

Geographica 6

Living in the calm and safe part of the
city

The socio-spatial reproduction of upper-
middle class neighbourhoods in Malmö

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UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET

Dissertation presented at Uppsala University to be publicly examined in Universitetshuset sal IX, Biskopsgatan 3, Friday, 6 February 2015 at 13:15 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The examination will be conducted in English. Faculty examiner: Professor Rowland Atkinson (the University of Sheffield, Department of Town and Regional Planning).

Abstract

Rodenstedt, A. 2014. Living in the calm and safe part of the city. The socio-spatial reproduction of upper-middle class neighbourhoods in Malmö. *Geographica* 6. 270 pp. Uppsala: Department of Social and Economic Geography, Uppsala University. ISBN 978-91-506-2437-3.

When residential segregation is mentioned in news coverage and when it is talked about in everyday discourse in Sweden, it is very often associated with immigration and minority groups living in the poorer areas of the city. A common assumption is that “immigrants” actively withdraw from society and that they choose to live together rather than integrating with the majority population.

This study, however, argues that discussions about segregation cannot be limited to the areas where minorities and poorer-income groups live, but must understand segregation as a process occurring in the whole system of urban neighbourhoods. In order to reach a more complete understanding of the ways in which segregation processes are at work in contemporary Swedish cities, knowledge is needed about the inhabitants with greater resources and power to choose their dwellings and residential areas.

The neighbourhood choices of more privileged groups, and the socio-spatial reproduction of the areas of the upper-middle class, are investigated by applying a qualitative ethnographic framework. The thesis studies two neighbourhoods located in the post-industrial city of Malmö: Victoria Park, a US-inspired “lifestyle community” which is the first of its kind in Sweden, and Bellevue, older but still one of the most exclusive and high-status neighbourhoods in the city. In order to understand self-segregation among privileged groups, the study especially scrutinises the concepts of class and security as well as the impacts of neoliberalisation on the Swedish housing market.

The main argument of the study is that the self-segregation by members of the upper-middle class demonstrates a rift which runs through the urban fabric of Malmö, splintering the city up into perceived separate worlds. The existence of physical, symbolic and social boundaries in Victoria Park and Bellevue reproduces these neighbourhoods as exclusive, private and tranquil spaces of the upper-middle class. By locating themselves in the calm and safe part of the city, the upper-middle class can buy security as a commodity, rather than relying on the welfare state to provide it for them.

Keywords: Self-segregation, gated communities, security, upper-middle class, neoliberalisation, post-industrialism, housing, lifestyle, status, exclusivity, exclusion, community, neighbourhood choice, stigmatisation, spatial representations, socio-spatial reproduction, avoidance behaviours, Malmö, Victoria Park, Bellevue, Sweden

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ISSN 0431-2023

ISBN 978-91-506-2437-3

urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-237883 (<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-237883>)

Printed in Sweden by Elanders Sverige AB, 2014.

Cover layout: Charlotte Rodenstedt

Acknowledgements

I started the PhD programme at the Department of Social and Economic Geography in September 2009, right after completing my Master's degree at the same department. As I am now about to send this thesis to print and I look back at all these years, I feel humble and a tad nostalgic as this period of my life has encompassed a whole palette of emotions. There are many people I feel so grateful to and who have aided my work and stood by me during both the good and the bad times. Unfortunately, I cannot mention all of you by name here, but I hope you know who you are and how important you have been to me.

First, I wish to thank everyone who participated in this study, especially those who invited me into their residential areas and private homes. Thank you for your contribution and for sharing your stories and opinions, and for constantly reminding me of why I enjoy doing research.

Writing this thesis would not have been possible without my excellent supervisors. Irene Molina and Brett Christophers: you have given me the confidence and freedom to design this study, while still keeping me on the right track and giving me invaluable advice. Irene, I cannot thank you enough for all your support, for you believing in me and for the inspiration you have provided over the years. And Brett, your encouraging words and your careful reading of the manuscript have been much appreciated, together with your superpower of helping me find what I am actually trying to say when I have lost focus. Writing a thesis can be a lonesome job, but I have never felt lonely working on this project thanks to the two of you.

I also feel much gratitude towards Roger Andersson, who was my supervisor during the first years, for taking an interest in my research and for encouraging me a lot along the way. Additionally, I would like to thank Mats Franzén who has not only lent me many of his brilliant thoughts throughout the years, but also several books from his impressive library.

Tom Mels, Carina Listerborn and Sara Westin, members of the reading group, contributed with very helpful comments on the manuscript towards the end which greatly improved the thesis. Thank you! I am also indebted to Zara Bergsten who kindly and patiently helped me understand the statistics as well as teaching me how to present the maps in the text. Melissa Kelly, John Perrem, Taylor Brydges, Brian Cloughley and Helen Robertson provided much needed help with proofreading, which was greatly appreciated! I would also like to thank Karin Grundström at the department of Urban Studies, Malmö University, for exchanging ideas and carrying out one of the focus groups in Victoria Park with me.

I have been fortunate enough to receive several scholarships while writing this thesis. Helge Ax:son Johnsons Stiftelse provided much needed funding for the last phase of writing, and Anna Maria Lundins Stipendienämnd as well as Stiftelsen Margit Althins Stipendiefond rendered it possible to travel to New York and South Africa in 2012 and 2013. These trips gave me the opportunity to visit two gated communities, and thus catch a glimpse of this urban phenomenon in two quite different international contexts. This provided me with a certain perspective which helped me contextualise the Swedish housing market better.

During the PhD programme I have had the privilege of working in two research environments together with brilliant and friendly colleagues. At the Institute for Housing and Urban Research (IBF) I would like to thank Kerstin Larsson, Christina Kjerrman Meyer, Ingalill Halvarsson and Lars Lundin who have patiently helped me through many tricky situations. An important part of my everyday life has been the “late night crew” consisting of Tove Eliasson, Helen Ekstam and Kati Kadarik. You were with me during the crazy last phase of writing up: thank you for sharing all those feelings of hope and despair over many boxes of steaming hot Golden China dumplings.

At the department of Social and Economic Geography I especially want to thank Aida Aragao-Lagergren, Susanne Stenbacka, Kerstin Edlund, Karin Beckman and Kjell Haraldsson for all the help throughout the years. I am also grateful to the late Jan Öhman for spurring me to apply to the PhD programme in the first place.

The department of Social and Economic Geography has a fantastic group of PhD students which I have enjoyed being a part of! Special thanks to Melissa Kelly, my first office-mate whose energy and friendship at work is missed every day since she left the department, and to my PhD student cohort: Sara Johansson, Jon Loit,

Jasna Sersic, Pepijn Olders and Jörgen Lindell. Sara, thank you for starting this journey together and thank you, Jon, for also ending it with me! I would also like to mention Tina Mathisen, Sofie Joosse, Gabriela Barruyllé Voglio, Magdalena Cedering, Chiara Valli, Sara Lång, Lina Hedman, Brian Hrac and Anna-Klara Lindeborg.

Last, but not least, I wish to thank all those people in my personal life who have stood by my side throughout my studies, and especially my family and my extended family, for all the love and support. Mamma, Pappa, Hanna and Charlotte: I love you! Special thanks to Charlotte for helping me out with matters of design, you are awesome! And to all you amazing friends dispersed here and there, but who are mainly located in Stockholm: thanks for being there, for always making me laugh and for your patience; all work and no play sometimes makes Ann a dull girl. Julia Davidsson, Daniel Tagerud, Tina Mathisen, Kati Kadarik, Catrin Arnelind and Christian Lehnert: you have especially brightened up this last challenging period of writing the thesis. Christian, thank you for being my rock during these last couple of months, for all the little things you do every day, for being there and for keeping me sane.

All of you have made this chapter of my life memorable. For that I am very grateful.

A dark and foggy evening in December
Uppsala, 2014

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1 Introduction

Residential segregation is an “immigrant problem”. At least if we are to believe the public discourse. During the course of writing this thesis when I have been asked the question “What are you writing your thesis about?” from a new acquaintance and have given the fairly generic answer “Residential segregation in Malmö,” the response has often been along the lines of “Rosengård, right? You really picked the right city to study that topic.”

Rosengård is a residential area constructed in the 1960s-1970s and was, like so many other neighbourhoods all over Sweden, a result of the government’s strategy “the Million Programme” which aimed at coming to terms with the increasing housing shortage at the time. Today, Rosengård is often depicted in the media and every day conversations as ethnically segregated with large social problems such as poverty, unemployment, crowding, crime and insecurity. Rosengård is the poorest city district in Malmö, and similar areas with low status and an overrepresentation of people who in everyday Swedish discourse are referred to as “immigrants” have received much attention not only from the media but also from segregation researchers. In Sweden, as well as in other contexts, a common discourse is that individuals who have immigrated to a country choose to live in certain residential areas with other compatriots rather than integrating with the majority population, and that they thus actively withdraw themselves and live parallel lives to the wider society. This is referred to as “self-segregation”, and has, according to Deborah Phillips (2006: 25, 36-37), contributed to a myth claiming that minorities are to blame for any tensions in the local community. The clustering of ethnic minority groups has traditionally received much more attention than has segregation in terms of categories such as class, income and lifestyle.

The critique directed by Phillips is also highlighted by Swedish segregation researchers, who are increasingly challenging the immediate association between stigmatised residential areas, immigration and segregation. Segregation processes in Swedish cities have existed long before immigration increased in the 1960s (Molina, 2005: 106;

Molina, 1997: 64), and segregation must be understood as prevalent not only in a few residential areas but in the whole city as all neighbourhoods are linked and the developments occurring within them are affecting surrounding residential areas. Rickard Persson notes, for instance:

...segregation can only be understood within a system of differences, where more resource-intensive areas are systematically related to less resource-intensive areas (Persson, 2008: 4).

Thus, when the previously mentioned conversation continues with the newfound acquaintance and I reply to the comment about Rosengård, I often say: "One might think so. But I am looking at the other end of segregation: the residential choices of the upper-middle class."

Perceiving segregation as a process occurring in the whole system of urban neighbourhoods also implies that research should include more than just the housing and mobility patterns of minority groups. Segregation researchers have noted that areas with a majority of high-income earners and a minority of residents with foreign background have previously appeared quite seldom in segregation debates and have been disregarded by Swedish research on housing and planning (Andersson, 2008: 148-149; Andersson, 2013: 164, 183; Molina, 2007: 11). Recently, however, it has become more common to study how urban inhabitants with more resources and contacts experience segregation and how their perceptions of urban residential areas might affect patterns of segregation. Åsa BråmÅ (2006: 1143) and Roger Andersson (2013: 185) argue, for instance, that an important factor that reproduces segregation is the mobility patterns of the more resourceful majority population, as they tend to be underrepresented among movers to areas dominated by people with foreign background. It has also been noted that high-income earners have a greater segregation index than low income earners, which means that those with more resources have a greater tendency to concentrate in certain areas than those with fewer resources (Andersson et al., 2007: 63).

The present study rests upon the argument that there is a need for more knowledge about how inhabitants with more resources and more power to choose their dwellings and residential areas negotiate where to live and where not to live, in order to come to a more complete understanding of the ways in which segregation processes are at work in contemporary Swedish cities. It also strives to gain more knowledge by applying a different methodological framework

from much of the previous research on residential segregation in Sweden, which has often used quantitative methods and investigated urban mobility patterns using extensive databases. Such approaches provide a lot of valuable information to segregation researchers, but they pose a challenge to understanding the reasons behind residential mobility and non-events such as why people *are not* moving to certain areas (Bråmås, 2006: 1144).

The scene of the research project is set in Malmö, Sweden's third-largest city, for a specific reason. Apart from being an interesting urban environment which has a dual discourse of being simultaneously an attractive Knowledge City as well as a polarised and unsafe city, a new housing development opened the doors to its residents in the autumn of 2009 in the city district of Limhamn-Bunkeflo. Victoria Park, a US inspired "lifestyle housing" which is meant to bear certain similarities to holiday resorts abroad, accommodates large communal spaces and extensive in-house services dedicated exclusively to the residents and their guests. This development is supposed to attract specific groups who have a certain lifestyle in common as well as the necessary means required to purchase an apartment there. Victoria Park made me curious as it came into existence at a time when politicians were increasingly trying to boost Malmö's attractiveness in order to entice the middle class back to the city after the devastating economic crisis of the 1970s. Additionally, on a national scale, a deregulation since the 1990s of housing policies has led to an increasingly privatised housing market, giving more power to private actors and real-estate companies to develop more niched and commodified housing.

Victoria Park is the first lifestyle community of its kind in Sweden, and it provides a great opportunity to investigate the changes in the Swedish housing market from the perspective of the urban inhabitants. By studying Victoria Park, I was given the chance to investigate neighbourhood choices of the inhabitants in Malmö who hold more wealth than the average citizen in the city. I wanted to know how they perceived their options and which areas they would consider moving to: How did the residents negotiate their choice of neighbourhood among the many in Malmö and why did they relocate to Victoria Park in particular?

Additionally, a study of Victoria Park rendered it possible to make an in-depth study of the housing environments of the upper-middle class in Malmö and how the residents perceive everyday life in their neighbourhood. What does "lifestyle housing" imply to the

inhabitants and how do they represent and reproduce the area in relation to the neighbourhood brand?

While Victoria Park is a young residential development originating from more recent trends of city planning and housing policies in Malmö, I decided to choose an additional residential area for comparative reasons which is older and symbolises more traditional housing of the upper-middle class of the 19th and 20th centuries. Bellevue, just like Victoria Park, lies in the south-western part of Malmö in the city district Limhamn-Bunkeflo, and is a neighbourhood consisting mainly of detached, single-family houses and spacious plots with gardens, lawns and trees. It is an area that came into being as a result of new housing ideals of the growing wealthy class of bourgeoisie, mainly industrial leaders and businessmen, during the industrialisation of Malmö towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Together with its neighbouring areas, which are dominated by, for the most part, the same form of tenure and spacious houses, Bellevue has during most of the 20th century until today been perceived as one of the most exclusive and high-status neighbourhoods in Malmö. I thought it would be interesting to incorporate such a residential area in the study as it, like Victoria Park, is an exclusive neighbourhood which requires certain resources in order to inhabit, but at the same time has very different design and form of tenure: these differences in turn appeared to have an impact on how everyday life was practiced in a slightly different way to Victoria Park.

Research aims

The main purpose of the study is to investigate processes of segregation from the perspective of the more privileged groups who have greater resources to choose where to live in the city. The objective is also to study how neighbourhoods of the upper-middle class are socio-spatially reproduced in a housing market increasingly affected by elements of neoliberalisation. With this, the study aims to contribute to the knowledge production regarding general segregation processes in contemporary Swedish cities and especially the neighbourhood choices of higher-income groups.

This is investigated by means of using two scales. On a macro scale, the focus is on the general city and how the participants represent Malmö and its urban areas. Where do they perceive that it is attractive or unattractive to live, how do they describe the different

parts and neighbourhoods of the city and how do they negotiate spatial information in their own understanding of the city? On a micro scale, the focus is zoomed in to Victoria Park and Bellevue in order to more closely investigate the housing milieus of the upper-middle class. How do the participants represent everyday life and the lifestyles practised in the areas and how are these spaces continuously reproduced as exclusive neighbourhoods in a divided city?

As the thesis started to evolve through the fieldwork in Victoria Park and Bellevue, the complexities of the concepts of *class* and *security* became increasingly apparent to me. While it was more or less expected that the perceptions of class and security would turn out to be important to the residential choices and lifestyles of the participants of the study, it was obvious that the thesis had to incorporate a deeper scrutiny and analysis of these two concepts and the impacts they have on neighbourhood choices of the upper-middle class and the socio-spatial reproduction of Victoria Park and Bellevue. Together with the concepts of *self-segregation* and *neoliberalisation*, class and security constitute four core concepts which will recur throughout the study and are presented in more detail in chapter 2.

Disposition of the thesis

The thesis is divided into four parts.

The first part, comprising chapters 1-3, focuses on introducing the study and the research problem. The current and *first chapter* continues with an initial presentation of the setting of the thesis and thus introduces Malmö, Victoria Park and Bellevue. While the thesis is perhaps less traditional in its structure in the sense that it does not include a formal theory chapter, *Chapter 2* identifies the foundational framework of the study and elaborates on the core concepts of class, segregation, security and neoliberalisation. By applying international research, this chapter explains how neoliberalisation is used as a framework for understanding how the concepts of class, segregation and security are related to each other. *Chapter 3* concentrates on the contexts of Sweden and Malmö and uses previous research to elaborate upon how processes of neoliberalisation play out in Swedish housing and urban policies. The chapter also includes a background to the history of Swedish housing politics and processes of stigmatisation of certain areas in Malmö; discourses which will reappear in chapter 5.

The second part of the study is dedicated to the methodology and research procedure and is constituted by *chapter 4*. As the study uses an ethnographic framework, the methodology is perceived as closely tied to the results and it thus receives a full chapter, which is located in proximity to the presentation of the empirical material.

The third part, chapters 5, 6 and 7, contains the results of the interviews, focus groups, participant observations and maps carried out in Victoria Park and Bellevue.

Chapter 5 initiates the investigation into the residential segregation of the upper-middle class by focusing on their neighbourhood choices and avoidance behaviours on the macro level of the city. The emphasis is on the discourses the participants ascribe to different areas of the city and it is argued that the participants self-segregate to the western part of Malmö while rejecting large parts of the city. Some of the neighbourhoods located in these parts were perceived as constituting separate worlds from those existing in Victoria Park and Bellevue, and it is acknowledged that spatial representations and already existing segregation patterns are powerful forces affecting the neighbourhood choices of the upper-middle class.

Chapters 6 and 7 focus at the neighbourhood level on Victoria Park and Bellevue, and offer an ethnographic analysis of the micro-geographies and everyday lives of the residents. They investigate how these two areas are continuously reproduced as exclusive neighbourhoods in the divided city of Malmö. *Chapter 6* introduces the spaces of the two neighbourhoods and investigates the representations made by the research participants regarding the social and physical environments of the areas. The concept of class is applied towards the end of the chapter as a way of understanding the residents' perceptions of themselves as well as of their own neighbourhoods. It is argued that while class is associated with both positive notions of status as well as negative notions of stigma, it is an ingredient of the residents' lifestyles as well as the socio-spatial reproduction of Victoria Park and Bellevue. *Chapter 7* investigates the perceptions and practices of security in the familiar space of their own residential areas. It is argued that the security concept is an inherently complex and comprehensive one and that feelings of security cannot be limited to feeling safe from crime. The spatial production of Victoria Park and Bellevue as exclusive, private and as having a certain status is analysed from a security perspective, and it is argued that feelings of security have connections to class relations and are

seen as enhanced by living in calm, stable areas among others with similar socio-economic abilities and values.

The fourth and last part of the study comprises *chapter 8*, which contains the conclusions of the thesis. Here, it is argued that the self-segregation by members of the upper-middle class demonstrates a rift which runs through the urban fabric of Malmö and is splintering the city into perceived separate worlds. The spatial representations of different parts of the city together with already existing segregation patterns constantly reinforce residential segregation in Malmö. These processes of segregation and the existence of physical, symbolic and social boundaries are crucial to the reproduction of Victoria Park and Bellevue as exclusive (and therefore also excluding), private and tranquil neighbourhoods of the upper-middle class. Those who have the means to physically locate themselves in the calm and safe part of the city can thus buy for themselves the commodity of security, rather than relying on the welfare state to provide it for them.

Areas of the upper-middle class in the entrepreneurial Knowledge City

In this last part of the chapter, I will introduce the settings of the study: the city of Malmö and the two neighbourhoods of Victoria Park and Bellevue.

Malmö, the third-largest city in Sweden, is located in the southern end of the country a mere 35 minute train ride across the Sound to Copenhagen, and is an urban region which has undergone great changes in the last couple of decades. During the greater part of the 20th century, it was one of the leading industrial cities in Sweden, creating its prosperity largely from the food industry as well as the metal and engineering industries and workshops, and it was also the birthplace of the Swedish social democratic movement. Malmö had a steady growth of inhabitants until the 1970s when the industries peaked, but the oil crisis hit the city hard and the inhabitants started to move out of the city. This resulted in the local government receiving decreasing tax incomes, and the out-migration increased residential segregation and polarisation as new suburbs were constructed within the scope of the Million Programme while the middle classes increasingly abandoned them for new residential areas outside of the city. In the 1990s, the economy was still suffering as Malmö experienced continued recession, unemployment and a gen-

eral atmosphere of pessimism. At the same time, the city received an increasing number of refugees fleeing the wars in Yugoslavia, Iran, Iraq and the Horn of Africa, who were often assigned to vacant flats in the Million Programme, Rosengård being just one example of such a neighbourhood (Billing, 2000: 14; Sernhede and Johansson, 2006: 33-37; Stigendal, 1998: 10; Billing and Stigendal, 1994: 102; Tykesson et al., 2001: 188).

According to Tove Dannestam (2009: 23, 115-116), the economic crisis was interpreted by the practitioners in Malmö as a crisis of the industrial city and it was thus deemed necessary for it to change direction and replace the existing industries with something else. Dannestam explains how the city of Malmö adapted politics which were economically oriented and strove to increase its attractiveness and strengthen its ability to compete in a global market. The idea of the entrepreneurial *Knowledge City* was born, and the practitioners started to work for an agenda where Malmö was going to turn the negative economic development around by becoming more international, receiving a place on the map and being a part of an attractive region. Instead of existing in the periphery of the Stockholm region the city could become a gateway to the European continent (Jerneck, 1993: 231, 250). Several changes were made in the urban structure during this period, the most important being the construction of the Öresund Bridge, connecting Sweden and Denmark, and the transformation of an old industrial area close to the city centre, Västra Hamnen (the Western Harbour), holding Malmö's new university as well as the housing exhibition, Bo01, and the tallest skyscraper in the Nordic countries, Turning Torso. The housing exhibition was a key feature, marking the start of the city's new housing strategy which aimed at producing housing that could entice the high-income earners back to Malmö (Dannestam, 2009: 173; see also Jansson, 2006; and Holgersen and Baeten, 2014: 10-11). Dannestam (2009: 172) notes how the city's new guiding star had become the concept of *growth*, and it is today generally established by the municipality that it is necessary to promote growth in order to provide welfare to its citizens. The effects of these growth projects are then presumed to trickle down to all parts of the city.

A consequence of Malmö's poor economic development is that private actors have received increasing power (Johannesson, 1993: 185) and Book (2001: 96) argues that the large-scale constructions and investments that have been made would not have been possible without the growing cooperation between Malmö municipality and trade and industry. Construction politics in Malmö is influenced by

a network of power where property owners and construction companies are the external actors who hold most sway, but consulting firms, the media and assorted interest groups play key roles as well. It has been argued that the municipality, which previously initiated projects independently, is now choosing mainly between different projects initiated and suggested by various private actors (Johannesson, 1993: 185) and that the city's urban planning has become increasingly focused on managing and distributing resources to provide the opportunity for private interests to invest money in the urban structure (Semhede and Johansson, 2006: 37).

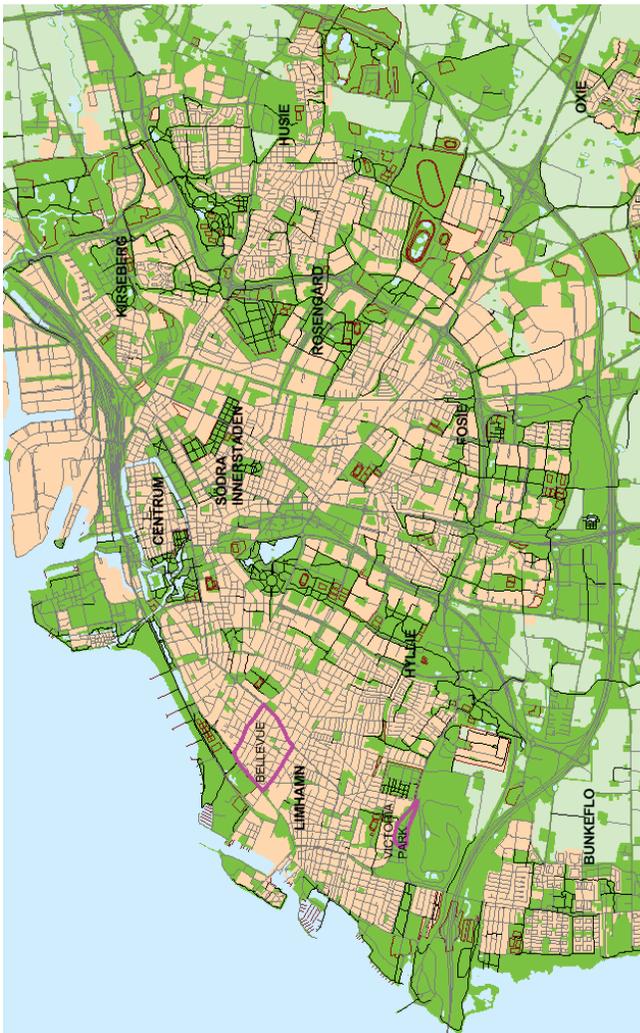


Image 1: Map of Malmö. Bellevue and Victoria Park highlighted in pink.

The two neighbourhoods at the focal point of the study, Victoria Park and Bellevue, are each located in one of the wealthier parts of Malmö, Limhamn-Bunkeflo, but they originate from opposite ends of the process that the city has undergone during the 20th century. Bellevue is a neighbourhood with longer traditions and symbolises more traditional housing of the upper-middle class of the 19th and 20th centuries, while Victoria Park originates from the governance networks between private developers getting wind of business opportunities and the desire of the municipality to create attractive dwellings for inhabitants with more spending power. The next, and last, section of this chapter introduces the two residential areas in a bit more detail.

Victoria Park

Victoria Park has been branded as Sweden's first "lifestyle housing" and is located on the edge of Malmö's large limestone quarry, which measures 300 metres in length, 800 metres in width and 65 metres in depth. The quarry has now been made into a nature reserve and around the rim lies a walking and jogging route of 4 km (Malmö Stad, 2014), but the quarry used to be a significant site for the industrial history of Malmö as the supply of lime resulted in the development of the most important cement industry in Sweden (Tykesson et al., 2001: 181).

Victoria Park is at the time of writing constituted by two tenant ownership cooperatives; "Paviljongen", which was the first to receive inhabitants in 2009 and is where most of the participants in this study live, and "Allén", which was constructed in 2012. Additional plans to develop the area to construct further cooperatives are underway but have not yet been launched, and the area consists at the present time of about 200 flats. Half of the five-storey residential houses of Paviljongen are constructed on top of a main building called "the Victoria House". Inside the main building, residents are offered in-house services located in large communal spaces, which include a manned reception area, a lounge, a games room-cum-library, a conference room, a cinema, a wine cellar, a restaurant and a spa with several pools and saunas. At the back of the area, between the buildings and the quarry, is a 17,000 square metre park where the residents can have barbecues, use the putting green or play boules.



Image 2: Illustration of Victoria Park. "Paviljongen" consists of the six houses on the right while the four houses of "Allén" are located to the left of the main building.

The residential area has historical roots in the industrial past of Malmö. What is today referred to as the Victoria House used to be the old head office of the cement company Euroc which was built in 1977-1978 and designed by well-known architect Sten Samuelsson. The building received much attention when constructed, and Tykesson and Magnusson Staaf (2009: 220-221) explain that Samuelsson was influenced by historical architecture from Japan as well as medieval Romanesque architecture, and he used these sources of inspiration to create one of the first postmodern buildings in Sweden that really stood out from previous Swedish architecture. Several of the characteristics which today are highlighted as unique to Victoria Park were already in place by the time the building was constructed. The facility held multiple functions as it not only provided the employees with work places, but also a conference hall, a canteen with a well-equipped kitchen, a guest flat, a park and a recreational facility complete with a pool, two saunas and an exercise hall ("Unikt kontorsbygge ger Limhamn ny sevärdhet", 1979; Johansson, 1978). The building was intended to be a combination of work place and showpiece (Johansson, 1978).

However, the lime industry was also affected by the economic crisis and, shortly after the head office was completed, cement production was stopped completely and in 1994 the quarry was closed owing to decreasing demand of lime stone products. On the other hand, with the planned construction of the Öresund Bridge, the cement company foresaw great profits in selling the land, located as it was in one of the most valuable and attractive parts of the city (Svensson, 1994; "Epok går i graven. 41 anställda varslade på Cementa - nu stängs kalkbrottet", 1993). The location beside the quarry was in itself a part of the sales pitch and the site was in some contexts dubbed "Sweden's Grand Canyon" in order to give potential residential developments an exclusive dimension (Svensson,

2011: 93). The extensive grounds of the quarry and the site where the old head office was located were thus up for sale, and many suggestions were put forward during the late 1980s and the 2000s as to how to develop them. These included, for instance, detached houses with terraces, together with offices, sports facilities, exhibition centres, a communal swimming pool, marinas, theme parks, housing on the slopes of the quarry such as in an Italian mountain village and filling the quarry with water in order to form a lake (Sehlin, 1987; Bergström, 1997). In the end, Victoria Park and other actors (such as HSB and NCC) bought some of the land while the municipality took over the other parts and in 2007 the company Victoria Park Bygg och Projekt applied for a building permit (Larsson, 2007). Initially, the founders of the area intended it to be targeting the age group of 55 and above, but this was later revised.

