced with something unusual or provoking, notes were taken.

Furthermore, the methods are reliable. These are methods that are commonly used and have been used for case study strategies. However, it is certainly the execution that matters and to demonstrate the reliability of the research, transparency of how the research process developed is one method as transparency enabled controllability and allows replication of the research (Van Thiel 2014).

## **3.4 Data Collection Methods**

Because the research is qualitative and case study is the chosen strategy, to strengthen the research, triangulation of research methods is part of the research methodology. The majority of the data is primary, but secondary data in the shape of documentation was used for content analysis. Qualitative research methods are rational for this research because the objective of the research is to understand a phenomenon that qualitative data can grasp better than quantitative data because qualitative data gives descriptions and details of a phenomenon (Van Thiel 2014). Ethical dilemmas are not an issue with the research, this seeing as personal details of private persons have not been collected, and those interviewed are assured confidentially. The research methods that have been employed are:

## **Semi-Structured Interviews**

Seven semi-structured interviews with eight individuals were conducted with stakeholders from different spheres of society. These included municipality, politicians, non-governmental organizations and real estate. It was important in the preparation phase to reach out to different types of stakeholders because the research itself is addressing societal change that is influenced by and influences all types of stakeholders, therefore the inclusion of these came naturally to the research. The purpose of the interviews was to add depth to the research results. The interviews contributed with deep insight and understanding of the indicators and the relation between them. The sampling method was purposive sampling because it was the most appropriate sampling method for the research since the interviewees had to be knowledgeable about the topic and the city of Malmö. The interviews lasted for different times the minimum lasting circa 35 minutes and the longest circa 2 hours. There were both benefits and disadvantages with how long the interviews lasted. The benefits of having shorter interviews are that it potentially is that answers are more straightforward. However, with longer interviews, it is more probable that the context is elaborated upon but also that more time is designated for the interviewee to develop their thoughts and reconnect to what has been discussed earlier in the interview. Excessive information is relevant despite the length of the interview. Which is why during coding and the use of memos, the role of a researcher in filtering the relevant information is vital to the research. One step in managing the data was through the act of transcribing. Transcribing the interviews resulted in not only providing material to code the interviews but it was also a step in the research that familiarized the content and revealed the level of saturation.

Interview guides (can be found in Annex 2) were developed for each sector. However, during some interviews, the order changed or additional questions were asked as to follow up for further elaboration on variables that were relevant for the research. The purpose of the interview guide was to guide the interview and ensure that certain variables were addressed. The variables in the interview guide are found in the topic list used for coding that is part of the analysis. The annexed interview guide is in English, however, all interviews were conducted in Swedish. There are multiple reasons for why Swedish was used, which include that the working language in Sweden is Swedish which means that the interviewees use Swedish in their respective professions and the majority have Swedish as their first language. Swedish is the language most interviewees are comfortable with and to ensure an accurate understanding of the terminology used by interviewees performing the interviews in Swedish was crucial. The interviews began with the opportunity for the interviewee to present themselves and their role as a method to gradually build upon their knowledge and ease into the conversation. Each interview was finalized with the option for the interviewee to say some last comments, this because the assumption from the researcher was that the interviewee, like the researcher, had expectations on the interview and allowing those final thoughts to be included would reveal the perspective and potential information on the topic that might have not been expressed otherwise. When deemed appropriate during the interview the structure of the interview changed as to get a naturally flowing conversation rather than a forced and mechanic response to the questions.

The initial aim for the sample selection of respondent for the semi-structured interview was to achieve data saturation through ten (10) interviews, a number that was assumed to ensure data saturation. The data collection resulted in seven (7) interviews but it was after the fourth interview when saturation reached a satisfactory level and after all the interviews were conducted saturation was above satisfactory level. While more interviews would be interesting to conduct and analyze, the data needed for answering the research questions was collected with the seven (7) interviews.

To ensure that the interviews addressed the right issues, a purposive sampling description was developed. This description can be found in Annex 1. Developing the purposive sampling description aided in determining what types of stakeholder should have been interviewed and what the purpose of each interviewee was and what they contributed with. It was a challenge to schedule interviews seeing as the time period allocated for the fieldwork was not optimal because of summer vacations. However, in the end, interviews were carried out and material was gathered.

### **Content Analysis**

Content analysis was a method used for this research to enable triangulation through data collection methods. The content analysis was used for relevant documentation (official documents, maps, previous research, reports by the municipality and other stakeholders).

The sample selection for content analysis was established based on the available documentation on Malmö that was found relevant for this research, in combination with the key academic literature on gentrification and equity. Here, what was the main point of reference was achieving saturation and not as much focus on the number of documentation sources.

The limitation of the validity and reliability of a content analysis depends on the execution of this type of method. Therefore, what was being coded depended on the observation scheme and the variables addressed in the interviews. For the content analysis, the code list was identical to that of the code list for the interviews. Since the observation scheme and interview content rely on the operationalization, which in turn is based on a theoretical foundation, the output of the content analysis hold a certain level of validity and reliability. However, caution was held towards the documentation that was analyzed seeing as the output can only be as good as the documentation used, and not all documentation has the same level of validity and reliability.

### **Observation**

The purpose of the observation was to observe real physical changes and characteristics of the neighborhoods chosen for the research. Observations took place in the selected neighborhoods (cases) and the three immediate neighboring neighborhoods of Hyllie, which means that the locations amount to 6. The observation was structured and the items observed are outlined in the observation scheme. This scheme can be found in Annex 3.

A structured observation was chosen even though it is inflexible, however, it enabled a standardized form of measurement and provided consistency, which is important, partly to avoid great subjectivity and inconsistent observation that lowers the validity and reliability of this part of the research. However, notes were taken of items that were thought-provoking and if it was deemed significant to elaborate on an already existing item from the observation scheme.

The sampling of these three cases was done through observation through checking of an observation scheme, but also through photography and field notes. The observation took place during one day and the process of observing went smoothly and quiet since there was in all neighborhoods not that many people in motion, which could be due to the time when the observation was done (morning and afternoon), and because it was a weekday when people usually work. The path followed was partly on the main streets in the neighborhoods, but also through the residential areas with the aim as covering as much ground to achieve saturation in the observation.

The table below illustrates a summary of the research methods, the type of analysis for each, and the sample size.

Research method	Data Collection Method	Data Analysis Method	Sample Size
Semi-Structured Interviews	Qualitative primary data	Qualitative transcript and coding and memo analysis	7
Content Analysis (research, maps, reports, including reports containing statistics)	Qualitative secondary data	Qualitative coding and memo analysis	26 (13 cited in results chapter)
Observation	Qualitative primary data	Qualitative coding and memo analysis	Cases: 3 Neighborhoods connected to the case of Hyllie: 3

### 3.5 Data Analysis Methods

The output from the data collection was triangulated and the techniques used to analyze the data were coding and the writing of memos. Using these techniques enabled a write up that is clear and coherent. To manage the amount of data, Atlas.ti was used to process the data in the analysis stage. Atlas.ti was not used for the observations as it was not deemed beneficial and the type of data is very different from data collected through interviews and documentation.

Coding as a technique allows the researcher to label data deemed important and relevant to the research, which is why it was used. The type of coding used for the analysis was open and axial coding. Open coding is understood as an initial stage of coding in where data is broken down, compared and categorized, and axial coding is understood as the following phase where the data is assembled and connections are established between categories, and linking the created codes with the research context (Bryman 2012). A topic list was made in advance of the coding based on the operationalization, however, in the open coding stage of the research the data was broken down and resulted in a few new additional codes that were not included in the beginning. However, these codes were still valued in advance of whether they fit into the conceptual framework of the study. Codes from that process include for example “moving-chains”, a term used to describe moving pattern of people. This code was then categorized into “social changes” as it relates to the social aspect of housing. Entering the coding phase of axial coding, the coding that had been done was revisited and reviewed based on the research context for more accurate and related coding. Furthermore, memos allow the researcher to elaborate on the codes that are written and are a tool for reflection of the data. Memos also strengthen the reliability of the research because, with the right execution, memos clarify the researcher’s codes and analysis (Bryman 2012, Punch 2014).

Criticism of the use of codes and memos is that the context of the content might be lost in the process and that the methods turn the data into fragments (Bryman 2012). However, being aware of this criticism and having in mind the purpose of the study and the purpose of the data collected, with confidence coding in the manner that has been presented above is most suitable and produced an analysis that approached the data consistently while maintaining the theoretical foundation of the study. The process of analyzing using codes and memos was time-consuming but due to the earlier phase of managing the data with transcribing, the data was familiar and made the process smoother since some content had already been thought-provoking. Proceeding the use of codes and memos the analysis tools offered in Atlas Ti were employed. To begin with, the co-occurrence analysis tool was used to find interesting code

combinations and the query tool was used to generate an output from different combinations of codes that were relevant to the research. Using Atlas.ti was useful in the sense that all codes and memos were organized properly in one place which facilitated easy access when needed.

The observation was analyzed through triangulating the data with the output from interviews and content analysis and writing up the observations in a similar manner as writing up the other data. The photos taken during the collection were revisited when needed for more accurate depictions and comprehension of what was observed.

### **3.6 Limitations**

#### **Executing the study**

The main limitation with executing the study and completing it was time. With research, there are practical issues that need to be resolved, and that was the main challenge here in this study. First, it was the accessibility to interviewees during the time allocated for fieldwork. Eventually, it all worked out and while the number of interviews amounts to seven (7) the data was sufficient and could be complemented by other types of data collected through documentation and observation. However, there was the initial intention to interview a tenant association, but that, unfortunately, did not succeed, which is one weakness in the sampling. The purpose of that group was to hear the voices of people living in Malmö. However, a few of those interviewed lives in Malmö and while they were in their professional role, a few times it could get on a personal level of living in the city. In addition, the content analysis of different textual sources addresses the voices of the people and challenges faced on the housing market from an individual's perspective.

Another time issue was the underestimated time it takes to transcribe and process the data prior to analyzing it. The realization of this time consuming became apparent when the activity began. However, it was a prioritized step in the management of the data and the ability to carry out the task improved with each interview.

Another limitation of the study is representation. In this research, the interviewees have been professionals who are knowledgeable. The scope for what type of stakeholder could certainly be extended and wider. However, there is still a certain level of representativeness present and for this research it is sufficient.

#### **Research design**

The most determining limitations in terms of the research design are the limitations that are inherent for the strategy and methods employed. Regarding case studies, it is the validity, and more specifically the generalizability of a case study that has been addressed previously in this chapter. While for the methods and data, is that the only things that can be measured and considered are those that have been planned for through the conceptual framework and the operationalization, which are grounded in the literature review. Although the researcher does not hold vast experience in research, the ability of the researcher was not a major limitation as it can otherwise be. Here what has been useful for mitigating potential limitation in the execution from the researcher's part is transparency and designating sufficient time to each step of the research despite the time consumption.

## Chapter 4: Research Findings

This chapter presents the research findings. The chapter is divided into three parts, beginning with a description of the cases, thereafter a description of the sample, and then finalized with presenting the research findings for the variables, and a discussion of these.

### 4.1 Description of the cases

The city of Malmö is this research's setting and case. It is the bounded system in which this research seeks to understand gentrification processes, and therefore it includes the city as the overarching and main case. This is because it bounds together the neighborhoods of interest, and secondly, it is a city with a central clear administration that is equally responsible for all neighborhoods and the distribution of resources in the city. Danneham (2009) stated in her dissertation on the local politics of Malmö that the city is working on "*economically oriented policies with the purpose of increasing the attractiveness of the city and strengthen its competitiveness*" (translated quotation that appeared in Danneham 2009, 23). This narrative of the city of Malmö continues to this day to be relevant to the developments observed in the city and is a narrative that applies for the chosen cases. Furthermore, other key characteristics of the city, also addressed in the introduction of this thesis include, the municipal intention to transform Malmö from a typical industrial city, which it once was, to a city of knowledge production (Nylund 2014), the diversity of the city, hosting 182 different nationalities, and the location of the city in the south of Sweden with connecting infrastructure to Europe and the world. These characteristics and the narrative on the transformation of Malmö all are important for the city and consequently for the three main neighborhood cases.

#### The neighborhood: Hyllie

Crossing the Öresund bridge by train from Copenhagen, Denmark, the first neighborhood greeting you is Hyllie. The case of Hyllie is unique in how it has become an area that connects the city, characterized by the movement of people, grounded in what the area offers the people of Malmö in housing, employment, activities, and shopping, but also what it offers people from other cities. This neighborhood was developed on empty land plots, which became an opportunity for development, to make a profit, and increase the competitiveness of the city. The development fits into the narrative by Danneham (2009) on the city's transformation.

#### The neighborhood: Sorgenfri

Sorgenfri is similar to Hyllie in that it is a redevelopment area, but it differs in that the redevelopment area is old industrial land. The development of this land does not only fit into the narrative by Danneham (2009), but it is a symbol of Malmö's transformation. It clearly marks the transition of the city of Malmö from a city that feeds on industrial production, to a city that is characterized by its knowledge production, and growth through other types of businesses.

