Urban renewal in Stockholm
A reason or solution for segregation?

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ABSTRACT

Urban development is an ongoing process in Stockholm with renewal projects emerging in the suburbs of the city. Hallonbergen, north west of Stockholm city, is no exception and is also the neighborhood concerned in this essay. The purpose of the thesis is to examine two aspects of urban renewal and to analyze place-making as strategy for current urban renewal. The research strategy applied is a qualitative method and specific strategies utilized is qualitative interview and content analysis, in addition to literature sources such as earlier research in the form of scientific articles and books, official documents deriving from public authorities, news articles and internet sources. The result shows that urban renewal can be seen as a reason for segregation and hence a contributor to urban injustices as it causes a gentrification process leading to inequality for inhabitants, but also as a solution for segregation if a change in focus areas were to adapt, and thus, possibly, counteract the negative consequences of segregation and urban injustices. By way of conclusion, suggested improvement of urban renewal development combines regional development planning, a policy focused to involve a greater emphasis on retention and raised awareness of the risks associated with place-making.

Keywords: Neoliberalism, urban renewal, place-making, urban governance, gentrification

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1. INTRODUCTION

The ongoing process of urban development occurs in the city center of Stockholm, as well as in former industrialized areas, such as Hammarby Sjöstad and Norra Djurgårdsstaden, in the outskirts of Stockholm city. However, development in the form of renewal projects also emerge in already inhabited suburban neighborhoods. For instance, state-supported “area-based initiatives” have been implemented in “deprived” and “exposed” areas in the northern suburbs of Stockholm, with a focus on renovation of housing estates, built as part of the state-led Million Programme, commenced in late 1960s (Andersson, 2006; Andersson & Palander, 2001). Except for renovation projects in area-based initiatives, urban development of the neighboring municipality Sundbyberg has gathered pace. One particular area undergoing urban renewal in the City of Sundbyberg is Hallonbergen – a neighborhood built as a part of the Million Programme in the early 1970s, inhabiting approximately 7 000 inhabitants. With employment rate and levels of income and education lower than compared to rest of Sundbyberg and Stockholm County, and with over 50 percent of the population deriving from countries outside Sweden, the City of Sundbyberg, together with construction companies, work to develop Hallonbergen into a neighborhood with a strong, long-term ecological and social sustainability, with a wide representativeness of people and new housing to counteract segregation (Bratt, 2017, Sundbybergs Stad, 2016a).

Relevant theoretical background for the thesis is urban governance and neoliberal policies. Since the 1970s, urban governance and development policies adopted an entrepreneurial neoliberal approach, which opened up for a free-market doctrine, public-private cooperation and with it also, in order to promote local development, attract knowledge-based activities and flows of investments and people, the use of place-making as a strategy in urban development (Kovacs & Musterd, 2013; Loit, 2014; Madureira, 2012). Consequentially, as Madureira points out, a challenge raised within the field of urban development is the issue of preserving existing qualities of a place and build for a city’s current inhabitants and simultaneously renew these places in order to attract new people and activities, to promote economic growth. In the light of these challenges, the thesis is set up to analyze urban renewal in the area of Hallonbergen.

1.1 Purpose

My aim is to examine two perspectives of urban renewal; as reason and as solution for segregation and how urban renewal is employed in Hallonbergen to create a non-segregated, socially sustainable neighborhood with increasing economic growth. Additionally, my intention is to analyze place-making and image building as strategies for occurring urban renewal.

1.2 Research questions

To achieve the aim given, the following three research questions are set out:

• How come urban renewal is seen as both a reason and solution for segregation?
• How does Umami Park relate to the neighborhood as it exists today?
• For whom is the renewal of Hallonbergen and particularly Umami Park framed for?
The first research question is linked to a section in Jon Loit’s (2014) dissertation, wherein Loit explains two functions of planning; as reason and as solution for segregation and injustices in the city. The author writes that focus in urban planning has, since the industrialization era when modern urban planning emerged, been to cope with social issues such as poverty, substandard living conditions and public health. Despite this focus, the issues still remain. Loit explains planning as a social practice that determines the outcome of the built environment which on the one hand constructs spatial structures and, in turn, have consequences for the city's inhabitants as consequences differ on the basis of socio-economic or ethnic affiliation (p. 14). Additionally, planning has been claimed to be the reason behind residential segregation, and therefore also a contributor to urban injustices. On the other hand, planning with another focus than upon the areas mentioned, is perceived as something that can possibly counteract the negative consequences of segregation and urban injustices (Loit, 2014, p. 14-15). With this debate in mind, the research question was composed. Although, instead of examining planning as reason or solution for segregation, my objective is to put focus upon urban renewal.

With ambition to answer the first question, my objective is to analyze why and how renewal of a district can be seen as both the reason as well as the solution for segregation, using earlier scholars in the field, and particularly different approaches towards the process of gentrification. My second question is linked to the third one, as it questions how the new project relates to, firstly, the current sense of place and the portraying of the neighborhood in e.g. media and how that image relates to new visions and objectives for the neighborhood. The third and last question issues to whom the urban renewal project is targeted, which will be examined by means of the conducted interview and investigation in marketing strategies used by the construction company, i.e. commercial and aesthetic design program, through qualitative content analysis. Furthermore, place-making and image building as strategies utilized to attract certain groups of people to (intentionally) uplift a neighborhood, will be examined.

1.3 Delimitations
My intention is not, as in many other subject-related research papers, to focus on the occurrence of renovation and restoration of the residential areas within my chosen district. Geographically, the paper will be limited to investigate renewal of a particular area north west of Stockholm, called Hallonbergen which is a residential area situated in the County of Stockholm but belongs to the City of Sundbyberg (see Figure 1 and 2). Furthermore, a case study on the recently commenced district called Umami Park in Hallonbergen neighborhood will be conducted.

Albeit renewal of residential areas highly affects residents, emphasis in this study is put upon urban policies and planning rather than examination of inhabitant’s opinions etc. regarding the new development project, although such concerns are taken under consideration.