The construction of Victoria Park did not pass unnoticed by the media, which reacted to the image of the area as exclusive and inspired by housing developments in the United States:

395 luxury apartments behind guarded gates. Sweden is now receiving its first “gated community” – and the facility is immediately drawing heavy criticism. (Källberg and Sandqvist, 2008, my translation).

This week the first residents moved in to Victoria Park in Malmö, a lifestyle housing development which is acclaimed by the movers but which is also criticised for increasing segregation and is called a lightweight “gated community” of sorts (Frelin, 2009, my translation).

Demarcated residential areas are new in Sweden. But not abroad. They exist in, for instance, the USA, Great Britain and South Africa. The reason why they appear is always the same. According to Göran Cars [professor at Urban and Regional Studies, KTH University], it has to do with security. He sees Victoria Park as a failure of society. “I don’t wish to moralise about the people living like this. They are looking for security and that is why they seclude themselves from society.” (Arinell, 2008, my translation)

Victoria Park has in the public debate thus been connected to concepts such as gated communities, segregation and security, three concepts which will be recurring and thoroughly discussed throughout the thesis. The neighbourhood has literally been constructed upon the old industrial past of Malmö, and can thus be seen as a materialisation of the transformation the city has undergone during the 20th century.

Bellevue

The second area included in the research is Bellevue, located south-west of the city centre close to the water and the beach Ribersborgsstranden. The neighbourhood is demarcated by the streets Geijersgatan, Limhamnsvägen, Nordmannagatan, Linnégatan and Eriksslustsvägen and is thus separated from the adjacent areas of Gamla Limhamn to the south-west, Västervång in the north-east and Nya Bellevue (“New Bellevue”) in the south-east.



Image 3: Map of Bellevue. © Kartunderlag: Malmö Stadsbyggnadskontor.

Bellevue started to become progressively populated towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th at a time when Malmö had become increasingly industrialised; a process which had an impact on the structure of the city and the dispersal of population groups. As the industrial cities had a great demand for workers, which also drew more people to a city like Malmö, a marked housing shortage appeared, making the living spaces in the industrialised cities increasingly crowded and unhealthy. Distress and epidemics hit the urban poor the hardest but also spread to the propertied classes (Stavenow-Hidemark, 1971: 16).

At this time Bellevue was located outside of the city and mainly consisted of summer-houses and weekend homes, but started to become developed for permanent housing. Stavenow-Hidemark (1971: 15) notes that during this period, the increasingly prominent bourgeoisie had the opportunity to create a new housing ideal for themselves and Frykman and Löfgren (1987: 91) assert that it became more important for the bourgeoisie and the agrarian upper class to separate themselves physically from the lower classes. According to Paulsson (1976a: 192), they thus started to migrate out of the city to the countryside, aided by the business executives' improved financial positions but also influenced by a romanticism of nature and desire for individual self-expression. The city was increasingly seen as unhealthy, dirty, noisy, smelly and stressful and the rural life by the coast was believed to offer a new healthy lifestyle with a focus on the family (Paulsson, 1976b: 97; Tykesson and Magnusson Staaf, 2003: 182). Smitt describes the development in Malmö thus:

Unemployment and illness strike hard against the population, creating poverty and misery. At the turn of the century the alcoholics and the deprived poorhouse inmates constitute a far too common feature of the street scene in Malmö. [...] There is no advanced sewage system to be had in the city. Polluted waste from industries and households is being discharged straight into the canals, creating an intense stench, which is especially palpable during the hot summer days. It is perhaps not that strange that people started longing for the clean and unspoiled "countryside" (Smitt, 1999: 33, my translation).

Several of the areas along the coast, such as Bellevue, Fridhem and Västervång, thus became the destinations of the new industrial class and were in the 1920s–1930s characterised by summer-houses as well as large patrician detached houses surrounded by lush gardens (Tykesson and Magnusson Staaf, 2003: 162, 182, 190; Gråhamn and Hansson, 2001: 4). According to Paulsson (1976a: 339; 1976b:

8), the detached house was perceived as a superior residence as it provided inviolable privacy according to the notion “my home is my castle” and the ideal of separation, seclusion and comfort.

The migration and increasing segregation of the upper-middle class to the coast of Malmö and particularly Bellevue started before the public officials had established the plans for the area, which came into being 1915 and 1916. The ideals for the area, visualised and carried out by the city engineer Anders Nilsson, can be characterised as romantic and scenic. Nilsson was influenced by the Austrian Camillo Sitte, who in turn was inspired by medieval cities rather than classical geometry and wide boulevards (Tykesson and Magnusson Staaf, 2003: 156; Gråhamn and Hansson, 2001: 4). The planning and physical layout of the area, its proximity to the sea and its history of being an area for the upper-middle class in Malmö are some of the features that make Bellevue one of the most attractive parts of Malmö. Smitt (1999: 35) has noted how the relocation of the high-income earners to these areas, as part of a quest for finding a more modern and free lifestyle in clean suburbs whence the men could commute to their prominent positions in the city, was the foundational reason why these areas are still so esteemed and perceived to hold high status. Today, the area is dominated by large houses and spacious plots separated by dint of hedges, walls and gates from each other and from the often quite narrow, winding streets, which are lined with narrower pavements. Several of the houses in Bellevue were constructed during the years 1910-1920, and over the years the built environment in the area has become characterised by a great variety of form, style and materials such as German designs with classicist details, Scanian design and functional styles (Tykesson et al., 2001: 108-109). Apart from detached houses, Bellevue also has two smaller segments dominated by modernistic chain houses which were approved by the municipality in order to make a couple of larger plots denser towards the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s (Gråhamn and Hansson, 2001: 23).

After this introduction of the two neighbourhoods, the next chapter elaborates on the theoretical framework of the study as well as its essential concepts which will be revisited throughout the thesis.

2 Foundational framework and core concepts

This chapter identifies the concepts and frameworks which have been helpful in order to understand and contextualise the material of the thesis. The first part expounds the perspective and world-view of the study which permeates the decisions I have made throughout the thesis, from selecting the literature and previous research to the procedures of collecting and analysing the empirical material. The second section of the chapter elaborates on the core concepts which have proved key throughout the course of performing the research, starting with *class, segregation and security*. In the third and final part of the chapter, *neoliberalisation* is introduced. This is a fourth core concept which is also treated as a framework for understanding the processes of contemporary segregation of the upper-middle class, and as a way to grasp how the concepts of class, segregation and security are related to each other.

This chapter includes mainly international research on processes of neoliberalisation, while the next chapter discusses the effects such processes are reported to have in the context of Sweden and Malmö.

Departure: A fundamental understanding of social constructions and spatial practice

As this thesis is dedicated to understanding segregation among more privileged groups by investigating both how the participants talk about the city and their own neighbourhoods, and how these neighbourhoods are reproduced in everyday life, a framework is needed that explains how talk and practice together shape our understandings of the world around us. The intention in this first part of the chapter is to present my perception of how the social and the material worlds are connected by using an eclectic approach of ideas collected from the work of Michel Foucault and Henri Lefebvre.

While this approach moulds the worldview of the study, I would like to stress that the intention of the thesis is not to apply these complex theories in their “pure” form. Instead, this is a necessarily simplified reading designed to fit this particular study.

This thesis thus sets out from the idea that the knowledge we have of the world is socially constructed, and that there is not merely one existing reality but rather multiple realities and truths which are all constructed through our interpretations of them. This approach is here referred to as social constructionism, a paradigm which came about as a critique towards the positivist and empiricist presumptions characteristic of the Enlightenment, and it implies that the researcher is dedicated to critically analyse the taken-for-granted ways of understanding how the world around us seems to be, as well as our understanding of ourselves *in* this world. Knowledge within social constructionism is perceived as constructed between subjects in their daily practices and interactions, such as language, and what people today see as the truth could in the main be due to their present accepted manners of comprehending the world (Burr, 2003: 2-4).

There are several different interpretations of social constructionism and many theorists and philosophers have contributed to the emergence of this paradigm, such as Friedrich Nietzsche who gave rise to a philosophical tradition suggesting that there are no discourses which are concordant with “reality” (Beronius, 1991: 12). Michel Foucault, whose ideas on social constructions and the creation of knowledge were based upon Nietzsche’s, stressed that there are constant power struggles, with enslavements, victories and dominations, going on behind the words that we use when speaking and communicating, but these words have become so worn down that the traces of these power relations are hard to recognise (Foucault, 1981: 52). The work of Foucault has had an enormous influence on research in the social sciences, and since the mid-1970s a discursive turn has influenced epistemological shifts in various disciplines, not least geography, focusing on the importance of language and discourse in all social activities (Dittmer, 2010: 274).

A common concept in theories of social constructions is that of *discourse*, which is also frequently applied in this study. In Foucault’s framework, discourses are perceived as sets of statements which constitute both objects and subjects. When we use language as a way of communicating, the way we perceive the social world becomes arranged and naturalised as subjects and we use this information when we carry out different actions (Alvesson and Kärre-

man, 2000: 1127-1128). Foucault perceives discourses as simultaneously constraining and enabling language in written, spoken and thought form, and it is thus impossible to separate the forming and production of discourse from the restriction, coercion and exclusion of the same. These two processes complete and involve each other and it is between them that the discourse is formed (Hook, 2001: 523). Foucault (1981: 14-15, 52) propounds the hidden power struggles that lie behind those truths and the social knowledge that we take for granted. According to him, there are procedures at work which control, select, organise and redistribute discourses, with the end result that we as subjects have not noticed the struggle of “will to truth”. All we perceive is truth that seems universal.

While Foucault also aimed at understanding governance and how discourses affected the “diffuse interactions that compose everyday life” (Dittmer, 2010: 277), he was often interested in understanding discourses on a larger scale where he could analyse power, history and materiality (Hook, 2001: 542); a macro-approach which stresses the importance of social structures and institutional practices. In social constructionism, the historically and culturally specific knowledge of the world is linked to the social action that subjects deem appropriate. Language, concepts and categories are constantly reproduced and control and steer the way people think, which in turn constructs the world. The approach of Foucault, and similar ways of understanding how the world around us is constructed, is thus sometimes criticised for leaving little power to individuals who are controlled by the structures and cannot bring about any change of their own accord. This approach has therefore been accused of implying the “death of the subject” (Burr, 2003: 20-23). However, the strong ties between power and discourse do not necessarily imply that resistance is rendered completely impossible, as “resistance is a feature of every power-relationship; there can be no power *without* resistance” (Hook, 2001: 532, italics in original).

The ideas of social constructionism and Foucault about how knowledge is created through language are here used to pinpoint the study’s point of departure and world-view; but since the macro-approach that Foucault’s work tends to suggest is not deemed appropriate for this particular study, it needs to be stressed that this is *not* a strictly Foucauldian thesis. How the empirical material has been analysed by using discourse analysis will be introduced more fully in chapter 4, but the concept is here demarcated in accordance with Ingrid Sahlin’s (1999: 88) comprehensive definition as *the meaning of what we say and write, and how this is said and written*.

Discourses are also perceived as related to practice, and the framework of the thesis assumes that the material environment surrounding us is interpreted and signified with certain meaning. Discourses are thus not solely located in spoken or written language; we understand our material environment by using our previous experience and knowledge about things we have seen or heard before. Discourses have an impact on our actions and the way we shape our surroundings, as well as how we interpret them.

Spatial production and spatial practice

The presumption that discourses and the material world are interrelated is also incorporated in Foucault's notion of discourse, as he emphasised the connection between language and what lies beyond the text. According to Derek Hook (2001), discourses need to be mapped and traced across many forms and objects, and he claims:

Power, in no uncertain terms, cannot be fixed, or apprehended in the meanings and significations of text, but must be grasped and traced through the analysis of tactical and material relations of force (Hook, 2001: 530).

Foucault's interest in the "extra-discursive", which is here interpreted in line with Hook (2001: 537) who sees it as the materiality of discursive practices, is pertinent to chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis which focus on the representations as well as the spatial practices of the inhabitants of Victoria Park and Bellevue. Social processes in cities play a role in how space and place are perceived and how they are used, negotiated and changed. In order to understand the nature of space and how discourse and perception are related to practices in space, I have drawn inspiration from Henri Lefebvre's conceptual triad of spatial production.

Rather than being perceived as empty and geometric, space needs to be interpreted as socially produced and created, according to Lefebvre. In Lefebvre's framework, space is characterised by heterogeneity and opposition and should also be regarded as a social product while holding material qualities (Lefebvre, 1991: 1; Franzén, 2004: 50-52). According to Lina Olsson (2008: 58-59), the social relations and power relations of society are reproduced within space, but at the same time space should according to Lefebvre be seen as a "'tool' and a medium". Space becomes produced on both a macro level (such as market forces and the state) and on a micro, or indi-

vidual, level. The model that Lefebvre developed as a way to understand the production of space consists of three parts: *Spatial practice* (perceived space), *representations of space* (conceived space) and *representational spaces* (lived space) (Lefebvre, 1991: 38-39). These parts overlap and relate to each other in different ways and, as Sara Westin (2010: 77) has indicated, Lefebvre's understanding of space can be understood in several ways and can be adapted to different kinds of empirical materials, which means that Lefebvre's analysis of space is likely to differ from the studies trying to apply his framework.

With spatial practice, Lefebvre meant the daily realities and routines of bodies in space as well as the physical structures such as motorways and air traffic. In Olsson's (2008: 59) interpretation, this means on a micro level what bodies do, what they feel and what they experience by using their senses, such as spatial shapes, textures, distances and temperatures. Spatial practice is thus partially the material dimension of space, such as infrastructure and nature, through which our bodies and means of transportation move when we are on our way to work, when we are indulging ourselves in leisure-time activities, where we pick up our groceries and where we sleep at night. But it is also all those practices that bodies perform in space: different habits and procedures and those actions we carry out as well as the materialisation of discourses. As an example of how spatial practices are perceived in this study, we can take a boundary in the shape of a wall or a gate: the boundary is not only a materialisation of discourse but is in itself also playing a part in the materiality of space as other bodies start relating to this particular artefact and may change their spatial movements and practices.

Representations of space is "the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers ... all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived" (Lefebvre, 1991: 38). Practitioners, like those mentioned by Lefebvre, use their conceptions to shape environments for strategic purposes (Franzén, 2004: 55), and present their conceived spaces in, for instance, images, speech and official documents (Olsson, 2008: 59). Representations of space in the framework of this thesis would be such things as blue-prints and plans of Victoria Park and Bellevue. Such plans are connected to the ideals and visions of planners and architects, which make representations of space slide into the last part of the spatial triad denoted to discourses and perceptions of how the spaces should be used.

The final part of the triad, representational space, is “space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of ‘inhabitants’ and ‘users’” (Lefebvre, 1991: 39, italics in original). According to Lefebvre (1991: 39), representational spaces lie on top of the physical and material aspects of space, trying to change and appropriate it by signification and interpretation. Conceptions, symbolism and spatial practice thus blend together in this spatial category, according to Olsson (2008: 59-60), and discourses, ideas and perceptions of, for example, risks, fears and dangers, or appropriate behaviours and morals, become connected to space. The category of representational spaces is for the purpose of this study interpreted as having two dimensions. Firstly, representational spaces relate to those ideas and discourses appearing in space that certain spatial practices are based upon. In the example of the boundary above, the actual erection of a gate is a spatial practice, but the discourse(s) of why this gate should be erected in the first place and the perceived effects it will have are part of representational spaces. Secondly, the city, its different areas and the material environment is in turn interpreted and assigned meaning by its users. Discourses of certain areas as “immigrant dense”, unattractive and unsafe, for instance, also belong in the category of representational spaces, and such discourses may in turn lead to avoidance behaviours because of fear and thus change the spatial practices of the urban inhabitants, something which will be further elaborated upon in chapter 5.

Lefebvre’s approach provides a way of understanding spatial relations and how urban inhabitants can be interpreted as not only subjects of structures but also as having certain ways to act within the structure, interpret space in other ways and show resistance to dominating ways of using space than what was initially intended when that space was conceptualised. The spatial triad is here used as a way to understand the nature of space as consisting of both social and material dimensions which are related; discourses can become materialised but the materiality of space is in turn subjected to interpretations and significations. While I thus find the triad useful in this aspect, I am aware that extracting this component of Lefebvre’s work from its wider theoretical context is a hazardous exercise. I therefore find it important to emphasise that I do not use the triad extensively for explicit analysis; it provides a background for how I define space rather than a toolkit. Additionally, I would like to note that while drawing on ideas from both Lefebvre and Foucault might appear as controversial as they originate from different theoretical

paradigms, I have for the sake of understanding space and social constructions in this particular study used an eclectic point of view; an approach which has been applied in other publications as well (see, for instance, Soja, 2000). The perspective presented here of how I perceive knowledge and taken-for-granted truths as socially constructed, and how I see discourse as related to spatial practice, is something that permeates the whole study, as well as the interpretation of its core concepts which are presented next.

Who are the upper-middle class?

Class is a concept which during the course of research has been given an increasingly central place in the study. At the beginning, however, I merely applied the economic aspect of class in order to define and characterise the people living in the two areas, before it became increasingly clear that the concept of class and what it means to the research participants needs to be understood as infused by social constructions. The importance of the participants' perceptions of class to how they represent Victoria Park and Bellevue will be elaborated upon in chapter 6, and the purpose of this section of the chapter is to explain in more detail how I operationalise the class concept and how this has been applied to the empirical material along the course of research. I will start with my initial conceptualisation of class as an economic category, before moving on to a more theoretical understanding of class and status.

At the stage of designing the study, when I was about to find the second residential area to be investigated alongside Victoria Park, I turned to income statistics in order to find a neighbourhood which had similar income levels. Doing so, I found that the older neighbourhoods closer to the sea, dominated by detached houses, also had a higher income above the city average. It was thus possible to interpret them as housing the upper-middle class, as this was my initial operationalisation of the class concept, and eventually my choice fell on Bellevue as the second neighbourhood to study.

The city district of Limhamn-Bunkeflo, where Victoria Park and Bellevue are located, is one of the wealthier parts of Malmö and in 2010 the inhabitants had the highest incomes on an individual level in Malmö (see table 1).

Table 1: Income variables for the city districts in Malmö, year 2010 in Swedish kronor (individual level)										
	Centrum	Södra Innerstaden	Västra Innerstaden	Limhamn- Bunkeflo	Hyllie	Fosie	Oxie	Rosengård	Husie	Kirseberg
Average disposable income	191 332	141 837	218 782	237 074	162 435	131 903	174 288	104 721	200 197	161 706
Median disposable income	172 899	134 681	204 178	210 405	148 062	126 664	177 921	100 089	193 839	150 810
Average income from employ- ment	318 967	244 952	338 504	390 008	286 444	253 446	305 245	221 388	321 604	285 235
Median income from employ- ment	293 894	247 135	308 195	332 252	274 531	253 066	293 727	225 648	300 764	277 185

Table 1: Statistics from Statistics Sweden via Malmö Stad. Inhabitants included in the statistics are between 15 and 74 years old. The exchange rate of 10 Swedish Kronor was 1.09 € on September 30th 2014.

In a report by Mikael Stigendal from 1998 the district is also said to be more dominated by nuclear families than the other investigated districts in the report. According to Stigendal, 80% of the inhabitants reported never having a problem paying the bills, in comparison with the city district of Rosengård where 64% reported having a problem paying the bills every now and then and 24% experienced this problem every month. Almost 75% of the households in Limhamn-Bunkeflo save money every month while in Rosengård the same number is less than 20%. Limhamn-Bunkeflo is the city district in Malmö where the most households have a car: 82% report being car-owners, which can be compared with Rosengård where the equivalent number is 35%. Stigendal's study shows that 76% of the inhabitants of Limhamn-Bunkeflo go on domestic or international vacations if they can afford it, while 64% in Rosengård never go on vacation (Stigendal, 1998: 45, 52-53).

	Victoria Park	Bellevue area 1	Bellevue area 2	Limhamn-Bunkeflo	Malmö
Average disposable income	393 642	484 602	428 193	237 074	174 215
Median disposable income	259 067	290 280	304 689	210 405	155 261
Average income from employment	608 140	690 637	666 307	390 008	306 388
Median income from employment	351 663	454 136	472 872	332 252	282 824

Table 2: Statistics from Statistics Sweden via Malmö Stad. Inhabitants included in the statistics are between 15 and 74 years old. Bellevue area 1 constitutes the larger part of Bellevue with mainly detached houses, whereas Bellevue area 2 consists of mainly row-houses. Disposable income: the sum of all incomes liable to or exempted from tax such as certain allowances, alimony and capital income. Income from employment: All incomes and transfers liable to tax such as employment, pension, sickness benefits and unemployment benefits.

In table 2 income statistics for Victoria Park and Bellevue are compared with the city district and Malmö in general. The table shows that the inhabitants of Victoria Park and Bellevue generally earn more than the inhabitants of the city district, and that the inhabitants of Bellevue are wealthier than the inhabitants of Victoria Park.

When comparing the average disposable income level with the median disposable income level for both areas, the skewedness of the distribution suggests that there are a number of individuals who are substantially richer than average in these areas. Because of this, it becomes more accurate to use the median variables when comparing the areas with the city district and the general city of Malmö as they will disregard the extreme values.

Thus, the median disposable income in Victoria Park and Bellevue is between 23% - 45% higher than the median disposable income in Limhamn-Bunkeflo. This can be further compared with the median disposable income of Malmö generally where the inhabitants of the two areas have a 67% to 96% higher median disposable income, and to Rosengård where the incomes of Victoria Park and Bellevue are 159% to 200% higher.

When using the variable median income from employment, Victoria Park has an income 6% higher than that of the average citizen in Limhamn-Bunkeflo, while the equivalent numbers for Bellevue are between 37% and 42%. In relation to the city of Malmö, Victoria Park and Bellevue have a median income from employment 24% to 67% higher, and 56% to 110% higher than the average citizen in Rosengård.

Table 3 illustrates the socio-economics of Victoria Park and Bellevue in comparison with Limhamn-Bunkeflo and Malmö generally. It shows that Victoria Park has a slight over-representation of women among its inhabitants as well as the lowest share of residents with foreign background. For Bellevue, the number of residents with foreign background is almost at the same level as for the city district in general. The share of residents with foreign background among the residents is however more than half in Bellevue and the city district than in Malmö in general.

Regarding the variables of education and unemployment, it is important to highlight that the data from Malmö Stad and Statistics Sweden (SCB) do not include inhabitants under the age of 15 and over the age of 74. Victoria Park has a rather high average age, which means that there might be a risk that a greater share of inhabitants is disregarded in Victoria Park than in Bellevue. The table shows that Victoria Park lies closer to the numbers of Limhamn-Bunkeflo in regard to education than Bellevue does. Most inhabitants have upper-secondary school or "post-gymnasium" education as their highest level of education. Generally, a characteristic of Bellevue is the comparably high levels of education exceeding Victoria Park, Limhamn-Bunkeflo and Malmö. Regarding unemployment,

Victoria Park and Bellevue have a slightly smaller share of unemployed than Limhamn-Bunkeflo and a more substantial difference in unemployment in comparison with Malmö in general.

Table 3: Socio-economic statistics for the two areas, Limhamn-Bunkeflo and the general city, year 2011				
	Victoria Park	Bellevue	Limhamn-Bunkeflo	Malmö
Women	57%	51%	51%	51%
Men	43%	49%	49%	49%
Residents with foreign background	15%	18%	19%	41%
Residents with nine-year compulsory schooling	13%	10%	14%	19%
Residents with education up to upper secondary level	38%	21%	36%	37%
Residents with post-gymnasium education	45%	59%	44%	38%
Residents with post-graduate education	1%	4%	2%	1%
Officially unemployed	2%	1%	3%	6%

Table 3: Statistics from Statistics Sweden via Malmö Stad. In 2011, the number of residents of the statistical units was for Bellevue 1269 and for Victoria Park 368 inhabitants. The variables describing the sex of the inhabitants and residents with foreign background are based on all age groups in the areas while the variables for education and unemployment include residents between the ages of 15-74. Foreign background includes inhabitants either born abroad or who have both parents born abroad. It should be noted that in 2011 other housing units are included in the same statistical area as Victoria Park.

What can be said based on these statistics, then, is that the inhabitants of Victoria Park and Bellevue are generally wealthier than their city district and the city as a whole. They are also more highly educated, the unemployment is lower and the shares of inhabitants with foreign background are also lower than in the city district and Malmö Stad. The inhabitants of Bellevue are in turn generally wealthier and more highly educated than the residents of Victoria Park.

The differences in income between these areas and the poorest city district of Rosengård are big, but not as big as the differences would be between the richest and the poorest areas in many international contexts where the income gaps are much deeper in general. The residents of Victoria Park and Bellevue are richer than average in Malmö, and even though the skewedness of the variable “average disposable income” suggests that there are individuals in Victoria Park and Bellevue who are very wealthy and could thus be members of the upper class, the majority is not. Thus, the average resident of Bellevue and Victoria Park is perceived as a member of the upper-middle class from an economic perspective, rather than of the upper class.

As already intimated at the beginning of this section, class is however not limited to its economic aspects in this study. Class is a much debated social category as it is related to both economic structures as well as the mobilisation of political actors. According to Bengtsson et al. (2012: 27), research on class often chooses one of these aspects to focus on and thus highlights *either* how resources and positions facilitate different life chances *or* how the practices of a certain group affect and are affected by subjectivities and collective identities. As the fieldwork thus progressed in Victoria Park and Bellevue, it dawned on me that class could not be limited to just a certain category of income; it turned out to be a vital concept for understanding the lifestyles of the residents of the neighbourhoods as well as their own perceptions of social status, their privileges and their abilities to choose on the housing market. While the residents talked about why they chose to move to these areas and when they described their lives in their neighbourhoods and their perceptions of the rest of the city, it became clear that their statements were frequently closely connected to a discourse on what it entails to be a member of a privileged class. As chapter 6 will show, the interviewees’ views of their own class positions and the freedom to choose a residential area which is publicly known for being nicer than average or enjoys a high status triggers a state of conflict for many of the

residents. In this sense, class will in this study refer not only to the economic resources of the residents which have made it possible for them to move to these areas, but it is also connected to the social constructions which are attached to class and how the participants reflect on what it means for them to be a part of the upper-middle class.

The middle classes and status

There is no need to point out how important the classic framework of Karl Marx on the relations between the capitalist class and the working class has been for the theorisation of class struggle. However, Marx's conceptualisation of class has also been criticised for not paying attention to the middle classes, which is something Max Weber explores as well as class relations outside of production (Bengtsson et al., 2012: 25). Weber (1983: 210; 1987: 37) uses the concepts of class and class-situation to characterise those people who have similar positions of interest and who can have actions in common but who do not necessarily need to be part of any mutual associations or communities. In Weber's framework, the classes are not homogenous as the members of a class can have access to different means of production, wealth, consumer goods and capacities. There can thus exist different class-situations within a certain class and this renders mobility within classes possible as well as challenging the stability of classes (Weber, 1983: 210). Classes should therefore not be seen as fixed as they are defined between each other and affect each other (which is a framework Weber shares with Marx) (Bengtsson et al., 2012: 24). This also goes for the middle class, and Loïc Wacquant (2012: 107-108) notes that it is impossible to delimit the middle class or ascertain where its boundaries should be drawn as the middle class does not exist as a firm entity. It is constantly constructed in relation to conflicts with other classes.

To acknowledge the existence of the middle classes is obviously important to this study, which is one reason why Weber's approach to the class concept is helpful. While doing fieldwork in the two areas, another concept that came up several times both implicitly and explicitly was the notion of status, and how the participants viewed their own status positions. This concept is also elaborated upon by Weber (1983: 212), who sees it as strongly related to class. He defines status as "positive or negative social prestige" which becomes established upon a person's lifestyle, education, lineage or occupation. According to Weber, money and occupational class can

bring a certain status but status is not exclusively tied to them, as someone with small economic means might not necessarily have a lower status. People with quite different economic means and wealth might still enjoy similar status as they could share the same kind of upbringing and have a higher education (Weber, 1983: 212-213). Power is thus not the only factor behind prestige, as prestige in itself can be the factor behind economic power. Status appears when several people act in similar ways and share similar lifestyles, and in order to achieve that kind of status new members would have to present a certain way of life. To live on a certain street, for instance, is one way of achieving a certain status and qualify into a specific society. This can in turn lead to accessing more resources due to increased business opportunities and respected social relations (Weber, 1987: 34-35, 40).