#### The neighborhood: Rosengård

Rosengård differs from the two other neighborhoods in that there is no starting from scratch in terms of land. Rosengård is a neighborhood that is vast in area, and due to its size, there are differences in how it is to live there. The neighborhood is a development area, differing from the other two cases in that it seeks to improve the built-up environment rather than radically changing the environment of the neighborhood. Even though it differs on this aspect, it is still a method to increase the city's competitiveness. In national and international media, this neighborhood is often portrayed as a parallel society and an area that has failed with integration. This makes it an interesting case to contrast with the other two neighborhood cases.

## 4.2 Description of the sample

In this section, a description of the sample is provided. This includes descriptions for the interview, observation, and content analysis.

### Interview sample

The general characteristics of the interview sample include professionals, knowledgeable within their areas and working with housing, city planning, policy-making, vulnerable individuals or advocacy. Many of the respondents had a long experience of working in Malmö within their respective fields. In some cases, the respondents addressed the neighborhood sample selection for observation, grounded in both their actual experience of the city and their professional role.

The data collected through the sample selection was extensive, and naturally, filtering out relevant information was required. The essence of the sample content was captured through coding and memos.

### Observation sample

The observation had a sample selection of six neighborhoods in the city of Malmö. Three of these neighborhoods were the main focus of the research, serving as the cases of the study, accompanied of three neighborhoods that were observed based on their relation to one of the cases, and its particular characteristics. This case was the neighborhood of Hyllie with three of its immediate neighbors, Lindeborg, Holma and Kroksbäck.

The three neighborhoods adjacent to Hyllie differs significantly from Hyllie in history and characteristics. Moreover, to the east of Hyllie, Lindeborg is situated. Lindeborg is a neighborhood that was part of the public housing program “Million Program” that was implemented in the 1960s and 1970s. Part of this program was also the two other neighborhoods observed adjacent to Hyllie, Holma, and Kroksbäck. Upon observation, there were similarities in the density of the housing, the presence and quality of open green spaces, and in where public services, for example, health centers were located, and the proximity and availability of supermarkets, and other commercial activities. While the housing that was part of the Million Program still stands, newer buildings was present, and different compositions of the mix between public space and buildings were apparent. This is considered relevant to the research because it implies that within neighborhoods there are apparent differences in the living standard, and in where there are investments.

The observation of Hyllie and the three adjacent neighborhoods Lindeborg, Holma, and Kroksbäck was performed by using main streets and paths crossing the residential areas. This was done during observation to cover as much area as possible, and to observe for example the provision of street lights as it is a public good.

The observation of Rosengård and Sorgenfri followed the same logic of using main streets where people are in movement and paths through the residential area. In the case of Rosengård, there were specific locations chosen, in addition to the overall strategy, these were points of specific interventions in the neighborhood. This includes *Rosens Röda Matta*, a space developed to be a meeting point for those living in the neighborhood, and the square Örtagårdstorget, which was a space redeveloped to a square and finalized in 2013.

In Sorgenfri, it was the three main roads that cross the area of the neighborhood that is being redeveloped, Nobelvägen, Industrigatan, and Östra Farmvägen. Observations were conducted following these three roads.

## Content analysis sample

The document sample is comprised by reports with statistics and facts, policy documents and plans, and academic documents on Malmö. The sample selection stems from the need to corroborate and measure certain variables that are not covered through observation, or interviews. Therefore, the sample consists of, for example, statistics on crime and safety to corroborate some interviewees' perception of crime and violence.

## 4.3 Research results

The research results will be presented concept by concept, at a variable level for each. Beginning with the concept of redevelopment, which is also the independent variable of the research. Then continuing with addressing the concepts in the same order of the conceptual framework.

### Redevelopment

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Values
Redevelopment	Land use	Commercial	Yes/No
		Agriculture	Yes/No
		Residential	Yes/No
		Mixed-use	Yes/No
		Industrial	Yes/No

The variable of redevelopment is land use. The variable varies in the type of land use, which includes, commercial, agriculture, residential, industrial and mixed use. On this variable, there are two main findings.

Firstly, central to the local planning discussions is, when developing the city and building new areas, to densify and avoid using agricultural land (Respondent 3, Respondent 7, General Plan 2018). However, the redevelopment of Hyllie was built on farmland and this can be explained with that Hyllie is a redevelopment project that began earlier than for example Sorgenfri, which is developed on industrial land, and before densification, and before “building inwards” was the strategy, as it is now in the general plan for the city. Furthermore, now when densifying in cases of redevelopment, a priority is using industrial land, like for example in Sorgenfri. Upon observing the redevelopment area in Sorgenfri, there were a few characteristics that stood out, this includes the current low density where industries remain in the area and empty plots with no activity. Moving beyond the area of redevelopment in the neighborhood, industrial and empty plots were replaced by residential buildings and more green spaces.

The second finding is that contrary to how neighborhoods have been developed before, like in the Million Program, with a concentration of residential buildings, which aimed to provide a high volume of housing, today, a significant thought is dedicated to developing mixed-use neighborhoods. Hyllie is a typical example of such development because it has a real mix of land use that is complemented by services and facilities enriching the quality of living in Hyllie. Upon observation, the area of redevelopment in Sorgenfri had not been finalized, but planning documents point out that the redevelopment will result in mixed-land use there as well. These two areas differ to Rosengård since Rosengård is not part of a redevelopment project. Instead, it is part of a development project that aims to improve the sustainability of the area. One of the major interventions is a train station for the neighborhood. The difference shows the change of paradigm in how cities should be developed, where you go from clear delimitations of land usage to a diversification of the activities in certain physical spaces. It also points out how to improve consistency in the urban environment, to alter some aspects of the built-up environment, for example in Rosengård, to fit into the paradigm of what the city is and is becoming. To conclude, there have been a few land use changes, like for example industrial to mixed-use, and the occurrence of mixed land use has therefore increased.

## Gentrification

Gentrification in the city of Malmö is measured using four variables, these are *state-led process* (of gentrification), *economic process* (of gentrification), *displacement* and *housing market pressures*. This section will address and discuss one variable at a time before concluding the findings on gentrification.

### State-led process of gentrification

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Values
Gentrification	State-led process	Policies on gentrification	Presence of policies encouraging gentrification / Absence of policies encouraging gentrification
		Advocacy on gentrification	Political visions and strategies encouraging gentrification / Political visions and strategies discouraging gentrification

The variable *state-led process* has two indicators as measurement, these are *policies on gentrification* and *advocacy on gentrification*. Policies on gentrification were researched through reviewing official documents and conducting interviews. Determining whether there was a presence or absence of policies encouraging gentrification, was pursued by looking at how gentrification is defined, and what it is characterized by, comparing that aspect to if what constitutes gentrification was encouraged or not.

In the literature review gentrification was addressed, and some of the main traits included increasing property prices, displacement, changing accessibility to housing, that it is a process often taking place in urban neighborhoods with poverty, that it is a process tailored for affluent citizens, and commonly justified with the argument of creating socially mixed neighborhoods (Davidson and Lees 2010), and increasing the tax base (Smith 1982). In addition, a gentrification process led by authorities is, aside for what plans are made, a process that is determined by the limits of public spending.

In the city of Malmö, there are a few documents that specifically address the urban development of the city. The main one considered is the General Plan (Malmö Stad 2018b), that presents visions and aims for the urban development, a document that is grounded within the municipal organization and council. Moreover, other important documents are the zoning plans for the neighborhoods in Malmö, and the expansion strategies developed for each redevelopment area. In addition, the municipal budget (Malmö Stad 2017), contains a budget post for sales of land for land development, and such income post is planned for coming years as a fixed income. This is an interesting type of policy as the potential consequences for this type of budget planning is weakened control for the municipality over the urban development as it means less land to negotiate on, however still recognizing that with selling their land, the municipality can make demands on the land use and purpose of the new developments.

One main finding of the research is that there is no policy explicitly encouraging gentrification of the city. However, traits of what entails gentrification were found in the general plan and its descriptions of how the city should develop. For example, with mixed neighborhoods that hold various functions. Mixed neighborhoods in terms of functionality is not a mischievous goal to reach for. Having neighborhoods of this type enables different types of activities to take place and adds value to the living environment. However, developing these kinds of neighborhoods should come with precautions as there is a chance that it can lead to gentrification because of a couple reasons, including that diversifying functions in a neighborhood increases property prices because the standard of the neighborhood rises, and it becomes a more attractive neighborhood because of its functions. Therefore, it becomes a socio-economic issue as it is less affordable for economically weak groups. Another aspect that is relevant to the cases, as

was addressed in the literature review, producing environmental goods in a less well-off neighborhood can result in gentrification (Anguelovski et al., 2016) because it adds value. In all the neighborhood cases, environmental goods are included and advocated for. This means that while gentrification is not explicitly spoken of, traits that constitute gentrification are.

Furthermore, densification is another method addressed in the General Plan to make the city more resource and energy efficient. It is through a densification that facilitates more sustainable means of transportation, and a denser city with a richer city life within that space. Densification can promote gentrification in that it, depending on how densification is performed, exclude and limit the accessibility of urban space, although it is the opposite that is sought in the city's policies. It is policies like these that impact property prices and service prices. The relevance of pointing out the possible consequences of densification is that the city has a weak tax base, meaning that the residents' purchase power impact how they will reap the benefits of densification.

Moreover, the General Plan is not a judicial binding document. Regarding the impact of these plans that are renewed for each mandate, respondent 3 spoke of the significance and insignificance of such document, stating that the impact of planning the city has its possibilities but also its limitations because (1) plans need to be followed up by actions, and (2) there are things greater than planning affecting the welfare of people, including the economic cycle and unemployment. However, as respondent 7 pointed out, the general plan is a tool for a collected vision on the direction the city is heading towards, and it is the cradle for developments of the city. Which leads to the next indicator which is advocacy on gentrification. What advocacy constitutes of are activities promoting a certain direction of policy, through publicizing visions and promoting strategies to achieve something. A general plan is a result of advocacy, but can also be a tool for advocacy. It is an active dedication to an issue, in this case, advocacy of gentrification is of interest, to understand if, and how it has been pursued.

The indicator "*advocacy for gentrification*" is valued through political visions and strategies that encourage gentrification. The visions of the politicians are reflected in plans and policies, and advocacy of these is required prior to the adoption of such, and for follow-up. Dialogue with relevant actors is conducted with the purpose of developing the city and to achieve the visions that are communicated, and present in official documents. Regarding the city's visions, even though presented as a sustainability vision, including the three aspects of sustainability, gentrification could still be considered advocated for.

Moreover, on the issue of social sustainability, livelihood support was addressed and advocated for by the respondents, recognizing that it has justifiable a function, while also asserting that the best would be if more people could have a job and a salary that is enough to meet the basic needs. The unemployment rate is relatively high in the city of Malmö. Unemployment is a variable that will be addressed later in this chapter. In the context of advocacy on gentrification, it was revealed that advocacy for the acceptance of livelihood support as a valid source of income to qualify for housing contracts was pushed for. Housing contracts always have demands, however, some housing companies have the criteria that an income cannot be livelihood support given by the municipality, regardless if it is enough to cover rent. This is closing the door for many inhabitants of the city to get housing that is on the market. The advocacy against this type of demand from housing companies can be viewed as advocacy discouraging gentrification. Because it says that although the individual in question does not have a job, and is in need of livelihood support, does not mean that the individual has to be limited have less of a right to live in different parts of the city. Allowing different types of income, that are economically sufficient, to be valid sources of income strengthens the

opportunities for people with low income to find housing elsewhere than in the most stigmatized neighborhoods where these demands might not be applied.

That all housing companies do not accept livelihood support as an income is an obstacle for the movement on the housing market, and it is a structural injustice. Two respondents argued that it is partly a legislative issue, as there is no requirement for housing companies to accept livelihood support as valid income. As mentioned before, advocacy from authorities, and from some housing companies has been made towards other housing companies to encourage them to voluntarily accept livelihood support as a valid income. However, like other business sectors, housing companies seek profit, and accepting livelihood support is not a strategy that is sought. Livelihood support is for people who are unemployed, and with that knowledge comes prejudices and a narrative of who the people are with livelihood support. There is a preference to have good, behaving residents. A narrative not given to people on livelihood support.

The point in addressing this issue of livelihood support is that while visions and strategies are made from top-down and influenced from stakeholders to a certain extent, and there are some tools to enforce it, the private sector still hold significant power to the accessibility of the city. The private sector has been allowed to hold that power. Meanwhile, it continues to be the responsibility of the city to develop a functioning city, all while lacking the means to fully control the process. Another insight is that the policies and strategies are not judicially binding, which affects the outcome. Complemented with, that at the same time the real situation that everything cannot be planned for.

Concluding on the state-led process of gentrification. While it is with the best of intentions to develop a Malmö that is socially and ecologically sustainable, the fact remains that the aims of the policies, and the advocacy for these, are a pursuit of capital.