1.4 Definitions
1.4.1 Segregation
The understanding of the concept segregation varies between research communities and policymakers, however, it can be defined as the unequal representation of demographic, socio-economic and ethnic categories across space (Andersson & Magnusson Turner, 2014, p. 7). In
following essay, the focus will be on residential segregation, which can be explained as spatial separation on the basis of the three categories mentioned above (Andersson et.al, 2006, p. 10). Worth mentioning is that people belonging to a particular category seldom live exclusively concentrated in residential areas where no other types of households are present, and therefore, researchers within the field usually analyses variations in distribution and differences in concentration (ibid). The first category, i.e. demographic segregation, refers to the differences in spatial distribution by age, gender and household types. The second type, socio-economic segregation, implies a distribution of inhabitants by class and resource differences. The third category, ethnic segregation is defined by the authors as something that occurs when people who share certain ethnic, religious or bodily characteristics are congregated and segregated from people who have other attributes (ibid). The use of expression such as “increasing segregation” or “higher levels” of segregation, refers to a tendency whereby particular population groups come to live, on an average, more distance from each other (Andersson & Magnusson Turner, 2014). It is within this discussion worth noting the common view of certain places as incorrectly built, exposed or segregated. By proclaiming such neighborhoods and residential areas as vulnerable or deprived, differentiate them and contribute to stigmatization (Andersson et.al., 2006, p. 37).

1.4.2 Gentrification
The term gentrification was first coined by the urban geographer Ruth Glass in the 1960s to explain the process of upper middle-class households purchasing properties in the, traditionally deprived, East End of London (Glass, 1964). Since then, the term has been used frequently, which consequently has come to generate numerous different definitions. Lees, Slater and Wyly describe gentrification as a process whereby a neighborhood undergoes social upgrading so that the residents over time tend to have more resources in terms of education and income (cited in Andersson & Magnusson Turner, 2014, p. 6). Another definition of the term, by Neil Smith and Peter Williams, is the rehabilitation of working-class and derelict housing and the consequent transformation of an area into a middle-class neighbourhood (cited in Atkinson, 2004, p. 108). Defining gentrification is important in the discussion as it necessitate definitions of other terms such as urban renaissance, urban revitalization, urban rehabilitation and urban regeneration which, according to Loretta Lees (2008), often are used instead to neutralize the negative image that the process of gentrification brings with it (p. 2452). Atkinson (2004) illuminates this fact as he raises the issue when mentioning what Lees questions; is one person’s neighborhood renewal another’s gentrification? In order to somewhat detach the one term from the other, i.e. to differentiate the negative process of gentrification from urban development, the term renewal will be used when referring to the latter process, since that is the word used by Lees in the above-mentioned question and therefore, to some extent, distinguish the two terms. However, what also will be discussed, is whether or not there even is something such as urban renewal, or if there is only positive and negative gentrification.
1.5 Disposition
The paper is structured as follows. The following section includes an explanation of the methodology chosen, and moreover, the use of qualitative interviews and content analysis. Part three contains background theory regarding global neoliberal policies, the “shift” in urban governance and contemporary Swedish urban policies. Additionally, an explanation of the concept place-making is given and how it is used as a strategy in neoliberal urban development. Thereafter, in section four, the examined renewal project Umami Park in Hallonbergen neighborhood is presented. Section five comprises empirical data in the form of the interview conducted and the two types of content analysis accomplished. The three following chapters include, first, a section wherein answers for my research questions are presented, second, a part for the discussion of the results presented and, finally, a concluding part in which concepts and theories applied in the thesis will be summarized.

2. METHODOLOGY

The research strategy applied in the essay is a qualitative method, which essentially emphasizes three main features according to Bryman (2012). First, the use of an inductive view of the relationship between theory and research, in which theory is the outcome of research (rather than observations/findings which is the case in a deductive approach). Secondly, according to the author, qualitative research offers an interpretivist epistemological position, which implies that emphasis is put on the understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants (p. 380). Thirdly, the method includes an ontological position described as constructionist, meaning that social features are not just something “out there”, separated from those involved in constructing it, but rather outcomes of interactions between individuals (ibid).

Specific strategies utilized in this study is qualitative interview and content analysis, in addition to literature sources such as earlier research in the form of scientific articles and books, official documents deriving from public authorities, news articles and internet sources. However, there are risks and drawbacks of applied methods which should be taken under consideration. For instance, when qualitative interview is used as a method for research, one should be minded of how the author choose to interpret answers from an interview, as it may create an overly narrow and subjective image of the actual meaning (Bryman, 2012). Thus, essential in the discourse is critical review and awareness of interpretation of sources.

2.2 Qualitative interview
As mentioned, one of the method used in the study is qualitative interview and more specific, a semi-structured interview. Attributes that characterizes a qualitative interview is, first, an interview guide comprising a list of prepared questions or a specific topic and, second, to allow flexibility in the interviewees replies (Bryman, 2012, p. 471). Reasons for using this type of interview is primarily to get the respondent’s point of view and what the interviewee sees as relevant and important, but also for me as an interviewer to be able to ask new questions based on the respondent’s replies (ibid).
Considering my choice of method, necessary basic preparations was needed. That included interrogation of my own study; to question my aim for the interview, consider what I needed and wanted to know in order to answer my research questions, and to write an interview guide comprising a number of questions starting with a few introduction questions, followed by direct, probing and finally closing questions. Regarding sampling, my choice of purposive sampling was rather obvious to me, as my intention with the interview was to address a person with direct reference to my research questions, and not, as in probability sampling, seek a sample on a random basis (Bryman, 2012, p. 416-418).

The interview was conducted with a person closely connected to my subject and well engaged in the urban development process of the area concerned, which helped me gain complementary information besides sources such as news articles. It took place at the City Hall of Sundbyberg, conveniently located in Hallonbergen. By way of introduction, a brief explanation of the purpose of my study, research questions and why it was of interest for me to conduct an interview with her in particular, was presented. The candidate for the interview is a representative from the municipality of Sundbyberg, and more specifically, a woman named Sandra Bratt who works at the urban development office and is the project manager for the development of Hallonbergen and neighboring Ör and Rissne. Among other things, Bratt is tasked with responsibilities concerning social sustainability in urban planning which includes collaboration and interactions between different actors. In general, Bratt works with the development in the district, such as communication and agreements with both residents and the construction company, different forms of interaction and group projects, how to create social sustainability and to assemble the city’s development strategy (Interview 1). The interviewee in this study has given her consent that I, as the author, may publish her name and title.