Weber (1987: 39-44) distinguishes between class and status group, as class is related to production and acquisition of goods whereas the status group has to do with people's consumption in their particular ways of life. Class is thus connected to the economic order while status groups are related to the social order and to the community among the members of a particular group. The class-situation is determined by economy, but the status-situation is dependent on how a certain group with certain things in common value elements of life. These two concepts of class and status are however connected, as ownership is sometimes, but not always, connected to status. Weber notes that highly renowned status groups are always dependent on a certain distance and exclusivity, and these groups are thus connected to the consumption and taste for particular clothes, food and art, for instance. Certain lifestyles thus have origins from or are preserved within a specific status group.

Class relations, according to James S. Duncan and Nancy Duncan (2004: 25), "are obscured, becoming incorporated into categories of lifestyle, taste, patterns of consumption, and appreciation of the visual, the sensual, and the unique". In their study of how landscape aesthetics are connected to class relations in the suburb of Bedford, New York, they see taste in landscape as a form of cultural capital in the notion of Bourdieu (1984). Bourdieu's approach to class shares certain resemblances to Weber's as he also challenges Marx's notion of the two classes (Crossley, 2008: 89) and is not investigating where the boundaries should be drawn between classes but rather the relations between and within the classes and how class is shaped and produced (Wacquant, 2012: 101). Bourdieu is however differ-

ent from Weber in the sense that, unlike the latter, he chooses not to separate between class and status but sees the structure of class as a combination of economic and symbolic capital (Bengtsson et al., 2012: 27). Capital is according to Bourdieu those values, means and resources which are sought after by others, and symbolic capital is, in the definition of Donald Broady (1991: 169-173, 209), capital that is recognised by social groups as something valuable and is ascribed value. This is related to the concept of status, as certain people, institutions, academic degrees and titles, for instance, are by others credited, respected, esteemed and hold prestige. Others' perceptions and acknowledgements are thus key for something to be defined as symbolic capital, and by controlling access to certain kinds of symbolic capital particular social classes and groups can thus more or less monopolise them. Economic capital is however connected to symbolic capital, as individuals or groups who have successfully attained economic capital often also hold certain symbolic capital (such as perhaps being eloquent or having certain information). Cultural capital is one kind of symbolic capital which includes education, knowledge about classical music or literature, being able to talk or write in a cultivated manner or having a specific taste in landscape as Duncan and Duncan (2004) highlight.

Class in the interpretation of Bourdieu is thus seen as individuals who identify with each other and act collectively but in order to do so they have to do more than merely exist in the same social space. In Crossley's (2008) interpretation of Bourdieu, however, people who have similar positions in social space are also likely to share certain life and work-related circumstances. People living in proximity in social space and with similar amounts and compositions of capital are thus more likely to meet in physical space since they might live in specific neighbourhoods, have their children in the same schools and spend their leisure time in certain parts of the city. "In addition," Crossley (2008: 93, italics in original) writes, "they are inclined to develop similar lifestyles, outlooks, dispositions and a tacit sense of their place in the world or 'class unconsciousness'; that is, class *habitus*". People who share similar habitus, such as a petty-bourgeoisie habitus, for instance, have certain preferences regarding food, interior design, clothing and education and might have aversion towards negligence, rashness and extravagance (Broady, 1991: 232).

These selected readings of the concepts of Weber and Bourdieu have been helpful when conceptualising the upper-middle class in the study, and to understand the social constructions inherent to the

concept of class, status and lifestyle. This, of course, is of great importance in order to investigate what it means to the residents to live in an area defined as “lifestyle housing” and, as the empirical material will show, the perceptions of what it implies to be a part of an upper-middle class and to hold certain status had an impact on how the participants represented their neighbourhoods.

Segregation, avoidance and racialisation

Residential segregation is in this thesis understood as when urban inhabitants of different social characteristics live spatially separated from each other; a process occurring in the whole urban “system of differences”, to use Persson’s (2008: 4) terminology. Segregation is often depicted as a societal problem having negative consequences which would not exist if the geographical distance between groups had been smaller. When poorer and richer urban inhabitants live apart, preschools, schools and businesses located in different parts of a city receive varying preconditions. The poorer inhabitants have lower spending power and urban living conditions all over the city become polarised (Andersson, 2008: 120-122).

Residential segregation among groups with more resources and freedom to choose where and how to live has been more thoroughly investigated and highlighted as important by researchers in Anglo-Saxon contexts. Rowland Atkinson (2006) has, for instance, expounded how “self-imposed disaffiliation” of the middle class in the UK ranges from what he refers to as “open seclusion” to more extreme forms of incarceration. Strategies of self-segregation may thus, according to the author, include a desire to live in a gentrified area, the image of which is in accordance with a person’s perceived social status; to live in an area free from social problems; or to live in an area which is isolated, safe and predictable. In the US context, a focus on racial relations has been more prevalent, where the residential patterns of the “White” Anglo-American majority is compared with the “Black” African-American minority’s (Andersson, 2013: 182; Bråmås, 2006: 1127). In an influential study Ellen (2000: 2, 131, 151) argues that “white avoidance”, when the white majority population chooses *not to move into* a neighbourhood which is racially mixed, contributes to racial change in neighbourhoods, and more so than “white flight” which means that the white majority chooses *to move out of* areas which are going through racial change. The reason is likely to be that the people who already live in a residential

area which is going through changes in terms of population composition have more information about what it is like living there and how the neighbourhood is likely to develop in the future, while those choosing from many options of where to move care more about the racial composition of a certain area.

In a European and a Swedish context, however, white flight and white avoidance have not been as commonly investigated (Andersson, 2013: 182). There are important differences between the US and the European contexts, and the residential areas in Sweden which are often perceived as inhabited by a relatively high share of immigrants tend to be composed of inhabitants from many countries rather than one single ethnic group and thus mainly have the background of immigration in common. Bråmås (2006) however notes that the concepts of white flight and white avoidance still have certain explanatory power in the Swedish context as they do not have to be used exclusively when discussing “White” and “Black” populations. Instead, they can be used to explain the perceptions and behaviours of a majority group in relation to different minority groups. Bråmås’s findings show that the mobility patterns of the majority population in Sweden play a part in the reproduction of areas with a relatively high share of inhabitants with foreign background. This is mainly because the majority population avoids moving to them in the first place, but also because they are more likely to move out from them.

As will be more fully elaborated upon in chapter 5, this study applies the avoidance concept but chooses not to restrict it to racial avoidance. Race does not need to be the only factor determining whether a residential area is avoided, as for instance Harris (2001: 112) argues that perceptions of crime tend to play a specific role as well as the quality of schools, neighbourhood deterioration and poverty. Andersson (2013: 185) has also noted that when the housing market is characterised as “tight” and housing prices are high, the households with resources have the ability to move out of, or flee, stigmatised neighbourhoods but that this is not determined mainly by the ethnicity of the households. The reasons for avoidance could thus be several. It is, however, important to acknowledge the impact of racialisation processes on the Swedish housing market. This has been highlighted by Irene Molina (1997: 62; 2005: 112), who explains how certain areas, such as the Million Programme suburbs, are related to by the majority population by ideas of race. Politicians, planners and the media also play important roles in recreating representations of these neighbourhoods, according to Molina, and

Ericsson et al. (2002: 19-29) have also noted how crime, violence, youth gangs, female oppression and social welfare dependence become discursively attached to what is known as “the immigrant-dense suburb”. A line is thus drawn between those who are perceived to be on the inside and those who are on the outside. Again, this will be more thoroughly discussed in chapter 5, where the participants’ spatial and social representations of Malmö are investigated.

Security, insecurity and fear

A concept of much importance to this study is security, together with the related concepts of insecurity and fear. As noted by Harris (2001: 112), perceptions of high crime levels in particular residential areas may thus be one reason why certain neighbourhoods are avoided by those societal groups with a wider choice as to which part of the city to live in, something which will be explored in more detail in chapter 5 while the security concept will be analysed further in chapter 7. *Fear of crime* has become a growing object of study in academia, which started with crime surveys carried out in the United States during the 1960s where it was concluded that the reported perceptions and attitudes to danger were not actually a reflection of crime as reported in statistics. Apart from indicating that these perceptions were seemingly based on other aspects than actual experiences of danger, the findings also showed that fear of violent crime was more prevalent and disproportionately larger than fear of other kinds of danger. While crime has been viewed as a problem in academic research for a longer period of time, the effects of crime in terms of negative feelings such as fear and insecurity are thus a more recent topic of interest and fear of crime is now perceived as a problem in its own right (Farrall et al., 2009: 3, 24). In Sweden, the number of academic theses written during the 21st century give evidence of the increasing importance within academia to come to a deeper understanding of processes of fear, worry and security from crime and related phenomena (see, for instance, Listerborn, 2002; Wendt, 2002; Burcar, 2005; Mallén, 2005; Litzén, 2006; Heber, 2007; Sandstig, 2010; Kullberg, 2010; Sandberg, 2011).

While becoming its own academic field separate from research on actual crime, previous research has shown that fear of and insecurities regarding crime are comprehensive and nuanced phenome-

na which are interpreted in different ways in different contexts. Apart from variations in the understanding of what fear is and how fear might be defined, research has shown that fear of crime is not necessarily limited to fear of *actual crime*. Criminologist Anita Heber, for instance, notes how her “interviewees’ understanding of fear of crime thus includes much more than just *fear*” (Heber, 2007: 161, italics in original) and that “fear of crime is not just fear of *crime*” (Heber, 2007: 86, italics in original). Heber’s results indicate that when the respondents talked about fear, they often associated this with unpredictable situations and people, and the source of fear was sometimes something unspecified that made them feel uneasy. The female participants’ explanations of what kind of action or event they feared being exposed to were sometimes unclear and Heber interprets these diffuse feelings as perceived lack of control, which could be caused by feelings of physical vulnerability (Heber, 2007: 162, 235). Feelings and discourses of fear and security are also intimately connected to space and time, a discussion that will be further developed in chapters 5 and 7. For now, it is important to tease out and more thoroughly investigate concepts such as security, insecurity and fear and come to an understanding of how these concepts are applied in the study.

The many concepts of fear and security

Several studies note the difficulty of demonstrating what should clearly be defined as fear and how this is separated from related concepts, which are often used by politicians, the media and the public as synonyms for fear. *Apprehensions of risk and danger, feelings of insecurity* and *worry* are frequently gathered under the umbrella term ‘fear of crime’, according to Heber (2007: 30), and advocates of a wider interpretation of fear of crime thus emphasise how it has to be understood as composing many varied emotions and experiences as well as holding several meanings. As Farrall et al. (2009: 236-241) note, while the concept of fear gives the impression of being concrete moments of terror and experiences of threat, the most common experiences of fear are however more diffuse and become more of a backdrop to everyday life rather than being its leading actor.

Research has nonetheless shown that some groups of society, such as women, the elderly, people of weak socio-economics, gay people, minorities and people of foreign background, have proven to show higher levels of fear which can be very concrete and have seri-

ous effects on everyday lives (see Heber, 2007: 58-70, for a review of the literature). Hille Koskela (1999: 112), who has devoted much attention to female fear and power structures in space, also emphasises a wide definition of fear and describes it as: "For some, it means fleeting moments of uneasiness, for others, constant and serious restrictions that profoundly shape their everyday lives". Rachel Pain (2000: 367), who has also investigated power structures and socially vulnerable groups, chooses like Koskela and Farrall et al. a wide framework for understanding fear. To her, fear of crime "describes the wide range of emotional and practical responses to crime and disorder individuals and communities may make"; a definition that allows more attention to be turned to the actual impact that concerns about crime has on everyday life, rather than trying to measure levels or rates of fear which tends to be the focus of, for instance, quantitative surveys (Pain, 2001: 901).

Even so, not all researchers agree that it is appropriate to use fear of crime as an umbrella term for investigating a wider span of negative feelings and reactions related to perceptions of crime. Some assert that the intensity of fear is quite different from less strong reactions and that they should be distinguished from each other. Mike Hough (2004: 174), for instance, argues that an experience of worry or anxiety is, in contrast to fear, "not comprised of a series of events that can be located in space and time. Rather, it is a rumbling state of unease, often partly submerged, sometimes fully surfacing".

In a Swedish thesis on criminology, Staffan Litzén (2006: 17, 27-28) similarly argues that worry and related feelings such as insecurity, dread, feelings of unpleasantness and anxiety should not be considered as synonyms for fear. In his conception, fear is more emotional and situation-dependent, and is more related to anger, whereas worry is more connected to the intellect. According to Litzén, the media tends to portray worries about crime as fear of crime and thus giving off a more alarmist image of the reactions to crime.

In Sweden, there has been a number of publications about reactions to crime where the concept of fear ("rädsla") has been applied (see Andersson, 2001; Listerborn, 2002; Wendt, 2002; Heber, 2007; Sandberg, 2011), but it is more common for the word "otrygghet" to be used instead. "Otrygghet" could be translated as insecurity (or "unsafety", see Kullberg, 2010) and in the Swedish crime survey (NTU) from 2012, for instance, the words "trygghet" and "otrygghet" are used frequently. "Fear" is completely absent from the report in Swedish, but in the English summary "otrygghet" has consistently been translated as "fear" (Färdeman et al., 2013a; Färdeman

et al., 2013b). Generally, *fear* of crime seems to be more commonly used as a term in international research while *insecurity* is often used in its stead in the Swedish context. That fear becomes “recoded” into matters of “trygghet” in the Swedish context has also been noted by political scientist Catharina Thörn (2006: 309-310).

“Trygghet” and “säkerhet” are two words in Swedish which could be translated into English as something similar to “safety” and “security”. Trygghet is sometimes used by practitioners to describe a more subjective state and feelings of well-being and absence of deviant elements (Svenonius, 2011: 188, 197), and the concept thus has certain emotional aspects that the word säkerhet lacks (Litzén, 2006: 27). The concept of trygghet is not necessarily restricted to mean feeling safe from crime, but also relates to aspects such as health and the security that has traditionally been promoted by the welfare state (Listerborn, 2002: 58; Svenonius, 2011: 189). Säkerhet, on the other hand, is frequently used in, for instance, traffic contexts and implies the (often technical) measures which prevent accidents caused by ignorance, technical flaws or incautiousness that could result in casualties (Andersson, 2001: 30).

Thus, säkerhet is generally used to describe some kind of “objective” state of *being* safe at the same time as the word is related to certain practices; the measures taken to *increase* security. These measures are usually imposed to increase both trygghet (“subjective” security) and säkerhet (“objective” security), and increasing trygghet is seen as an important part of crime prevention (Listerborn, 2002: 58; Sahlin, 2008: 27-28). The word trygghet, however, is often seen as associated with more positive notions of practising security than concepts like säkerhet and crime prevention, as measures trying to increase the more emotional aspects of security imply processes where many actors, both public authorities and citizens, are involved in preventing crime and other kinds of unwanted behaviours. Trygghet is attached to ideals such as openness and availability, whereas säkerhet is apt to be seen as having more negative connotations of, for instance, controlled mobility, guards, fences and technical surveillance (Koskela, 1996: 74; Listerborn, 2002: 240-242). According to Svenonius (2011: 190), who has investigated urban security regimes in public transportation, the concept of trygghet has become a discursive resource used by the Stockholm public transportation authority. The concept’s positive undertones and associations to “the ‘fatherly’ care so common in welfare state politics” are thus used to legitimise measures that are traditionally more associated to the concepts of säkerhet and surveillance. This idea

will be revisited in the last section of this chapter which is dedicated towards security in the neoliberalised city.

My application of concepts such as trygghet, säkerhet, safety and security

Drawing on the research by Pain (2000; 2001), Koskela (1999), Heber (2007) and Farrall et al. (2009), I have chosen to apply a comprehensive understanding of the fear concept as it is hard to delimit a whole register of feelings in order to draw a line between which ones should be counted as fear and which ones should be understood as something else. This is especially hard as we can never really know what the interviewees felt in a particular moment; as we are trapped in our own bodies we cannot experience that exact emotion. What we can do, however, is to listen to how the research participants talk about certain experiences and perceived threats. Feelings of uneasiness, worry, insecurity or fear are interpreted in the study as related emotions, but in the empirical chapters I have striven to reflect the expressions used by the interviewees to the utmost extent. As the study will show, however, feelings of fear in their everyday urban realities were not perceived as a big problem to the participants and security, or trygghet, appeared to be a more common and relevant concept.

Some researchers tend to translate trygghet directly as safety (see for instance Listerborn, 2002; Kullberg, 2010), while others promote that safety is often used to describe technical and architectural efforts made to reduce risk of casualties and thus coming very close to the concept of säkerhet (Svenonius, 2011: 197). In yet other attempts to understand these concepts, safety is seen as incorporating features of both trygghet and säkerhet (see for instance Litzén, 2006: 27-28; and Sandstig, 2010: 44). There is however a problem in translating trygghet and säkerhet directly as safety and security as there is no clear-cut way of connecting each of the Swedish concepts to one of the English counterparts. Because of this conceptual complexity of trying to find a correct translation, I will use a more flexible approach where the English concepts of safety and security will be used more or less as synonyms for the emotional reactions and the perceptions of crime and other unpleasant phenomena. As an example, *feeling safe* and *feeling secure* will both be interpreted as *feelings of security*.

As one aspect of this study is to understand how discourse and practice are related, this approach also encompasses how I interpret

the concept of security. Security is in this thesis not limited to feelings and discourses as it has an important material aspect which links it to the Swedish concept of *säkerhet*. In order to explain the aspect of security which relates to both physical artefacts and social collaborations, such as implementations of walls, gates, security cameras or neighbourhood watch programmes, I will apply terms like *security practices*. The usage of this term is related to the conceptualisation of space described previously in this chapter, and is in my interpretation linked to what Lefebvre (1991: 38) called spatial practice. This framework is also inspired by Lucia Zedner (2003: 154-157), who acknowledges the multiple meanings of the security concept. She explains that security can both be understood as a “state of being” as well as “means to that end”. The former refers to how security can be interpreted as an “objective” condition where one neutralises threats or avoids them and thus achieves “absolute security”, as well as the more subjective condition of feeling safe and free from negative feelings such as anxiety and apprehension. Subjective and “objective” security may be connected but could also be unrelated, according to Zedner. The latter understanding of security as a means to achieve objective and subjective security is interpreted by me as similar to what I refer to as security practices. Using this approach means that I also adopt Zedner’s argument that security practices suffer from the difficulty of establishing when “objective” and subjective security has been reached, and that absolute security both in the subjective and the “objective” sense should be seen as a utopia because of the new threats that constantly appear. Attaining absolute security is thus an everlasting quest.

Neoliberalisation

In this final part of the chapter, I present previous research on neoliberalisation, which is a fourth important concept of the study while it is also used as a way to understand the segregation of the upper-middle class in contemporary urban areas. The concepts of class, segregation and security have up until this point been treated separately, but they can within a theoretical framework of the neoliberal city be seen as related in several ways, which will principally be fleshed out in the last part of the chapter. The connection between these concepts and processes of neoliberalisation will also be revisited further ahead in the thesis when segregation processes and

practices of everyday life in Victoria Park and Bellevue are elaborated upon.

David Harvey defines neoliberalism as...

...a theory of political economic practices proposing that human well-being can best be advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, unencumbered markets, and free trade (Harvey, 2007b: 22).

According to Harvey (2007a: 21; 2007b: 23), neoliberalism has become a hegemonic discourse and is now a taken-for-granted part of how we perceive and comprehend the world around us. However, while neoliberalism ideologically emphasises the importance of market over state, a tension appears between this notion and the practices of neoliberalism. While the neoliberal discourse is sceptical towards state power, the state still needs to be strong in order to defend private property rights, entrepreneurial freedoms and individual liberties (see also Peck, 2004: 394). Additionally, as Brenner and Theodore (2002: 350, 353, 375) argue, while the ideology of neoliberalism is promoted in many cases as a “one size fits all” approach, signifying that the same kind of results will appear after its implementation, it often fails to recognise the discrepancies between the contexts in which neoliberalism is applied. The realisation of neoliberalism is socially and geographically uneven, meaning that there is no linear progression from a standard welfare city to a standard neoliberal city. Thus, as Peck and Tickell (2002: 383) note, these processes should rather be seen as “neoliberalisation”, in a similar sense to globalisation, rather than as an “-ism” or a terminus as “the process of neoliberalization, then, is neither monolithic in form nor universal in effect” (Peck and Tickell, 2002: 384). Neoliberal strategies are hence implemented in place-specific ways (Brenner and Theodore, 2002: 375), which in the context of Sweden has been investigated by, among others, Baeten (2012) and Christophers (2013). The processes of neoliberalisation and entrepreneurialism in Swedish cities and especially Malmö will however be discussed in the next chapter.

As stressed by Brenner and Theodore (2002: 368), the city is an important target and “laboratory” in order to achieve market-oriented growth and spaces of elite consumption. Cities are encouraged to become more entrepreneurial and their public agencies are in turn encouraged to act more like private companies where public officials practically take on the role of CEOs of cities (Sager, 2011:

155). Harvey (1989: 4-5) notes how the idea of the entrepreneurial city came about as a response to the deindustrialisation of the capitalist economies and the concomitant economic strains, together with “a rising tide of neoconservatism” and ideas of rationality and privatisation. It is an urban strategy that started to become more prevalent from the 1970s onward and it has become stressed as important and adopted by many disparate countries independently of political convictions and ideologies. After the economic hardships of industries during this time, it became increasingly clear to urban governments that cities need to boost their general attractiveness in order to entice more investments into the urban environments. This, however, is not just up to the local power-holders, as they increasingly need to cooperate and negotiate these investments with international capital. In pursuance of a share of the international capital, cities are thus in increasing competition with each other (Sassen, 2001) and it is perceived that it is necessary to adopt an entrepreneurial attitude in order to be successful in this competition on a global scale. One important ingredient in becoming a successful entrepreneurial city is thus to emphasise the city’s attractiveness, and place promotion is an important means to reach the goal (Sager, 2011: 153-154). The city’s provision of services and tourism activities tends to be stressed in the marketing of the city, as new museums, art galleries, business conventions as well as big sports and cultural events are developed. Instead of industries, it often becomes important to attract service jobs in, for instance, finance, software and advertising, and to develop higher education and research institutes (Ward, 1998: 186, 189).

Additionally, the trend is for older and more run-down areas to be restored in order to make room for expensive housing, shopping, offices and cultural activities, while the buildings redolent of the older industrial era of the city and waterfront developments often get to play a new role in the city as they become renovated to accommodate high-income housing. Restaurants and nightlife have to provide sufficient service to accommodate the city’s new image (Ward, 1998: 189-190), and the general look of the city also has to fit in. Not infrequently, the city invests large sums of money into new, spectacular architecture, also known by Anne Haila (1997: 60) as “image buildings”, in order to reinforce the urban image and to attract foreign investors. Thus, processes of entrepreneurialism and neoliberalisation tend to have great impacts on the physical layout of the city and its spaces.

The privatisation and control of urban spaces

The city in the entrepreneurial discourse has to provide urban environments of sufficient standard in order to attract a wealthier population. The consumers must feel that their needs are satisfied and find the city “cool” in order for it to be truly successful economically (Sager, 2011: 156). “Quality of life” has according to Harvey become a new focus in order to entice consumers:

Above all, the city has to appear as an innovative, exciting, creative, and safe place to live or to visit, to play and consume in (Harvey, 1989: 9).

Urban spaces are thus often tidied up, and private actors in the shape of different governance networks tend to receive an increasing responsibility in the maintenance of public spaces, and shop-owners, for instance, sometimes decide to work together to improve the public space around their businesses, creating what has been referred to as Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) (Sager, 2011: 171). BIDs and the increasing proliferation of shopping centres are, according to researchers investigating the impacts of neoliberalism, often mentioned as two examples of how privatisation processes increasingly occur in cities when private actors and businesses receive more power to govern and affect public space. The spaces in the shopping centres are usually privately owned but intended for the consumerism of the public, and the ability to pay can be a crucial quality in order to gain access (Flusty, 1997: 51). Being a more controlled version of public space which many, but not all, of the city’s inhabitants can access, the experience of diversity becomes safer than it might be in other circumstances as the visitors are in most cases protected from disturbing elements such as poverty and homelessness (Thörn, 2006: 311). In these spaces, measures are sometimes taken against prohibited or anti-social though not always criminal behaviours (Wakefield, 2000: 126-131).

These kinds of privatisation processes of public space thus run the risk of excluding people or groups who are considered to threaten the security of urban space, or who are seen mainly as disturbing elements for different reasons. The aestheticisation of urban space is according to Alan R. Walks (2006: 466) contributing to and facilitated by social exclusion and the management of class. The author notes that “an aestheticized social and political praxis” has appeared which is “growing in tandem with neoliberalism’s colonization and privatization of public space, and its tendency to segment markets

while privileging ‘choice’ in market discourses” (Walks, 2006: 473). In what is by now a classic book, Mike Davis (2006: 226-227, 233, 257) has argued that the privatisation and tidying-up of public space in Los Angeles by playing music in the background, using aromatisers or even by placing benches in the public environment which are shaped as barrels to make sure that no one can sleep on them has caused a destruction of public space. Further, Stephen Graham (2010: 102) continues this discussion on the privatisation of public space and argues that these spaces are “‘spatial products’ of transnational neoliberalism” and that they are becoming increasingly militarised.

It should however be noted that definitions of clear-cut private spaces (such as the home) and public spaces (such as the public square) are problematic. This division and dichotomy is a simplification as it does not consider those individuals who fall in-between this binary and who do not follow the norms as they have to carry out many of their “private” affairs in public space, one obvious example being the homeless (Thörn, 2006: 312). The notion of public space as inherently democratic is also a simplification which disregards the struggles that underlie what behaviours we allow there. Public space is constantly changing, and to assume that it has an inherently democratic characteristic is dangerous as that overlooks how public space is never guaranteed but is constantly created and socially produced through struggle. While some groups are able to resist exclusion and claim space (Thörn, 2006: 314; Mitchell, 2003: 5), processes of segregation are always present and spaces are, as Carina Listerborn (2014: 3) notes, economically, socially, culturally and politically charged. Thus, Don Mitchell (2003: 8) argues, it is difficult to talk of an “end of public space” as that would imply that public space “already simply existed”. Also, space should not be, and is not in this study, defined as neither public nor private as it is possible to speak of many different categories between these ends of the spectrum, such as semi-public and semi-private space. Sören Olsson (1998: 6), for instance, acknowledges that *semi-public spaces* are accessible to all but have certain restrictions as you might have to pay to enter or it may be that there are actors who can close that space at certain times or to certain people (examples are restaurants, cinemas and shopping centres). The *semi-private spaces* are more limited than semi-public spaces, as they are dedicated to certain people in particular and their visitors (such as communal spaces in a housing unit). The notions of private and public spaces are thus not easy to separate from each other, as there are elements of the pri-

vate in the public and vice versa. The privatisation process of public space should be seen as the constant struggle of powers trying to define what space is, what it should contain, what it should allow and thus how and in what way it should be controlled.

Privatisation processes of public spaces can mean that elements that sometimes occur in the city, such as homelessness, crime and graffiti, are perceived as threats to the city's image as well as symbols of decay and insecurity (Thörn, 2011: 992). The decreasing quality of public space and the exclusion of people who are considered as deviant and maladjusted entail that these individuals will have to concentrate in whatever public space that is left. Researchers worry that this in turn will increase the separation between groups and people, as the non-deviants are withdrawing to private spaces (Sager, 2011: 173), while people who are seen as inconsistent with the ruling moral discourse risk being labelled as outsiders (Fyfe, 2010: 483) or become negative stereotypes. This in turn may lead to feelings of fear and, as David Sibley (1995: 15) highlights, the stereotyping of the world and the self into good and bad objects both originates from fear but the fear will in turn be perpetuated by the stereotype. As Nan Ellin (2001: 875) notes, people may thus become discouraged from using public space, especially as many public activities now take place in the home through the Internet or TV, and urban inhabitants only go out to especially controlled spaces such as the shopping centre instead of mixing with the unknown inhabitants of the city. It is becoming more common that we only go out for specific and planned purposes knowing what to expect on our route, without spontaneity.