The real impact of policies is shaped by the context of which the policies are applied to. The intention of the policies in Malmö cannot be argued against. However, the real impact is always different than the initial plans, and with the conditions of the city, and of the country, there is a need to consequently analyze, and test policies before accepting certain approaches as the truth. In the 1960s and 1970s, Sweden implemented the Million Program. One million new housing was to be produced, with the aim of solving the housing shortage and improve the housing standard. While initially the housing was intended to respond to the demand of a growing middle class, today, the population is primarily immigrants or descendants of immigrants. The consequence of the Million Program in many cities in Sweden, including Malmö is segregation. This includes some of the aforementioned neighborhoods, Rosengård, Holma, and Kroksbäck. These are neighborhoods with a significant number of individuals who have a low income or are on livelihood support. These are also neighborhoods that are excluded and stigmatized. The policy was not tested and today we know the long-term results.

*“The content of local politics is no longer governed solely by principles of public redistribution through the welfare state, but ideas about the growth-creating role of the public have entered.”*  
(translated quotation from Dannestam 2009, 268)

The above findings have not addressed specific neighborhoods, but Malmö as a city. The reason is that all neighborhoods are part of the city and therefore is under the same influence of policymakers, stakeholders, and visions. The quote above from Dannestam (2009), address the earlier discussion on what activities the municipal governing body is currently pursuing, including the redevelopment of the city that is focused on a mixed land use and working for a prosperous city where people want to live. The other side of the coin, to make it a successful adventure, is the private sector. This leads to the next variable of interest which is the economic

process of gentrification, that focuses on the role of the private sector, and their contribution to the gentrification of the city.

### Economic process of gentrification

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Values
Gentrification	Economic Process	Ability to invest	Available partners/ Incentives
		Corporate social responsibility (realization of policies)	Realization of policies on corporate social responsibility / non- realization of policies on corporate social responsibility

The variable *economic process* has two indicators as measurement, these are *ability to invest* and *corporate social responsibility*. The ability to invest in the private sector was valued through (1) the availability of partners to pursue economic adventures with, and (2) incentives for private investments in urban development, focusing on Malmö's larger development projects. In the context of private investments in redevelopment projects in the city of Malmö, the ability to invest into redevelopment projects is influenced by the municipality's allocation of land for developers and the terms that are agreed upon. Attached to the type of terms, incentives can be included, as well as requirements of items impacting the quality of the neighborhoods, and conditions that ensure that vulnerable groups receive some benefits from the projects.

Raised during the interviews was the willingness to invest as a factor impacting investor's assessment of their ability to invest in vulnerable neighborhoods. It was argued that for the private sector to invest in vulnerable neighborhoods, incentives need to be provided from the municipality. For example, that it is agreed that some services will be provided by the municipality or that the investments are part of a larger project, to guarantee a market and security for private investments. It was further elaborated that investing in vulnerable neighborhoods, might negatively impact profitability, in comparison to if similar investments would be made in affluent neighborhoods, which is why private actors are not willing to invest in vulnerable neighborhoods.

Another point made and relevant to the research, was the importance of the clientele in neighborhoods, for businesses to establish. Rosengård, which is a development area, is an example of a neighborhood where there are few businesses operating. Observing Rosengård, and primarily the part of the neighborhood that is dense with residencies and was part of the Million Program, it was observed that while there was some variation in function within that space, for example kindergartens, a few hairdressers, and playgrounds, a similar type of residential space in the Hyllie neighborhood, a redevelopment area, which has been developed during a different urban design paradigm, is very different.

However, the *ability to invest* is more than promoting the current urban design paradigm. Firstly, the expansion strategy of Hyllie is one factor that matters. Having a strategy in place that plans for the coming years, and in which the municipality has a clear role in, is of value as it legitimizes the project. The municipality is driving the change of this area, there is transportation infrastructure, services, including a school and a sports center, which both are incentives as they are a sign that there will be a market to operate on. These components lead to an assessment that the redevelopment project has a secure investment environment, and the profitability will be significant. Moreover, Rosengård does not have the same assumed prospects and is an area that has been continuously disinvested in. Rosengård is a development area, and the developments taking place are sustainability interventions, targeting the livability of the area. This signifies that the developments are not complementary in their nature, but rather necessary. Consequently, that means that neighborhoods like Rosengård cannot compete

with neighborhoods like Hyllie in terms of livability and attractiveness, and why the ability to invest or the assumed ability to invest is greater in Hyllie.

Dannestam (2009) points out an interesting conceptualization of the role of urban policy in Europe today, highlighting how competition is less between states and more between cities because there is a common market in the EU (2009, 24). This understanding is useful in regard to the role of the private sector in Malmö. The success of the urban policies of the municipality is determined by the involvement of the private sector and therefore there is an interdependency in which the municipality gets to drive the change to a more competitive European city, while the private sector gets to maximize their profits. The security net offered by the municipality is a factor for the ability to invest.

Another factor found in the research, impacting the private sector's ability to invest, are the terms of land use. Meaning whether land can be bought or leased. While both types occur in the city of Malmö, the final agreement is affected by the economic state, whether there is an economic boom or recession.

The second indicator is the realization of corporate social responsibility. Here the value is whether corporate social responsibility is realized or not. This indicator was developed considering the housing companies, seeing as they play a significant role in how the people of Malmö live, and the standard of housing in the city. The two most common types of tenancy, which are of interest here, are rentals and condominiums. Rentals, in which the housing expenditure is the sum of the rent, and the tenant's own expenditures for maintenance and possible repairs, and condominiums, in which the housing expenditure is the sum of the fee to the housing association, interest, amortization, maintenance, and possible repairs. It is generally accepted that living in an area with mostly condominiums means having a higher standard of living, and on the other hand there are prejudices of people living in rentals, in particular for vulnerable neighborhoods in Malmö.

Researching the housing companies active on the housing and property market in Malmö, it is clear that all have a policy that addresses their corporate social responsibility. However, the extent of their activities evidently varies. For example, one of the housing companies carried out multiple different activities to fulfill their corporate social responsibility. Surely, they are realizing their policy, but looking deeper into the purpose of the policy and examining the real societal impact of the housing companies' activities is necessary.

Deeming from the conducted research, corporate social responsibility seems to be less of actual consistency in activities with long-term impact, and more about ameliorating the effects of decades of disinvestment, and neglect of neighborhoods. Typically, marginalized groups are targeted for interventions, and that is fair and understandable. However, the narrative they are prescribed is that of inferiority and less of individuals with agency and rights. For example, in the interviews, it was expressed that young people (in vulnerable areas) need to see adults in their environment have a job, in order for them to not resort to illegal means of work. Firstly, this is a racialized stereotype, and it is based on prejudices of what values are communicated in the home, and secondly, it put all the blame on the individual. Forgetting, that in vulnerable areas, the quality of education is lower than in other neighborhoods, and that these neighborhoods are marginalized in other ways, and that they live in a society in which structural discrimination is still prevalent. Disinvestment in vulnerable areas is not limited to the built-up environment, but also of public goods and services, like education. Therefore, what is currently conceptualized as the corporate social responsibility of these housing companies, is activities focusing on symptoms rather than causes. Not to assume that housing companies have the sole responsibility of the welfare of their tenants. However, it is worth noting that the private sector's interventions are less about changing structural discrimination that continues to affect

minorities, especially on the housing market (Mångkulturellt centrum 2014, Ombudsmannen mot etnisk diskriminering 2008), and more about interventions that look good on paper.

Concluding on the economic process. There is an ability to invest for the private sector and the investments are in line with the growth perspective present in the city's urban policy, which in one way signifies that the city's economic processes are, like the policies and implementation of the policies, indirectly promoting gentrification. For example, through driving up property prices, and focusing on investing in affluent neighborhoods instead of in vulnerable neighborhoods, thereby continuing the vicious circle of disinvestment. On corporate social responsibility, the private sector, and in this case focusing on housing companies, are working on their social responsibility, however, it equals a few drops of water in an ocean. And while some activities improve the position of the tenants and add some value to their lives, there are other actions that counter the interventions and can be seen as conflicting actions to the activities for social responsibility. For example, taking their social responsibility and creating new meeting places that residents can use, while at the same time increasing rent prices or changing tenancy type, and terms for the housing units that limits who can live there.

Moreover, an issue of corporate social responsibility, but also greater than corporate social responsibility, is displacement. Extensive renovations and redevelopments impact residents arguably positively and negatively. Displacement is a corporate social responsibility, and in the data collection process, it was confirmed, what the literature already highlighted, that what constitutes displacement is selective and there are different views upon it. This next section will address the findings on displacement in Malmö.

#### Variable: Displacement

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Values
Gentrification	Displacement	Direct or indirect displacement	Observed/documented displacement of residents / No observed/documented displacement of residents
		Renovictions	Odds to move following renovations

Displacement is a key variable of gentrification, addressed in the literature review, and to measure this variable two indicators were chosen. The first indicator address if direct or indirect displacement has taken place. With this variable, there are methodological shortcomings. This variable is complex because it was developed for the purpose of measuring displacement as a consequence of gentrification through redevelopment, and not solely of displacement in Malmö. Furthermore, displacement is not measured by the statistical office in Sweden. What is measured is when people move between municipalities, and thereby are registered in a new municipality. However, in this research, it is the movement between neighborhoods, or within neighborhoods, that is of interest, and not from one municipality to another. This posed a methodological problem seeing as there cannot be a distinctive correlation drawn between displacement and redevelopment, even though displacement in the city of Malmö do happen through increased rents.

However, displacement was a variable addressed during interviews in which there was a common understanding that displacement takes place to a certain extent in the city, although not as great as in for example American cities. This still does not tell whether redevelopment is to blame. Moreover, in Sweden, it is statutory that if you do not pay your rent you have to move. While this provides security for landlords, in the context of gentrification, there is no equal protection to the tenant in case of rent increases. When tenants recognize that they have to move because of changing housing conditions, like rent increases, that is considered indirect

displacement, as discussed in the literature review. This is as serious as direct displacement, that might not be as common in Malmö.

The second indicator for displacement is renovictions. Renovictions is a type of displacement following renovations of housing units, that in turn has led to higher rent prices, and consequently is financially unsustainable for some tenants, forcing them to seek housing elsewhere. Similar to displacement in general, there is no official statistic on renovictions either.

However, in 2014 the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning in Sweden, conducted a study on the phenomenon of renovictions following major renovations. They conducted the study using an experimental strategy, using one experimental group and one control group. The data was based on real estate registry, from where a selection had been made of rental properties that had been rebuilt during the years 2008-2011. The properties considered were properties that had been extensively renovated, based on a measurement that the researchers decided upon. The result was generated through regression to determine *the odds to move following extensive renovations*. Appreciation was also performed on vulnerable groups to measure the interaction between extensive renovations and the odds to move, with vulnerable groups. One of the research findings was that being economically vulnerable decrease the probability of moving before an extensive renovation, but the probability is higher the year of, and after an extensive renovation for vulnerable groups. Another finding of the research was that for those living in a property that goes through extensive renovations, the odds are 1.06 times higher before renovations for individuals moving from their property, comparing to no renovation. In the report, this is hypothesized being caused by the individuals' knowledge of renovations that will take place, or if it is a longer renovation in terms of time. This tells us that displacement does take place, and it takes place in housing that need improvements, including disinvested properties, seeing as the research did not consider regular renovations, but extensive renovations.

Now, there is a significance in looking at renovictions when researching gentrification through redevelopment. Redevelopment of land, with changes in land use, changes the value of properties. Employing a holistic perspective on the changes in the built-up environment in Malmö, not solely individual neighborhoods, shows that the property prices are increasing. There is no location in the city where property prices are decreasing, and in particular, for the redevelopment of the city, these areas have a significantly higher property value. Furthermore, in a hypothetical situation in which property prices are driven by extensive renovations, rather than by redevelopment, it is hard to tackle displacement using the Swedish Building and Planning Act, which is why renovictions tend to impact tenants, and the gentrification process of the city greater than redevelopment does. Judging by these factors leading to displacement, there are two main insights, (1) it is problematic that there is no statistic on displacement as statistics would facilitate greater understanding of the housing market, and (2) the individuals' rights on the housing market needs to be strengthened, for them to not be subjected to displacement.

To conclude what redevelopment means for displacement in Malmö, there is one final aspect of displacement to address, which is what is being developed. Building, specifically targeting some demographics, can gentrify, and building specifically targeting some demographics is part of the strategy in Malmö. It is not a clearly pronounced strategy, but the way redevelopment of the city is made, is through exclusionary practices. For example, in Sorgenfri, the redevelopment area is developed with a particular variation in the built-up environment, offering housing, work opportunities, attractions, and recreational activities. Sorgenfri is an

area in which distributional justice can be questioned, as it is not economically accessible to significant parts of the population, and impact the city as a whole.