One of my main ambitions with the interview was to examine urban renewal from the municipality’s point of view and the complexity between preservation of a neighborhood and simultaneously boost growth and expansion in the same area. A quick google search on Hallonbergen gives, mainly, hits on news articles concerning crimes committed in the neighborhood; “16-year-old detained for double murder in Hallonbergen” (By, 2017) and “Masked robbers hit goldsmith shop in Hallonbergen” (Tagesson & Eriksson, 2017), but also what challenges the neighborhood is facing; “He will fight the social division: ‘get things done’” (Efendic, 2017). Nonetheless, worth taking into account is awareness of how media report news and how a neighborhood gets portrayed. Therefore, to get another angle on the issue, Bratt was questioned on the subject of the neighborhood’s rumor, what social challenges Hallonbergen is facing and whether or not the image presented by the press is of credibility.

In the beginning of the writing process, my intention was to also conduct an interview with a representative from Wallenstam and therefore, my first step was trying to reach them by e-mail. However, after a late reply from my first contact with Wallenstam, she was redirecting me to other representatives. As I tried contacting the next representative, I was also trying to get in touch with additional representatives from Wallenstam via Bratt at the Municipality of Sundbyberg, who gave me e-mail to an appropriate interview candidate at Wallenstam. However, as the representative I finally got in touch with stopped responding on e-mails and calls, and also due to lack of time as the interview was postponed, my option left was to drop
the interview and gain information from other sources such as Wallenstam’s website and other project-related documents. By reason of this, Wallenstam’s perspective on urban renewal of Hallonbergen, conceivable comments regarding urban renewal as a reason for segregation, or other remarks of interests to take into consideration, is unfortunately absent in the essay.

2.3 Qualitative content analysis
Another method employed in the research is content analysis of the video commercial for the project Umami Park and the aesthetic design program for the same project. The definition of content analysis, as broad research technique, is to objectively and systematic quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and identify specified characteristics of messages, and is often considered to be a quantitative research method (Bryman, 2012). However, emphasis in this thesis is upon a qualitative approach of content analysis, which implies a focus on underlying themes in the analyzed materials (Bryman, 2012, p. 557).

As in all research methods, there are strengths and weaknesses in the use of content analysis. One advantage of content analysis is its flexibility as the method can be applied to a variety of textual and visual information. The method is also unobtrusive and non-reactive as the method does not entail participants’ knowledge of their involvement in the research (Bryman, 2012). Nevertheless, there are also disadvantages of content analysis. One thing of importance when doing a content analysis is to observe authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning. The first criteria denotes whether the evidence is genuine of unquestionable origin and the second one asks if the evidence is without any error or distortion. Representativeness questions whether the evidence is typical of its kind, and the final criteria examines if the evidence is clear and comprehensible (Bryman, 2012, p. 544). These criterions will be investigated in the two analysis’s. Moreover, to be considered in content analysis, is coding, which implies to code certain subjects, themes and beliefs of principles (Bryman, 2012). This, however, cause for a difficulty as it is problematic not to entail any interpretation by myself as a researcher. Therefore, noteworthy is that my interpretations of the conducted content analysis’s, and in the commercial analysis in particular, is drawn upon my everyday knowledge as participant in a joint community (Bryman, 2012, p. 306).

2.3.1 Commercial analysis
Aitken and Craine (2005) state that visual representations, like advertising, are not just passive visual images but symbolic representations of a dominant order and organization (p. 260). According to Gillian Rose, visual representation, e.g. a commercial, has effects on power relations and how places, people and events are constructed and perceived as it determines what is seen and what is hidden (cited in Aitken and Craine, 2005, p. 254). Bearing this in mind, an analysis of the video commercial of Umami Park is, for me, most appropriate to take into account. Through a content analysis of the video commercial, or “mood film”, for Umami Park, my aim is to examine for whom the renewal of Hallonbergen and particularly Umami Park is framed for. By doing a sort of shot-by-shot analysis and question how the video is illustrated, who the characters are and what life they represent, my goal is to answer the research question specified above.
The commercial, available on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a6dkH8qsm28, is a one-minute-long cartoon video, staging the idea of the life of people who intentionally will be living in Umami Park. As mentioned, the video is illustrated as a cartoon wherein characters are animated and is assembled by still photos which are put together into a video in motion. The video is “filmed” from a perspective where the camera is stationary in one position and the camera angle is straight-on/eye-level and continuously keep the same angle throughout the whole commercial. The viewer has an outside position, looking into the life arising in Umami Park, as the camera captions everyday life situations of people living in the neighborhood followed by one another as a series of different events.

2.3.2 Text analysis
The aesthetic design program for Umami Park will be analyzed. The aesthetic design program is developed by Tengbom, a Swedish privately owned architectural firm, on behalf of the private real estate company Profi Fastigheter, in cooperation with the City of Sundbyberg. The program encompasses design ideas for currently existing and forthcoming buildings and land and ensures an overall architectural quality within the district of Freden Större in Hallonbergen neighborhood (Sundbybergs Stad, 2015b). In my analysis, the use of semiotics, i.e. the study of signs, will be applied as a mean to uncover hidden meanings that may reside in the program. More specifically, an investigation of certain features presented by Bryman (2012) will be taken into account, i.e. the sign, which is something that stands for something else and the code, which is the generalized meaning that the sign is supposed to represent (p. 559).