Segregation and the development of gated communities

Processes of neoliberalisation foster socio-economic divisions and social differentiation, which has led to polarisations and uneven developments (Brenner and Theodore, 2002: 352). Despite its being claimed to benefit everyone, everywhere, certain classes have more to gain by the implementation of neoliberal ideas. Harvey (2007b: 22, 24, 34) has noted that neoliberalism is principally a project directed at restoring class dominance to certain sectors after a time period of social democracy, as resources are now directed from inferior classes and countries to dominant ones. Neoliberalism is thus a success story for the upper classes, and the defeat or failures of lower classes or certain sectors are explained as lack of com-

petitiveness or personal or cultural failures. Social inequality within the neoliberal discourse is perceived as necessary in order to facilitate entrepreneurialism and innovation, according to Harvey.

These divisions in class and income naturally also have effects on the residential segregation patterns of the urban inhabitants. The “creative class”, as conceptualised by Richard Florida (2005), is likely to be a coveted group and one way of attracting them is for cities to facilitate gentrification of certain neighbourhoods (Sager, 2011: 158). Offering better-off inhabitants safe and high-quality homes becomes a priority, which differs from the previous goals of the welfare state of providing affordable housing for those who cannot pay full price (Sager, 2011: 174). As privatisation and commodification are two main elements of neoliberalism, as stressed by Harvey (2007b: 36), this also becomes evident in housing markets. The proliferation of gated communities, a development which is visible almost all over the world (for examples, see Glasze et al., 2006), is often seen as connected to the wider trend of neoliberalisation and urban restructuring (for instance Pow, 2009; Sager, 2011: 178). Globalisation with its social, economic and political changes together with the ideal of the minimal state and the deregulations, privatisations and liberalisations that have risen in its wake have made gated communities more attractive to develop by initiative takers, housing seekers and public organisations (Glasze, 2005: 225-226). They pose an example of how urban spaces become increasingly privatised and controlled, while the state does not need to be as involved in providing housing for the people (Sager, 2011: 174).

The phenomenon of gated communities has passed under various names (such as gated residential developments, fortified enclaves, master-planned residential estates and private communities), albeit gated community is the most commonly used. Additionally, previous research describes diverse degrees of fortifications, community practices and levels of security as characteristic of what gated communities imply, and they also note different reasons as to why they have come into existence in the first place. Research has been carried out on gated communities all around the world, but much of the classic literature on the topic originates from Anglo-Saxon contexts. A well-cited reference used when defining gated communities is “Fortress America” by Edward J. Blakely and Mary Gail Snyder, where gated communities are described as “...residential areas with restricted access in which normally public spaces are privatized” (Blakely and Snyder, 1997b: 2). In her definition of gated commu-

nities, however, Setha Low emphasises the importance of physical boundaries of the areas:

A gated community is a residential development surrounded by walls, fences, or earth banks covered with bushes and shrubs, with a secured entrance (Low, 2003: 12).

The privatisation of the spaces inside implies that the area should be used only by the residents, which is often also the case for the various services offered to the residents. Thus, street maintenance, garbage handling, local governance, security, entertainment and recreation are part of the inhabitants' own private world which makes them less dependent on the public realm than others on the outside of the community. Rules and regulations which are agreed upon by the community tend to play an important role in the aesthetics and the maintenance of the areas. The local governance is usually quite strong in a gated community, and in American versions of the gated community the residents share the legal ownerships of the properties and they are all members of a homeowner association. The board of the association, usually elected among its members, tends to make the decisions regarding which rules should apply in the area. These rules regulate aspects inside as well as outside the residents' houses; in some communities, rules dictate everything from parking fines and speeding offences to the aesthetics of the homes, the pets in the area, the usage of satellite dishes and certain behaviours like leaving garage doors open (Blakely and Snyder, 1997b: 2, 20-21). The regulations are intended to maintain order and prevent deterioration (Low, 2003: 154) and, together with the price tag of the property, they make the area more homogenous and distinguishable from the rest of the city's heterogeneity (Roitman, 2005: 304).

According to Blakely and Snyder (1997b: 4-5), the gated communities which are now common in the United States today became more prevalent with the master-planned retirement developments of the 1960s and 1970s. At that time it became more common to gate resorts and country club developments, a trend which then spread to the suburban middle class, who were now able to live next to exclusive and prestigious golf courses. This is also when gates began to proliferate as a result of increasing fears of violent crime, and through this development gates have become much more common in the USA since the 1980s. One theory which is sometimes used in order to explain the prevalence of gated communities and why developers, potential residents and local governments find

them so attractive is the theory of club goods, which provides more of an economic focus (Glasze, 2005: 222). Chris Webster (2002: 409-410) is an advocate of this perspective, and argues that since the ideal public realm rarely becomes reality in urban space, as different spaces are often not shared equally anyway by all urban inhabitants, making inclusion and exclusion “facts of urban life”, cities should instead be seen as comprising “multiple consumption-sharing clubs” (Webster, 2002: 409). The theory on club goods states that some collective goods have to be offered by public organisations rather than the market, as it is crucial to the market that the goods it provides exclude some people from using them. If nobody is excluded from consumption and there is no competition, free-riders can profit from these goods (Glasze, 2005: 223). But because of the gates, the residential area can supply its consumers with such goods as increased security, the obstruction of unwanted encounters with strangers, and making queuing and crowding less of a problem when using communal services. Without the seclusion of the services, the benefits of the goods would disappear (Smith Bowers and Manzi, 2006: 8-9). The self-administration of gated communities is sometimes beneficial to local governments as well, something Evan McKenzie (2005) has exemplified with gated communities in Las Vegas. He shows that the gated developments were even encouraged by the local government and sometimes established against the residents’ will, as this would lead to increased tax rates but lower public costs. Instead of paying taxes for services that you may have to stand in line for, the supply of services can become more effective, according to the club goods theory (Low, 2003: 20). However, even though this may explain why gated communities are economically effective for developers, local governments and potential residents, it fails to address the unequal distribution of power, as Georg Glasze (2005: 231) notes. It also fails to acknowledge that while exclusion might be beneficial to the market, it has negative impacts on the social cohesion of the city, enforcing physical and mental segregation and possibly also discrimination.

However, as Blakely and Snyder (1997b: 3) state, “[g]ated and walled cities are as old as city-building itself”, and several researchers have noted that the influence of neoliberalism is not the sole explanation as to why gated communities appear. They can exist in many different local contexts seemingly without connections to the global development of the new economic regime. Dominika Polanska Vergara (2011) and Fulong Wu (2005) have noted, respectively, how gated communities existed during the communist and socialist eras

in Poland and China, while new developments of gated communities have additionally appeared more recently as a consequence of new economic opportunities and changes in political and social structures. In the case of China, Wu (2010: 394-395) asserts that the collectivism of state socialism has been traded for diversity, choice and distinctiveness: it is a perceived new way of life, and Webster et al. (2006: 168) remark that the walls have been “re-discovered” in China’s new development of commodified housing.

According to McGuirk and Dowling (2009: 175- 176), researchers are occasionally too quick to relate this kind of housing development to neoliberalism as they stress the importance of not overlooking how different governance projects, practices and paradigms are at work at the same time. As already noted by Brenner and Theodore (2002: 350, 353, 375), there are big differences between the contexts in which ideas of neoliberalism are at work. This means that the attractiveness of this type of development varies between different contexts and relies heavily on both formal institutions (such as laws) and the social values and arrangements of that particular context (McGuirk and Dowling, 2009: 175- 176). The development of a gated community can thus be a product of an idea taken from a global scale which is then interpreted, moulded and implemented by local producers in accordance with local histories, ideologies and values (Grant and Rosen, 2009: 577). For instance, this kind of residential form has not thrived as much in the European welfare states, which according to (Glasze, 2005: 227) can be explained by the importance given to public planning which makes it harder for private developments to prosper, together with the welfare state’s emphasis on the importance of public space.

Security in the neoliberal city and the gated community

The withdrawal into private spaces together with increasing socio-economic divisions and social differentiation may, as already noted by Fyfe (2010: 483) and Sibley (1995: 15), result in certain societal groups receiving negative stereotypes and being treated as outsiders. The advantages that gated communities offer by way of physical separation from deviance and unpleasant phenomena are often highlighted as a reason for the housing type’s increasing popularity. Low (2003: 130), for instance, compared the narratives of residents of gated communities in the USA and in Mexico, and found that fear was one of the driving forces in moving to a gated community, no

matter whether this community was located in Mexico, where violent crime is escalating, or in the suburban US, where crime has been decreasing since the mid-1980s. The “discourse of fear” turned out to be the same in both places. But feeling secure does not just mean being safe from crime. Research has shown that security in these areas is sometimes defined in a wider sense than just being free from problems of crime, as residents of gated communities also relate security to being free from nuisance in the shape of door-to-door soliciting, canvassers, mischievous teenagers and strangers in general (Blakely and Snyder, 1997a: 88; Low, 2003: 59).

The security measures of gated communities vary, however, between different developments. Some gated communities have guardhouses that are manned 24 hours a day, while other areas have no staff but cameras instead that record licence plates and faces of those who enter. There are also areas that have electronic barriers or intercom systems, where residents themselves can screen the visitors through video monitors (Blakely and Snyder, 1997b: 2). The idea of the gated community as a Fort Knox, completely unaffected by crime and visits from unauthorised people, has nevertheless been questioned, as there is little evidence that it acts as a crime deterrent (Low, 2003: 130). Security measures vary from passive design features to full gating (McGuirk and Dowling, 2009: 175) and Atkinson and Blandy (2005: 177-178) note that there seems to be a “continuum” of gating that ranges between symbolic and concrete. These have different levels of efficiency in defending space and excluding unwanted visitors, but they have in common an implied resistance towards permeability in the built environment.

While gates in this sense can be seen as the materialisation of values such as security or privacy, they also constitute an example of how these values are connected to class and status relations. Choon-Piew Pow (2009) and Wu (2010), for instance, investigate the more recent Chinese gated communities and highlight how extraordinary and spectacular gates and the branding and packaging of gated communities with exotic landscapes become markers of high status and elitism. As the gate is both a mode of separation and a status marker, Pow (2009: 383) asserts that fear and security become aestheticised, and he refers to Davis (2006: 224), who has noted that security in these cases can become a positional good and a status symbol of the “truly rich”, facilitating separation from unwanted people. The gates as providers of distinction have also been noted in the US context by Low (2003: 21), who asserts that they are raised in the hopes of maintaining property values and preserving the in-

habitants' statuses as members of the middle or upper-middle class. While the gates do not always encircle the whole area, the boundaries may provide symbolic security, "which may nevertheless make residents feel elite and happy" as Richard H. Schneider and Ted Kitchen (2007: 53-54) note. The social exclusion and residential segregation which such highly territorial landscapes render possible are also spaces where elite middle-class identities are performed, according to Pow (2009: 372-373).

According to Low (2003: 17-18), the economic restructurings in the 1970s and 1980s, and the social consequences these have had, have meant that social relations are perceived to have become weaker and the police and the school system are hence considered to be ineffective. Critics therefore argue that gated communities are a way to shield a protected group from other groups' behaviours without targeting what is perceived to be the real problem (such as crime or poverty). Maintaining security of the privatised spaces within the gated community thus becomes the responsibility of the housing companies, the residents and private security companies, rather than the state. That private actors have become increasingly involved in fighting and preventing crime has been referred to by David Garland (2001: 105-124) as the "responsibilisation strategy". This is a development that started in the United States during the 1970s and 1980s, and meant that local communities, private companies, organisations and the everyday individual on the street became partners in preventing and controlling crime. The involvement of more actors in policing and controlling crime has resulted in the state and public police no longer having the monopoly of policing the society and its inhabitants. The privatisation and marketisation of crime control under neoliberalism has resulted in security becoming a great industry and sold as a commodity, according to Adam Crawford (1998: 247-249).

Previously in the chapter, I elaborated upon the security concept and stated how it is interpreted in the thesis. It was noted that the Swedish concept of "säkerhet" is related to the practices and materialisations of security measures, whereas "trygghet" is a concept often used to describe "subjective" states and feelings of well-being. This aspect of security is not limited to feeling safe from crime but also relates to health and the kind of security which has traditionally been promoted by the welfare state (Svenonius, 2011: 197). It has been expounded by Zygmunt Bauman (2001; 2000: 213-214), who notes that the transition from industrial modernity to what he terms "liquid modernity", which is characterised by deregulations, deinsti-

tutionalisations, competitiveness and globalisation, has had the result that security is being traded off in order to promote free choice. Security used to be a matter for the wider community, and the welfare state was supposed to provide collective insurances against individual misfortune. However, Bauman claims, as the provisions by the state have diminished, the individual becomes responsible, akin to what Garland (2001) has asserted, for finding security using other means.

As the ideology of neoliberalism promotes individual liberties, private property rights and free markets, the entrepreneurial city becomes increasingly polarised as higher-income groups and upper classes benefit from this development while others do not and risk facing increasing marginalisation. At the same time, housing becomes more of a commodity instead of being provided by the welfare state, and certain higher-income groups have the option of segregating to attractive and newly produced residential areas where class statuses can become reproduced. While neoliberalism can be claimed to restore class structures as noted by Harvey (2007b), the notion of Bauman (2001) is that the elites also perceive that there are fewer risk-free choices in the deregulated “liquid” society. While freedoms are highly valued, community is still missed and is represented in nostalgic ways as a trustworthy, warm and comfortable shelter from danger. Since they cannot achieve community and existential security in the “liquid” society, those who can afford it instead do what they can to fortify their neighbourhoods in order to find “safety of place”. However, instead of finding the community which is lost, the community they create receives a new meaning, according to Bauman: rather than indicating collective responsibility for the security of all members, community implies homogeneity and the absence of the Other.

The previous research presented in this last part of the chapter thus shows how processes of neoliberalisation are one way to understand how residential segregation, class relations and the search for security are related to each other. This connection will be further investigated within the context of Victoria Park and Bellevue, but before doing so it is important to elaborate upon processes of neoliberalisation in the context of Sweden and Malmö, which are presented in the next chapter.

3 Housing and planning in Malmö and the (post-?) welfare state

In the existing city landscape, structures of meaning are next to and on top of each other, they are linked as well as unrelated, they are competing as well as overlapping, they are obvious and naturalised as well as hidden and almost forgotten. They are imaginary but they intervene and charge the materiality of the city, they are contemporary but still comprise other times and other worlds. They are always real, never neutral, and they are linguistic as well as corporeal. It is obvious that these constructions of meaning cannot be reduced to their linguistic dimension, but their linguistic articulation still constitutes one of the most evident forms of both power exertion and resistance (Martins Holmberg, 2006: 130, my translation).

In this quote from Ingrid Martins Holmberg (2006), who has studied the transformation of the old workers' district Haga in Gothenburg, it is highlighted how discourses and meaning underlie but also change the materiality of the city. City planners mainly present a version of the "truth" when planning cities, and the knowledge they base their decisions on is socially constructed. Power is practiced through discourses and discourses thus play an important role in the planning of cities, as Lars Orrskog (2005: 33) has noted. Older buildings and structures in the city that were constructed as a result of past ideas and ideals can become re-coded and re-interpreted in the present in order to fit into a new imaginary geography of the city (Martins Holmberg, 2006: 131, 146).

This chapter concentrates on the contexts of Sweden and Malmö. It directs particular interest to the re-coding of the old industrial city of Malmö into the new Knowledge City, drawing on the research of among others Guy Baeten (2012) and Brett Christophers (2013) who argue that Swedish housing and planning policies contain a mixture of features from neoliberalism and social democracy. As noted by Brenner and Theodore (2002) as well as Peck and Tickell (2002), strategies of neoliberalism do not look the same all over the world and they are implemented in different ways according to local contexts. In order to understand how processes of neoliberalisation thus play out in Swedish housing and urban policies, the chapter

starts with a short presentation of the history of Swedish housing politics from the time of the Folkhem, via the Million Programme and the deregulations of the 1990s, to the present Knowledge City of Malmö. These developments have shaped the housing situation and the physical structure of Malmö during the 20th century, and this section of the thesis thus also provides a background for understanding processes of stigmatization of certain areas. This aspect is something which will be revisited mainly in chapter 5, where the research participants' representations of the city are investigated. Due to the discussion in the previous chapter regarding the proliferation of gated communities in cities undergoing neoliberalisation, this theme is elaborated upon in light of the Swedish context towards the end of the chapter as well as in chapter 7, which discusses the negative discourse attached to the concept and the practices of security in Victoria Park and Bellevue.

Neighbourhood planning and Folkhemmet

The industrialisation of Sweden started quite late because of the great distances and the sparse population (Stavenow-Hidemark, 1971: 16). But when Malmö eventually became industrialised and the middle and upper-classes fled what was perceived of as a crowded and unhealthy city and re-settled in Bellevue and other areas in the west, the workers also started to move into newly developed areas in the southern parts of town. The eastern parts of Malmö were during this time in the beginning of the 20th century characterised by poverty and the segregation patterns between income groups and classes started to become increasingly clear in the city (Tykesson et al., 2001: 187; Tykesson and Magnusson Staaf, 2003: 182).

Crowding and housing shortages were considered to be a big social problem by the government authorities in Sweden during this time, and the state changed from a passive stance regarding the matter to becoming more actively involved. According to Molina (1997: 72-73), housing was increasingly viewed as an important political instrument and seen as attached to general living conditions, modernisation and equality. Issues regarding class had a stronger leverage in political decision-making during this time, not just in Sweden but in Western Europe as well. In Malmö in the beginning of the 20th century a new city plan was developed ordering the construction of houses especially dedicated to become workers' quarters around the area called Möllevången. These residential units were to provide the

workers with better light and more space. Around the turn of the century, it was thus normalised to divide the city into residential areas for specific groups and categories (Tykesson and Magnusson Staaf, 2003: 158). According to Tykesson et al. (2001: 201), private building proprietors had the main responsibility for housing construction up until the First World War, giving limited influence to the state and the municipality. However, the housing shortages and the low standard of housing in Sweden led to an increased involvement of the state in the 1930s (through a state commission known in Swedish as “Bostadssociala utredningen”) in order to promote good and sound housing for all residents. This led to all municipalities initiating their own public housing companies and in Malmö MKB was born in 1946; a housing company that would come to have an important role in affecting housing in Malmö. Additionally, the state granted extensive loans to all kinds of residential developments in Sweden as long as a certain minimum standard was met, which improved and evened out housing conditions all over the country. The municipality gained much more power over the design of the city as it received a monopoly in planning where they could decide where and how new developments would take place as well as the order in which areas should be developed (Tykesson et al., 2001: 201-202; Tykesson and Magnusson Staaf, 2003: 202).

This period, from the 1930s until the 1960s-1970s, of state support in the construction of housing is referred to as *Folkhemmet*, and the ideology behind this policy was that the society should be a good home to the inhabitants and to provide them with security, equality and good housing standards. As Lena Magnusson Turner (2001: 14) writes, this is when the social residential politics started to take shape, and housing became constructed from certain ideals of how to raise the citizens and give them a healthier lifestyle.

One specific strategy that dominated *Folkhemmet* was the planning and design of neighbourhood units rather than just residential units. The neighbourhood unit is according to Mats Franzén and Eva Sandstedt (1993: 161) characterised by a delimited area of housing together with complementary services such as grocery stores and schools, often located in a small neighbourhood centre. The neighbourhood should also include proximity to a post office, a communal hall, a church, a youth centre and a health centre. The neighbourhood itself was intended to provide the inhabitants with communal outdoor spaces with play grounds, communal rooms and green open spaces, and the residential units consisted of what was considered to be well-equipped blocks of flats (Sandstedt, 2001:

331). The idea behind neighbourhood planning was to make the inhabitants more democratic, and to facilitate the life of families and neighbourhoods. The architects of the time visualised how cities should be constructed as “group societies”, meaning that the inhabitants would take care of their mutual facilities in the neighbourhoods together. By rationalising housework, the family and democracy was believed to be strengthened (Franzén and Sandstedt, 1993: 58, 64). The intention of this kind of planning was to increase the psychological and physical health among the citizens (Sandstedt, 2001: 331). Franzén and Sandstedt (1993: 39) assert that the neighbourhood eventually became an ideal to social workers, sociologists and architects as it was a symbol of “the good society” and of activity and community among residents. While the suburbs came to be interpreted as connected to passivity and isolation, the neighbourhood was associated with notions such as life, establishment, warmth and care. However, the planning during the Folkhem period has also been criticised for fitting everyone into the same middle class and nuclear template, encouraging notions such as hard work, soberness and settlement (Broms Wessel et al., 2005: 17). The ideas behind Folkhemmet were supported by the paradigm of social hygiene and its normative notions of health, cleanliness and order (see Molina, 1997: 67).

The rise and “fall” of the Million Programme

These new planning ideals came about as a critique of the lack of welfare in Swedish housing, according to Franzén and Sandstedt (1993: 25, 83) and they argue that the neighbourhood was the dominating planning ideal during the post-war period and ended with the Million Programme in the 1960s – 1970s. As briefly mentioned in the introduction of the thesis, the Million Programme was a grand-scale state-financed venture to attend to the increasing housing shortage by constructing one million dwellings all over Sweden in ten years, and even though the neighbourhood was still the format for constructions, the units were more large-scale than before. There was a strong belief in modernity at the time, and the project could be carried through by rationalising and standardising the constructions (Tykesson and Magnusson Staaf, 2003: 212). Paradoxically, however, the Million Programme also came into existence as a critique against the contemporary city planning, and was an intention to restore parts of the “old society” and ideals of the

neighbourhood that had been lost. In other words: while built upon the same ideals as neighbourhood planning, the construction of the Million Programme was perceived as a critique of this kind of planning for leading to functionalism, division and social disintegration (Franzén and Sandstedt, 1993: 83).

The Million Programme suburbs came about, according to Ericsson et al. (2002: 26), as an intention to provide the citizens with a home and a society that were both neat and clean. The idea was not solely about constructing new dwellings but also included society at large, and many older buildings in the city centre were torn down not only because they were dilapidated but also as a symbolic act. It was a utopia of purity where modern man should be a person without background, and where ambivalence and contradiction were abolished. Cultural difference was thus seen as problematic and something that opposed the modern man. With this perspective, prejudice and racism could be targeted but, as noted by Ericsson et al., this assessment was problematic as modernity was never neutral towards ethnicity. In Malmö, the demolition and restructurings of older houses and urban areas had the implication that the former spaces of the working class (such as beer cafés, shops and back yards) disappeared. Additionally, it led to an increase in tenant-ownership flats, and those who could not afford to live in the city centre had to move out from the inner city to the Million Programmes in the outskirts of town (Sernhede and Johansson, 2006: 34).

The development of the Million Programme is important to shed some extra light on as it came into existence as a political project of the welfare state while over the years it has received a lot of negative attention in the media and everyday discourse. The representations of the Million Programme housing in Malmö have a leading role in chapter 5 of this thesis when the research participants' discourses are presented regarding which areas of the city they perceive to be least attractive and potentially unsafe. While the segregation patterns of the upper classes are often disregarded in public discourse, the Million Programme areas have become symbols of residential segregation in Sweden. One of the most disreputable Million Programme neighbourhoods in Malmö is Rosengård; an area which has been researched by among others Per-Markku Ristilammi (1994: 17-18, 60, 71). He notes how the public discourse of Rosengård transformed from being modernity's forefront to be acknowledged as a failure of modernity. Rosengård used to be the materialised dream of a better and modern society, and that the area is an exam-

ple of how the construction of the physical environment always holds an idea of the people intended to live there. It was constructed at a time when Malmö's population grew rapidly and it was believed that the city would continue growing in the same fashion, but eventually the migration in Malmö changed and an increasing current of inhabitants started moving from the city to the surrounding municipalities offering detached houses. This phenomenon also occurred in other parts of the country, and Magnusson Turner (2001: 14) describes it as resulting from an improved household economy towards the end of the 1970s aided by increasing incomes as well as the state housing subsidies. Ristilammi explains that those who had the resources quickly moved out of areas like Rosengård, and he writes:

For these people the dream-world that Rosengård symbolised was replaced by another, built upon the dream of the free individual in the pastoral idyllic atmosphere. Those who remained ended up in a downward spiral of social problems. The first years in Rosengård people from the lower-middle class shared a residential environment with people from the working class, but after a while the housing careers of these groups were once again separated (Ristilammi, 1994: 70, my translation).

The Million Programme suburbs were often built as units separate from the rest of the city, and when the ideas of modernity eventually became less attractive they were still physically separated but were now viewed in negative light rather than positive. As Ericsson et al. (2002: 31) write: "The physical expressions were still there, but now they symbolised something completely different. A failure." One of the first characteristics about Rosengård that was critiqued was its architecture as it was deemed to be inhuman and oppressive, and Ristilammi (1994: 12, 90) notes that the buildings were seen as ugly after the perceived demise of social welfare. Over time, the Million Programme has become attached to a persistent notion of only consisting of multi-story rental units made of big and solid blocks of concrete, even though there are also other kinds of housing built within the frame of the Million Programme (Ericsson et al., 2002: 16, 43; Molina, 2005: 106). The images presented by the media of the Million Programme suburbs are further elaborated upon by Ericsson et al. (2002: 18). Shortly after the areas received their new inhabitants, before all the constructions were completed, a notion of the areas as constantly unfinished, dirty and littered became more prevalent. Towards the end of the 1970s, it was increasingly common to highlight crime and social problems in the areas,

and together with the previous discourse of the untidy suburb they started to be described as “problem areas”. In daily Swedish discourse, the concept “the suburb” (förorten) has in general become associated with problems and especially certain residential areas in the largest cities such as Rosengård, Tensta, Rinkeby, Skärholmen and Hammarkullen (Ristilammi, 1994: 39). During this time, Ericsson et al. (2002: 18-19, 70) note, it was also more common to focus on the people in the Million Programme suburbs rather than just highlighting the place as problematic. Youths from these areas were seen as dangerous and the characteristics and perceived moral of the inhabitants became attached to the areas. The areas have always been attached with an image of having a proportion of inhabitants of foreign background, but this image did not really become described as a problem and one of the more important characteristics of the suburb until the 1980s. Ericsson et al. write:

The colours, the music, the food from all over the world, the exotic people, but also crime, violence, youth gangs, culture confinement, outmoded traditions, oppression of women, dependence on social welfare, culture incompetence, etc. are all parts of later discourses of the immigrant-dense suburb (Ericsson et al., 2002: 19, my translation).

Molina (1997: 64; 2005: 106) asserts that the focus has changed over the years from perceiving the suburb as a problem for everybody in society (when the critique was directed towards the negative aspects of modernity and the inhabitants were seen as victims of the planning and politics) to viewing the residents with foreign background as the cause of ethnic segregation. As noted previously, areas that are considered to be segregated in the public debate are usually those with low status and an overrepresentation of immigrants, which is why segregation is perceived of as “an immigrant problem” in public discourse.

The image of the Million Programme has thus changed from being a vision of the future to being a symbol of “the Other” (Ericsson et al., 2002: 23), and in daily discourse these areas are described as alien, dangerous, dark, exotic, problematic, mysterious and abnormal (Ristilammi, 2006: 214; Ericsson et al., 2002: 19, 102). The more powerful centre often gets to define and “de-mystify” the periphery (Ericsson et al., 2002: 29; Molina, 2005: 112). According to Ericsson et al. (2002: 30), the suburbs are in a colonial relationship with the rest of Sweden, similar to the Europeans’ encounters with the unfamiliar, in the sense that the colonial is a “way of approach-

ing the Others, the way of writing about the Others, to map out the Others, the way to represent and depict the Others". About the racialised housing market, Allan Pred writes:

In Swedish cities, as in other European urban centers, the racial becomes the spatial. The social construction of race becomes one with the physical occupation of space. The racialized become the segregated, and racial meanings become inscribed upon space. The discursively Otherized become the declared out of bounds, the physically Elsewherized and Isolated. The categorically excluded become the spatially enclosed. The socially marginalized become the geographically marginalized. The to-be-socially-avoided become out of reach, not easily socially knowable (Pred, 2000: 98).

The entrepreneurial city of Malmö

To briefly recap the initial presentation of Malmö from chapter 1, the city was during the time of Folkhemmet and the implementation of the Million Programme reliant on its industrial economy. However, just like many other cities around the world, Malmö was severely affected by the economic crisis of the 1970s and the city went through a period of recession and unemployment which was still prevalent in the 1990s. As noted by Andersson and Hedman (n.d.), the crisis generated dramatic increases in income inequality as well as income segregation in Malmö which hit the poorer neighbourhoods the hardest while the richer areas were mostly unaffected.