#### Variable: Housing market pressures

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Values
Gentrification	Housing market pressure	Change in property prices	Increase/ decrease of property prices

The variable *housing market pressure* is measured through property prices for condominiums in the selected neighborhood cases, which are Hyllie, Sorgenfri, and Rosengård. In the municipality's organization of the city, these neighborhoods are clustered into greater districts. Here, the statistics address the districts that the neighborhoods are part of. The graph below compares the price per square meters for each district (Svensk Mäklarstatistik 2018, data last updated October 4, 2018). The price per square meter is calculated through the quota between the purchase price and the total area. The label "centrum" includes the neighborhood of Sorgenfri (the northern part where the redevelopment takes place) and other central parts of the city. The labels Hyllie and Rosengård-Husie are also including other neighborhoods within their districts. However, the data is still useful, relevant, and representative of the differences within the city for property prices.

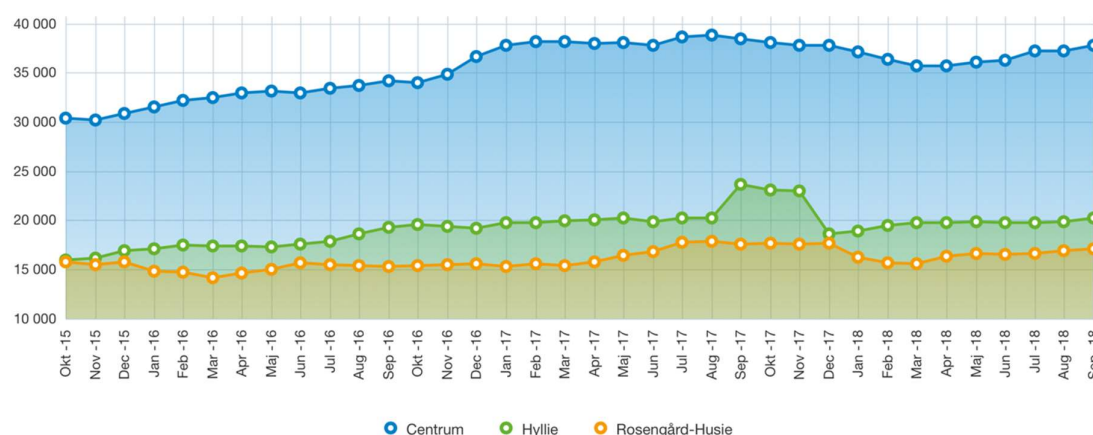


Figure 1. Graph from Svensk Mäklarstatistik 2018 comparing the price per square meter (kr/kvm)

The statistics from Svensk Mäklarstatistik is built upon recent sales, reported in by realtors, with a high report rate on 95 percent. Figure 2 presents an annual comparison between the districts, Malmö, and Sweden. There are significant differences between Malmö and the statistics on Sweden, the explanation lies in that there are two other bigger cities, Stockholm and Gothenburg, who both have higher prices than Malmö per square meter.

Month	Centrum	Hyllie	Rosengård-Husie	Malmö	Sweden
October 2014	26925	14223	13289	20324	31046
October 2015	30349	15920	15755	23038	36334
October 2016	33989	19525	15381	26308	38910
October 2017	38009	23053	17666	28481	39167
September 2018	37812	20274	17123	28335	39265

Table 1. Price per square meter October 2014-September 2018. Source: Svensk Mäklarstatistik 2018

Inquiring qualitative data about the state of the housing market, the interview respondents highlighted (1) that there is affordable housing in the current housing stock, (2) it is hard for some to do a “housing career”, meaning moving to better housing, and (3) the desired “moving-chains” are not taking place, meaning the mobility on the housing market is not enough.

*“The concern is that people do not let go of the cheapest apartments. They cling onto it. It is actually those [apartments] we would need to vacate for a naturally functioning market, but they are hard to access today” (2.32)*

*“Then you have this group [elders] that bought their house for a cheap price. They have their good economy, and they have not paid a lot for it. Now, they have paid it off, and what will then motivate them [to move]. That is how some think. What would motivate me to pay a little bit of money to move on now?” (2.34)*

Agreed by the interviewees was that the provision of affordable housing is found in the existing housing stock because new housing production will always be expensive, and lowering the quality standard of new housing is not an option. However, there is a contradiction with this since when the affordable housing stock is improved, rent prices rise. Thereby, the affordable housing decreases.

*“...there is a risk that the cheaper homes will disappear with mobility. It is no easy solution [the moving-chains]. It is no easy solution because part of the solution is simply not there.” (3.24)*

Furthermore, the city’s planning office published a housing supply action plan in 2018 (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2018). One segment address the lack of housing, and how it is not lack of housing for everyone, stating that:

*“...there is a shortage of housing that can be demanded by low-paying households, rather than a general housing shortage. For households with sufficient ability to pay, there are good opportunities to rent or buy a home in the entire (or in large parts of the) housing stock.” (2018, 21).*

On this subject, one interviewee stated that *“...national regulations have put plugs in the moving-chains in Sweden, it is simply cheaper to live in larger homes, long after you no longer need it. This makes the alternative cost of moving very high. It put brakes on the moving-chains. I would say that much of what is being built, and is being completed now is at a price level that is actually for another type of population. There are pros and cons with that.” (7.61)*

To conclude, the main finding is that there is housing, but simply not for everyone. While a functioning housing market with mobility could contribute to the housing problem, it can also cause problems. What seems to be needed is a higher ability to pay, with the right type of income, and the willingness to pay for more expensive housing. Malmö is the third largest city in Sweden, and the price of housing is higher in the big cities. However, there must be a common understanding that the bigger cities are not supposed to solely be reserved for the wealthy and that policies must come from a place that is working for the public good and not the private profit. Recognizing the main findings that have been presented until this stage, there is seemingly a friction and interdependency between public and private that shapes the direction in which the city is heading. What is clear is that there are also contradicting policies and objectives. In regard to gentrification and redevelopment, the redevelopment of the city in some neighborhoods are important in practice and are also symbolical for the city’s transition. Gentrification in Malmö however, seems to be less evident, but still a process that exists and is allowed and accepted, although not with the mention of the word, but the promotion of what the process entails.

## Physical changes

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Values
Physical changes	New infrastructure	Redevelopment and development projects constructed in the last 10y	Number of redevelopment projects and development areas
	Open space	Parks	Number of parks
		Meeting places	Presence of meeting places

Physical changes include two variables, *new infrastructure* and *open spaces*. The indicator for infrastructure is redevelopment projects constructed in the last 10 years, which take the value of how many projects have been constructed. The indicators for open spaces are parks and meeting places, all of which are public.

On new infrastructure, the number of redevelopment projects amounts to three, Hyllie, Sorgenfri and Västra Hamnen, and development areas amount to 15, including Rosengård. The difference between the redevelopment areas and development areas is that development areas are subjected to supplementary building that densifies, and the development of meeting places and further consideration of existing paths, and public transport.

In Hyllie, open space has been developed with variation, and the redevelopment area has been built upon empty land plots. Located in what constitutes the core of the neighborhood is a square functioning as a meeting place, surrounded by buildings for commercial activities, an arena for events, hotels, parking facilities, and public transport infrastructure. A few hundred meters from the core, in what can be considered the periphery of the redevelopment area, housing is more prevalent. In the transition from the core to periphery, is housing with a ground floor with shops. In the periphery of this area, is a school with an accompanying sports hall and a park that functions as a schoolyard and public park. In total, the redevelopment area of Hyllie holds or is planned to hold seven types of parks and squares. In addition, the shopping mall hosts an open rooftop park open for the public which is 27 000 square meters.



Figure 2. Hyllie – Square in front of the shopping mall, arena, train station and other commercial facilities

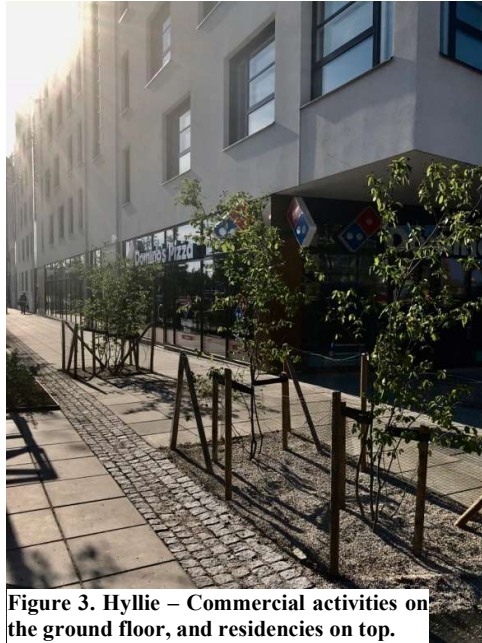


Figure 3. Hyllie – Commercial activities on the ground floor, and residences on top.

Other outdoor segments include even provision of lighting, and amenities, such as health centers. The housing provided in the Hyllie redevelopment area differs from other observed neighborhoods in that the space between, and in front of the apartment buildings have been developed in a way that allows activities to take place there. This has been done through, for example, developing the paths like pedestrian streets, patio for those living in the apartments and green elements.



Figure 4. Hyllie – Housing



Figure 5. Hyllie – Housing

The space between housing is optimized as a meeting space and contrasts to neighboring neighborhoods, for example, Lindeborg, where some housing was part of the Million program, and have an appearance that is very straightforward and simple. Housing in Lindeborg is not as dense in the sense of closeness between buildings, as compared to Hyllie. However, Lindeborg is a neighborhood with significant housing differences within the neighborhood.



Figure 6. Housing in Lindeborg



Figure 7. Housing in Lindeborg

Furthermore, two other neighboring neighborhoods to Hyllie, Kroksbäck, and Holma were also observed. The supply of parks and meeting places was less than in Hyllie, and the quality of these lower in the sense that they were visually less attractive and naturally embedded with the housing. Observing Kroksbäck, it also became evident that there were physical differences within the neighborhood in housing and quality of open spaces.



Figure 8. Housing in Kroksbäck



Figure 9. Housing in Kroksbäck

Entering Holma from the west, coming from Kroksbäck, you are met with simple types of houses, no high-rise apartments, however, moving further into the neighborhood more high-rise apartments are observed. However, the neighborhood still differs from Kroksbäck in that the built-up environment varies in housing types, and the heights observed in the area. In addition, in what constitutes the core of the neighborhood, some commercial activities take



Figure 10. Housing and meeting place in Holma



Figure 11. Green House in Holma

place, there are meeting places, an activity house for youth up to 18 years, and a greenhouse that can be scheduled for activities.

The case of Sorgenfri differs in that it is not in the same face of completion as Hyllie, however, the plan is to have parks in every block in the neighborhood. This is to compensate for the current lack of green spaces in this area. Moreover, another important segment is to ensure good physical contact between the redevelopment area and other neighborhoods in the city.



Figure 12. Part of the redevelopment area of Sorgenfri currently in construction



Figure 13. Sorgenfri- a map of the structure of the redevelopment area. Source: Malmö Stadsbyggnadskontoret (2008, 25)

The key features of the map are the light blue section, which signifies an area for events, the green section, signifying parks and green areas, and the green with stripes, signifying green and leisure zones. The light green signifies potential green areas. To summarize, the plan shows one area for events, five parks and green areas, two green- and leisure zones, and an additional two potential green zones.

Although no part of Rosengård matches the development in Hyllie, there are still significant differences within the neighborhood of Rosengård in density and open spaces. A crucial part of the observation was to observe the interventions that have been done, for example, the event place (Rosens Röda Matta) installed for local associations, and other groups to use, and to observe the square that was developed from a parking plot, next to Bennets Bazaar. Rosengård have a couple green spaces, in both the north and southern part of the neighborhood. There are nine green areas/parks, including the cemetery in the northern part of the neighborhood.



**Figure 14. Rosengård – View over Rosens Röda Matta**



**Figure 15. Rosengård – Meeting place in a neighborhood part of the Million Program**

Another project that is in the pipeline is Culture Casbah. It is a project composed of different segments to create a more lively, safe and central part of Malmö. One significant aspect of the project is a skyline that is planned, and would then provide office spaces, housing, meeting places, and other commercial activities. However, while the project has received praise, it has also received criticism.



**Figure 16. Rosengård – Bennets Bazaar with view over Örtgårdstorget (public square)**



**Figure 17. Rosengård – Bennets Bazaar (meeting place and place for commercial activities)**

The criticism of the project Culture Casbah was for example addressed by 18 researchers who published a debate piece (Sydvenskan 2016-11-15) with the main point that the project hardly would solve the segregation of the neighborhood. The researchers argued that the narrative of the contribution of Culture Casbah is based on a stigmatized narrative of Rosengård as a *dark problem area* that is going to be transformed into a *bright and safe city center*. Moreover, they also argue that with the social mix that is promoted, which means having a mix of tenancy types that are accessible for different groups in the city, there can be serious consequences for those already living in Rosengård. For example, that they are forced to move, which is displacement. The researchers also refer to previous research that has been conducted of socially mixed areas, pointing out how it is better to invest in jobs, education, and welfare instead of introducing a strategy built on having socially mixed neighborhoods.