3. NEOLIBERAL VALUES AND THE MAKING OF A PLACE

3.1 Shift in urban governance
Relevant to the study is the shift in urban governance as it is frequently led to utilize urban renewal as a key strategy to turn around areas (Barnes et. al., 2006). In late 20th century, alongside the establishment of the Thatcher administration in the United Kingdom as well as the Reagan administration in the United States, a political-economic change took place when neoliberalism replaced earlier Keynesian welfare state policies in Stockholm, like in many other cities (Knox & Pinch, 2010, p. 89). Significant for the new political-economic approach is, according to the authors, a free-market doctrine, public-private cooperation in place making and economic development which, of course, had a huge impact on urban governance. Since the 1970s, urban governance transformed from a managerial to an entrepreneurial approach in the advanced capital world (Harvey, 1989, p. 4; 8). The author explains the managerialism approach as governance relying on professional managers in administration and planning, with emphasize on improvement of social conditions through public services and redistribution. Accordingly, Loit (2014) explains the outsets for neoliberal planning policy as a view of cities as places for growth and development (p. 77). Noteworthy in the discourse is the contradiction between neoliberal and planning, as the former
indicate governance based on market-oriented dynamics and oppose interference by public authorities, which creates a contradiction between the two concepts (Loit, 2014; Taşan-Kok, 2012). However, as both authors state, neoliberal urban planning exists as a hybrid in which market-oriented dynamics only can function if land-use decisions are controlled and regulated by public planning institutions.

3.1.1 Urban governance in Sweden

In line with other economies, Swedish policies changed during the late 20th century, and today, private actors are highly involved in the urban planning process as Swedish municipalities have opened up towards private-public cooperation (Loit, 2014, p. 84). However, to what extent that is implemented differs, due to the public land ownership and the planning monopoly which give municipalities power to regulate development processes as they decide on land and water use (ibid).

Right before Sweden was hit by the 1970s economic stagnation, the Social Democratic-led state launched the Million Programme with intention to construct one million new dwellings units in the periphery of urban regions in Sweden in the following ten years (Andersson, 2006; Andersson & Palander, 2006, p. 38). The program aimed to combat housing shortages and modernize the housing stock, which in most cities resulted in new housing estates, comprising mixed tenure forms including homeownership and rental or co-operative tenure ship (Andersson et.al., 2010; Andersson & Palander, 2006, p. 38). The program succeeded in terms of cutting housing shortage and investments in the housing sector were reoriented towards rebuilding, renewal and extension (Andersson, 2006). However, critique has been carried towards the building as homogeneous, large scale and high-rise character, as well as the lack of social, and sometimes also commercial, facilities (Andersson et.al., 2010, p. 237). Moreover, the Swedish debate on segregation and “deprived” neighborhoods has focused on the large scale housing estates from the mid 1960s, as many of the estates suffered from problems such as empty flats, social disorder, a high turnover rate and a bad reputation (Andersson & Palander, 2006, p. 38). Along a large immigration of refugees in the 1980-90s, the house estates helped accommodate major parts of immigrants, which still is the case today as these estates have a majority of residents born outside Sweden (ibid). This is also the case for Hallonbergen, as more than half of the inhabitants are born in a foreign country (Bratt, 2017).

As a part of the Million Program, Hallonbergen was built between 1968-73, comprising 2,241 apartments, an elementary school, kinder gardens, a church, and a small city center with shops, a bank and postal service (Stockholms Stadsmuseum, 1998). The neighborhood has remained alike, but is currently undergoing a renewal as the municipality has, for over ten years, planned for new buildings in the districts (Sundbybergs Stad, 2016a).

Relevant in the context is how a neoliberalism and an economic growth-oriented approach plays with values such as social sustainability. One can see it as either utopic wherein it is seen as impossible to combine these two since neoliberalism is political and economic fundamentally unjust, or a pragmatic approach which implies that the socially sustainable and rightful city is reachable within the current political-economic context (Loit, 2014, p. 18). Considering both approaches, the thesis is set against the background of a pragmatic point of view.
3.2 Place-making as strategy

Within the sphere of neoliberal planning and urban entrepreneurialism, competitiveness between and within cities is crucial in renewal and development of cities and will hereafter be examined (Knox & Pinch, 2010; Loit, 2014).

How a place is depicted and what it is that defines and characterizes it are essential features for a place to gain competitive advantages in the interurban competition (Loit, 2014, p. 87). To do so and to attract knowledge-based activities as well as global flows of investments and people, in order to promote local development, branding strategies such as place-making and image building are in many cases utilized (Kovacs and Musterd, 2013; Loit, 2014, p 88; Madureira, 2012). Kovacs and Musterd (2013) explain place-making as measures undertaken by local governments and other interested actors to invest place with specific cultural characteristics, wherein the main goal is to associate the city with positive images through marketing the city with the use of sophisticated strategies (p. 100). Furthermore, in order to create a positive image of a place, one of the objectives in neoliberal urban planning is to attract individuals with income higher than average, people with entrepreneurial skills who are perceived as boosters for economic growth, often referred to as the urban middle class, and the creative class (Loit, 2014, p. 98). The latter term, a concept coined by Richard Florida, is defined by the same author as creative professionals in business and finance, law, health care, and related fields… [who] share a common ethos that values creativity, individuality, difference, and merit. (Florida, 2014, p. 8-9). According to Florida, places must carry a creative environment that attracts the creative class, to assert itself in the international urban competition (cited in Loit, 2014). Kovacs and Musterd (2013) explain the link between the creative class and urban policies by stating that creative professionals want to live in tolerant and exciting places, which can be created and maintained by implementing “Florida-oriented” urban policies (p. 101). Hence, place-making strategies are reflected in the development of neighborhoods and contributes to the image of the neighborhood and who the intended inhabitants are (Madureira, 2012, p. 160). Kovacs and Musterds (2013) state that many places, in seeking to be competitive within the global economy, have supported broad makeovers of themselves, involving building or renovation of the physical environment (p. 101). This occurrence is applicable in the case of Umami Park.