The political strategy to re-brand the former industrial city and to increase its connections to the European continent and the world has thus been described by Dannestam (2009) as an implementation of the discourse of the entrepreneurial city. During the period of economic recession, the municipality has increasingly allowed private actors to take a more active role in construction politics and city planning (Johannesson, 1993: 185; Book, 2001: 96; Sernhede and Johansson, 2006: 37), and large-scale investments have been made in the urban fabric. Over the last two decades, the waterfront area of the Western Harbour as well as the area of Hyllie (with its massive shopping centre Emporia) have been constructed, offering inhabitants and guests exclusive housing, aesthetic urban spaces, business centres, a new arena and a university.

The development of the increased power of private actors in Malmö's planning and building politics should not only be seen as a

result of the city's economic hardships, but also as the effect of the big changes in national housing politics. Before the 1990s, the system of subsidies which consisted of state financed loans with interest subsidies constituted a foundation in the housing politics. The idea was to prevent the housing companies from making too much profit on housing (Westin, 2011: 48). The Swedish housing policy also strived to be tenure neutral; that all households (no matter the type of tenure) should have "equal standards, costs and influence", and all tenures were to be regarded as equal in social status (Christophers, 2013: 10). In 1991, however, the state financed subsidies through housing loans and interest subsidies were abolished and the housing market was highly, though not fully, deregulated. In general, planning, prices and constructions became more adapted to the market, and more competition in the construction and housing markets was sought after by the then right-wing government (Lindbom, 2001: 236; Turner, 2001: 167; Bengtsson and Annaniassen, 2006: 139-140). The cost of housing has increased as an effect of the decreasing subsidies (Turner, 2001: 171) and today, profit making is the driving force in the construction of all kinds of housing (rentals as well as tenant ownership cooperatives and home ownership) (Westin, 2011: 48). The removal of subsidies affected tenure neutrality, and today owner-occupation and tenant-ownership has become more privileged than rental housing. Housing-allowances have also been cut, additionally affecting those renting flats as they are most dependent on them (Christophers, 2013: 10-11).

The extent to which processes of neoliberalisation have affected the housing market in Sweden is emphasized differently among researchers, as some assert that the housing market has become more or less completely neoliberalised while others maintain that it still is clearly influenced by regulations from the time of Folkhemmet. Hans Lind and Stellan Lundström (2007: 129) have proclaimed that "Sweden has gradually become one of the most liberal market-governed housing markets in the Western world". This is picked up by Eric Clark and Karin Johnson (2009) who describe a "system switch" in the years 1991-1994 which was carried out by the Conservative government and maintained by the following social democratic governments. The switch implies that the previous trend of striving towards housing equality and improved housing conditions has been reversed. The authors further maintain that the government led by the Moderate Party (Moderaterna) during the more recent years has continued the withdrawal of welfare systems

by pursuing privatisations. The consequences of the system switch are amongst others: the closing of housing agencies and the abandonment of social housing commitments by municipalities, increased exclusion of the very poor because of public housing companies operating increasingly on market terms, increasing segregation and privatisation and out-sourcing of planning. Hedin et al. (2012) also argue that the neoliberal reforms in the housing market have social geographic consequences with intensified polarisation between areas becoming super-gentrified and areas with low-income filtering between the years 1986 and 2001.

Harvey (2007a: 90, 115-116), however, asserts that the adaptation to neoliberal practices is always affected by the balance of class forces, and in Sweden the powerful union structure has kept neoliberalism at bay. He thus describes the Swedish case as “circumscribed neoliberalization” as the country has a “generally superior social condition” (Harvey, 2007a: 115). Specifically, he highlights that welfare structures are still in place and even though inequalities have increased they are small compared to countries like the US and the UK, and that Sweden’s poverty levels are still low while levels of social provisions are high. Additionally, Brett Christophers (2013: 888, 896, 902) directs critique towards the research proclaiming that the Swedish housing system is completely neoliberal, as he identifies several important regulations that are remnants from an earlier political economy¹. Even though Sweden has been hit by the “wave” of neoliberalisation (Christophers highlights three strands of neoliberalism in the Swedish housing market: the marketization of the tenant-owned apartment sector, the marketization of the public rental sector and the dissolution of tenure neutrality) it has not meant that all of the regulations have disappeared. He thus emphasises that the Swedish housing system is a mix of two concurrent policy regimes and that it thus becomes “a complex, somewhat un-gainly hybrid”. This mix between regulation and deregulation is however, according to Christophers, making the Swedish housing market an enforcer of socio-economic inequalities.

In a recent thesis on city planning in Stockholm, Jon Loit (2014: 242) argues that while social objectives and ambitions exist rhetorically, they are not prioritised in practice within the neoliberal planning discourse. Researchers investigating the local politics in Malmö

¹ Christophers especially notes the regulation of rent, the queuing systems for rental flats and the restrictions of the letting and sub-letting of apartments (Christophers, 2013: 12).

have also highlighted how tensions between certain ideals of welfare and processes of neoliberalisation are visible in the social democratic rule of the city. For instance, Katarina Nylund (2014: 58) argues that the city planning of Malmö consists of contradictory and competing visions of justice, and Holgersen and Baeten (2014: 5, 15) note that the local social democratic government has had several strategies to distribute money to the least well-off. By trying to increase economic growth, it is assumed that jobs will automatically be created and that urban segregation will decrease. However, the authors assert that these ideas of trickle-down effects are a justification of growth while the actual trickle-down effects have failed to appear. In another publication, Baeten (2012: 23, 26, 37) especially scrutinises the development of the city district of Hyllie, and he argues how previous practices and ideals constitute the foundation of the contemporary neoliberalisation of planning in Malmö. Baeten even finds similarities between the contemporary neoliberal planning of Hyllie and the planning of the Million Programme, as both want to erase the past, they have faith in economic growth and they believe that deprivation can be built away. According to Baeten, the new planning ideology in Malmö implies that the “creative classes” need to replace the industrial era and its unemployment, the ethnic poor and those who have not been able to adapt to the new service economy. However, the older ideals of social democracy and modernism form the foundation of the contemporary neoliberalisation of planning in Malmö.

Competing discourses of Malmö

The transformation and success of Malmö as the new Knowledge City that attracts the “creative class”, companies and investments has become widely spread, both to the outside world (private actors and visitors) but also internally within Malmö towards its own organisations and inhabitants (Dannestam, 2009: 127; Mukhtar-Landgren, 2008: 236). However, the transformed image and its effect on politics and the urban fabric of Malmö has simultaneously been severely criticised among some scholars, who for instance assert that the image of the Knowledge City conceals other competing images and discourses of Malmö.

The Knowledge City has implied that problems relating to integration are deprioritised as attractiveness, growth, knowledge and creativity are viewed as more important to the success of the city.

The Knowledge City, just as any specific representation of a city, becomes a simplification as other descriptions and elements that do not fit the image are left out (Dannestam, 2009: 129). The story of the city that is brought forward by marketing often leaves out the struggles that have been an important part in the shaping of the city (Thörn, 2006: 315). Harvey (1989: 16) has directed similar critique towards the general development of the entrepreneurial city, asserting that “behind the mask” of success are often social and economic problems, creating a division between regenerated areas and increasingly poor surroundings. Apart from the discourse of the Knowledge City there are others which simultaneously try to define Malmö and are in conflict with each other:

On the one hand the message of a new, successful Malmö is continued to spread and is reproduced by eager supporters through the media, new city-political investments and various distinctions upon the municipality. On the other hand the media contains a number of competing descriptions of reality. Malmö is described as a city characterised by political demonstrations on streets and squares, riots, poverty, segregation and social problems (Dannestam, 2009: 275, my translation).

According to Baeten (2012: 23, 32-33), immigration can be viewed in positive terms as long as the newly arrived fit in with the successful and wealthy image. New urban areas, like Hyllie, are constructed with an image of the successful white western immigrant in mind while many of the people who arrive to Sweden and need housing do not fit this profile. Baeten argues that the ideal of the Knowledge City divides the city and creates elitist “superplaces” and corridors where many of the people living in these areas do not need to have any exchanges with the rest of the city. Such a development carries the risk of only benefiting those who already hold economic success while other parts of the city are abandoned economically (Thörn, 2006: 307). The new approach thus runs the risk of making the city increasingly individualised and polarised (Sernhede and Johansson, 2006: 38). While Malmö was not free of divisions in terms of class before adapting to entrepreneurial strategies, Holgersen and Baeten (2014: 2, 17) note, these seem to have become reproduced, intensified and built into the idea and implementation of the post-industrial city of Malmö.

“Multiculturalism” is a concept sometimes used to describe Malmö to stress how dynamic, exciting and cosmopolitan the city is, while it is simultaneously also used to describe Malmö as a polarised and segregated city with increasing crime and violence (Mukhtar-

Landgren, 2008: 237-239). This discourse of Malmö as the polarised city battling problems with segregation, crime and insecurity was present while conducting the fieldwork of this thesis. Due to a series of shootings in public space and other violent crimes, a public discussion was spurred in the media whether the city was becoming “the Chicago of Sweden”. The two simultaneous discourses of the Knowledge City, with its attractive and exclusive spaces, and the Chicago of Sweden, with its unsafe and polarised environments, are especially interesting to this thesis, as they frequently occur in the representations of the research participants. This will be further investigated in chapter 5.

Gated communities in a Swedish context?

In chapter 2 it was noted that just like the general application of neoliberal ideas, the existence of gated communities are dependent on the institutions, laws and social values existing in the particular context where they appear (McGuirk and Dowling, 2009: 175-176). It was also noted by Glasze (2005: 227) that gated communities have been less common in European welfare states because of the importance of public planning and traditionally strong ideas of public space.

In the Swedish context, it has also been argued that it is unlikely for gated communities to receive foothold. Jerker Söderlind (1998: 310, 312) states how this is usually explained with reference to the strong welfare state which played an important role in providing security to the inhabitants during the 1900s. One of the differences between Sweden and the United States is that the former has larger amounts of public ownership and control of the cities than the state has in the latter. The reliance on the welfare state implies that security threats have been deemed smaller than in other countries. The right of public access (*allemansrätten*), which is one of the most well-known common laws in Sweden, implying that landowners have to accept that people pass through, or temporarily stay on, their lands and waters as long as no economic harm is inflicted upon the land or the privacy of the home is violated, together with the notion of *Folkhemmet*, can be said to be opposing the idea of gated communities. Additionally, Sweden in general, and Malmö specifically, do not have very high income disparities between neighbourhoods when compared to international statistics (Andersson et al., 2007: 31).

However, Söderlind (1998: 312) and Eva Öresjö (2000) claim that they see certain signs of how gated communities may appear also in the Swedish context, and the latter asserts that the social capital is decreasing in a similar way as it has in the United States, together with a decline of the trust in politicians. The deregulations since the 1990s and the possibilities for private companies to receive a more prominent role on the housing market, as well as build increasingly commodified and conceptual housing, may suggest that it would be easier for gated communities to proliferate than before. It has, as Söderlind (1998: 311) notes, become more common to build niched construction projects, especially for senior citizens equipped with communal restaurants, pool tables, baths and care facilities, where “[r]etirees with spending power buy their own little societies”. Other examples of more commodified housing are the developments of eco-villages close to the cities where the inhabitants cannot only participate in different and eco-friendly lifestyles, but also be provided with a social environment and shared interests and values (Söderlind, 1998: 311). Additionally, it is these days not uncommon to come across reports about newly developed residential areas and housing projects branded as “exclusive” and targeting higher-income groups, and an article in the newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* from 2014 notes an increase in the demand for luxury apartments with walk-in closets, wine cellars, room service and lounge balconies (Englund, 2014).

Furthermore, Listerborn (2002: 121-122, 230) has noted that construction companies have started to understand that offering different safety solutions to their residents is something that can increase their profits, and it is more common for them to have a security perspective already when planning residential areas and housing units. Listerborn also states that the private security industry is becoming more important in the Swedish context by producing fences, locks and cameras. The author asserts that the commodification of security measures could lead to increasing polarisation as some segments of society will be able to pay for increased security.

According to Franzén (2000: 121-124), it is also possible to discern how the control of public space has changed during the 20th century. As Folkhemmet and the welfare state had the intention to decrease social disparities and, while it did not work entirely as everybody does not fit into the template of the ideal citizen of the welfare state, the ideology was to open up the social aspects of public space. However, as the inclusiveness of the welfare state has gotten weaker, the view of those who are considered as different has

changed from those “not keeping up” to those “not fitting in”. The measures to deal with them have also changed from being subjects to various disciplinary programs in order to conform them to society, to the current approach of trying to keep them out and away at minimal cost. Instead of trying to bring the person back to order, the threat this person constitutes is better dealt with by using an exclusive strategy of dismissal (Franzén, 2000: 128; but see also Thörn, 2005; and Thörn, 2006). Changes from a more welfare-oriented to a more individualised approach have additionally been noted in Swedish crime prevention policies. Ingrid Sahlin (2008) argues that Swedish crime prevention has gone from focusing efforts towards solving social problems in the 1970s to putting the individual and the family more in the centre and targeting notions of decreasing social control. As a result of this, the responsibilities for pursuing security have become increasingly relocated to local municipalities, organisations and parental groups.² This bears resemblance to the “responsibilisation strategy” as elaborated upon by Garland (2001).

Recent research on the context of Malmö by Mikaela Herbert (2013) also reveals how residents in tenant ownership cooperatives in neighbourhoods with lower socio-economic status and a high degree of immigrants experience increasing needs to take responsibility for the security of their own neighbourhoods, and thus do so by erecting fences and locked gates around their properties. According to Herbert, this phenomenon partially appears due to an increasing socio-economic vulnerability and social worries regarding perceived changes in society and the own residential areas, while the services of the police are perceived to be inadequate.

There thus seems to be important changes going on in the urban fabric of Swedish cities and in Malmö specifically. While Herbert’s (2013) study discerns a new trend of gating in lower-income areas, the public discourse also suggests that gating occur in one of Malmö’s higher-income areas as well: Victoria Park. The practices of security in this area, and Bellevue, will be elaborated upon in chapter 7. Before the empirical material is introduced, however, the methodological framework of the thesis is presented in the following chapter.

² See also Boreaus (1994) on the increasing prevalence of neoliberal ideas in Swedish politics.

4 Methodology and procedure

In this chapter I will demonstrate how I have achieved the objectives of the study by explaining the methodological choices I have made throughout the course of my research. I will also explain the procedure used to design the study and analyse the material. While some readers may think that the methodology is presented in detail rather late, this is a conscious decision on my behalf. The ethnographic approach which this study is founded upon permeates especially chapters 6 and 7 and I perceive the points of departure, which have already been presented in chapter 2, as well as the procedure of the study as closely attached to the empirical material. Additionally, the methodology and the standpoints of the study are perceived as important and I have therefore dedicated an entire chapter to it rather than being part of the introduction of the thesis.

This chapter is divided in three main parts. The first consists of a presentation of my positionality and a couple of remarks about ethics as well as an elaboration on the ways which I decided were the most appropriate to collect the empirical material. The second part of the chapter reveals more thoroughly how I gained access to the research participants and how I carried out the actual study while doing fieldwork. The third and last part of the chapter is devoted to explaining how I categorised the empirical material and analysed it. An overview of the research participants in Victoria Park and Bellevue can be found in the Appendix.

Positionality and ethical considerations

When using a qualitative approach to research it is common to acknowledge that the researcher cannot be separated from the research results and that it is impossible for her to be completely unbiased. This is of course something that can be argued no matter which research methods are applied (Winchester, 2005: 11). Notions of objectivity, neutrality and reliability are more common in positivist approaches in which knowledge, according to Robina Mo-

hammad (2001: 103, italics in original), is often "...posited as *the* truth, as grand, totalizing, theories implying universal applicability." Mohammad however argues that being able to observe something and know everything about it is a "god-trick" (see also Haraway, 1991) as all knowledge is situated, specific and partial. Similarly to Mohammad, I acknowledge that research is produced from interactions which imply that the findings may differ from those of other researchers on the same topic (Mohammad, 2001: 103, 108).

A researcher is thus always situated, which makes her unable to be completely objective and unbiased. It is therefore important to acknowledge that the choices I have made when designing the study, choosing the participants, carrying out the fieldwork and analysing the material have an effect on the end product and the contribution to the continuing production of knowledge. Being reflexive, and especially about power relations, is often mentioned as an important quality of the researcher as her previous experiences and values may cause that only parts of the researched are heard (Winchester, 2005: 16). While research is produced through interaction, the researcher is still the greatest holder of power throughout the process as it is she who designs the study, asks the questions and interprets the stories or actions of the research participants. These interpretations, in turn, could also affect the research participants in different ways, as they may lead to policy effects, for example, or contribute to the social construction of the researched. The power of the research situation can never be eliminated as power is always playing a part in any social relation (Dowling, 2005: 23). To actually reach a perfect level of reflexivity is however problematic. This has been stressed by Gillian Rose (1997: 316), who mentions that being completely reflexive of one's positionality implies that a researcher would have to simultaneously look inwards towards her own identity while also looking outwards to the interactions with the research participants. To come to a complete and transparent understanding of the self and the landscapes of power is therefore impossible, and if we claim to be able to do so we come uncomfortably close to the before mentioned god-trick. Instead, Rose suggests that research must be seen as a negotiation as researchers are "...made through our research as much as we make our own knowledge, and that this process is complex, uncertain and incomplete".

I would also like to elaborate on how I conceptualise the freedom of choice of the research participants. Social constructionism presupposes that we, no matter where we live, are all subjected to

power structures. Not only are we affected by structures of language and knowledge production; we are also part of economic structures which we have to surrender to, adapt to or take advantage of to the best of our ability. Inhabitants of cities like Malmö, Gothenburg or Stockholm, where housing markets are competitive and there are goals of constant growth and where cities strive to brand themselves in order to increase their attractiveness, have different possibilities in affecting their housing situations and choosing where in the city to live. The urban inhabitants who are participants in this study have a comparatively wider selection regarding where and how to live in the city, and in previous research on middle-class flight to city suburbs as well as in literature about gentrification they are sometimes referred to as “social segregators” (Andreotti et al., 2012: 2). However, this study does not see them as completely free agents as they, together with all the residents of Malmö no matter what their available resources are, form part of a larger (local but also national and international) context which is affected by politics and housing markets, for instance. While conducting the fieldwork of the study, it became clear that the research participants gained knowledge of the social and physical structure of the city through different sources of information such as their own experiences and the media. These sources of information are also sometimes working together to fill out some of the blanks as well as contesting each other and eventually a merged image of the city appears. The knowledge that the participants gain from these sources of information about the characteristics of certain areas, for instance, and whether they are perceived as attractive places to live for various reasons is in turn likely to affect the choice of which residential area to settle in.

Thus, for the purpose of this thesis, all urban inhabitants are perceived as actors whose freedom of action has limitations and is unevenly distributed. Housing politics, economy and discourses form the base of the segregated city and all the inhabitants’ actions take place in relation to those structures (however, this is not to say that they are never possible to change). Thus, it is important to stress that while I argue it is important to understand patterns of segregation both from the perspective of those with less privileges and those with more privileges and while this study is critically investigating prevalent structures it is not my intention to *criticise* the actual residential choices of the research participants.

All of the residents who contributed to the research have been given new names in the study and their exact ages and occupations

are not revealed in order to prevent recognition. Preserving the anonymity of the research participants are of course of significant in both Victoria Park and Bellevue, but as the level of recognition among residents is higher in the former and there are less people living there this turned out to be especially important in Victoria Park. It could also be argued that the kind of research this study does might create negative stereotypes of Bellevue and Victoria Park. However, this research project is dedicated towards understanding the residents' points of view, and also critically investigating any negative stereotypes that have been placed upon the residential areas by public discourse. Many studies have previously been performed on different areas when investigating segregation, and socially vulnerable neighbourhoods have therefore been increasingly stigmatised and highlighted as segregated and dangerous. The need to include all residents in the city and all residential areas is appraised as vital in order to understand urban segregation processes.

Research design

When assuming that the world is socially constructed and that knowledge is created through language and everyday practices, certain options of how this is best investigated present themselves as more appropriate and necessary than others. Using a qualitative approach is almost a prerequisite when wanting to understand how knowledge is produced and it is also a valuable approach in human geography where the researcher is often intending to explain or scrutinise human environments, individual experiences and social processes as well as those aspects which in research before the qualitative turn was considered to be unknowable; such as feelings, perceptions and attitudes (Winchester, 2005: 3, 15). As has been stressed previously, qualitative methods are advantageous to use when researching how people reason and interpret their residential choices and especially non-behaviours such as omitting to move to particular urban areas (Brâmă, 2006: 1130). Qualitative methods have also been argued to be particularly suitable when researching notions of security and fear of crime. Pain et al. (2000: 2) and Koskela (1999: 114) have noted how frequent crime surveys intending to measure levels of fear of crime have their failings when the researcher wants to investigate the mental and social processes behind fear or spatial meaning. Experiences and discourses of fear vary in space as a result of population profiles, physical environments and

their reputations, policy making and "...because of the unique blends of economic history and change and social and cultural identities which make up contemporary places" (Pain et al., 2000: 3).

In order to understand the lifestyles of the upper-middle class and how Victoria Park and Bellevue are socio-spatially reproduced, an ethnographic approach was deemed the most appropriate. Doing ethnographic research gives the researcher the chance to participate in people's lives for a certain time period, or that she combines qualitative research methods with procedures which allow her to observe behaviour in a specific setting (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Crang and Cook, 2007). This study combines semi-structured interviews with participant observations in both Bellevue and Victoria Park, even though these were more fruitful in the latter area for reasons which will be elaborated upon shortly. Focus groups with residents were also carried out in Victoria Park and maps were used as a tool in both areas. These methods all have their strengths in understanding how the residents negotiate neighbourhood choice but also how the participants talk about their areas and how everyday life is performed, and combined they have the potential to answer the study's research purposes. Below, the benefits and considerations of using interviews, focus groups and participant observation are elaborated upon, while the next section of the chapter will explain more in detail how they were applied and executed in Bellevue and Victoria Park.

Semi-structured interviews

As the fieldwork was initiated in Victoria Park, I decided that interviews were the best approach to get a first glimpse into the lives of the residents in the area. It struck me as the most natural way to find out more about the residential area and how the residents spoke of their everyday lives there, as well as how they talked about neighbourhood choice.

When we start out from the assumption that research is produced from interactions it is not far-fetched to understand interviewing as a form of dialogue. Thus, as Gill Valentine (2005) notes, interviews are always different from another as they are "fluid" and shaped by the interviewees' stories and narratives. She explains:

Unlike a questionnaire, the aim of an interview is *not* to be representative (a common but mistaken criticism of this technique) but to understand how individual people experience and make sense of

their own lives. The emphasis is on considering the meanings people attribute to their lives and the processes which operate in particular social contexts (Valentine, 2005: 111, italics in original).

The power relations between the researcher and the participants have briefly been touched upon already, but should be elaborated upon in the context of the interview situation. Kevin Dunn (2005) notes that between the researcher and the research subject...

...there is usually a complex and uneven power relationship involved in which information, and the power to deploy that information, flows mostly one way: from the informant to the interviewer (Dunn, 2005: 92).

However, interviewing people of power (sometimes referred to as “elites”) the research subjects can sometimes have more power to influence the study, and the researcher might become more reliant on them (e.g. Bradshaw, 2001; Valentine, 2005; McDowell, 1998; Cochrane, 1998; Harvey, 2011). In such cases, the research can be seen as more of a negotiation between the researcher and the researched (Bradshaw, 2001: 204), which can bring certain implications. If a researcher is performing a critical study when the focus is how structures affect those of lesser means, it may be ethically justified to let those subjects’ voices be heard and perhaps even take a stand by engaging in their struggle by using a participatory action research approach. But when the research subjects in a similar study are more powerful and may have more means to act the researcher needs to reflect specifically on the power relationships in that specific situation and reflect on the ethics of performing such research. If the researcher is completely open with the critical agenda, the powerful research subjects may refuse to grant the researcher access to the spaces and individuals which are being studied. As stressed by Linda McDowell (1998; 2010), it is always best for a researcher to be as honest as possible about the research aims if it does not compromise the study entirely.

Moreover, the impacts of the place of the interview are important aspects to consider while doing fieldwork. The “micro-geographies of spatial relations and meaning” which are produced by the site of the interview affect the power and positionalities of the research participants, according to Sarah Elwood and Deborah Martin (2000: 649). The material place of the interview is connected to other scales of social and cultural contexts, and the site itself becomes interesting to study in order to see...

...how participants situate themselves and their lives within the shifting fields of power and meaning that constitute the spaces and places in which the interview takes place (Elwood and Martin, 2000: 652).

By studying the micro-geographies of the interview, the researcher may receive a better understanding of the specific information she gets during the interview, and may potentially get richer data and a fuller understanding of the data and the interviewees' stories. If the interviewee chooses the site for the interview, the choice may shed some light upon how participants construct the community in question and whether there are any important institutions as well as whether there exists any social and spatial divisions at the research site (Elwood and Martin, 2000: 652-653).

The power relations of the interview are thus necessary to reflect upon, both in terms of the social interaction between the researcher and the researched and those in place where the interview occurs. This is elaborated upon in the next part of the chapter where I will present the procedures used in completing the fieldwork.

Participant observations

Observing certain spaces is an important tool when a researcher wants to understand the social interactions and behaviours which take place in them, and can be performed during and inbetween interviews. Observations can provide information about the participant beyond what is actually spoken in the interview, as they help the researcher understand not just how the spatial users say they act but also how they *do* act in their everyday lives (Valentine, 2001: 44). In the words of Mike Crang and Ian Cook about using participant observations:

The basic purpose in using these methods is to understand parts of the world more or less as they are experienced and understood in the everyday lives of people who 'live them out' (Crang and Cook, 2007: 1).

Also, Annette Watson and Karen E. Till (2010: 122) explain how ethnographic observations have the ability to "...highlight how bodies interact, meld, and constitute social spaces, and thereby create inclusions and exclusions." Being able to see these things, of course, is heavily dependent on whether the researcher is trusted and can get close and participate in the everyday lives in the researched set-

ting. Participant observation was thus assessed to be a good tool to understand how the residents' everyday lives were played out in the researched areas and how these areas of the upper-middle class are spatially produced.

It is important to highlight that most observations should be seen as participatory, no matter if the researcher is aware of it or not, as observation is always affected by dynamics of power. When the researcher is directly observing a social surrounding, she will most likely affect the behaviour of those researched with her present body. Our bodies often give clues regarding our identities and characteristics, such as race, sex and age, and these characteristics affect whether or not we will gain access to and be accepted in the setting we research (Kearns, 2005: 196-197). In the words of Robin A. Kearns:

If the questionnaire is the tool for survey researchers, and the audio recorder for key informant interviewers, researchers themselves are the tool for participant observation (Kearns, 2005: 205).

The way we are seen and accepted by the research participants is often described in the literature on methodology as being an "insider" or an "outsider" in the group or the place where we conduct our study. Mohammad writes how these concepts have been seen in research:

'Insider/outsider' refers to the boundary marking an inside from an outside, a boundary that is seen to circumscribe identity, social position and belonging and as such marks those who do not belong and hence are excluded (Mohammad, 2001: 101).

This division between the insider and the outsider, as if they are located at the ends of a scale and are mutually exclusive to each other, has however been increasingly criticised. The researcher is likely to share similarities as well as certain dissimilarities with the research participants as certain characteristics always overlap. It is thus possible to claim that the researcher is most likely not to be either an insider or an outsider, as she can be both at the same time (Dowling, 2005: 26; Crang and Cook, 2007: 43).

Focus groups

A focus group can be described as a meeting between a few people with the intention of talking about a certain theme or topic (Bedford and Burgess, 2001: 121). However, the procedure of focus groups can vary and they have been used as a way to investigate the attitudes of consumers and as a method based on group-analytic psychotherapy for instance (Bedford and Burgess, 2001: 121; Kneale, 2001: 136). The method has been described as lying in-between individual interviews and participant observation (Conradson, 2005: 129), which is also why this particular method is interesting to use when the researcher is interested in how space is produced among the participants. Focus groups are a way to arrange a discussion to see how they talk about a certain topic amongst each other and thus facilitate a dialogue where the participants can give their views on a matter but also test them against the other participants. If successful, the focus group can give the researcher the chance to see how knowledge and meaning is created between individuals (Goss and Leinbach, 1996: 118).

Focus groups have previously been used in research on security and fear of crime (e.g. Burgess et al., 1988a; Burgess, 1996; Pain et al., 2000; Pain and Townshend, 2002), and the method is reported to have advantages as well as disadvantages to this particular theme. On a positive note, Pain et al. (2000) write that fear of crime is often conditioned by social identities and personal experiences but is tied to the local context, and the researchers assert that investigating this at the neighbourhood level is ideal for confronting the issue. However, certain sensitive issues and for instance experiences of violence are more difficult to discuss in a larger group while security related narratives on “stranger-danger” can be more easily approached. Only using focus groups when investigating fear of crime may not be sufficient (Pain et al., 2000; Pain and Townshend, 2002), but used together with semi-structured interviews where the residents are given space to elaborate on their own perspectives some of these concerns can be bridged.