The concerns expressed by the researchers on the transformation of Rosengård is what has been addressed earlier in the findings here. That the developments that are taking place in the city of Malmö are intended, at least in external communications, to favor the economically and socially weak while preparing the city for the future, making it competitive. Meanwhile, the policies and decisions are seemingly benefiting the private sector to an extent that the public actions can be questioned on how much it benefits weaker social and economic groups. The question is how public the public good is.

Transforming Rosengård is to keep up with the pace the rest of the city is developing in, and the area is commercially suitable for this because (1) the area is central to the city, and (2) there are strong perceptions of what the neighborhood is and is not, and transforming it is an opportunity to drastically change the perception of the neighborhood and the city. The investments in the neighborhood can change the narrative, and sell a new narrative of success and progressivity, and of making the impossible possible, all while strengthening the city's competitiveness as a whole.

One challenge that is common for many of the neighborhoods, and a theme that has been consistent with the redevelopment projects and development projects, is ensuring enough activity for smaller businesses to thrive. On what type of urban composition is desired one interview respondent stated that “...we would like to build an urban environment with a lot of activity on the ground floor, to have a more open façade on the street level, and to have more life and movement more hours during the day”, further stating that “There must be a daytime population that can pay. That can be customers. Otherwise, you have no possibility to run any type of business.” (7.54). This aspect has been important for the changes we see in the neighborhoods, and together with the increasing role of environmental goods, and their importance in today's developments in Malmö, the city is increasing its competitiveness. It is competitiveness not only in relation to other cities in Sweden and Europe, but between the local population, and their accessibility to the city and public goods. However, the changes that are observed is a reflection of ruling paradigms, capitalism, and politics.

To conclude, green spaces are valued and are provided in the city of Malmö. However, the incorporation of green features varies in the neighborhoods. Furthermore, the current policies emphasize more green features in the city, both for redevelopment areas and development areas. Situating the physical attributes addressed here into the discussion on gentrification, while progress naturally needs to be made in the built-up areas, interventions like for example in Rosengård, are misleading, and selling the narrative that improving the physical attributes will solve segregation. This results in a reliance on building the problem away. Consequently, neglecting the need for policies to be grounded in research on strategies that have a recorded impact of improving people's welfare, through more than physical changes.

## Social changes

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Values
Social changes	Housing	Affordability	Reasonable housing cost
		Availability	Supply and demand
		Homelessness in the last 10y	Increase / Decrease
	Safety	Crime rate	Increase/ Decrease
		Vulnerable neighborhoods	Yes/No

The social changes measured and observed were housing and safety. The motivation behind using these two variables is that, to begin with, there is a social aspect to housing that is important for those living in a certain area and second, safety has been argued to increase in gentrified neighborhoods, meaning when redevelopment or extensive renovations have been performed.

In a publication from 2009 the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, the topic of what can be considered a reasonable housing cost was addressed. There were three main propositions. One was defining it through the guidelines of the government authority in charge of social insurance (Försäkringskassan), and their instructions on the average and highest acceptable housing costs are. For 2018, their (FKFS 2017:15) instructions were the following:

Larger-Malmö (including neighboring municipalities)	Highest acceptable cost (SEK/per month)
1-2 adults	8 200
1-2 adults and 1 child	9 750
1-2 adults and 2 children	12 150
1-2 adults and 3 children	15 475
1-2 adults and more than 3 children	15 475 + 2 400 SEK per child in addition to 3

Table 2. Highest acceptable cost in SEK/per month. Source: FKFS 2017:15

The second proposition in deciding what a reasonable housing cost is was to use *reference budgets* as a method to determine what the highest cost for a household could be. The third approach was to consider what percentage of the disposable income should go to housing costs. However, this was stated to be hard to determine, but that it would be desirable if 20-25 percent was designated to housing costs. In the publication, they test what the differences would be between the different approaches and the result for each varies. Meaning, that determining what the right method to measure reasonable housing costs is complex, and each method has its limitations.

In 2016, the disposable income median for people in Malmö aged 18 and above was 302.3 thousand SEK (Statistiska centralbyrån 2018b). However, breaking down the data there are significant differences between the ages. For example, the age bracket 18 -29 had a disposable income median at 257.9 thousand SEK, the highest was 373.2 thousand SEK for the age bracket 50-64, and the lowest was 80 and above, with a disposable income median at 163.4 thousand SEK. Based on these numbers, and considering the data presented in table 2 on the highest acceptable income, if one adult has a monthly housing cost on 8200 SEK, and is in the age bracket 80 and above, and has the disposable income median, they would use approximately 60 percent of their disposable income for monthly housing costs. For the age bracket 18-29, the percentage would be 38 percent, based on the highest acceptable cost and disposable income median for Malmö.

These percentages are quite high, especially considering that 20-25 percent would be a desirable percentage of disposable income for housing costs. What this means for Malmö is that the low-income level in the city has serious implications for households, and that there is a need to improve the income level considering that housing in redevelopment areas are expensive, on and above the highest acceptable cost (depending on household size), and that when there are renovations, prices increase.

Statistics from the city office (Stadskontoret 2017) establish that to meet the demand of the increasing population, 1900 housing units need to be produced annually on average, up to the year 2027, in addition to the 800 housing units that need to be produced annually to address the deficit of housing construction in recent years. However, only 1300 homes on average have been built in the last few years. The redevelopment and development projects addressed in this research, are certainly contributing to more homes being built.

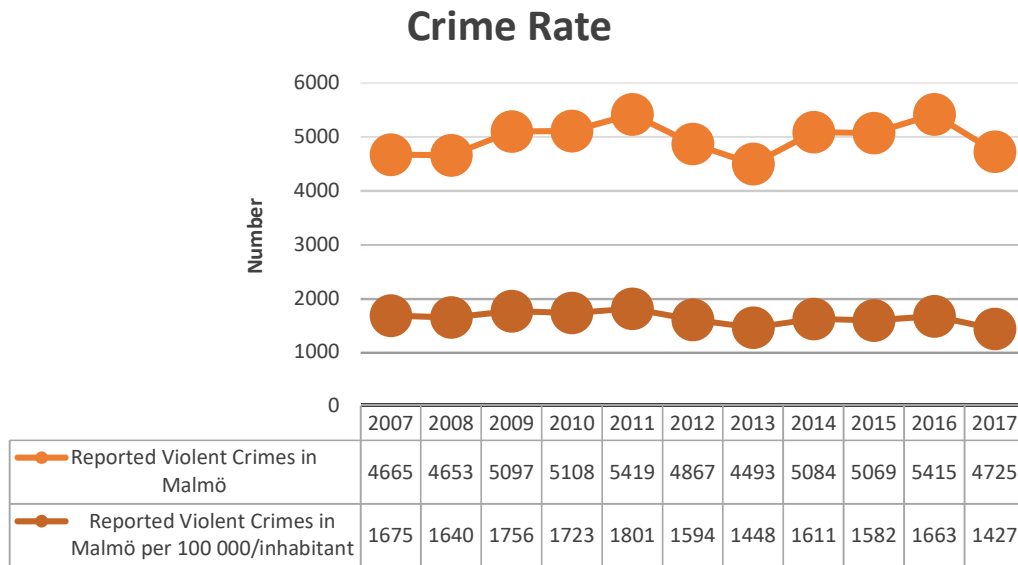
Furthermore, it is not only important that housing is being built, but it is also important what type of housing and with what types of tenancy types are being built. As has been mentioned earlier, there is not a lack of housing for everyone, it is housing that is affordable for low-paying households. In addition, there is a demand for housing from all income bracket groups (Stadsbyggnadskontoret 2018). One interviewee respondent states that *"We are not building for the needs, but we build for a certain type of demand. The market is not building for the needs, the market is building for the demand"* (3.17).

Furthermore, one respondent addressed that while more housing is being produced there are different levels of economic accessibility highlighting a group that has potential and would benefit from moving-chains, stating, *"Then we have a group that can request housing on their own merits, but have it difficult to demand new productions because it is very expensive. And with such an overheated construction market as we currently have, it is extremely expensive with new productions... but if you can build so you get 'moving-chains', then there is a possibility for them to act on the housing market."* (7.27).

A final remark worth noting is the incorrect tenancy, here referring to rental contracts that are illegal, for example through services like Airbnb, but also between individuals. One respondent emphasized how clearing these benefited the housing market in Malmö, stating, *"We are working hard on this [incorrect tenancy], and you release a lot of apartments. It is the secondary, third and fourth market... We have a great job to do.... We know that we last year retrieved fifty, sixty [apartments] from incorrect rental conditions."* (2.27). Incorrect tenancy is an issue that affects the availability of legal housing, and the predictions on how much housing needs to be produced.

Homelessness is the third indicator. Observing the changes in homelessness in the city the last ten years, what has changed is what groups in society are represented more represented today than they were before. The current estimate of homeless individuals in Malmö is 2822 (2017), whereof most individuals belong to the following categories: EU-migrants, asylum seekers and elders, who often have a social issue. In addition, not all housing is accessible for low-income families, as has been established. Of the 2822 individuals who are homeless, 74 percent of all homeless adults were born outside of Sweden (Stadskontoret 2017). While the redevelopment and development of the city do not necessarily solve this problem which several respondents highlighted. Simply because the lack of housing is only part of why people are homeless.

The second variable is safety, measured through the crime rate, and the occurrence of vulnerable neighborhoods in the city of Malmö. The crime rate in Malmö has been relatively steady and declined in reported crimes per 100 000 inhabitants. The statistics presented in Diagram 1 compares the number of reported violent crimes and the number of reported violent crimes per 100 000 inhabitants. The statistics exclude deadly violence as it is since 2013 not reported in the same manner, however, deadly violence is reported through special studies each year. In the southern region of Sweden which includes Malmö, the rate declined from being 30 reported cases of deadly violence in 2016, to 17 reported cases of deadly violence in 2017 (Brottsförebyggande rådet, 2018a). In Stockholm, the capital city of Sweden, the development was the opposite with 26 reported cases of deadly violence in 2016 to 50 cases in 2017.



**Chart 1. Crime rate in Malmö. Source: Brottsförebyggande rådet, 2018b**

The final indicator is the existence of vulnerable neighborhoods. According to the report (2017) on vulnerable areas from the Swedish National Operational Department (NOA), in Malmö there are three particularly vulnerable areas, whereof one is Rosengård, south of Amiralsgatan. There is also one risk area, a cluster of the neighborhoods Holma and Kroksbäck, both neighborhoods adjacent to Hyllie, and Bellevuegården. The definition of vulnerable neighborhoods is that they are areas characterized by a low socioeconomic status where criminals have an impact on the local community. Vulnerable neighborhoods can also have prevalent risk factors such as unemployment, bad health, and poor education, but also the physical environment of the neighborhood. The interview material on vulnerable areas showcased the trust into having socially mixed neighborhoods, with a mixture of tenure, to rid the exclusion facing vulnerable neighborhoods. However, it is a simplified and typical position of how it is about the people inhabiting the area. In already vulnerable neighborhoods, that might not be the strongest method to use. While in areas that are in the risk of becoming vulnerable neighborhoods, that might be more suitable.

To conclude, the social aspects of living in Malmö, from housing to safety is to some extent determined by individual circumstances, influenced by the environment. In relation to redevelopment, it is clear that they are made for some, not for all. Not only regarding housing, but that they contribute to the uneven development of the city and an inequitable allocation of public resources. When there are significant needs in vulnerable neighborhoods, the idea that changing the physical environment will be significant for a transformation, rather than other welfare risk factors, contributes to a narrow understanding of the challenges.

## Economic changes

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Values
Economic changes	Municipal finances	Change in municipal revenue – taxes	Increase / Decrease
	Employment	Unemployment rate	Percent
	Household economy	Persons in households with low equalized disposable income	Disposable income

The three variables considered to measure economic changes following redevelopment and development areas are *municipal finances*, *employment*, and *household economy*.

To begin with, the city is economically weak because of the low tax base, and the significant welfare expenses caused by unemployment and the low tax base. Municipal finances are relevant in that redevelopment projects and development areas are dependent on the city's initiatives and finances, in addition to the willingness for the private sector to invest. The main finding on municipal finances is that the projects have not immensely had an impact on municipal finances. This finding was found in the interviews, but also in the city's general plan. The plan read, *"Some areas generate revenue, while other generate increasing costs through necessary investments, as well as operations and maintenance. For it to be possible for the municipality to invest in sites that generate high investment costs, there must be a balance between such development areas that can provide net income and those that initially contribute with foremost expenses. (2018, 66).*

On the same topic, the profitability of redevelopment, one respondent said that *"...it is hard to make them [redevelopment areas] profit, it is not easy to get any area to profit. For example, Nyhamnen, where we own the land and it is a great location, with sea view, close to the central station and it has all the prerequisites, but not even it will have a great profit. Because there are land changes, the quays need to be done, not even an area like that is a very profitable, it might even be plus minus zero. But the sum is that you have to weigh these, you cannot only go for the plus minus zero, or those that will profit, but we need to balance them both...the transformations are important for the city as a whole..." (3.9)*

Furthermore, central to the city's finances is their income through taxes. The income of taxes is gradually increasing even though the city still has a low tax base. Diagram 2 shows the income distribution of different types of income. Evidently, taxes are significantly important, thereafter followed by general state subsidies. Between the years 2016 and 2017, the tax revenue increased from 12 262 SEK million to 12 988 SEK million. A significant change, however, the municipality is still receiving significant subsidies through the tax equalization system. In addition, Malmö's tax capacity is lower than the national average, and in 2016 it was 85.9 percent of the national average. However, this number is expected to have improved (Malmö Stad 2018a).