Linked to the strategy of making a place is place identity, or what Kovacs and Musterd refer to as “sense of place”. It is described by the authors as the emotional bonds and attachments people develop about their environment, both at a regional and local scale (p. 98). The term is also used to describe the uniqueness and specific characteristics of a certain neighborhood, that distinguish it from other, and help create a sense of belonging and community (p. 99). Sense of place is worth mentioning as the process of neighborhood renewal is likely to change it (Musterd and Kovacs, 2013, p. 100). Regarding sense of place in Hallonbergen, Bratt mentions in the interview conducted that current inhabitants have been living in the neighborhood, more or less, their whole life and that there is an extremely close familiar connection between them. Bratt also mentions the importance of place identity when
stating that it is important, especially for youngsters in the block, to feel a strong identity and attachment to a place (Interview 1).

4. CASE STUDY: UMAMI PARK

In 2011, the City Planning and Environment Committee was commissioned by the City Council of Sundbyberg to initiate the detailed planning program for the development of a certain block in Hallonbergen called Freden Större, which gained legal force in July 2015. The purpose of the plan was to develop a neighborhood consisting of both commercial and residential buildings. Additionally, the densification of the neighborhood was planned to generate a vivid metropolitan environment as well as greater social security in the neighborhood concerned (Sundbybergs Stad, 2015a). However, the plan met with strong resistance from residents in the area which engendered a state-led preparatory plan for the new project. Between 2010 and 2014 an art and urban development project called ParkLek, laid the foundation for a new way of working in the neighborhood, in which the population residing in the neighborhood was involved (Sundbybergs Stad, 2016a). Led by the visual artist Kerstin Bergendal, ParkLek was implemented to deepen the focus on communication and social consequences of the program and highlight social, ecological and economic sustainability (Sundbybergs Stad, 2013). Combined with the previous planning program, the in-depth comprehensive plan and the ParkLek project, which worked as a cornerstone in the urban renewal project, the new action plan for the neighborhood was shaped and implemented (Interview 1).

To convert the plan into practice, the privately owned construction company Wallenstam was consulted, which are currently at the very first stage of construction. The deputy CEO with responsibility for the Stockholm/Uppsala region, Mathias Aronsson, announce that

> We are delighted to be now underway and properly start work on the first phase of Umami Park with just over 147 apartments and important commercial space. During the coming 10-year period, we will develop a new inspiring district here featuring a broad choice of housing, stores, restaurants, meeting places and open spaces. (Wallenstam, 2016).

Within the new block, about 900 new apartments, combining both rental and cooperative tenure forms, business premises and meeting places are planned to create a neighborhood for those with a taste for life and design, with neighboring shopping malls as well as green spaces (Wallenstam, n.d.). The vision of the of the new area is also reflected in the name; **Umami is the fifth flavor - the flavor that enhances other flavors. Umami Park is the area that enhances your own taste and perhaps also your way of living** (ibid).

Additional facts regarding Umami Park was conducted through the interview with Bratt at the urban development office in Sundbyberg, who gave me in-depth background information regarding the urban renewal of the neighborhood. This included preparatory processes, assembling of the 2106 Action Plan for the Development of Hallonbergen-Ör and what changes and improvement the renewal project is all about. The interviewee mentioned, consistently throughout the interview, the project ParkLek and their focus on dialogue and communication
between development actors and residents. As the City of Sundbyberg has a responsibility towards the region to build more housing, due to the housing crisis in the county of Stockholm, one aim of the renewal project is to make a contribution to the City of Sundbyberg and also the county of Stockholm. Additionally, Bratt stated that by 2030 the city expects to double its population, which calls for an expansion of the entire region, wherein Hallonbergen is a priority area.

Figure 1. The City of Sundbyberg marked with red borders on a map of Stockholm.
Source: Tätortskartan Stockholms Län (Map of urban center of Stockholm County), retrieved 2017-06-06

Figure 2. Map of the City of Sundbyberg and Hallonbergen neighborhood. Location for Umami Park marked with a red circle.
Source: Tätortskartan Stockholms Län (Map of urban center of Stockholm County), retrieved 2017-06-06
5. RESULTS

5.1 Different views: urban renewal as reason or solution for segregation

To begin with, a clarification regarding gentrification and urban renewal as concepts is necessary. Atkinson (2004) states that... affordable housing problems, housing market failure and a design-led approach to promote ‘liveability’ and recapturing middle-class households appear as strategies linked to renewal but also to gentrification (p. 107). This is central for discussion as Atkinson’s statement is relevant and applicable for the type of development occurring in Hallonbergen. In the quote above, it is clear how current neoliberal urban development is seen as both a renewal process and a gentrification process. Subsequently, in accordance with the research question, Lees (2008) contributes to the debate when questioning whether or not gentrification leads to displacement, segregation and social polarization, or if it leads to more socially mixed, less segregated, more livable and sustainable communities (p. 2449). Moreover, Lees states that cities promotion of “urban renaissance” in fact is a way to veil the process of gentrification (p. 2452). If proceeding from the approach by Lees, and confirm the notion that urban renewal – or gentrification – is a reason for segregation, displacement and social polarization (p. 2457), one can question, as Atkinson does, if gentrification help or harm residential neighborhoods? Atkinson mentions several negative impacts of gentrification which he divides in three groups; a) displacement, loss of affordable housing and homelessness. Displacement is herein described as an involuntary move by a household, predominantly affected poor white household and the elderly, female-headed households and blue-collar/working-class (p. 115); b) community conflict, eviction and crime due to, among other things, changing characteristics of the gentrified neighborhood; and c) population loss and changing service provision. Another critique of entrepreneurial urban development and its effects, is the use of place-making and “creative city strategies” to improve places, as it is unclear whether such strategies contribute to any improvements of creation of community, social cohesion or tolerance (Barnes et.al., 2006, p. 338). Accordingly, Madureira (2015) stresses that urban policy strategies aimed to attract the “creative class” work parallel to gentrification processes.