Just as with semi-structured interviews and participant observations, power structures are important to consider when performing focus groups. While focus groups are sometimes argued to be a democratic and potentially empowering method, where the power differences between the researcher and the researched are supposed to be diminished through the group discussions (Hyams, 2004), the power-relation among participants is something that has been criti-

cised as a problem with the method. One or a few discussants could for instance take over the discussion which results in that the researcher thus only receives their opinions on the matter. The discussion could also become polarised between different opinions. However, uneven power-relations do not have to be interpreted as a weakness of the method; on the contrary, according to James Kneale (2001: 144) who views the conflicts, power dynamics and tensions as useful and valuable findings. Also, the aim of the group is not that all participants have to think the same way as this would be counterproductive to the purpose of using focus groups (Kneale, 2001: 139; Conradson, 2005: 133).

The purpose of using focus groups was that they would work as a complement to the interviews, and contribute to understanding how knowledge is produced among the residents. Using focus groups did, however, not turn out as successful in this study as anticipated. The reasons for this will be elaborated upon in the next section, which is devoted to explaining how the research in Victoria Park and Bellevue was undertaken.

Procedure³

Initiating research and selecting participants

The first visit inside Victoria Park took place in January 2011 together with a group of researchers from Uppsala University and Malmö University, where we were given a guided tour and an opportunity to meet the CEO and the sales manager of the real-estate company Victoria Park AB as well as two residents. This visit provided me with the first contact with representatives of the real-estate company as well as with residents, and a couple of months later I returned to do the first interviews. One of the representatives in particular became a gatekeeper to me in the initial stages of research, as this person both helped me find residents to interview but also regulated my visits and tried to protect the inhabitants from my presence in the area. Just as Campbell et al. (2006: 102-103) has noted, gatekeepers have been known to be both obstacles and tools to access. Because of the attention the area has received in the media, several of the residents were hesitant to participate in interviews and were, as will be elaborated upon in chapter 6, not always appre-

³ Please see the Appendix for an overview of the research participants in Victoria Park and Bellevue.

ciating having strangers around in their communal spaces. The gatekeeper was in the early stages careful to monitor how the residents reacted to my presence and wanted to sit in on an interview with a staff member from the service company, but as I found more interviewees I eventually became less reliant on the sales manager.

The participants in Victoria Park were mainly selected through snowballing from the first meeting with residents in the area facilitated by the gatekeeper, as the participants along the course of research continued to recommend their neighbours to me. It is however important to be aware that the gatekeeper might have affected the research in certain ways and steered it by influencing the information and the perspective that the researcher gets access to (Valentine, 2005: 116). While performing the research, it became clear to me that the initial interviewees were part of the group who were more involved in the social activities in Victoria Park and that they were often invested in positively advertising the area to me. These were also mainly older inhabitants as they had more time to spare to be part of the community and participate in the research project, and in order to make the selection of residents more nuanced I strived to find residents who were younger and less socially involved both by using the network originating from the gatekeeper but also by sending out letters to the younger individuals registered in the area. It turned out, however, to be difficult to access residents using letters which resulted in most of the participants of the study being contacted through snowball sampling. However, while older and socially active residents form the majority, there are also younger and less socially involved residents represented among the research subjects. All participants in the Victoria Park interview study lived in the tenant ownership cooperative called Paviljongen, which was developed during the first stage of construction.

In the fall of 2012 research was initiated in Bellevue, where gaining access was less complicated as I had the opportunity to be more independent and did not have to go through a gatekeeper to access the inhabitants of the area. In order to get in contact with the residents, I sent out 249 copies of a letter to registered households in the area informing them about the study and giving them my contact details. This resulted in that a number of residents contacted me and mentioned that they were willing to participate, but some of the participants were also contacted by me first via telephone after receiving the letter. The aim was to get a selection of interviewees with as varied characteristics as possible; avoiding several of them being clustered on one street, for instance, and trying to get as many

people of different ages, genders and ethnic backgrounds as possible. As the concept of security turned out to hold certain importance in Victoria Park, this aspect was also considered when selecting interviewees in Bellevue and I tried to find participants living in houses that at first glance seemed to have varying degrees of security practices (such as alarms, signs, fences, surveillance cameras, etc). In a few cases, participants in Bellevue were also found through snowballing and while all interviews in Victoria Park were performed with only one research subject, a couple of research participants in Bellevue chose to have their spouse accompany them during interview.

Generally, older participants form the majority in both residential areas and in Victoria Park these tended also to be more active in the area's social environment. This implies that the selection of participants should not be seen as representing some kind of average inhabitant in these two areas which, as has been mentioned previously, is neither the purpose of doing qualitative interviews.

Doing interviews and focus groups

Interviewing and mapping

The interviews performed in Bellevue and Victoria Park were semi-structured and varied between one and three and a half hours. This implies that they were prepared by establishing a general guide where themes and follow-up questions were stated reflecting the research purposes. These themes and questions were however not brought up in any specific order with the interviewees, and the meeting had more of a conversational structure which made it possible to follow the interviewee's train of thought. This also rendered it possible for additional unplanned follow-up questions which were not featured in the guide to be included in the interview. The interview was however not completely unstructured and if the interviewee started to come too far off topic I tried to get the conversation back to themes which were more relevant to the study.

While it was easy to get the residents in Victoria Park to talk about their own residential area and why they had moved there, it was however more difficult to get them to elaborate on their perceptions of the city of Malmö and understand what kind of information their neighbourhood choices are based upon and whether they would avoid moving to certain areas and in that case why. When initiating fieldwork in Bellevue, I thus came up with the idea

of bringing along a map of Malmö covered in plastic film. At some point during the interview, the participants were asked to make marks with pens in different colours on the map regarding which places they often visited in their everyday lives, which areas they wanted to live in, which areas they would rather not live in and which areas they perceive might be unsafe or dangerous. The approach turned out to be successful as the maps worked as an ice-breaker and gave me a much better opportunity to study the participants' socio-spatial realities in Malmö.

There are many ways of exploring the so called "mental maps" or "cognitive maps" of individuals: Sketch mapping and preference listings are two examples. Cognitive maps have been a topic of interest among behavioural geographers and are sometimes leaning towards psychology (see for instance Golledge and Stimson, 1997: 224-266; Hart and Moore, 1973). However, I am not applying the terms "mental" and "cognitive" mapping as the maps I have asked the residents in Victoria Park and Bellevue to fill out are rather different from these approaches. Firstly, I do not perceive the maps to be reflections of the participants' internal cognitive or mental projections of space. Rather, I am interested in interpreting the discourses these maps convey and the participants' socio-spatial realities, and I thus treat them more along the line of visual methodologies, or "representational landscapes" in the words of Stuart C. Aitken and James Craine:

Representational landscapes are viewed as metaphors that are interpreted and analysed in order to show the role of landscape in social and cultural creation and to help geographers understand space within a social and cultural context (Aitken and Craine, 2005: 253).

Secondly, the participants are not creating maps of their own (such as in for instance sketch mapping which is sometimes used to study distance perceptions or the importance of specific landmarks), and I am not creating maps from the answers of the participants either (such as in preference listings). Instead, the participants draw on an existing map and while an aggregation of the maps show interesting patterns (which can be observed in the following chapter), they should however not be interpreted as an exact reflection of the participants internal cognitive or mental maps. A similar technique has been used by Danielle van der Burgt (2006) who investigated children's friendship networks and meeting places.

The maps are not aiming at revealing all aspects and factors influencing neighbourhood choices; instead they should be seen as a tool

which accompanies the talk of the interviewee which is the focus of the analysis. The interpretation should thus not be disconnected from the discourses the residents provide when they reason and interpret their residential choices. Regarding perceptions of urban security, the maps do not provide an opportunity to show how different situations or temporal aspects affect the participants' feelings of security; one interviewee in Bellevue for instance mentioned how she feels safe in many places during the day but unsafe everywhere during the night which was hard to convey by drawing a couple of lines on the map. Additionally, it should be noted that these maps would most likely look very different if they were performed in a different part of Malmö. A person living in one of the areas perceived as unattractive or unsafe by the residents in Victoria Park or Bellevue might for instance present a completely opposite representation of space: Listerborn (2014: 13) has, for instance, when interviewing women wearing the hijab showed that high-income parts of the city such as Limhamn, where Victoria Park and Bellevue are located, are perceived as a threatening because of the risk for harassment (see also van der Burgt, 2006).



Image 4: One of the maps filled out by a resident in Victoria Park.

Focus groups

The focus groups were only performed in Victoria Park as a complement to the interviews. Since the maps were applied only when starting up fieldwork in Bellevue, one important aspect of the focus

group was also to encourage the residents in Victoria Park to elaborate more on neighbourhood choice and their perceptions of the city. Thus, a difference between the areas in using the maps is that they aided the discussion during interviews in Bellevue and the focus groups in Victoria Park, even though they were always filled out individually by each participant. The idea of using focus groups was thus to facilitate a discussion among the residents regarding neighbourhood choice in order to see how discourses are created and negotiated in a social context. Focus groups are often used for this reason; to receive several views of a specific theme and the interaction among the participants on that theme (Conradson, 2005: 129). The intention was also that the focus groups would work as a “bridge” between the interviews and the participant observation in Victoria Park.

The two focus groups were performed in the beginning of 2013 and intended to be as mixed as possible regarding gender and age. A couple of participants were recruited among the previous interviewees while others had not participated in the project before. Some of them, however, had participated in another study of Victoria Park performed by architect Karin Grundström at Malmö University, who was also co-involved in conducting the first focus group. While the interview study only featured residents living in the first stage of Victoria Park, a couple of the participants in the focus group were living in the second stage of the area called Allén. The groups met once and they lasted between two and three hours. Advocates of focus groups have asserted that those groups which met only once tend to focus more on the investigated theme rather than the intra-group relationships, the latter being better studied when the members of a focus group meet several times (such as in the group-analytic psychotherapeutic approach, see Burgess et al., 1988a; Burgess et al., 1988b). It is most likely that meeting several times is a helpful approach when using focus groups as the main method, but since my interest was mainly in the theme and the focus groups were considered to be more of a complement to the interviews I decided that I would only summon the group again if I considered it necessary. Since all the participants had in common that they were neighbours several of them knew each other already when the focus groups took place, which might have been a factor making the discussions run smoother than if all of them had been total strangers to each other and only meeting at that one time. As they had the residential area in common, the groups are defined as “natural” rather than “assembled” which means that they were more likely to feel

comfortable with each other in certain ways while also of course having internal power structures and hierarchies. One disadvantage of using natural groups is that the participants might become anxious about speaking their minds if their opinions are considered to be unusual or unpopular (Conradson, 2005: 134), but this was not something that I noticed while conducting the focus groups.

Just like with the semi-structured interviews, the focus groups were structured to a certain extent as they were guided by certain questions and topics that were considered to be of interest to the research. The two sessions however turned out to be differently successful. The first focus group proved to be more unfocused and messy than the second as the number of participants was larger and as there was no other communal place to conduct the focus group than in the lounge of Victoria Park, where there were many distractions and quite a lot of background noise. The second focus group turned out much more successful as it took place behind closed doors and as there were fewer participants it became much easier to discuss topics deeper than in the first focus group. While the focus groups might not have been as helpful as first hoped, they still confirmed several notions and themes that had already been brought up in the individual interviews. The second focus group also provided more discussions between participants of different opinions which proved interesting.

Observing spatial relations in Victoria Park and Bellevue

As Kearns (2005: 200) has noted, it is usually easier to gain access and perform participant observations in public spaces than it is in private ones. As both Victoria Park and Bellevue are residential areas where most of the everyday life interactions take place in private or communal spaces, performing participant observation of the relations among residents was not as easy as it had been to study the social interaction among users of a public square, for instance. Gaining access and trust was therefore of utmost importance for the participant observations to be successful.

As Victoria Park is constituted by more semi-private spaces where much of the social interaction among neighbours occur, participant observations were more useful than in Bellevue where houses and their residents are separated by private gardens. In the latter area, observations were made mainly during and inbetween scheduled interviews, as they always took place in the interviewee's

home. Being able to observe the participants in their own home environments may provide the researcher with valuable insights, however (Valentine, 2005: 118), and this proved to be true for the sake of this study as well as it gave me a chance to study the physical environment in Bellevue and understand spatial practices carried out in the participants' everyday lives in the area and on their properties. All interviewees could choose where the interview was supposed to take place and when these were performed in the environment, which was also a topic for inquiry, discussions seemed to be facilitated. The micro-geographies of place is an important factor to acknowledge as well as the interviewee's choice of interview site which can reveal how these places are used and any potential social and spatial divisions, which has previously been noted by Elwood and Martin (2000: 652-653). This proved especially interesting in Victoria Park, where the majority of the interviews took place in the lounge of the residential area (a couple were however performed in the park and the restaurant, and two more occurred outside of Victoria Park) while none of the participants chose to perform the interviews in their own homes. This choice indicates what kind of space the lounge is, what it is intended for, how spatial boundaries are drawn and how the residents relate to it; it is controlled by the residents and the staff, and it is public enough for the residents to bring invited strangers for a short period of time but still of course not as personal as their own homes would be. This site is probably also chosen by the interviewees as it produces an image of the area that reflects the lifestyle choice of the residents, an image which is willingly advertised.

Participant observations in Victoria Park did not occur solely in relation to interviews, however, as the area was visited on several occasions while writing the thesis. One of these visits was for a longer period of time, as I got the chance to rent a guest flat for a couple of days and was allowed to use the communal spaces of the area, participate in some of the social activities and speak to the residents more informally. Performing these kinds of participant observations proved very beneficial to the study as they did not only permit me to analyse the production of these spaces and the behaviours taking place there, but to also use my own body as an instrument to feel what it was like to use these spaces. I also had the chance of experiencing what it was like to arrive there without knowing any of the residents and to be an outsider; my age, not being recognised by the residents who often frequent the lounge and not being able to move in the area as I did not have a key card were

characteristics which put together singled me out as a non-resident. After repeated visits, the staff in the reception and the residents started to recognise me and most of them became welcoming. Eventually I was entrusted a visitors key card while staying in the area; a crucial possession which allowed the mobility of a resident as the card is necessary in order to move between all spaces in the area, be it to go from the lounge to the toilets or from the lounge to the spa or get into the area from the street or the park. The key card is a sign of trust and that you are authorised to be there. Going through this kind of process of first being an outsider to later becoming recognised and asked to join the residents in some of the activities was an important experience of crossing boundaries and to understand the spatial power relations in Victoria Park. These experiences were as soon as the interview or participant observation was over in both areas written down in a field journal and later typed out. Chapters 6 and 7 are based on the statements of the participants as well as on my bodily experiences which these moments of observation facilitated in Victoria Park and Bellevue, while chapter 5 mainly rests upon the interviews, focus groups and the maps.

Analysing the material

The fieldwork of the study was performed between January 2011 and March 2013, and when all the empirical material had been collected most of the audio data from the interviews and focus groups was transcribed. When all transcripts of interviews and focus groups as well as the typing out of participant observation were done, these texts were read through several times and parts of the texts were manually coded according to larger and smaller themes. The themes were singled out in accordance to the purposes of the thesis but they also appeared over the course of research when specific statements and discourses were repeated among the participants. The empirical material was firstly categorised under four main headlines: *Information about the residents' backgrounds and housing trajectories, statements and practices of everyday life, security and the perceptions of Malmö and different residential areas*. These were in turn divided into sub-sections and narrower themes based on recurrent statements. There were several such themes, but a couple can be mentioned as examples: *resort-life, the importance of social community, status, the presence of strangers and discourses regarding immigration*.

However, counter-discourses and understandings which deviated from the recurrent themes were also noted.

Categorising transcripts in such a way may cause the researcher to lose the individual behind the statements or the quotes. However, in order not to lose too much track of the individual's trajectory, I created separate documents where all the important background information of the interviewee was included together with the statements and quotes that had been categorised under different themes, which was particularly helpful to the analysis of neighbourhood choice in chapter 5.

The relations between discourse, practice and materialisation has previously been stressed in chapter 2, but it remains to be explained what kind of analysis has been applied in order to understand how they occur in Victoria Park and Bellevue. The transcripts had to be read and analysed in a way that suited the epistemological departure and the perception of the participants as actors within a certain structure. In order to perform such an analysis, I have drawn upon the work of Mats Alvesson and Dan Kärreman (2000), which offers a helpful framework to define and demarcate discourses in order to analyse them.

discourse vs Discourse: applying a close-range discourse determination approach

Alvesson and Kärreman (2000: 1126) provide a critique of some previous research using discourse analysis as the concept *discourse* is often used in different ways by different researchers and it is therefore hard to pin down what it means in certain circumstances. Quite often the concept is left unexplored and undiscussed, even though there is no widespread agreement on what a discourse entails. "Discourse sometimes comes close to standing for everything, and thus nothing" (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000: 1128) claim, which they interpret as a result of researchers not being able to choose which approach they should have in analysing their material.

The authors thus distinguish two approaches to discourse analysis: the first is to concentrate on *social text* (such as interviews or written text) and language, where discourses are understood as "local achievements, analytically distinct from other levels of social reality [...], and with little or no general content" (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000: 1126). The second approach focuses on *meaning* which is defined by Alvesson and Kärreman as "a relatively stable way of relating to and making sense of something, a meaning being

interrelated to an attitude, value, belief or idea” (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000: 1128). This approach is more dedicated to study how social realities are shaped through language, and discourses are thus perceived as “general and prevalent systems for the formation and articulation of ideas in a particular period of time” (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000: 1126). Alvesson and Kärreman argue that holding the first approach of focusing on the text makes it more difficult to bring the analysis up to the level above the specific text and language to scrutinize more widespread social phenomena. In order to separate the two approaches from each other, the authors talk about “discourse” (with a small d) in the first approach and “Discourse” (with a capital D, also referred to as Grand Discourses) in the latter. The problem experienced by researchers is that it is hard to move from empirical texts to “Discourse” which deals with the issues outside the text (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000: 1126-1128).

According to Alvesson and Kärreman (2000: 1129, 1135), discourse analysis can be carried out through two dimensions, where one dimension is the *scale and range of discourse*. At the one end of this dimension is the “micro-discourse” where discourses are local and context-dependent and at the other is the “Mega-Discourse” where discourses are seen as part of the structuring of the social world. The other dimension consists of *the link between discourse and meaning* and ranges between discourses as autonomous and unrelated from meaning and discourses as determined by meaning.

In the vertical dimension relating to the scale and range of discourses, the micro-discourse perspective implies that discourse is studied through detailed scrutiny of language in a specific small-scale context. This means that “[1]anguage use is here understood in relationship to the specific process and social context in which discourse is produced” (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000: 1133). The Mega-Discourse approach, on the other hand, is described like this by the authors:

At the other extreme we see discourse as a rather universal, if historically situated, set of vocabularies, standing loosely coupled to, referring to or constituting a particular phenomenon. We may talk about long-range, macro-systemic discourse (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000: 1133).

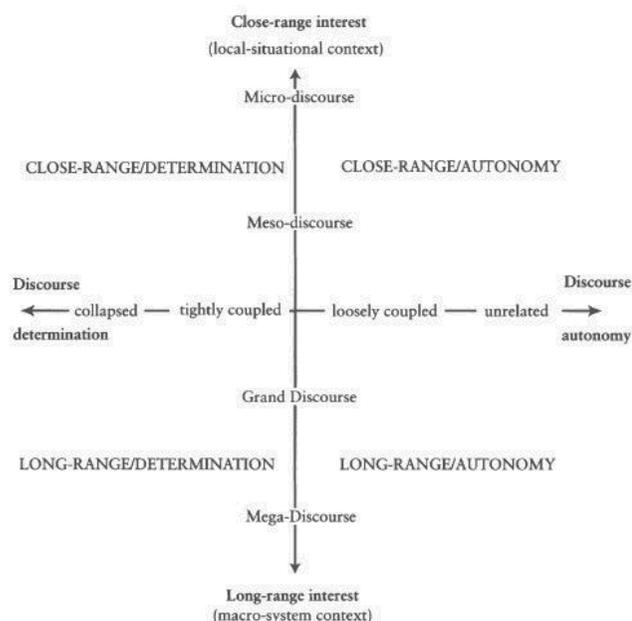


Image 5: “Elaboration of core dimensions and summary of positions in discourse studies” (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000: 1135).

There are, however, levels in between these two extremes, which is of relevance to this study as neither the micro nor the Mega approaches are particularly suitable to the empirical material of this thesis. Alvesson and Kärreman (2000: 1133-1134, 1143) describe a “Grand Discourse approach”, which is located on a level below the Mega Discourse approach but in similarity to the latter lies close to the discourse analysis suggested by Foucault, where the focus is often on overall categories and standards. These two higher levels of discourse analysis might pay less attention to local variations and complex social practices. Another level, located between the Grand Discourse approach and the micro-discourse approach, is the meso-discourse approach. This approach is sensitive to the contextual language, but not confined to language use as it seeks to find broader structures beyond the text. Within this framework, findings may be generalizable to similar contexts, but the categorisations cannot be too broad. The second to lowest level of analysis, the meso-discourse, is more suitable for this study, as it is deemed to provide a better chance than the higher scales to bring out the richness of

the empirics⁴, and it enables me to analyse the text while also glancing up from it and seeing how structures are not only confined to language but are also linked to actions.

In the horizontal dimension of discourse analysis, the link between discourse and meaning, there are also two end-points. The first is referred to by Alvesson and Kärreman (2000: 1130) as “discourse autonomy” which means that discourses emerge from certain interactions where meaning is “transient”. This means that discourse and meaning are more separated than in the other approach, and discourse is seen as affecting, or framing, meaning but does not include cognitions and actions. In this approach, emotions, convictions and beliefs can be seen as non-related to discourse, and discourse does not constitute reality and subjectivity. The subject can thus evade discourses and, with an example from Alvesson and Kärreman (2000: 1131-1132) could perhaps be a “politically conscious language user, telling the right kind of story to the right audiences at the right moment”.

The second end point is referred to as “*discourse determination*”, where meaning is more “durable” and exists in a more stable way beyond the specific interaction that is being studied. This is the approach used in this study as it fits better with the epistemological departure of the thesis. Using the perspective of discourse determination, cultural and individual ideas, orientations, ways of sense-making and cognition are determined by discourse (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000: 1130): “Discourse drives subjectivity (our sense of ourselves, including our feelings, thoughts and orientations), presumably in an all-embracing and muscular fashion,” and the subject is thus an effect of the discourse (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000: 1131).

In the framework of Alvesson and Kärreman, the discourses I analyse can be characterised as close-ranged and determined. Instead of aiming for extensive generalisations which a Foucauldian Grand or Mega approach would provide, this study investigates a specific group (the upper-middle class) in a specific context (Bellevue and Victoria Park in Malmö). Using the meso-approach to discourse analysis I am however not locked to analysing the social text of this group, which means that I can include an interpretation of discourse

⁴ The authors do however also highlight that it is not impossible to acknowledge local variation when engaging with Grand or Mega Discourses, just as it is not impossible to see more general structures when engaging in the micro or meso approaches. But they also note that there is a tension between the levels which therefore renders it harder to investigate both levels thoroughly in the same study (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000: 1134).

that is not limited to language use (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000: 1137).

Narrative story-telling

When talking to the residents in Victoria Park and Bellevue, I was interested in knowing more about their histories up until their move to the areas. This was in part a way to find out why they found these particular areas attractive which in turn is connected to their general perception of neighbourhood choice on the housing market in Malmö. Thus, I asked them questions seeking answers to where they came from, where they lived previously to moving into Bellevue or Victoria Park and why they chose to move to these particular areas.

In a couple of interviews, the residents chose to provide a more comprehensive story of their backgrounds and their trajectories in how they ended up living in their present dwellings. Stories from the past about areas where the participants had grown up and where they had lived before were referred to when explaining their current representations of Malmö and its different parts. Some had, for instance, grown up in the vicinity of areas perceived as bad neighbourhoods, which according to them affected their contemporary view of these areas. Some of their first-hand experiences have had an effect on their representations of Malmö. Frequently in the interviews, the participants highlighted that even though they lived in Victoria Park or Bellevue which have the reputation of being two of the richer areas of Malmö, they did not consider themselves to be a part of a privileged class. Instead, these participants drew upon how they had grown up in areas less privileged, but that through education, clever investments in the housing market and accumulated capital they could eventually move into Bellevue and Victoria Park. As previously mentioned, I felt a need to not completely lose sight of these personal stories when I started to work from the coded material and I wanted to account for them in some way. It was clear that these stories were important to the interviewees and were used to explain their knowledge of Malmö and their class identities. In order to understand the importance of these stories I have chosen to treat them as *narratives*.

In my application of narratives, I am using the work of Catherine Kohler Riessman (1993) as a starting point. According to her, what a researcher means when speaking of narratives often differs (just like with the concept of discourse). It can signify almost anything

and can be a metaphor for speaking about lives, but some researchers see narratives as “discrete units, with clear beginnings and endings, as detachable from the surrounding discourse rather than as situated events” (Riessman, 1993: 17). When analysing narratives, the *story* is in focus, and “story telling” should be understood as “what we do with our research materials and what informants do with us” (Riessman, 1993: 1). According to Riessman (1993: 2, italics in original), “[t]he purpose is to see how respondents in interviews impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives” and to ask “why was the story told *that way?*”. Analysing narratives makes it possible to study personal experience and meaning, and how “active subjects” construct certain events in their stories (Riessman, 1993: 70). The narratives should be interpreted as representations, and Riessman explains:

Human agency and imagination determine what gets included and excluded in narrativization, how events are plotted, and what they are supposed to mean. Individuals construct past events and actions in personal narratives to claim identities and construct lives (Riessman, 1993: 2).

It is thus important to note that narratives should not be seen as a perfect mirror of something that happened as they are full of constructions, interpretations and assumptions as well as coming from a specific perspective and have a certain rhetorical quality. When attending a certain event, our experiences are filtered through our senses, and personal interest and previous experiences also affect how we interpret a situation and construct our realities. When later retelling the story to an audience it becomes rearranged somewhat and perhaps put in relation to that person’s interests and the wider context. Riessman (1993: 5-11) notes that the narrative becomes produced by the teller *and* the listeners, who ask questions about certain things they find interesting. If the audience had been comprised of other people the story might have gotten other nuances or another focus. The narrative of an experience can impossibly be depicted in a neutral way, as it later in the research process will become transcribed, analysed and eventually read by others. Riessman states:

Meaning is ambiguous because it arises out of a process of interaction between people: self, teller, listener and recorder, analyst, and reader (Riessman, 1993: 15).

Telling a story is often a way to create the self, and present a specific image of oneself. When doing so, it becomes important for all of us to persuade ourselves and the listeners that we are good people, and the past thus becomes “a selective reconstruction” where specific experiences or events can be excluded so that the sought-after representations of our identities are brought forward (Riessman, 1993: 11, 64).

Even though I find the narrative concept useful to the thesis, I do *not* actually perform a narrative analysis. In such an analysis, the emphasis is often on keeping the interviewees’ stories structured and sequenced, rather than fragmenting them into certain categories and taking these passages out of context. Such narratives would most likely be more attainable when using life-history interviewing, or other kinds of methods where the participants are asked about specific events in their lives and the interviews are more unstructured. As has already been elaborated upon, the interviews of this study have been of semi-structured character, and a strict narrative analysis is therefore not appropriate in relation to the empirical material. Performing a narrative analysis which focuses intensely on the text itself and is an “unpacking of speech” (Riessman, 1993: 3, 70) is, for the same reasons as mentioned above in relation to the micro scale of discourse, not fulfilling the purpose of the study.

My view of narratives in this study is thus concentrated to the specific information and first-hand experiences of the participants which they tell in order to convey a certain meaning. It is important to note, however, that while I treat narratives as information about the participants’ past, I do not see them as detached from the reproduction of discourses. The participants bring forward certain stories in order to arrive at a certain point; to make a statement about something. These past experiences are drawn upon with the intention of exemplifying why they hold a certain worldview. In other words, while the narrative is the storied information about the participants’ past (albeit not representative of some kind of objective “truth”), the discourse is the meaning that is intended by conveying the narrative. In the previous example of the participants’ notions of their own class-belonging, for instance, the narratives of their backgrounds are sometimes provided in order to separate themselves from a discourse of what a privileged class entails. Discursively, then, the narrative becomes interesting as a way to bring forward meaning and to produce knowledge.