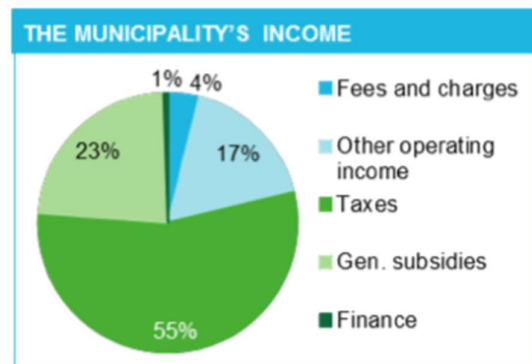


Chart 2. Income of the Malmö Municipality. Source: Malmö Stad 2018a

The tax equalization system in Sweden has the purpose to equalize the differences between municipalities and therefore makes up for low tax collection in many municipalities. In addition to this system, other state subsidies can be applied for. The tax base is growing, however, Malmö still has a low tax base, and that means they are receiving more than what they put into

the system. In Malmö, the income tax is 31,93%, however, the municipality received 15 390 SEK per citizen through the tax equalization system. Comparing this to Gothenburg, the second largest city that received 4114 SEK per citizen and Stockholm, the largest city in Sweden that received -4298 SEK per citizen. On the issue of the role of the tax equalization system and how the city can improve its finances, one respondent stated, *"It is less of importance because we have the tax equalization system. Actually, it is rather that it is the expenses that need to be reduced. Expenditures on social housing, social security...that is essentially where the economic gain is for the municipality. Certainly, the tax revenue as well, but the tax equalization system is there to even out differences for cities Building so that high earners move in is important for the city. Tax revenue is one thing, but the whole basis for trade and so on increases [with high-earners]."* (3.32)

The second indicator is the unemployment rate of Malmö. In 2017, the unemployment rate in Malmö was 8.6 percent (Statistiska centralbyrån., 2018a) for the age bracket 15-74 years. The percentage is of the current working population that is in unemployment, and not based on the entire population. According to the Swedish Public Employment Service (2018), as of September 2018, the percentage of the workforce who are unemployed is 5.6 percents in Malmö. These 5.6 percent are openly unemployed and searching, participating in programs with activity support. For this percentage, the age bracket is 16-64 years. The unemployment rate in the city was significantly higher after the financial crisis in 2008. Now, more jobs have been created, however, the matching to the skills of people who live in Malmö has not been optimal. This means that many receive an economic assistance of some kind. Below the graphs illustrate the changes in the municipal costs for economic assistance and how many households receive economic assistance. While the cost is slightly changing from year to year, the households seem to decrease. However, the costs are still high and reflect the unemployment and low incomes.



Chart 3. Economic assistance in Malmö. Source: Malmö Stad 2018a

An issue brought up during the interviews was discrimination on the job market. With the following testimonies (examples):

*"[in Lindängen] We are talking about people who have nothing to do from nine in the morning to eight in the evening. They sit in the small center [in the neighborhood] that has nothing to offer... They are people who can contribute to something in this country but they have become an apathetic group who sits and do nothing. There was a woman who said she was old, she was forty-four. She thought no one wanted to hire her, and she was right. Because when she applied to be a cleaner they told her she was too old."* (6.8)

*"Certainly, people who live in Rosengård say they like it, they like the community. But they also identify serious problems. For example young men hanging at the kiosks and doing nothing else. Make sure they get jobs instead, and that they are not segregated, and removed from the job market because they have certain names. Or a certain religion. Or because they have*

certain looks. Ensure that they can get jobs, and then be able to pay for the apartments that are renovated and whose rent increases.” (1.12)

This point out that while, matching is a problem, there are structural problems as well that impact the opportunities given to the inhabitants. Similar to that there is structural discrimination on the housing market. Those are issues that permeate the social climate and allow inequities.

The third and final indicator for economic changes is low disposable income for households (2016). To address this, observing the statistics 25.5 percent (Statistiska centralbyrån 2018b) of Malmö’s population have a low disposable income. The percentage of persons between 0-19 is even higher with 37.1%, this could mean that many households with children have a low disposable income. Low disposable income means that the disposable income per consumer unit is below 60 percent of the median value for all persons in the country.

To conclude, the municipal finances are improving, but there are challenges in that process, simultaneously as individuals still experience economic deficits. In relation to the redevelopment of the city, it is likely that the improved tax base has been because more affluent individuals have moved to Malmö because of what the redevelopment areas offer. Which is one of the points with the redevelopment areas. To create attractive neighborhoods that attract affluent households. That 25.5 percent of the population has a low disposable income clarifies that low income is a serious problem for the city and can inhibit the transformation of the city, and also enables inequitable development to occur, and definitely gentrification if the disposable income is not sufficient for all living costs.

### **Social and economic equity**

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Values
Economic and social equity	Distribution policy	People in poverty	Percentage of people in poverty

The final concept for analysis is economic and social equity. The issue of equity can be incorporated in all previously discussed variables, however, here certain aspects of equity is addressed. Starting with distribution policy. Distribution policy is about policies that aim or work with the distribution of public goods and services. It is a variable of interest as when it comes to equity there are two main tracks, distributional justice, and participatory justice. In this research and for this concept, it is distributional justice that is of interest. To measure distribution policy, the indicator is people in poverty. In Sweden, poverty is measured through the measurement *Low Income Standard* (Låg inkomststandard), in EU terms, it is a measurement for “risk of poverty”. The measurement is defined as “*Share of persons in a household with low equalized disposable income*”. In numbers, low equalized disposable income is when the household disposable income per consumer unit is below 60 percent of the median value for all persons in the country. In Malmö, the percentage of people with low equalized disposable income is 25.5 percent overall. For people born in Sweden, living in Malmö, the percentage is 19.0 percent, and for people born abroad, it is 41.1 percent (Statistiska centralbyrån., 2018b) The international standard of poverty is not used since it has very low relevance for what poverty means and entails in Sweden. These are also people who likely receive economic assistance, which is why the conditions of such and the provision of these is important. However, with the years, requirements have become stricter in who actually can receive economic assistance. The difference between people born in Sweden and people born abroad is an interesting aspect of poverty. While not surprising, it is valid to consider. Firstly, discrimination is a point that has been addressed both in the housing market and the job market. It is, in particular, the job market that matters. Having capital and especially a secure source of capital benefit the individual’s position in society. It is commonly understood that in Sweden

people of foreign descent take jobs they are overqualified for, it is known that the name of the individual has implications of being called to an interview and that without the Swedish language, even in cases when high proficiency is not needed in practice, it continues to be required. Foreign-born citizens are to a greater extent unemployed and represented in vulnerable neighborhoods, like for example Rosengård. While the Swedish Public Employment Service reported that as of September 2018, the percentage of the workforce who are unemployed is 5.6 percent in Malmö, excluding citizens born in Sweden, the rate for foreign-born citizens is 9.7 percent. One interview respondent argued that jobs have been created, but qualifications for those jobs is not always compatible for the people in Malmö. This also holds truth together with other factors, for example discrimination, that have been addressed of why people do not have jobs in Malmö.

In addition, there are some groups that are particularly vulnerable, and these are also the groups that are found to be homeless because of structural obstacles. These groups are some young men (foreign-born), people not registered in the municipality but who are living in the city, asylum seekers, and finally EU-citizens, particularly Romanian citizens.

These aspects of the distribution policy demonstrate the structural problems in including people in society. There are re-occurring vulnerable groups, and some groups have been impacted by this for a longer time. The welfare system in Sweden is generous, in particular comparing to other countries but considering that approximately one-fourth of the population in Malmö can be considered living in poverty, according to the *low-income standard measurement*, there is something that is seriously damaging to the city and its people.

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Values
Economic and social equity	Segregation	Household segregation index	Index value

The household segregation index measures the segregation of people born in Sweden and people born abroad. The index value (Statistiska centralbyrån., 2018b) has been steady for the last ten years that there is statistics on, 2006-2016. The current value is 30.9 where 0 is even distribution and 100 is total segregation. It is also important to remember that since Sweden solely measures if people are born in Sweden or abroad, the statistics do miss the middle that might be born in Sweden, but that are of different ethnicities. Sweden does not use ethnicity in their statistics, which is to a degree a methodological problem, especially in these days when there is an interest in improving equity, but there is no method of measuring that process. Important to note is that segregation in Malmö is not solely about that neighborhoods with a lot of immigrants are segregated, it goes the other way around with neighborhoods predominant of white Swedish inhabitants are also segregated. The city of Malmö is segregated overall, meaning that there are demarcations of us and them. Therefore, when it is stated that certain neighborhoods are segregated, a point is missing. It has become clear what types of income groups can live where in the city, although there is a variation to some extent, otherwise the index value would probably be higher.

The impact of redevelopment is then that there are additional neighborhoods that become part of the city's segregation, as there are significant contrasts in the quality of the neighborhoods and comparing with the redevelopment areas, even more. This is especially becoming more evident when they are located near vulnerable areas, which some of them are. While this increase the susceptibility of gentrification tendencies, it also counteracts social cohesion, because the difference in privilege between class and race become more evident and tangible. Revisiting what has been said about the city's competitiveness with other cities, it is a good strategy to have areas that can represent the city the way it wants to be perceived, however, that results in neglect of those groups that need more care in society. That is what distributional

justice is, that groups do not receive the same treatment, but that they get what they need. The housing index shows segregation based on country of birth, however, there are more aspects that segregate for example, what has been addressed with housing discrimination. That type of discrimination excludes certain groups in society, hindering them from partaking in the society and contribute on equal terms, thereby increasing the need for equitable interventions because some rights have been taken from some groups.

#### **4.4 Concluding Discussion**

A key feature of this research is how it adds to the existing body of research. What is clear is that there are interesting processes taking place in Malmö, and for the researcher, that certain aspects are not what was expected, based on the conceptual framework that was presented in chapter 2. The intention has been to follow the pattern of the conceptual framework and with that methodology, conclude with valid answers for each concept and test the applicability of the framework in the case of Malmö. With the use of a conceptual framework, and executing the analysis, and comparing it to the framework, there were assumptions of what would be found. To a certain extent, the framework was applicable and had a strong connection to the literature review. However, the segment of redevelopment was the weakest link in the framework for the context it was applied to. Redevelopment was supported in the literature as a process that encourages gentrification. Which is exactly why it was relevant, in addition to other conditions found in the context, as the conditions are making the city susceptible to gentrification. In the academic literature, Hamnett and Whitelegg (2007), and Ley (1981) explained that the redevelopment of cities is related to the transformation from an industrial economy to a post-industrial economy. When Malmö's industries started to deteriorate with globalization, the city set out to, from top-down, transform Malmö into a city of knowledge production and that could rely on other sectors than the industrial.

The chosen indicators held relevancy to the concepts, and if a longer study is pursued there are certainly more variables and indicators that would add value to the discussion on the impact of the redevelopment projects in Malmö. On this same matter, a longer study could also, capture a larger scope of study, which would also be beneficial. This is because Malmö differs in a few aspects, comparing to other cities' gentrification, especially in magnitude and visibility, and that is quite interesting. It is natural that experiences of gentrification differ but when they are similar, but not identical, preconditions, why are there not more commonalities than found in this case study. One explanation to that might be the Swedish attitude towards societal changes that are divisive. This may have suppressed gentrification from really taking off in more intense and socially divisive ways.

The importance of the findings is that it tells a story about the city and how certain conditions, internal and external, are impacting the case. It was also about showing what actually is happening in the city beyond preconceptions. Asking what progress is made, and where do we not see any progress. Also asking, what can be done better. Those are the questions highlighting the importance of the findings. The city of Malmö, and stigmatized areas in general, are often subjected to labels that are hard to wash off, and sometimes the labels are true, but sometimes it is the beholder's and those with power who determines what labels should be put to achieve something and what narrative to use to accomplish certain things. For example, in the case of Rosengård decision makers had the power advocate for interventions that publicly are told to improve the situation for the population of Rosengård. However, at the same time, researchers who have studied urban development in Malmö, are questioning the interventions. In the end, the stakeholders with power are those that most likely will get their will through.

Regarding the validity of the findings, before the data collection, certain methods to improve validity was decided upon. Firstly, the external validity to produce findings that are

generalizable rested on the theoretical foundation and the representativeness of the sub-cases. Regarding the theoretical foundation, the analysis was carried out following a structure provided by the theoretical foundation. It was the consistency of the incorporation of the theoretical foundation in all steps of the research that improved validity. Secondly, the representativeness of the cases is sufficient as they were selected to be comparable and to demonstrate how the city geographically differs and the connection of the cases.