In the question mentioned by Atkinson (2004), he also suggests whether gentrification may help residential neighborhoods. The author points out certain positive impacts; a) renewal, social mix and poverty deconcentration; and b) property values, tax revenues and local services. Although Atkinson raises critique, he also mentions that physical rehabilitation allows improvement, investments and “alter preconceptions about the social ecology of an area”, as well as it helps increase the social mix of some areas (p. 188). Social mixing, or mixed communities, is a concept frequently used by urban governments and policy-makers and implies a strategy where different types of tenure are mixed in a single area (Lees, 2008, p. 2451; Andersson et.al., 2006, p. 51). However, whether social mixing and tenure conversions is positive solutions for segregation is, not only by the authors mentioned above, well-debated and questioned and will be discussed further in next section.

According to Bratt and what is written in planning documents deriving from the City of Sundbyberg, urban renewal in Hallonbergen is not seen as a cause for a future gentrification
process or segregation, but rather the opposite. Thus, Bratt stresses that renewal of Hallonbergen is required as the City of Sundbyberg is facing a rapid growth, which puts great demands on development and renewal of the neighborhood (Interview 1). The renewal project of Hallonbergen is envisioned to create an attractive, well integrated and dynamic part of Sundbyberg by means of complementary new buildings and a change of the existing structure. It will also, according to the plan, provide access to new offices, businesses and housing with different tenure forms, which in turn will contribute to the social good and better integration (Sundbybergs Stad, 2016b).

5.2 Umami Park in relation to Hallonbergen as it exists today

During the conducted interview, Bratt was questioned about the image of the neighborhood presented by the press and social challenges encountered. Bratt started by declaring that Hallonbergen is not at all as scary as the media depicts it, and most of the incidents are, as she puts it, youth streaks by restless youngsters. However, she did not conceal the fact that there has been some occurrence of serious crimes, although this mostly had to do with conflicts between criminal gangs, which she explained as isolated events. Further she mentioned that people residing in the area have been residents for many years and have an extremely close familiar connection to one another; as a private individual, there is no reason to be afraid in Hallonbergen (Interview 1). This corresponds with Loit (2014), who notes that stigmatized pictures of (suburb) areas, are in fact a bigger problem than what the actual existing social and physical challenges are (p. 177). Nevertheless, Bratt mentioned existing social challenges that are yet to combat. The primarily one is the fact that a lot of people residing in the neighborhood do not have an occupation, which, according to her, makes the neighborhood quite vulnerable. Additionally, Bratt mentioned that Ör and Hallonbergen are rather isolated from each other due to a physical barrier between the two neighboring areas, making residents in the two different areas kept apart. In accordance with Bratt’s statement, it is declared in the 2016 Action Plan for the Development of Hallonbergen/Ör that:

As Hallonbergen and Ör develop, the City of Sundbyberg will work to ensure that new housing do not become a separate enclave. Synergies for the economy are created by investing in public spaces and strengthening ecological and social sustainability with a long term perspective. In talks on development, more people with wider representativeness will be involved. (My translation, Sundbybergs Stad, 2016a)

This also affirms what social challenges the neighborhood has to deal with and the last sentence in particular indicates a current homogenous population. Evidently, a great amount of preparatory work in the urban development in Hallonbergen have been done during the last decade by the City of Sundbyberg; for example, the project ParkLek, several civil dialogue projects and planning documents supporting social sustainability. For instance, such values are emphasized in the 2106 Action Plan for the Development of Hallonbergen/Ör:

It is about lifting the issues that are important in the area in an early state, cherish the history of the site, and create understanding and transparency between residents, public administration and private companies
in the work of urban development. It is, not least, about creating social sustainability and combine what exists today with future building development. (My translation, Sundbybergs Stad, 2016a).

As the quote reveals and also confirmed in the interview with Bratt, the will to develop Hallonbergen in the way the people of Hallonbergen want it (My translation, Interview 1), indicates an approach wherein sense of place is taken into account.

To grasp the relationship between Umami Park and the neighborhood as it exists today, the content analysis of the aesthetic design program was used as an additional tool. The aim of the program is to help create a more integrated and diverse city block and to attract new residents, businesses and visitors. In order to do so, focus is put upon four different improvement measures; 1) the quarter should contribute to an integration between Hallonbergen and adjacent neighborhoods; 2) create a lively district including both social and esthetic qualities; 3) develop, densify and bring life into the currently uniform structure of residential buildings; and 4) add new buildings with a variety in height, different typology and architectural expression. The program comprises pictures of the block as it exists today, combined with text about recent history of the neighborhood and information on nearby areas. Additionally, the program consists of a preliminary structure plan with illustrations, overarching ideas for future development and detailed suggestions for each part of the district, along with vision and inspiration images of neighborhoods from other cities around the world where such improvements already have been realized, e.g. “shared-space streets”, elevated greeneries and vibrant public places.

Findings in the aesthetic design program is an emphasis on densification, variation and diversity of the overarching neighborhood structure and how the new development should relate to existing housing structures and employ a conscious approach to the silhouette of the neighborhood (Sundbybergs Stad, 2015b, p. 10). In addition, the program emphasizes specific architectural design. Regarding layout of the program, one observation is the use of black-and-white pictures, in contrast to colored pictures. Presented on page six in the aesthetic program is two black-and-white pictures of the housing block today, and next to those are two pictures in color of the near-by lake and green spaces. Additionally, all images shown are footages and illustrations taking place during spring or summer time. Considering Bryman’s (2012) four criterions, the evidence of the program lacks some authenticity and credibly as it is not fully genuine, unquestionable or without any distortion, as social dynamics, realistic climate conditions is not taken under consideration. Moreover, existing assets and qualities of the targeted area are mentioned in the written text, but is not presented in shape of images or illustrations. As a response to this, the intention with program is not to focus on existing environment, but rather to be used as mean to present new ideas and improvements for the renewal process. The meaning of the program is, from the author’s point of view, clear and comprehensive to whom the information is directed. By analyzing the program and taking the latter statement into account, the criterions of representativeness and meaning of the program is justified.

However, considering the aesthetic program and the specific project Umami Park, which more or less lies in the hands of Wallenstam, it is less obvious how the project actually relates
to Hallonbergen. According to Wallenstam (n.d.), culture and food are at the heart in this part of Sundbyberg and that, in addition to the neighborhood’s proximity to nature, are valued characteristics. Hence, based on accessible information, the particular project Umami Park is not explicitly related to the neighborhood Hallonbergen as it exists today.