5 The separate worlds of the city

As noted in the introduction, this study presupposes that all inhabitants of the city are a part of an urban segregation process. In order to understand this process we have to, as Andersson (2008: 121) claims, understand the reasons behind why people decide to move to specific parts of the city or particular neighbourhoods.

This chapter initiates the investigation of why the residents of Victoria Park and Bellevue have decided to move to these particular areas and why they perceive them as attractive, which will be further elaborated upon in more detail in chapters 6 and 7 where it is analysed how the two areas are socio-spatially reproduced. Two things differentiate this chapter from the two coming empirical chapters. While chapters 6 and 7 zoom in to the practice of everyday life in Victoria Park and Bellevue, this chapter studies how the residents negotiate their choices on the housing market from a more comprehensive yet qualitative macro perspective of the city, and the emphasis is thus on the discourses the participants ascribe to different areas of the city. Also, this chapter includes an analysis of not only the areas the residents perceive as attractive but also those areas they would rather not move to. It thus answers to the research questions related to the macro scale of the study: Where do the residents perceive that it is attractive as well as unattractive to live? How do they describe the different parts and neighbourhoods of the city, and how do they negotiate spatial information in their own understanding of the city?

This chapter argues that when the participants from Victoria Park and Bellevue choose neighbourhoods, they actively self-segregate to the western part of Malmö while dismissing large parts of the city. Some of the reasons mentioned for dismissing these areas were that their locations were seen as less desirable and that the participants did not think they would find their preferred type of housing here. But it was also clear that many of the participants did not only find that the unattractive areas were located too far away physically, but also socially. As the lack of own experiences of many areas particularly east of the city were prevalent as the residents'

everyday trajectories never crossed them, many of the residents had to fill their knowledge gaps with the representations from the media. These representations commonly depicted, especially, the Million Programme areas as having unattractive housing and an immigrant dense population battling social problems. These areas were thus considered to be unattractive and Other to the norm, and were depicted as separate worlds to the realities of Bellevue and Victoria Park. While urban inhabitants have the power to interpret spaces and neighbourhoods in different ways and thus show certain resistance to a dominating discourse, it is acknowledged in this chapter that spatial representations and already existing segregation patterns are powerful forces affecting the neighbourhood choices of the upper-middle class.

Asking people about neighbourhood choice: A few words on considerations and procedures

When investigating reasons for migration there are a couple of important aspects which need to be taken into consideration. Anderson (2008: 123-124) has observed some of these, and he stresses how migration decisions are often complex and hard to analyse for several reasons. When a person is asked why she or he has moved the answer might seem rational and simple, but the chain of events leading up to the migration may be very long and several underlying causes may thus become simplified and conflated into one single factor. The actual decision for moving is not always possible to isolate in the motivations of one person either, as many moves involve several people at once such as the members of a household. Anderson also notes that migration should not be seen as the result of a free choice of the individuals, especially if these individuals have limited resources. Moving decisions are affected by the supply of housing and options are thus affected on a structural level. Politicians, planners, property owners, construction companies and housing administrators are thus important players in the everyday individual's moving decisions.

The semi-structured interviews with the residents in Victoria Park and Bellevue regarding their neighbourhood choices were most often done with one person at a time, although a few interviews in Bellevue were made with the interviewee's spouse present. Neigh-

bourhood choices were also investigated in the focus groups in Victoria Park, but these focused more on the participants' perceptions of the city and not as much on the backgrounds of the participants as these were more thoroughly covered in the semi-structured interviews. Some interviews were very long as the participants took the time to communicate in detail important events in their lives and the processes which eventually made them move to their particular area. In most of the interviews, however, the participants briefly elaborated upon their housing histories and where they had lived previous to moving to Victoria Park or Bellevue. As noted in the previous chapter, it is important to learn about the participant's background and experiences of other residential areas as that can explain why she or he has a particular way of perceiving the city's different areas and particular housing desires.

This study does not aim at understanding all underlying causes of migration or coming to a deep understanding of the complex chain of events leading up to the move to Victoria Park or Bellevue, even though that indeed would have been interesting to analyse as well. The reasons are that such an approach would have demanded a more thorough focus on the participants' life courses as well as a different research purposes and interviewing procedures. Instead, the focus of the thesis, and this chapter particularly, is to understand the participants' representations of the city, whether they actively avoid moving to specific parts of Malmö and if so, why.

During the interviews and focus groups, the participants were encouraged to elaborate on their choice of neighbourhood among the many available in Malmö, and the maps turned out to be a valuable tool. The maps became a base for the discussions and the interviewees were asked to mark which areas they visited in their everyday lives, which areas they found attractive and unattractive to live in as well as which areas they perceived as unsafe, and by doing so certain patterns appeared. The maps stimulated the participants to comment on certain parts of the city which might have been forgotten otherwise as well as encouraged them to analyse their own images of other city districts and how they have come to hold such information.

Most of them were happy residing in the neighbourhoods they were presently living in. Only a few were actually considering moving because of age or family reasons, which means that the question was more relevant to some rather than those who had no plans of moving. The participants' indications on the maps should thus not be seen as absolute reflections of the neighbourhoods where they

would look for another place to live, as the markings were often hypothetical and the residents did not always reflect upon their own economic ability to actually manage a move to these areas. Others had reflected more upon where they wanted to live next, especially the older participants who wanted to move to for instance service flats; one participant even marked out the local cemetery as her next destination.

The maps presented in this chapter have been aggregated and, as stated in the previous chapter, while they contribute to a general survey of the participants' socio-spatial perception of the city they need to be interpreted with caution if analysed separately from the participants' statements and explanations. The maps alone do not include all the nuances which the interpretations of the city are composed of.

Choosing Victoria Park and Bellevue: An introduction to the participants and their dwellings

The majority of the residents in Victoria Park and Bellevue who participated in the study were middle aged or older, and had families of their own either with children living at home or who had moved out. They originated from different places; some had moved to Malmö from other parts of Sweden, a couple had their origins from other European countries, others had moved within the Scania region while some were from Malmö originally and a couple were born and raised in the same city district as Victoria Park and Bellevue is located. The majority of the participants had, prior to moving to Victoria Park or Bellevue, lived in another dwelling in Malmö or the greater region. In the two coming sections, the reasons stated by the residents for moving to Victoria Park and Bellevue are briefly presented.

Victoria Park: unusual, exclusive and comfortable

The majority of the residents participating in the interview study and the focus groups lived in the tenant ownership cooperative "Paviljongen". Several of the residents had moved there from rather big detached houses, and a very commonly stated reason to why they wanted to move from their previous homes was because they were

growing tired of the time and work they had to put down into the maintenance of their houses and gardens. This was especially mentioned by the older participants of the study whose children in many cases had moved out, and they felt that the household work was too tiresome as they grew older. Some of the participants mentioned moving for health reasons, as they or their spouses had been ill and, for instance, had problems with the stairs in their previous houses. Victoria Park is described by them as a residential area that is more accessible and easier to move around than their previous dwelling. Additionally, changes in household composition were common reasons among some of the younger and full-time working participants in Victoria Park and divorce from their previous spouses was a repeatedly mentioned incentive for moving.

One of the most important reasons for moving to Victoria Park especially was the out-of-the-ordinary housing concept and the in-house services. This was described as an attractive quality to both participants with and without children, as the services were enticing to the older residents who enjoyed the ease of accessing them but also to the younger participants with children who found them convenient. The exclusivity of the area attracted several new residents, and the participants mention how they were enticed by the elegant building and the expensive-looking interior design. Factors such as the perceived high-quality building constructions and materials, the status of the address as well as the exclusivity and the aesthetics of Victoria Park were noted among the participants as attractive. The fancy and exclusive party invitations sent out by the housing company before they had moved in were also mentioned as appealing, as well as the freshness of living in newly constructed housing where no one else has lived before. Lena, who is working full-time and moved from a flat in another newly constructed residential area in Malmö to Victoria Park says:

And I've always liked newly constructed housing. Always newly constructed. And exclusive, I have always put a lot of money into... my housing. And being single with two children it's been tough at times of course, but I've always bought flats and sold [them]... (Lena, Victoria Park)

The location of Victoria Park was mentioned by a couple of residents as an interesting factor as well, as some of them had longer distance to the city centre before than they had after moving. But one even more commonly stated reason for moving to the area was how the participants perceived that living there has financial ad-

vantages. The apartments are more expensive to buy than average flats in Malmö: the flats in the first stage of Paviljongen were sold in 2009 to a price of 52 000 Swedish kronor per m², a price that can be compared to the eastern city centre of Malmö where the price level in 2014, five years later, is 17 055 Swedish kronor and to western city centre of Malmö where the equivalent price is 25 516 Swedish kronor (Mäklarstatistik, 2014). However, once you buy a flat in the tenant ownership cooperative, the monthly costs are lower as the cooperative has no mutual loans. Since many of the residents made a profit on selling their previous properties before moving in they could afford buying the expensive flats. Their monthly fees consist of a service fee and the rent, but since they do not have to pay interest or amortisation as part of their rent to the cooperative many of the participants still perceive that their housing costs have lowered.

Bellevue: idyllic, beautiful and high status

The 14 households from Bellevue were dispersed all over the neighbourhood and the residents had lived there for a varying amount of time; a few of them had owned their houses for several decades while others had only lived there a couple of years. The houses they lived in also varied: Some were big wooden houses more than 100 years old, located in very large gardens surrounded by flower beds and low green net fences, others were from the mid-20th century on plots lined with shrubberies. A couple more lived in newer houses from the end of the last century and the beginning of the 21st, sometimes surrounded by stone walls and metal fences and three participants lived in row-houses from the 1950s. Thus, the housing units of the participants differ much more from each other than they do among the residents in Victoria Park, which at the time being is constituted of two tenant ownership cooperatives of flats of similar standard and layout.

Like the participants in Victoria Park, the decisions among the interviewees to move to Bellevue were influenced by motives connected to their particular trajectories and life events. While some of the residents in Victoria Park had moved there due to members leaving their households, a commonly mentioned reason for moving to Bellevue was the desire to live in a house with a garden due to an expanding family. There are, however, many areas with detached and semi-detached houses in Malmö, but Bellevue and some of its surrounding areas are highlighted as having specific qualities which

cannot be found elsewhere in Malmö and hence the attractiveness of the area is enhanced.

Other factors that drew the participants there were the area's close location to the city and various services, and several people mentioned how they wanted to live close to the sea, the light and the fresh air. The good schools, the ample gardens and the old houses were also mentioned as attracting them to Bellevue. Bellevue is often described by the residents as an idyllic suburb where the greenness, lushness, the beautiful gardens and the proximity to the sea provide appreciated aesthetic settings often enjoyed during walking or jogging in the area. It is also brought forward as a tidy, well-kempt and child-friendly area, with good communications to the centre of Limhamn as well as the city centre. One of the interviewees describes his dwelling in Bellevue as living in the forest with tall trees and bird life at the same time as he is living close to the centre of the city and can enjoy everything the city has to offer.

While some noted that they did not care about the status of the neighbourhood and that they happened to find the right house on this address, others emphasised the importance of the area's good reputation. Interestingly, the idea of an area's good reputation seemed to be connected to ideas about domestic economy. To live in an area of high status was mentioned among a couple of the participants as ensuring that their invested money is safer: the better the area, the better the return. Peter, for instance, explains how he reasoned when moving to Bellevue:

If I put it this way... my philosophy of life is that if you live in a rental apartment it doesn't really matter, apart from that you should like living in that specific neighbourhood. But when you buy a place I have a philosophy that if you buy in an area with a slightly better reputation, the prices are more dependable.

...if you can afford to buy a slightly nicer flat in slightly better residential areas, the risk of losing your money is somewhat smaller, according to me (Peter, Bellevue).

Linda, also living in Bellevue, is another example. She moved from northern Sweden to Malmö with her family and wanted to live closer to a big airport like the one in Copenhagen and thus the world due to her husband's international job. She explains that Malmö's bad reputation made her wary and she put great effort into finding the right area for them to move to as she wanted to be sure to find a location with good value for the invested money. To her it was not important whether they ended up living in an apartment or house,

as long as they lived in a good area with good reputation. This demand made her narrow down the hunt of a new house to merely two residential areas with sufficient status in Malmö. She says:

So I knew *nothing* about Malmö, knew absolutely nothing, so I called three different real estate agents. And I just asked “We’re moving to Malmö. Where should one live?” “Well, that depends, that depends” they answered. “No” I said “it doesn’t depend. Where should one live?!”. Yeah, so there were only two areas to choose from, Fridhem or Bellevue *Sjöside* (Linda, Bellevue).

While the areas are different from each other, certain similarities can be found among the incentives to move to Victoria Park and Bellevue. The most common factors were changes in life and household assembly together with the areas’ dominating tenure forms, personal preferences in terms of whether one prefers old or new housing, the area’s location in relation to the city and services as well as nature and their exclusivity. The good reputations of the areas seem to be connected to ideas about domestic security as well, as the status of neighbourhoods guarantee that their investments are safe from decreasing in value. It is perceived that their financial investment would not be as safe in less socioeconomically stable areas. The next chapter will more thoroughly analyse how the status and good reputation of Bellevue which relies on old traditions as well as the exclusivity of the new concept of Victoria Park are important aspects of why these areas are considered as attractive and how they contribute to the spatial production of the neighbourhoods.

The attractive city and its parts

When asking the participants in Victoria Park and Bellevue about how they perceived the city they live in, they unanimously gave an ovation to Malmö and described the city as creative, cosmopolitan, dynamic and continental; an international melting pot where fresh ideas are born and developed. The demise of the old workers’ city relying on industrial income and its metamorphosis into a university city was mentioned by many as a positive development, and it was described that Malmö which previously was perceived as grey and dull has become more progressive with increasingly interesting urban settings as well as a wider selection of entertainment, nightlife and cultural activities. This change and re-coding of Malmö has

previously been noted and discussed in chapter 3, and it has had a clear impact on the participants of the study who described feelings of pride and local patriotism when talking about their relationship to the city.

As also noted in chapter 3, however, the brand of the attractive Knowledge City constitutes merely one representation of Malmö among other contemporaneous interpretations. The shootings and violent incidents carried out by mainly criminal groups in organised crime in public spaces, occurring when drawing up the research design and carrying out the fieldwork of the thesis, were at this time frequently discussed in the media. Debate television programs such as “Uppdrag Granskning” and “Agenda” as well as the television show “Malmöpolisen” broadcasted by Swedish public service depicted Malmö as a violent and insecure city suffering from antagonisms and segregation between societal groups, and the city was unflatteringly renowned as “the Chicago of Sweden”. These violent events were most likely, according to a memorandum published by the Swedish Crime Prevention Council (BRÅ), perceived as particularly tangible due to the dense city structure of Malmö; the “problems” and socioeconomic structures connected to organised crime appear in or close to the inner city rather than in isolated suburbs which would more likely occur in Stockholm or Gothenburg. This implies, according to BRÅ, that violent meetings between members of criminal groups are more likely to occur in the city centre and violence thus become more visible to the inhabitants which may increase their feelings of insecurity (Ekström et al., 2012: 18, 21).

While many interviewees acknowledged the recent violent events that had been mentioned in the media and noted how they perceived that Malmö is struggling with crime, segregation, inequalities and unemployment, and a couple mentioned that the new nickname may have some truth to it, there were also many participants who were critical towards the discourse of Malmö as a particularly unsafe city with higher crime levels than average. These participants experienced that the events had been exaggerated by the media who seemed to be at a mission of slandering the image of the city. The problems with crime, segregation and social inequalities were interpreted by this group as related to the growth and development of Malmö as well as the city’s location so close to the European continent, and that similar problems exist in several other cities but that Malmö somehow received disproportionate attention by the media.

The representation of Malmö as a dangerous city which they have read about in the newspapers and seen on the national news on

television was thus not something the majority of the participants recognised from their own experiences of Malmö. Anna and Stig, both living in Bellevue, explain for instance how they think the city has changed for the better and that the features from the negative discourse have been absent from their everyday lives:

Malmö is a really good city to live in now. I think it's better now than before. But when we go to our friends, we used to live in Stockholm for five years [...], when we went there they said "Oh my God, what's it like in Malmö? Is it like Chicago?" or Harlem or whatever they're saying. Like, "No. There's no difference." "But there's so much [about it] on TV." But we don't experience any [of it] (Anna, Bellevue).

There's a lot going on in Malmö. [...] There are two images, right. On the one hand you associate it with people being shot on the streets and squares... and this thing with racism and the persecution of Jews. And on the other hand there's the incredible dynamics, [the city] is growing and we have the Öresund Bridge and all these positive things. And it's a bit dual, right. But then you can say, if you live out here you really only notice the positives (Stig, Bellevue).

While being generally critical towards the reporting of the media, the existence of the problems reported on by the media regarding violent crimes, oppositions between different groups and social inequalities were not dismissed completely among the residents. When I ask Thomas in Bellevue about how he perceives the discussion about Malmö in the media, he says:

I mean, here you don't notice it, where we live. So it's only what you hear and see and read in the newspapers and TV and similar, right. [...] But where we move about, so to speak, there you never see any of this, right (Thomas, Bellevue).

When elaborating upon where in the city they would like to live, most of the participants clearly wanted to stay close to their current residential areas in the western part of the city. This is revealed in map 1, showing the aggregated maps of where in the city the residents in Victoria Park and Bellevue would like to live. The most popular areas were Limhamn, the neighbourhoods along the coast, Västra Innerstaden and the Western Harbour. Certain areas in the city centre such as Gamla Väster, Davidshall and Rörsjöstaden were also popular among several while a few participants found a couple of neighbourhoods located within the boundaries of Södra Innerstaden attractive as well. When elaborating upon why these particu-

lar areas were perceived as attractive to the participants, a commonly stated reason was their location; they were perceived as close to the sea and nature as well as near the city centre, different kinds of services and means of communication. The proximity to social contacts, and thus living closer to friends and family members, was also mentioned as an important factor contributing to why these areas were considered as interesting to live in.

While location and social ties were perceived as important, another factor having an impact on the residents' choice of neighbourhood was their preferences regarding the housing structures and tenure forms found in the areas. Some of the residents had strong desires to live in a house, which was mainly the case for the residents in Bellevue, while others wanted to live in flats and, for some, the age of the building played a large role as some wanted older structures with charm while others desired newly produced and previously uninhabited dwellings. The importance of the dwelling's design and accessibility was also mentioned by mainly the older participants who when moving most likely would be looking for comfortable housing with less stairs in the proximity of certain services.

It was also mentioned that they would like to live in the western part of the city and the areas closer to the sea as they are perceived of as calm and peaceful. What living in an area described in such a way implies for the everyday lives in the residential areas will be further elaborated upon in the coming chapters, but it was for instance mentioned by a couple of participants that the areas along the coast were seen as less crowded and less affected by social problems. When asked to motivate why the western parts of the city was seen as attractive, it was common in especially Bellevue to compare the area with other neighbourhoods to narrow down what makes it special. Ulla for instance remarks that Bellevue is a "good area", but that there are also some other "good areas" further to the east of the city. When I ask her what she means when she refers to these areas as good, it becomes clear that this to her is related to the socio-economic status of the inhabitants:

Then I could say that... everyone is employed. That is one parameter that makes it a... normal area, so to speak, calm and... yeah. I have no opinion regarding immigrants [...] but, crime and one should have a job and not drift around, right (Ulla, Bellevue).

It was also quite common in Bellevue to compare the area's social status to the adjacent areas in western Malmö which share some of

Bellevue's characteristics. Fridhem was noted by several as superior to Bellevue in social hierarchy, but Bellevue was mentioned as coming in second place and having a higher status than the surrounding areas Västervång, Rosenvång, Nya Bellevue and Djupadal. Many of these areas were still perceived of as generally attractive, however.

While several talked about enjoying the cosmopolitan and international city with its urban buzz, they also mentioned how they like to be able to choose when to participate in it and when to withdraw to a more peaceful area. Bo, for instance, elaborates on how he perceives his side of the city as peaceful:

No, I mean, neither me nor my wife want to live in the city centre, as I've said we used to live in here [...]. Peacefulness, quiet and peacefulness, somewhat silent and calm. [...] Which it is here, on this side [of the city] (Bo, Bellevue).

Inger also notes:

I really want peace and quiet. When I'm home it should be quiet and calm. I can read or... I sit a lot by the computer reading, and I read a lot of newspapers online actually. So I want peace and quiet. And then, I don't know, sometimes, if I'm in downtown Malmö I can feel a certain worry, there's... there's a lot of things happening in Malmö (Inger, Victoria Park).

Mats and Maria both mention how they like the bustle and the "multicultural" aspects of Malmö, but that they would not want to be surrounded by them all the time. The quote from Maria is an answer to what she thinks of the neighbourhoods around Möllevången in Södra Innerstaden:

They feel too messy somehow. It doesn't feel that calm. But I like being there. I like Möllevångstorget too because it's so mixed and cultural and so much bustle. So I gladly go there and also to the city centre [...].

I think it's nice when it's quiet because then I can choose the noise when I want it. It's kind of harder if it's the other way around. Because I like the bustle and I like living in the city (Maria, Victoria Park).

My wife and I, we feel that we like it here very much, we live well and we think that we... We have a feeling that we could live the rest of our lives in the Malmö area and live where we live right now. [...] And we have, you know, interesting multicultural features in the cityscape. Which we can take part in when we're in the mood and... feel like it in different ways (Mats, Bellevue).

There are however a few exceptions, as there were participants who could imagine moving into these areas perceived of as located in the middle of the urban bustle, offering a better selection of restaurants, nightlife and diversity; Annika in Victoria Park, for instance, explained that she finds the environment around Möllevången exciting and dynamic and that she every day finds something new there that she did not see the day before.

Avoiding the east

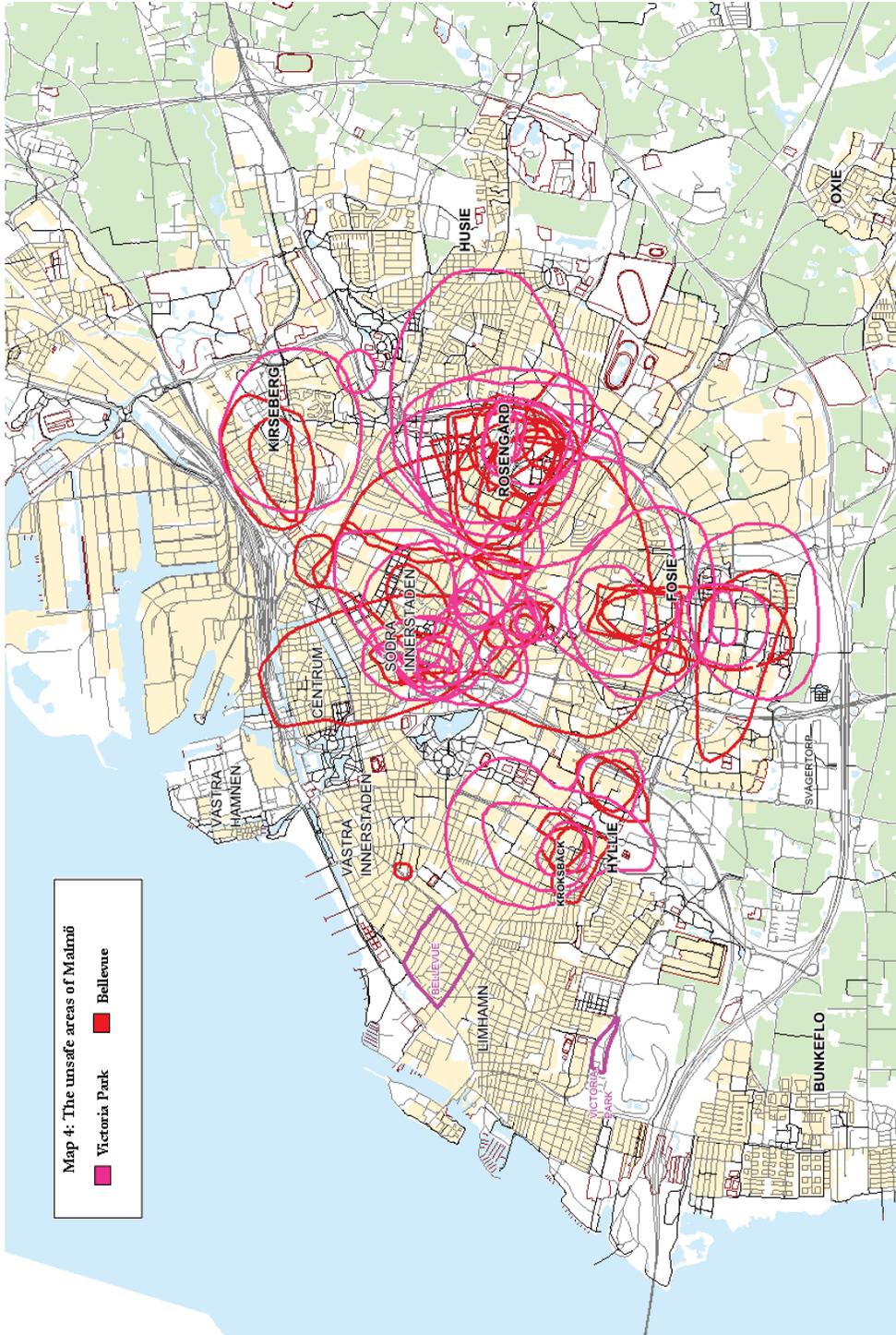
When asking the participants to elaborate upon which areas of the city they see as appealing to live in, the positive characteristics ascribed to these neighbourhoods are emphasised, such as the values of good location, the proximity to friends and family, the supply of certain tenure forms and a distinctive calmness. This information is interesting, but when also asking questions regarding which areas they would rather *not* live in and why, another dimension is added to why certain areas are perceived of as more attractive than others. To ask the participants about avoidance creates a fuller and more comprehensive understanding of their perceptions of the whole city and what kind of information they use in their valuation of the city's neighbourhoods.

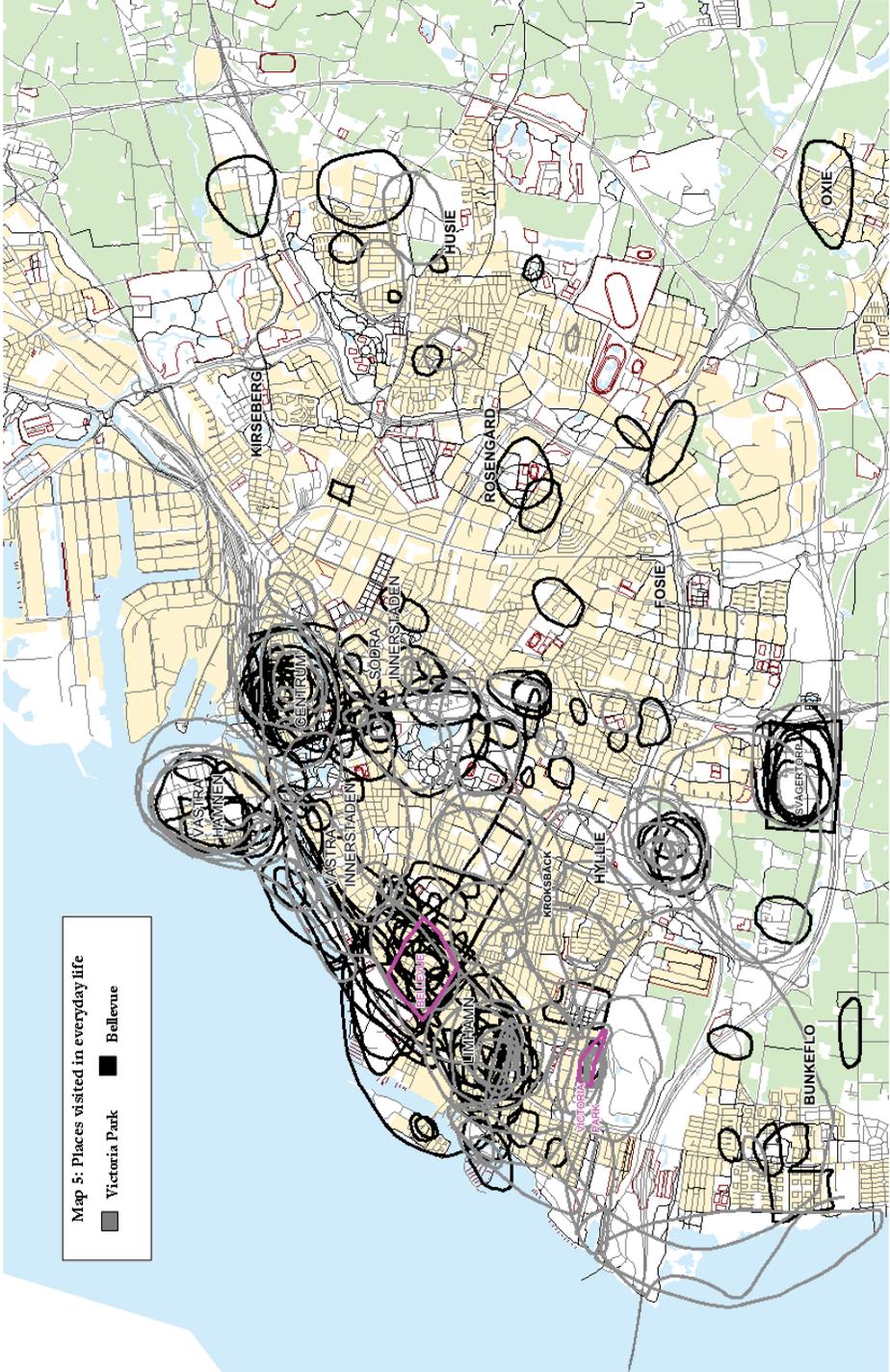
After the residents in Victoria Park and Bellevue had elaborated upon which areas in the city they found attractive, they were thus asked the corresponding question of where they would rather not live in Malmö and in a similar fashion circle these on the map. The aggregated results are seen in map 2. The map exercise was interpreted slightly differently among the participants; some encircled specific areas where they would absolutely not consider living and thus left quite a few areas unmarked as neither attractive nor unattractive, while others explained that they would not consider living in any other areas than those they had marked as attractive and thus chose to draw a large circle around most of the central and eastern city. This latter way of using the map occurred in Victoria Park, but was more common in Bellevue.