Internal validity rested on performing triangulation through the different data collection methods. Solely using interviews would mean more influence of the subjectivity of the interviewees, if solely using documentation, less perception of reality and current developments would be showcased, and if solely using observational data, information that can only be communicated verbally would get lost. Using all three methods, and the data they provided, enabled a complementary use of the data and while all items may not have been cited, they all contributed to the main findings that were presented. Triangulation was important to not present findings that are contradicting, and when there were different views to weigh those views against each other and find out more. It was important that the objective facts were true.

In regards to the interpretation of the data, since it is qualitative data it can certainly be interpreted in different ways. Data can be interpreted to the extremes, but a moderate interpretation is also possible. The interpretation that has been done here has been based on the intention to question intentions and structures, as these are shaping the urban development of Malmö. The results reinforce the idea that the city is transforming and adapting to current affairs, while still having challenges in including all inhabitants.

## **Chapter 5: Conclusions**

The purpose of the research was to better understand the link between redevelopment and gentrification, and how equity is influenced by gentrification in the city of Malmö. In recent times, the city of Malmö has progressed from a typical industrial city to a city branding itself with being a city of knowledge production. The city has in many ways experienced the consequences of globalization, but also the perks. Globalization forced the city to adapt to new circumstances with the global restructuring of manufacturing, and today globalization is symbolically reflected in the 182 nationalities that are represented in the city of Malmö. As a result of many factors, such as global events like globalization, climate change, and migration, but also national changes in politics, ideology, and demography, Malmö is today a place that distinguishes itself from the mass with a profile comprised of transformability, innovation, and sustainability.

There were two objectives to be achieved with this research, (1) explaining the extent to which urban spatial development leads to gentrification in Malmö, and (2) explaining the impact of gentrification on social and economic equity in Malmö. The relevancy of the purpose of the study and the objectives is that there are changes and traits of what constitutes gentrification in Malmö. Although the extent and severity of gentrification of Malmö is lower than in other cities in the world. In addition, there are real challenges in the provision of housing, both in terms of affordability and availability, there are large redevelopment projects and multiple ongoing development projects in the city, which changes the physical aspect of the city, and to some extent the economic and social aspects. Why this is a case of interest is that with these challenges and changes, there is enormous diversity present in the city, and how to tap into the diversity, while also manage, and ensure equal opportunities for such a diverse city has proven challenging.

Revisiting the conceptual framework and how it relates to the findings, the main relationship of interest, meaning between the independent variable *spatial development* and the dependent variable, *gentrification* is lower in Malmö than initially assumed, an assumption that was based on the literature review. This can be explained through that there are clear demarcations of neighborhoods, preconceptions about the neighborhoods in Malmö, and not a strong engagement in breaking the segregation of the city, although breaking the segregation might verbally be promoted to great extents. Malmö is a friendly city with, in some areas, good cohesion, but it needs to be understood that the inhabitants and stakeholders in the city's development are human with their own interests to improve their own positions in society. Breaking up existing structures in the city is not an easy task. And there are structures that are damaging to the city and its people.

The spatial redevelopment of the city is particularly interesting because some are situated in prime location, others have transformed a location to a prime location. Therefore, what might be the determinant for why there has not been extensive gentrification as a cause of redevelopment is that when the investments go into the projects, they simply stay there and do not trickle down as would be expected based on other cases of gentrification. There are great possibilities for redevelopment areas to impact gentrification, the conditions are certainly there, especially for Hyllie that is close to several vulnerable neighborhoods, and neighborhoods that differ in their socio-economic status in comparison to Hyllie.

By observing the gentrification tendencies and characteristics that are present in the city, the changes following are all signified by more disparities. Regarding the physical aspect, it is a concern for the built-up environment and what types of environmental goods that are there. In terms of the social aspect, the quality of housing, recognizing the social function of housing, and the safety, and distribution of the public's resources are crucial and not equitable enough. In terms of the economic aspect, income and employment are truly shaping the welfare in the city. It is the low or absent income that hinders people's independence and welfare, it is the difficulty in job matching and discrimination on the job market that oppress people's ability to reach their full potential and contribute to the society. All of which are equity issues. There is an imbalance in the distribution of resources, an imbalance that would be less tangible if there were not structural societal problems. However, these are rarely dealt with.

The topic of achieving and measuring validity through triangulation has been addressed occasionally throughout this thesis. In case studies, triangulation is of high importance and being able to triangulate and carrying out the task in an adequate manner is crucial for the research. The three data collection methods were interviews, observation and content analysis. They were held together by the theoretical foundation and regarding their abilities, they did complement each other and diversified the research.

### **Subsidiary research question 1: What type of gentrification occurs in the city of Malmö?**

The type of gentrification in the city of Malmö is a combination of a state-led and economic process. There is a strong bond between the two and both enable each other. However, looking back at the history of Malmö, it is clear that it initially was very top-down through the creation of policies and strategies that would enable a transformation of the city and increase its competitiveness. However, the role of the private sector and the weight of capital in the transformation of the city, involving gentrification, is significant. Moreover, the difference between the two types enabling gentrification is, in the context of Malmö, the private sector and the economic market in which we observe economic processes, do not have the intent to gentrify, but they are driven by profit and how to maximize their profit leads to their impact on gentrification. Meanwhile, the public authority is more seriously driving a type of change in

which we find the traits of gentrification and actual gentrification. However, it is done through enabling policies and strategies. Those policies have been addressed in the findings, and the language used is colored by gentrification.

In the academic literature, Hamnett and Whitelegg (2007), and Ley (1981) explained that the redevelopment of cities is related to the transformation from an industrial economy to a post-industrial economy. When Malmö's industries started to deteriorate, the city set out to from top-down transform Malmö into a city of knowledge production. Furthermore, as Holocomb and Beauregard (1981) found, gentrification is a result of the intention of actors with influence and guided by the logic of capital accumulation. The agents in this context are here units who enable gentrification on behalf of the interest of the public authority. It is the public leaders who promote growth and promote new demographics, mainly wealthier groups, to settle in the city. While emphasizing the value and the meaning of these projects for the city as a whole, arguing for how it can contribute to not only mixed-land use but also to socially mixed neighborhoods. This particular aspect of socially mixed neighborhoods was addressed by Davidson and Lees (2010), acknowledging how it has become policy today to work for socially mixed neighborhoods.

It can also be argued that there is a green gentrification taking place. The policies and strategies of Malmö emphasize the green value. As was addressed in the literature review, Cucca (2012) and Anguelovski et al., (2016) found that gentrification is influenced by the greening of cities and the provision of environmental goods.

There were a few items that motivated the significance of the study, whereof one was adding to the existing literature an analysis on the linkages between policy and practice. In this case, focusing on the city's policies and realization of these, we see that the interaction between public and private has evolved and there is significant interdependence. But also that putting policy in practice can create conflicts between the policies. For example, improving social and economic equity, but simultaneously advocating for processes that can lead to excluding growth.

### **Subsidiary research question 2: What changes can be observed, following redevelopment, on the redeveloped sites and those neighborhoods adjacent to the redevelopment sites?**

The physical changes following redevelopment are bound to the sites of redevelopment. The physical attributes include housing, commercials and various public spaces functioning as meeting places. These sites are well developed with various functions that enrich the city life. In the three neighborhoods adjacent to the redevelopment site in Hyllie, no physical change was observed following the redevelopment. In addition, no other changes seem to have happened, either socially or economically in the neighborhoods adjacent to Hyllie as a consequence of the redevelopment. In the redevelopment sites, social changes include pricing of housing, as these projects have been ongoing and there is a demand for what the redevelopment areas have to offer. On safety, these redevelopment areas are not vulnerable considering the demography that uses the space.

In Sorgenfri, the process has yet to leave a print on its surrounding, which is why adjacent neighborhoods to Sorgenfri have not been included in the study. In Rosengård, a development area, the changes are within the neighborhood, and while some physical changes are clear, it is less so of other types of changes, socially and economically. However, with the progress of the project, there will probably be in the future, seeing as that is the purpose of developing Rosengård.

Observing Malmö as a whole, the changes include increasing cost overall for housing, more competition on the housing market, however, the crime rate has not dramatically changed. The unemployment rate has improved, but there are still issues with unemployment and low income.

One of the findings was that there is a demand for all types of housing, although the need for affordable housing for low-income households is particularly needed, other interests are strongly affecting what is built. This links to Hamnett and Whitelegg (2007), who on the topic of redevelopment argued that it is influenced by the middle class who prefer living close to the city center and in beautiful environments. If we take the example of the sub-cases, Sorgenfri is a very central location, as well as Rosengård, that is a development project, but a project that would still alter the built-up environment to a significant extent, and then Hyllie in one way actually deviates from centrality. Hyllie is far from the city center, however, it has become a center itself as it provides multiple transport options, there is commercial activity, there are public amenities provided, and a large amount of housing, all while it is today an attractive neighborhood to live in. This has changed where people go for example as Hyllie offers much of what can be found in the city center.

### **Subsidiary research question 3: What are the consequences of gentrification on social and economic equity in the gentrified neighborhoods?**

Malmö is and has been for a long time challenged in equity. What the redevelopment, development areas, and gentrification do to Malmö today is expressing those inequities differently. What became clear in the research was the influence of not only large redevelopment projects on gentrification but how smaller tweaks in the system, for example, renovations, resulted in increasing rents.

Smith (1996) had in many cases drawn a distinction between gentrification and redevelopment. However, he realized that the distinction between the two had become less useful because of the trends in urban development, and the similarities in the two, influencing a class remake of the city. In the case of Malmö, this is relevant. One of the motivations behind the redevelopment of Malmö is to attract people from higher income classes. Considering that many in Malmö have a low disposable income, as presented in chapter 4, it is clear that having a class remake in Malmö is desired. The implication of a class remake is the neglect of less desired groups.

The displacement of people, which concerns equity, is a consequence of gentrification and redevelopment. The findings focused not only on the action of displacement but the intent of displacement. While displacement was not measured in numbers but in the odds to move following extensive renovations, what is clear is that similar to what Smith (1996) pointed out, exclusionary displacement, or replacement, which here is conceptualized as a form of displacement considering how it is performed. There is certain replacement through redevelopment, and also through development, as in Rosengård where you have a weak economic base and people from vulnerable groups in society, especially immigrants.

Furthermore, Essoka (2010) argued that when improving physical structures, neighborhoods are gentrified and economically disadvantaged groups are not able to receive the fruits of the investment. This would less adhere to the cases in Sorgenfri and Hyllie, and more to the case of Rosengård, in regards to the Culture Casbah project which involves improvement to the physical structures. Similarly, the demographic of Rosengård fits into the description from Zuk

et al., (2017) that neighborhoods with low income, poverty, racial segregation, and physical decline are more susceptible to gentrification. This vulnerability and forced transformation contribute to inequitable conditions for the people who are ridden their right to the city. This gentrification process deepens the inequities and continues the negative spiral of leaving some people behind in the development process.

Furthermore, what has been described happening in the city of Malmö is a market-driven development, favored by the political leadership, which is at the expense of the less privileged. This becomes clear considering the household segregation that had an index value of 30.9, in which 0 is no segregation. It becomes clear when approximately one-fourth of the city's population has a low disposable income. Considering one of Rawls's (1971) principles on equity that the least advantaged should be benefited and provided equal opportunities, it is clear that they are not. Both in the provision of housing and job opportunities. The transformation that Malmö has gone through from industrial to post-industrial, affects what jobs can be acquired, leaving less space for a diverse local job market. Another factor of equity is what Walzer (1983) pointed out and that is the distribution of goods. Considering the public goods of the city, there is uneven development because areas are redeveloped, like Hyllie and Sorgenfri, while other areas like Rosengård still do not have sufficiently good education provided to them. And that has been a problem for many years and impact the neighborhood in many negative ways.

In Sweden in general, applicable to the case of Malmö, gentrification is less spoken of although there is evidence supporting that gentrification do occur. This issue of communication on displacement traces to what Bernt and Holm (2009) pointed out, that displacement is very much defined by politics. In this study, this became evident together with that the concept of gentrification is also highly defined by politics and thereby is easily swept under the rug.

### **Main research question: To what extent do spatial redevelopment impact gentrification in the city of Malmö, Sweden?**

Spatial redevelopment affects, to this day, gentrification to a lower extent, comparing to the impact suggested in the literature. However, there are traits and indications that suggest that the redevelopment projects are changing Malmö and the view of Malmö. Moreover, the redevelopment projects do increase the average housing prices in Malmö, these are increasing, and there is a correlation on the overall development of the city. Furthermore, the redevelopment sites do not have an immediate impact on their adjacent neighborhoods, which was an unexpected finding.