5.3 Framing of Hallonbergen and Umami Park

According to Bratt, diversity and multiculturalism is of importance in the renewal of Hallonbergen and also to take advantage of already existing qualities to create opportunities for more people to move there (Interview 1). As a part of the development, the City of Sundbyberg aims to attract new companies and work places within the area, however, what type of companies to settle in Hallonbergen is yet to be investigated (Sundbybergs Stad, 2016a, p. 9).

To further investigate in weather or not existing qualities and already residing population are taken into account in the ongoing renewal project, the content analysis of Wallenstam’s commercial movie for Umami Park was adopted. By way of introduction, the movie depicts a middle-aged, white, woman on a bicycle wearing a dress, sandals and a helmet, with a park in the background, passing by some park benches, a subway sign and waving to a younger middle-aged white man in a suit with a newspaper in his hand standing on the side of cycle path. In the same shot, the woman passes a road sign saying “Umami”, indicating she is entering the neighborhood. While the woman is cycling out of the picture, the camera shift focus to the man with the newspaper who also passing the Umami road sign, entering the neighborhood and sits down on a bench outside a café to read his newspaper. The camera zooms in on the back and front page of the newspaper to make visible the headlines; “Oskar Linnros Live on stage” and “Umami Park – ready for occupation in 2019.” The camera zooms out to original position and the man in suit put down his newspaper and instead holds a cup of coffee in his hand as the bench fills up with three other people. Next to the man in suit sits a girl in her 30s wearing a hat and a purse, leaning towards the man in suit, who keeps his arm around her. Next to the girl, a guy in the same age with a beard, mustache, round sunglasses and a black shirt holds a cup of coffee, facing another girl on his left. She is, at a guess, also in the same age as the others, holding a cup of coffee and laughing/talking towards the other three. As the commercial continues, focus changes to the guy with the beard and the woman in hat as they leave the café bench and walk along the house facade until they pass a gym, wherein the woman enters. As the man keeps walking, the background changes and instead of the house facade there is a park and a design villa, indicating he leaves the ‘city center’ and walking towards the residential area. On his way, he meets and say hi to a young dad in a cap with his two children in a sort of baby stroller. The camera focus changes as it now follows the dad in cap, out walking with his two kids, picturing a park in the background. Into the picture appears a middle-aged woman in a gray dress with sunglasses and the dad parks the stroller and walks further into the park with his kids, and focus turns to the woman in the gray dress. The woman stands still, but the background changes, picturing the woman in a grocery store being helped by a man in an apron who most likely works in the store, and to her right stands the man in suit we saw earlier, holding an “Umami Market” printed tote bag. Over again, the background changes while the grocery store assistant walks out of picture and the man in suit, with the tote bag filled with
The commercial for Umami Park gives an image of the new neighborhood and works as a promotion tool to exemplify what the area can offer and what life can be like for those moving there. The video is illustrating, first and foremost, white people in their 30s enjoying certain activities in their spare time. These are my findings:

- Characters are waving to each other which indicates a sense of recognition and friendliness amongst people residing in the neighborhood.
- People walking and using bicycles are signs of an environmental friendly life styles.
- Considering the characters in the advertisement, although the video is animated, it is clear what the desirable type of residents is, which is illustrated through different observations; 1) The characters are all well dressed and have certain appearances; to exemplify, men in the commercial are well dressed with slightly “hipster” looks. Worth mentioning is also the stereotypical look based on gender, e.g. all women presented having long hair and often wearing dresses; 2) The characters are all young adults or middle-aged; 3) The dad with two children indicates what may be the desirable norm of number of children; 4) Exclusively heterosexual couples are depicted in the commercial; 5) With exception for one character, all others are white-skinned with a socially coded Swedish look. Additionally, they all normal weight and height.
- Hanging out with friends over a coffee, go to the gym, and have dinner out at a nice restaurant drinking red wine with your significant other demonstrates what a day off might involve for an Umami Park resident.

According to Bryman’s (2012) criterions, levels of authenticity in the commercial is, not surprisingly, not very high. This may due to the fact that it is a commercial and obviously biased in favor to promote the new urban project in the best possible way for the company to attract future settlers. Regarding credibility, the “mood film” is not without any distortion, but can be justified as it is a vision and not a replica of reality. As the video resemble to other videos within the same genre, as well as being clear and comprehensible as such, it is fulfilling both the representative and meaning criterions.

By conducting a content analysis, it was possible to grasp for whom Umami Park is framed for and what type of population the project is aiming to attract. First, considering the commercial analysis, it depicts an illustration of a prosperous, welfare society inhabited by a
young and friendly, consuming, population. According to my findings in the analysis, the visualized population is dominantly represented by white people in their 30’s, enjoying an environmental friendly life style. My observations of the characters in the video (“hipster” looks, stereotypical look based on gender, the desirable norm of number of children, heterosexual couples, white-skinned with a socially coded Swedish look and normal weight/height) and their performed activities (e.g. drinking coffee, going to the gym and having dinner out) indicates certain attributes of the desirable resident.

6. DISCUSSION

Among other scholars, Atkinson (2014) and Lees (2008) show evidence of negative consequences due to urban renewal whereof many issues are related to neoliberal entrepreneurial policies. For instance, Atkinson states that public–private partnerships in housing regeneration and urban policy aim to embrace middle-class futures for the city instead of encompassing a wider social base. (p. 108) and to me, much of the critique is legitimate. However, whether or not it is a process of gentrification or a process of urban renewal/revitalization, or whatever term is used, it is a question about handling the process of developing and expanding cities, which in itself brings consequences. For instance, as in the case of Stockholm alongside other cities, urban growth puts pressure on housing supply. One mean to establish both socially mixed communities or mixed residential and combat housing shortage is through tenure variation. One type of tenure variation, particularly prevalent in the Swedish context, is conversion of public rental housing into cooperative housing – a tenure form where a property (usually) comprising apartments is owned by an association, which consist of members who have purchased the right to live in one of the dwellings (Andersson & Magnusson Turner, 2014; Andersson et.al., 2006).

However, strategies that are used today, such as social mixing and tenure conversions have, according to mentioned scholars, evidentially a downside. In the case of Stockholm, the proportion of public rental housing has, since mid 1990s, been reduced and this change is, according to Andersson and Magnusson Turner, an effect of neoliberal policies which have allowed conversions of public housing into cooperative housing. Moreover, regarding policies in support of social mixing as a strategy to combat segregation, it is on the one hand strongly criticized by e.g. Lees (2008) who not only states that such policies are based on a set of beneficial beliefs which lack evidence to support them, but also stretches her statement by declaring that social mixing strategies result in segregation and polarization (p. 2463). On the other hand, social mixing is, according to Lees (2008), “a major urban policy and planning goal” (p. 2451), which is applicable in the context of this study as it is confirmed in the aesthetic program, in the planning program and action plan for development in Hallonbergen and in the interview, when different visions and values such as social sustainability are discussed.

Socially mixed neighborhoods and tenure conversions are closely connected as the latter often is used as a mean to achieve the former. One argument in favor for tenure conversions and so-called “right-to-buy” policies, is that the conversions most likely generate substantial profit for current residents as the price in attractive neighborhoods often are set below market
price. A second argument, affirmed by Bratt, is that the conversions offers an opportunity for residents to build themselves a housing career within the neighborhood they reside in, and thus enhance their assets (Interview 1). Nevertheless, as tenure conversions reduces the public sector and generate less affordable housing for people without possibilities to access cooperative or home ownership tenure, it is also seen as a reason for increasing levels of segregation (Andersson and Turner, 2014, p. 26). Additionally, experience shows that there is less severe socioeconomic segregation in cities with a large public housing sector, as public housing is rented by a diversity of the population (Andersson, et.al., 2006). In spite of this, as evidence show that so-called “neighborhood effects” may generate in beneficial outcomes for a community, social mixing is not to fully discard. A neighborhood effect is explained by Andersson et.al. (2006) as an effect on individuals’ development and social position due to influences of their surroundings, i.e. there is a greater risk of unemployment if living among many unemployed. Taking this into consideration, social mixing may generate positive neighborhood effects. Housing policies seem to answer for many of issues associated with urban renewal development. Considering this, urban projects and new housing constructions, such as Umami Park, may in itself not be blamed for as a reason for further segregation. Although, my interpretation is that such projects are likely to cause consequences such as displacements and in turn, hinder rather than help.

Left for discussion is, first, the question of why it even matters whether or not renewal projects relate to existing neighborhoods and second, what potential consequences related to place-making and image building there are. As mentioned, it is not obvious how the project relates to Hallonbergen. This is, somewhat, justified by Bratt who explains that, in oppose to how the municipality works, there is less need for such consideration in the Wallenstam project, as it is a detached spatial area that will have its own character. This justification is to me fairly adequate, however, even if the new block is a detached area and dissimilar to the neighborhood in terms of physical character, my belief is that the project also lacks consideration of social character. Similar to other renewal in the neighborhood managed and orchestrated by the municipality, and which they are keen to interact with existing environment, Umami Park will affect the neighborhood socially. Therefore, it is to me incomprehensible why Umami Park is an exception, as the renewal project in itself and the neighborhood as a whole would possibly benefit from greater interaction with the neighborhood as it exists today.

Based on the content analysis and how Umami Park is promoted through place-making, my perception is that Umami Park, not only, is dissimilar from the neighborhood in terms of physical and social character, but also run the risk of loosing its sense of place, particularly on the local scale. According to Loit (2014) place-making and image building of city areas form a risk to undermine existing issues, in favor to create attractive areas. Potentially, this may cause a suppressive effect on social heterogeneity as certain way of living and particular desirable groups may obtain a superior position (p. 89). Proceeding from this argument, place-making of the area and for whom Umami Park is framed for, carries a risk to enhance rather than address processes of social marginalization (Barnes et.al., 2006). Moreover, Madureira (2015) states that image building and strategies employed to attract an ideal resident may lead to a loss in
neighborhood heterogeneity, edge and excitement that derive from non-conformity to give place for middle-class values and norms and "aestheticized" environments (p. 168).

7. CONCLUSION

Let us now return to Loit’s notes on planning as both reason and solution for segregation (Loit, 2014, p. 14-15). If replacing the term planning with urban renewal, one may say that urban renewal can be seen as a reason for segregation and hence a contributor to urban injustices as it causes a gentrification process leading to unequal consequences for inhabitants, since consequences met by the inhabitants differ on the basis of socio-economic or ethnic affiliation. On the other hand, urban renewal can work as a solution for segregation if a change in focus areas were to adapt, and thus, possibly, counteract the negative consequences of segregation and urban injustices. As seen in the case of urban renewal in Hallonbergen, focus been upon social sustainability, social mixing and collaborations and dialogues between different groups concerned. Strategies such as social mixing policies and area based initiatives, i.e. investments of resources in disadvantaged areas, have been implemented in other urban development projects, however, as the issue of segregation still remains, it is time for a change and not only in planning, as Loit suggest. Accordingly, Kovacs and Musterd (2013) state that focus should not be upon “quick fix” café-culture-oriented quarter or signature building, but rather upon enhancing the experience of place over a prolonged period of time.

On the basis of a pragmatic approach and a position that a socially sustainable and rightful city is reachable within the current political-economic context, one way to create a non-segregated and socially sustainable neighborhood with increasing economic growth may be to combine the idea of regional development planning, presented by Andersson et. al. (2006) and Loit (2014), alongside the notion presented by Kovacs and Musterd (2013), in which they suggest such a policy focused to involve a greater emphasis on retention and promotion of works within a city, as well as raise awareness of the risks associated with place-making and seriously consider whether or not to utilize it as a strategy in the neoliberal renewal of the city.
8. REFERENCES


**Maps**


**Interview**

Bratt, Sandra, 170512, project manager of Hallonbergen/Ör and Rissne at the City of Sundbyberg.
Internet