The probable social consequences that redevelopment has laid a foundation for is that gentrification can become more prominent in the city, the segregation between neighborhoods can increase as the competitiveness increases. Moreover, resulting in less social cohesion, as it is evident that some neighborhoods are thriving quickly, while others are remaining in their same state.

What has been clear is that gentrification processes are not in the public limelight, they are, however, encouraged subtly. Mainly because there is a wish for change and to rid the negative narrative of Malmö as a failed city. However, in this process, the negative narrative of Malmö is used as a tool to get policies through, which to some extent, are not policies in the best interest of the public.

## **Recommendations**

### Recommendation 1: Test policies for more equitable distribution policies

Policies do not always work and they are not always good for the public. To implement policies that work, and where the desired results are achieved, testing before setting policies in stone is a method that could have a considerable impact. In the section on state-led gentrification, the visions and strategies for the city of Malmö was addressed, and while they are ambitious and seem good, testing in small scale before putting it into action in the whole municipality could lead to better acceptance of the policies from the people and lead to better inclusion of the people in the process, and testing the applicability of the policy in the context of Malmö.

### Recommendation 2: Examine structural injustices

Structural injustices inhibit people's possibilities to fully live their lives and it is a significant problem in regards to the housing and job market in Malmö, and in Sweden. Therefore investigating how to change the structural injustices and work for a more just system is crucial for the future of the city.

Structural injustices are not only contributing to less equity, but it is also a real problem that with improvement would benefit society as a whole.

### Recommendation 3: Update the regulatory framework to cap unfair rent increases

Housing in all its dimensions is a challenge for the city. One finding that was not in the conceptual framework, but is a type of displacement, was renovictions. In order to prevent renovictions, capping rent prices to avoid unfair increases is one measure to take.

This is an important issue seeing as the city do have a challenge in the provision of affordable housing for low-income groups. And such a cap would protect this group, but also people with higher income levels.

It must be possible for tenants to predict their housing expenditures.

### Recommendation 4: Increase the housing benefit

Increase the housing benefit to improve the situation for low-income groups.

Housing benefit is an important instrument when the housing market is uncertain and there are growing inequities. With many in Malmö having a low disposable income, increasing the housing benefit provides more security and therefore strengthen the citizen's position on the housing market.

## **For further research**

There is needed research on how the housing market in Sweden can improve and adapt to fit today's lifestyle and needs, not only the demand. The housing policies in Sweden need to be challenged and definitely improved if people are to be able to have accessible, affordable and adaptive housing options. There is also a need to design a housing system that works and that is not inequitable in the cities of Sweden.

On a more conceptual scale, and as was presented in the literature review, referencing Zuk et al., (2017), more research on how government influence gentrification that is clearly defined and quantified is needed.

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## Annex 1: Purposive sampling description

No.	Workplace	Sector	Research Area for the thesis
1	Municipality	Public	Redevelopment, Gentrification & Equity: City planning
2	Municipality	Public/ Policy	Redevelopment, Gentrification & Equity: City planning
3	Local non-governmental organization	NGO	Equity: Homelessness and socially vulnerable people.
4	Local non-governmental organization	NGO	Equity: Quality of life, including socially vulnerable groups.
5	Real estate agency	Real estate	Redevelopment, Gentrification & Equity: Provision of housing and social sustainability
6	Political party	Policy	Redevelopment & Equity: Local politics
7	Political party	Policy	Redevelopment & Equity: Local politics

## **Annex 2: Interview guide**

Institute for housing and urban development studies (IHS) Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Netherlands, MSc Urban Management and Development

Introduction:

Thank you for having me. My name is Isatou Bah and I am a master student in Urban Management and Development at the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies, Erasmus University, Rotterdam, the Netherlands. I am currently conducting data collection for my final thesis to complete the programme and earn my degree. The aim of my study is to explain the extent to which urban spatial redevelopment lead to gentrification in Malmö and the impact on social and economic equity. Therefore, I would like to interview you based on your area of expertise. The information you provide will solely be for academic use and confidential. This interview will last approximately 35-45 minutes. Before we start I would like to ask for your permission to record our conversation. This to more accurately interpret your answers and do justice to the information you provide.

### **Interview Guide 1: Public & Policy**

Name:

Position:

Period in position:

Period in department:

#### Questions

Could you tell me about the function of your office?

Could you tell me about your role at this office?

### **Part 1: State driven gentrification**

\*Provides a definition of gentrification\*

Could you tell me about your redevelopment projects that the municipality are running?

- a) Why have they been initiated? Are there policies/political decisions supporting the plans?
- b) What is their importance for the city?
- c) Who are the main recipients of the benefits of the redevelopment?
- d) How did the process look like?
- e) What has been the response?
- f) How do you work with equity in the project?
- g) Who are the main actors that have pushed for the redevelopment projects?

## **Part 2: Displacement**

\*Addresses the statistics on the need for housing and homelessness and provides a definition of gentrification\*

What is the office's view on the housing market in Malmö?

- a) Do the redevelopment projects enable the city to fulfil the housing needs?
- b) Has the office perceived that the redevelopment projects have excluded vulnerable groups in society?

\*provides a definition of displacement\*

- c) Has the issue of displacement been addressed in the processes leading up to the execution of the redevelopment projects?
- d) Do the office believe that displacement takes place in the city? If yes, where?
- e) If yes on 'd', what type of displacement?

## **Part 3: Social changes**

How do you think the redevelopment projects have influenced the social aspect of living in Malmö?

How do you think it has affected how people view housing and living in the city?

- a) What is your experience of the division between the different housing types (rentals/condominiums)? Are there any trends?
- b) Can the redevelopment aid in solving the problem with homelessness? If yes/no, why?

\*Addresses the existence of vulnerable neighborhoods in Malmö, and refers to the Crime Prevention Counsel (Brå) definition of a vulnerable neighborhoods\*

Does the city's investment into redevelopment projects, influence vulnerable neighborhoods?

How does the city balance its investments into different neighborhoods?

## **Part 4: Economic changes**

Has the municipality benefited economically from the redevelopment projects?

- a) Has the tax base increased?
- b) Have the investments given a return?

## **Part 5: Social and economic equity**

How do different groups in society receive the benefits of the redevelopment projects?

Are the projects executed on some group's expense?

- a) People in poverty
- b) People born abroad
- c) Gender

How do you work with social and economic equity?

- a) Subsidies
- b) Segregation
- c) People in poverty
- d) Differences in income between neighborhoods
- e) Provision of amenities

# Institute for housing and urban development studies (IHS) Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Netherlands, MSc Urban Management and Development

## Introduction:

Thank you for having me. My name is Isatou Bah and I am a master student in Urban Management and Development at the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies, Erasmus University, Rotterdam, the Netherlands. I am currently conducting data collection for my final thesis to complete the programme and earn my degree. The aim of my study is to explain the extent to which urban spatial redevelopment lead to gentrification in Malmö and the impact on social and economic equity. Therefore, I would like to interview you based on your area of expertise. The information you provide will solely be for academic use and confidential. This interview will last approximately 35-45 minutes. Before we start I would like to ask for your permission to record our conversation. This to more accurately interpret your answers and do justice to the information you provide.

Could you tell me about the purpose and aim of your organization?

Could you tell me about your role at this organization?

## Interview Guide 2: Local NGO

Name:

Position:

Period in position:

Period in department:

### Questions

#### Part 1: Social changes

\*Addresses the redevelopment projects\*

What is your view on the redevelopment projects taking place in the city?

How do you think the redevelopment projects have influenced the social aspect of living in Malmö?

What impact do you see that these have on vulnerable groups in the city?

How do you think it has affected how people view housing and living in the city?

- a) What is your experience of the division between the different housing types (rentals/condominiums)? Are there any trends?

- b) Can the redevelopment projects aid in solving the problem with homelessness? If yes/no, why?

\*Addresses the existence of vulnerable neighborhoods in Malmö, and refers to the Crime Prevention Counsel (Brå) definition of a vulnerable neighborhoods\*

Does the city's investment into redevelopment projects, influence vulnerable neighborhoods?

## **Part 2: Displacement**

\*Addresses the statistics on the need for housing and homelessness and provides a definition of gentrification\*

What is the organization's view on the housing market in Malmö?

\*provides a definition of displacement\*

- a) Do the organization believe that displacement takes place in the city? If yes, where?
- b) If yes on 'a', what type of displacement?

According to your experience, what are the reasons for homelessness?

Have you observed changes in homelessness the last ten years?

## **Part 3: Social and economic equity**

What inequities do the organization observe in Malmö?

To what extent do different groups in society receive the benefits of the redevelopment projects?

Are the projects executed on some group's expense?

- a) People in poverty
- b) People born abroad
- c) Gender

How do you work with social and economic equity?

- a) Advocacy
- b) Activities with communities
- c) Segregation

# Institute for housing and urban development studies (IHS) Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Netherlands, MSc Urban Management and Development

## Introduction:

Thank you for having me. My name is Isatou Bah and I am a master student in Urban Management and Development at the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies, Erasmus University, Rotterdam, the Netherlands. I am currently conducting data collection for my final thesis to complete the programme and earn my degree. The aim of my study is to explain the extent to which urban spatial redevelopment lead to gentrification in Malmö and the impact on social and economic equity. Therefore, I would like to interview you based on your area of expertise. The information you provide will solely be for academic use and confidential. This interview will last approximately 35-45 minutes. Before we start I would like to ask for your permission to record our conversation. This to more accurately interpret your answers and do justice to the information you provide.

## Interview Guide 3: Real Estate

Name:

Position:

Period in position:

Period in department:

### Questions

Could you tell me about your company and what you do?

Could you tell me about your role at this office?

### **Part 1: Private Investment**

What is the company's perspective on investing in larger projects?

Have you engaged in larger projects in the recent ten years?

Does the city have a good investment-climate? Why/why not?

How does your company operate? Do you engage in partnerships? Who/Why/ Why not?

Could you tell me about your CSR work?

How do you address the social dimension of housing?

Do you have policies on equity?

How do you work with your policies in practice?

Do you engage in debates?

## **Part 2: Displacement**

\*Addresses the statistics on the need for housing and homelessness and provides a definition of gentrification\*

What is the company's view on the housing market in Malmö?

\*provides a definition of displacement\*

- a) Do you perceive that displacement takes place in the city? If yes, where?
- b) If yes on 'a', what type of displacement?

How do you regard your social responsibility as a real estate actor?

Who are your target groups?

## **Part 3: Housing market**

What consumer trends have you observed on the housing market in Malmö?

- a) Change of consumer behavior (bostadsrätter)
- b) Change of consumer behavior (hyresrätter)

What is your vision for the housing market?

## **Part 4: Social changes**

\*Addresses the redevelopment projects\*

How do you think the redevelopment projects have influenced the social aspect of living in Malmö?

How do you think it has affected how people view housing and living in the city?

Can the redevelopment projects aid in solving the problem with homelessness? If yes/no, why?

\*Addresses the existence of vulnerable neighborhoods in Malmö, and refers to the Crime Prevention Counsel (Brå) definition of a vulnerable neighborhoods\*

Does the city's investment into redevelopment projects, influence vulnerable neighborhoods?

### Annex 3: Observation Scheme

<b>Observation scheme</b>			
	<b>Indicator</b>	<b>Value</b>	<b>Fill in here</b>
<b>Type of land use</b>	Commercial	Yes/No	
	Agriculture	Yes/No	
	Residential	Yes/No	
	Mix- use	Yes/No	
	Industrial	Yes/No	
<b>New infrastructure</b>	Building projects constructed in the last 10y	Number of projects	
<b>Amenities</b>	Provision of amenities	Number of amenities	
	Presence of service offices	Number of service offices	
<b>Open space</b>	Parks	Number of parks	
	Other public spaces	Number of public spaces	
<b>Allocation of resources</b>	Services	Health centers	
		Community centers	
		Schools	
		Banks/ATM	
		Kindergarten	
		Parks	
		Libraries	
		Walking paths	
		Bicycle lane	

## **Annex 4: Topic List**

### **Part 1: Gentrification**

1. Gentrification
2. Political decision-making
3. Policies
4. Advocacy
5. Investments
6. Partnership
7. Subsidies
8. Corporate social responsibility
9. Displacement
10. Housing market
11. Housing prices
12. Consumer behaviour
13. Renovations

### **Part 2: Redevelopment**

1. Commercial
2. Agriculture
3. Residential
4. Mix-use
5. Industrial
6. Redevelopment
7. Disinvestment

### **Part 3: Physical changes**

1. New infrastructure
2. Services
3. Open spaces

### **Part 4: Social changes**

1. Housing: Rentals
2. Housing: Condominiums
3. Homelessness
4. Safety
5. Crime
6. Vulnerable neighborhoods

### **Part 5: Economic changes**

1. Municipal finances
2. Taxes
3. Municipal investments
4. Employment
5. Household economy
6. Ability to pay
7. Willingness to pay

### **Part 6: Economic and social equity**

1. People in poverty
2. Household income distribution
3. Subsidies (to individuals)
4. Segregation
5. Livelihood support
6. Services
7. Job market
8. Equity