The statements of the participants made it clear that several of them would reject moving to a large part of the city if they decided to relocate from their current dwelling. Stig and Clara, a retired couple who have been living in Bellevue for 28 years, for instance, mark out several neighbourhoods to the east and discuss how they do not find any of the areas east of Triangeln, located in the centre of Malmö, attractive. Stig notes:

I mean, like I said, it was a mere coincidence that we ended up in Bellevue, we could have ended up in Nya Bellevue, we could have ended up somewhere else. But not on that side of the city (Stig, Bellevue).

As shown in map 2, the aggregated drawings of undesirable areas stretch over a larger part of the city than the drawings of attractive neighbourhoods (see also map 3 for a comparison), but by using the maps alone it is hard to make out which areas the circles are concentrated around. Certain areas were, however, more frequently mentioned as unattractive in the interviews for various reasons. Rosengård was most commonly talked about in Victoria Park and Bellevue as a neighbourhood in which the residents did not want to live, but other areas repeatedly mentioned were Södra Innerstaden and the neighbourhoods around Möllevångstorget, Kirseberg, Lindängen, Kroksbäck, the Western Harbour and Holma.

In some cases, asking the participants where they would not like to live gave a reversed reflection of the characteristics they found appealing in Victoria Park and Bellevue. The location of these areas was for instance a commonly mentioned reason for finding these areas unattractive, as they were perceived as less beneficial to those of Victoria Park and Bellevue. The distance to the water and downtown Malmö were mentioned as important, but apart from locational values the participants also perceived that their preferred type of housing probably did not exist in the areas they avoided moving to. Some residents in Bellevue did not want to live in smaller houses with smaller gardens than they owned at present. A couple avoided certain areas because of their lack of newly produced housing while others however noted that they avoided certain neighbourhoods because of their abundance of newly produced housing. A few more perceived that the newly produced residential areas very close to the coast had undesirable environmental qualities in terms of too much wind or shade. The critique regarding the characteristics of the dwellings made several participants encircle Western Harbour, Ön

and Södra Innerstaden, which are areas they quite often visit in their everyday lives.

“Discursive redlining” of the Million Programme

While perceiving that they would not be able to find specific characteristics in the east which could only be found in the west, the negative reputation of certain areas played an expected yet important part in their avoidance behaviours. Thomas, for instance, draws a big circle around most of the city, leaving a strip next to the water which contains his own area and the neighbourhoods north-east of Bellevue as well as the city centre. When motivating his choice, he initially explains that the locations of these areas are wrong but it becomes clear that other aspects also have an impact on his avoidance behaviour:

Ann: You say that the location is wrong, what do you mean regarding the location?

Thomas: Well, the proximity of this and that.

Ann: OK, right. But this is also quite close [to the city centre, points at an area which is encircled].

Thomas: Yeah, it is, but... that's not a very nice area either, right.

Ann: No, OK. This is what I want to understand, why isn't it nice?

Thomas: No you... I don't have to say it right, but you know, yeah, with like crime, gangs and drugs and that stuff right. I don't like that at all.

Ann: No, right. OK. Is that something you've... How do you know about the gang-related crime? Is it something you've read about? Or do you have own experience of going there?

Thomas: No, I haven't experienced it myself right, but... with the help of acquaintances... and then you read a lot in the newspapers too and... you hear on the radio and TV-news and things like that, right, about what's going on. Eh, I haven't been exposed of anything, right, that's not the case, but... why chance it? (Thomas, Bellevue)

The desired calmness and lack of social problems which were described as characterising most of the attractive neighbourhoods in Malmö was contrasted in several participants' statements when they spoke of some of the areas considered to be unattractive. When asking these interviewees to elaborate upon why they are perceived as unattractive, their descriptions often presented a generalised im-

age of most of the eastern part of the city which shared many similarities to those stereotypical representations of the Million Programme which has previously been investigated by for instance Ristilampi (1994), Ericsson et al. (2002), and Molina (1997; 2005). The areas were perceived as located far away, even though some of them actually are closer to the city centre than Bellevue or Victoria Park, and the buildings were sometimes portrayed as unattractive, tall multi-story rental properties of poor standard which were made of concrete without enough green spaces. This can be compared to the findings of Ericsson et al. (2002: 16, 43) and Molina (2005: 106) showing that the many different kinds of housing constructed within the frame of the Million Programme are often disregarded as the dominant notion is that the Million Programme consists of solely large unappealing apartment buildings of concrete.

In a couple of cases, the word “ghetto” was used to describe the kinds of housings located in the eastern part of the city and they were attached to a notion of their populations as struggling with social problems. The multi-story buildings of the Million Programme in certain areas seem to have become a symbol for a large part of eastern Malmö, and several residents mentioned how they actively would avoid moving to them. Mats, for instance, explained how areas like Oxie, Rosengård, Fosie, Lindängen and Kroksbäck have unappealing buildings and that there is an accumulation of broken families in these areas, which makes him reluctant to move there. In one of the focus groups, Kristina elaborates on how she chooses to live in a neighbourhood which has a sufficient social standard while actively avoiding moving to areas which she refers to as socially vulnerable:

Kristina: I don't want to live in the exposed neighbourhoods with segregation and poor social standards. Since I'm able to drop those I'd like to do that because that will make me feel better. I'm convinced of that. I want to live centrally or by the sea and then this whole eastern side is dropped. Both because of geography and because this is where the neighbourhoods with social problems are located. And they have ugly houses.

Maria: [makes a consenting sound together with other focus group members] They do actually.

Kristina: They lack parks... no, you can't actually say that they lack parks, but they don't have as much security. As we have (Focus group 2, Victoria Park).

Anders in Victoria Park also elaborates on his choice of living in Victoria Park rather than in an area with lower standards in terms of housing:

But why should I settle down in a rat infested [...] rental estate on Herrgården [a neighbourhood in Rosengård], in order to show solidarity with those who are having a hard time in Herrgården? That's fake. I've got nothing to do there. Really. I think that's mocking those people who are actually damned proud to live in Herrgården (Anders, Victoria Park).

While the issue of immigration was a sensitive topic during the interviews, the descriptions of these residential areas as unattractive and as having social problems were also sometimes mentioned together with how they have a population with an overrepresentation of immigrants. Many of the participants in Victoria Park and Bellevue spoke positively of the international atmosphere in Malmö and seemed to think that immigrants contribute to society, but the concentration of immigrants to certain areas was seen as problematic and ethnic segregation was often spoken of in relation to social problems such as unemployment, crime and disturbances, crowding and poverty.

The concentration of immigrants to certain neighbourhoods and the social problems ethnic segregation was perceived to bring in these areas were stated as reasons for avoidance, together with the perceived negative location and the image of unattractive housing. Birgitta, for instance, draws a big circle around the eastern and middle part of the city, and when asked what she perceives exists within the circle she answers:

I didn't want to move in with these segregated... immigrants. I don't want to live there. No. They can gladly come and live here with... us, you know, but I don't want to move to them. Because I want to live by the sea (Birgitta, Victoria Park).

During the interview, Anna in Bellevue noted several times how she has grown up in the eastern part of the city and spent much time in Rosengård. She also stressed that she appreciates how her children have everyday activities all over Malmö and have the chance to meet children of other backgrounds. But when she is about to mark where in the city she would not like to live, she encircles Rosengård together with other neighbourhoods and says:

I think there's... partially too many immigrants even though I've said I've spent time with a lot of immigrants but I don't like when they place groups together, kind of, lodge them like in Rosengård (Anna, Bellevue).

Thus, even though many of the participants stressed that they appreciated the diversity of Malmö, most of them did actually not want to live in the residential areas that are perceived of as immigrant dense. Kristina in Victoria Park is a clear example: she enjoys the presence of different cultures in Malmö, but when I ask her why she would not like to live in certain areas of the city she explains that the presence of too many immigrants would make her feel unsafe:

Because it feels... unsafe. I would... be afraid if I live in areas where I don't feel comfortable. And recognise my neighbours. And then I don't mean knowing them by name and looks but, if I... if I go to City Gross [a food store] in Rosengård. Then... I feel that I am... different than the majority. Because I might be the only one who have light hair, and I think that's uncomfortable. No one does anything to me but I still feel foreign, I feel alienation and I wouldn't want to... live, or feel it every day (Kristina, Victoria Park).

Fear of crime and social problems

A number of studies have paid attention to the spatial nature of feelings of fear and security and how ideas, discourses and images of danger are attached through talk and text to physical structures of the city. In a case study of women's fear in Helsinki and Edinburgh, for instance, Koskela and Pain argue that the intertwined nature of social processes in space and the materiality of different places affect feelings of fear and insecurity. Images and preconceptions attached to spaces by urban dwellers are important to the perceptions and usage of them, and they write:

The complex construction of fear of crime predestines how we come to particular places, already with strong ideas about our risks of criminal attack: fear of crime influences the meaning of place, as much as places influence fear (Koskela and Pain, 2000: 278).

Avoidance strategies and urban inhabitants taking detours of certain places perceived of as unsafe has been observed in a number of studies and Birgitta Andersson (2001: 57-58), for instance, describes how such behaviours can become urban "rhythms of fear". These

kinds of urban fears are, according to urban planner Leonie Sandercock, potent in changing the materiality of the city:

Discourses of fear are maps of a social reality perceived as problematic in moments when we are unsure what direction to take: whether to fight or flee, where and how to live, where to invest. The reality of city fear is always mediated by these discourses or representations of it. Portraying parts of cities as sites of physical and/or moral decay, of economic and/or social disorganisation, as places to avoid, has intended or implicit policy consequences – clearance, clean-up, redevelopment. Portraying certain groups in the city as people to be feared, blacks, gays, youths, the homeless, immigrant youths, Aborigines, Jews, and so on, also has intended policy consequences, from police sweeps, to increasing the hardware of surveillance, to defensive architectural and design practises (Sandercock, 2002: 215).

In this quote, Sandercock mentions how these internal maps of the city regarding which areas are populated by inhabitants with social problems are important to neighbourhood choice and investment of capital. This has also been noted among the participants of this study who mentioned avoiding settling in areas with social problems in order to protect their investments. This kind of “redlining” has also been addressed by Nikki Jones and Christina Jackson (2011: 84-85, 92), as the bad social status of the area Western Addition in San Francisco made banks refuse to give house loans to potential house buyers in the neighbourhood. The area is still reproduced as a bad neighbourhood in everyday conversations and the area is thus continued to be redlined discursively as people avoid investing money in housing in this area. According to the authors, discursive redlining and warnings about dangerous areas become practiced in everyday life when navigating the city, which is transferred between people in everyday conversations.

Other previous studies have also shown how feelings of security are connected to the perceived social structures of city neighbourhoods, and are of much interest to the present study. Two recent theses indicate that perceived social structures and social problems have an impact on perceptions of safety and insecurity. Through a survey sent out to inhabitants in Gothenburg in 2007, Gabriella Sandstig (2010: 133, 161-162) finds that feelings of insecurity are not merely reactions to crime and to events on a local scale, but turn out to be the result of larger social processes both in the neighbourhood as well as globally. Good social environments, which are defined as populated and calm spaces where the neighbours know each other and the residents feel at home, was the most popular

answer to what kind of places that made the respondents feel safe. When describing what characterised certain urban places as threatening or risky, crime was mentioned in second place after social problems such as encountering mad people, the “wrong clientele”, people on drugs, teenage gangs as well as a general perception of rowdy and unpleasant places, segregation, racist gatherings or concentrations of immigrants. Sandstig thus asserts that perceptions of security can be understood as related to some kind of “social security” (social trygghet) while perceived insecurity is often associated to not just crime but also social problems. In another thesis by Agneta Kullberg (2010: 42, 52-53, 57), stable social structures in residential areas are also highlighted as a central factor to perceived safety of the inhabitants. Good relations with neighbours is, as in Sandstig’s thesis, brought up as important to the feelings of safety and areas with small-scale housing report experiencing more feelings of well-being, perceived safety and social trust than residents in large-scale housing. The results also show that bad reputations of certain areas affected well-being and the perceived safety negatively.

As previous research has shown how fear and feelings of security are affected by spatial apprehensions, and because of the number of shootings occurring in Malmö’s public spaces which were widely discussed in the media at the time of fieldwork, the residents were asked to elaborate upon how they perceived the issue of danger and insecurity in the city. When doing so, and using the maps to discuss if there are any places or areas which they perceived as unsafe, it became clear that most of the knowledge they have about dangerous places in the city originates from the media, and some note that they have to rely on prejudices when talking about these issues:

I have encircled Herrgården and Rosengård. We hear a lot through the media about what happens there. Throwing rocks on buses and ambulances and police cars and... a high level of crime is what the media is telling us (Kristina, Victoria Park).

This is just what I read in the paper, it’s nothing I know about or have any own experience of (Linda, Bellevue).

You hear it’s a really... really awful area there. Yeah, I don’t know what, I’ve just heard it’s... I don’t know if it’s... that the social services have some apartments [there], there’s something about it. You see, often when there’s a shooting drama and stuff, and it’s central, it’s there (Anna, Bellevue, about the neighbourhood Lugnet).

Yes, there are fights and stabbings and all sorts of things. And thefts and... there have been bombs and all sorts of things. There has been a lot, been written a lot in the newspapers about especially Rosengård, so we can't deny that (Vera, Bellevue).

Map 4 reveals the spaces the participants perceived to be dangerous or unsafe, and shows that they are mainly located within the parts of the city also perceived of as unattractive to live in. The circles are concentrated around Södra Innerstaden, Rosengård, Lindängen, Nydala, Seved and Södra Sofielund, Kirseberg and Kroksbäck and Holma. When talking about why certain areas were perceived as unattractive, factors like crime, insecurity, decay and social problems were often mentioned together:

Maria: I don't like these other outer areas, Rosengård, Kroksbäck and those. I would not consider living there. These Million Programme areas. No. They feel neither pleasant nor safe. They don't.

Ann: What is your image of these areas?

Maria: That there's... a lot of vandalism and wear and that people don't take care of the area. It becomes a negative energy. There's a completely different energy here, a much better energy out here (Maria, Victoria Park).

Some explained that they have experienced feelings of fear and insecurity when walking in the city, especially after dark. In some cases, different parts of the city were avoided during night time because of feelings of worry, and the residents mentioned for instance taking taxis instead of using public transportation. Lena, for instance, says:

Lena: In Rosengård there has been quite a lot [of things] happening. So, I wouldn't walk there alone in the evening, I'll tell you. No. You can hardly walk around there in a group either.

Ann: Have you been there and walked about?

Lena: No, not I, but I've heard from those who have gone there and stuff... (Lena, Victoria Park)

Others explained that they experienced feelings of fear and uneasiness because of the recent shootings in public space. A couple of the participants mentioned that this had some kind of effect on their mobility patterns, but there were also those who stated that while they thought these events were unpleasant they did not actually avoid any specific places in the city.

And even if they wouldn't shoot at me I might get in their way, you think about that. It's an anxiety. And very many people don't dare walking alone downtown after dark. Girls are terrified, in all ages. We're usually a couple of people from here who are going into town together and then you feel safe (Inger, Victoria Park).

All the shootings and such things only affect me in one way, and that is finding it unpleasant that there are so many weapons circulating. That I know that there are most likely many or at least more people carrying weapons in public. And you've never had to think about that before. [...] I reflect upon it every now and then. It doesn't affect my behaviours, I believe, but I think about that there are armed people that I meet downtown. It's unpleasant! (Kristina, Victoria Park)

However, while these residents noted feelings of unpleasantness or fear, it was far more common for the participants to state that they felt very safe in Malmö and that they were more or less unaffected by these incidents. It was often perceived that shooting incidents normally do not happen in their part of the city and that they feel safe in the spaces where they spend their everyday lives. A common statement was that those committing these crimes are often gangs targeting other criminals, and that this is unlikely to affect the everyday urban inhabitant. Johan, for instance, thinks that the crime levels have increased somewhat in Malmö, which the media has picked up and broadcasted widely, but he does not feel affected by this development in Bellevue:

Ann: Is this something affecting you?

Johan: It doesn't really. We live in a protected community here (Johan, Bellevue).

When asked whether their mobility patterns have changed because of worry or fear, many of them explained that they did not feel any needs to take detours or avoid the areas where they perceive that most crime occur. Since their everyday paths seldom crossed these areas, especially after dark, they perceived that any criminal events or unsafe atmospheres that may exist there did not affect them personally. In a discussion about the potential danger of walking in Kroksbäck at night in the second focus group in Victoria Park, the participants say:

Barbro: But I just think like this: What am I supposed to do there?

Maria: No, if you don't have any errands there, there's no reason going there because there's really nothing there.

Barbro: No! No! That's what I'm saying!

Maria: [...] But I'm not afraid when I'm there during the day, you know. Moving about. But... I wouldn't walk there at night, walk around in the park between Kroksbäck and Holma, what am I supposed to do there, you know? (Focus group 2, Victoria Park)

Linda states that she feels safe in Malmö and would therefore not avoid for instance Rosengård for security reasons, an area she otherwise has noted might be an area of concern regarding crime, but that she simply has no reason going there anyway:

Linda: Absolutely not. No, I've never felt unsafe in Malmö.

Ann: No, OK.

Linda: But I don't either move about in those parts of the city and those places where one would perhaps feel unsafe. I'm not there, I'm not in Rosengård for instance.

Ann: No, OK. Would you ever want to go there?

Linda: No, why would I go there? (Linda, Bellevue)

While some of the participants in Bellevue and Victoria Park mentioned that they avoid certain spaces or have strategies for walking or travelling around the city at dark, most of the participants did not really seem to participate in such "rhythms of fear" as Andersson (2001: 57-58) describes, as they portrayed these spaces of crime and potential danger as remote and dissociated from their own realities. The notion that they were not that affected by the violent crimes could however also be related to the relatively high ages of the participants, as all of them were over 30 years old. If this study had included younger residents who moved about more in the different parts of the city and at different times, the results might have been slightly different. However, it is still important to note that even though these parts of the city are not primarily avoided because of fear, the perception of violent crimes and social problems as something existing somewhere else has an impact on the spatial imagination of dangerous places. The continued reproduction of these spaces as bad and dangerous neighbourhoods have a clear impact on why these areas are perceived as unattractive, which has material consequences on the urban fabric.

As previously noted, the places or neighbourhoods perceived as dangerous or unsafe were often located within areas encircled as

unattractive, while areas perceived as safe were in closer proximity to their own part of the city. Being able to avoid social problems and live in a neighbourhood perceived as more exclusive and calm becomes, as Sandstig (2010: 162) has noted, a “social security”. This notion of social security is also mentioned by Kristina, who answers in the following way when I ask whether security is an important factor when choosing where to live:

I don't know if you think of the word [security] in such a concrete way, but I think it's a factor when choosing housing. Yeah, I think so. And security, that implies both... the area, the neighbours, who lives there, what kind of people, and you have to feel safe about the economic conditions [in the area]. And... feel safe in that I can do what I need to do in my life from this place. Will me living here work with everything which is a part of my life today? With my everyday interests and whether it works to bring home friends and family members, so that's also a security. So I think security is a really important factor. But I perhaps think that you do not... think about security so concretely. But I come to think about many factors which actually mean security (Kristina, Victoria Park).

Kristina's analysis of what the concept of security implies in the choice of neighbourhood connects to the previously mentioned statements regarding the importance of the area's status for domestic economies. Bellevue and Victoria Park provide their inhabitants with a stable housing environment in a part of Malmö which is generally perceived to have better schools and a population which is less dependent on social welfare, is more highly educated and has a higher income. These characteristics imply that the inhabitants are likely to experience both social and economic security, as the neighbourhood is calm and not likely to deteriorate. In other parts of the city where crime, unemployment, burglaries and violence are more prevalent the social security is perceived to be lower, according to Kristina.

The interrelations between security from crime and economic security were also stressed by a member of one of the focus groups. When elaborating upon which areas she perceived as unsafe in the city, she mentioned several areas located to the east of Malmö where she would not feel safe walking at night. But she also stressed that this feeling of insecurity is related to her perception of economic security as her investment in housing would be threatened in such an area where it is more likely to decrease in value.

Several of the participants stated that they were rather unafraid and that fear of certain places or events did not have any effect on

their mobility patterns in the city. It was especially common for the residents in Victoria Park to stress that they did not move there because of feelings of fear, something which will be further analysed in chapter 7. While fear may not have been the main motivation for the participants to move to Victoria Park or Bellevue, social and economic security seemed to be important aspects of settling in these areas and avoiding others. As Linda states:

Linda: The most important thing to me is security.

Ann: Security is the most important thing?

Linda: Yes. In order for me to... The most important thing to me is security, to live in a *good* neighbourhood. That's the most important thing. It's not having a garden or a detached house. But security. It has to be calm and peaceful (Linda, Bellevue).

Urban knowledge reproduction and criticising stereotypes

During the interviews the knowledge gaps about big parts of the city became evident when the participants were asked to answer questions about which areas they would not want to live in and which places or areas they perceived to be unsafe. The maps, where all the neighbourhoods of Malmö became clearly visible, made many residents reflect upon their lack of knowledge of mainly areas in eastern Malmö and several of them expressed self-critique towards their own ignorance. Berit, for instance, who grew up in the same house in Bellevue where she is currently living, talks about how her upbringing in western Malmö made her ignorant of the other parts of the city and how a colleague of hers used to tease her about it:

He often gave me comments and thought I was a spoiled girl of the upper class, right [...]. And then I suddenly realised that there were differences in Malmö. There were, but I haven't moved about in those parts so I haven't known that there were other parts which perhaps were poor, right. Because I have never experienced any poverty in Malmö, ever, right. Never seen any of it (Berit, Bellevue).

The lack of personal knowledge about many areas of the city implied that many participants found it challenging to give a thorough answer as to what they thought of the areas mainly located to the east of the city. Several participants acknowledged that having insufficient information was a reason for circling these areas as unattractive on the maps. Kristina, for instance, is critical of her own percep-

tion of the city and says that if she only had more knowledge about certain parts of it she might actually find some of these areas attractive:

Ignorance [...], I don't have any friends living here [within the area she encircled on the map]. So I don't really know what's there. There might be amazing houses for example close to Bulltoftafältet [...], where I gladly would have moved if I had a reason to. But I've never had a reason to think about it, and therefore it's also ignorance which makes me circle such a big area, because there must be a house somewhere which I would consider [moving to]. Of course (Kristina, Victoria Park).

Map 5 reveals which areas the residents in Victoria Park and Bellevue visit in their everyday lives. The markings are denser in and in the vicinity of their own residential areas and in the western part of the city, and local centres offering supplies of goods, services and cultural activities, which are often well connected to the rest of the city, were common destinations in the participants' everyday lives. Examples of such places are the centre of Limhamn, the city centre, Hyllie and Svågertorp. Places of recreation and walking were also common places for the inhabitants to visit in their everyday lives, such as the coastal strip mainly north, but also south in the case of the Victoria Park residents, of the Öresund Bridge.

As a couple of the previous quotes in this chapter suggest, many of the participants noted that the media played an important role in filling in the gaps of information. The local newspaper *Sydsvenskan* was often mentioned as a recurrent source contributing to their knowledge production of the city and what is going on in its different parts. The influences of the media on the perceptions of the existence as well as localities of crime have been noted in a number of previous studies. These strengthen the finding of this chapter of how the media becomes a mediator of images of reality of those places which people have no previous experience of (Sandstig, 2010: 19; Lupton, 1999: 11). Heber (2007: 84-85, 128-135, 158-162, 222) has shown how the media was an important source of information and played a vital part to feelings of fear among the participants in her study. Conversations with others in turn tended to disseminate both facts and exaggerations of crime and fear of crime. While the media was not the actual source of fear, the reporting of unusual, random and violent crimes (such as terrorism and spectacular shootings) conveyed an image of an increasingly dangerous and unsafe society and the media thus shaped the perceptions of which crimes are committed and the extent of these crimes.

Heber shows how fear of crime is often depicted as extensive and increasing, and especially violent crime is seen as increasing and becoming more brutal. Everyday discussions become additional sources of information of crime, and tend to reproduce discourses on dangerous places and dangerous people. Negative reputations have shown to have an impact on the perceptions of fear, security and well-being of both the inhabitants in these areas as well as the inhabitants in the greater city. Areas dominated by post-war and low-income housing with higher concentrations of inhabitants with foreign backgrounds are often attached to feelings of fear and insecurity, as they are sometimes referred to as “problem suburbs” or “ghettos” which are attached to images of higher crime levels, overcrowding and social desolation (Kullberg, 2010; Koskela and Pain, 2000: 275-276; Heber, 2007: 123).

Susan Smith (1985: 246, 251-252) also emphasises the importance of the media and everyday discussions on crime in a study on discourses linking race with crime in provincial news and local rumours in north-central Birmingham in the UK. Smith asserts that the media has the ability to set the agenda and framework for the debate and thus make certain features available for the public. This information is then used as a base for everyday conversations where certain aspects of the news are singled out and applied by neighbourhood inhabitants. The spread of rumour and gossip in discussions between people in the neighbourhoods formed the base of how they handled perceived dangers in their everyday lives and informed their “mental maps” which were used to avoid dangerous places (see also Lupton, 1999: 13).

The reliance on the descriptions of the media was, however, not accepted uncritically by the residents in this study. When asked to indicate unattractive and unsafe areas on the maps, many of them expressed critique against what they perceived to be stereotypical discourses of “bad neighbourhoods”. This facilitated discussions about stigmatisation and the role of the media as well as everyday conversations on their own knowledge production. These interviewees sometimes wanted to challenge what they perceived as dominating public discourses of certain neighbourhoods as deprived, dominated by immigrants with social problems and unattractive dwellings as well as being dangerous. When discussing security and fear of crime in Malmö, a couple of the participants chose not to make any markings on the map as they lacked personal experience of feeling unsafe and felt uncomfortable relying solely on what they have heard from second-hand sources. In many other cases, however, the

participants noted that they lacked personal experience of danger in the city but decided to mark out certain areas anyway based on what they have read and heard from the media.

The negative discourse of Rosengård as a bad neighbourhood (which has previously been analysed by Ristilampi, 1994) was especially criticised among some of the participants and a couple mentioned that they have understood that the neighbourhood has great internal variations but is often depicted as homogenous and has been more exposed to the media drive than other areas. Among the sceptics were a couple of interviewees who had no previous experience of these areas but are acquainted with a more critical discourse as well as those who had collected first-hand information about Rosengård. The latter group communicated narratives about, for instance, growing up there, working there or visiting family members or friends living there, sometimes relying on their earlier trajectories to explain how their previous experiences made them have a different view of these areas than the majority. By comparing their own experiences with the discourse of the media, this group thus created their own representation of what Rosengård signifies.

The aggregated maps show that for instance the city centre, Södra Innerstaden and Kroksbäck were places both visited in some of the participants' everyday lives while they were also marked out by others as unsafe. Especially Möllevången becomes a place of controversy as it is the part of the city most participants' views differed: it is variously perceived as unattractive, attractive, unsafe and a place where many people like buying groceries or visit one of the many restaurants. There were however only a handful of residents who encircled one and the same place as somewhere visited in everyday life and perceived of as unsafe. Annika is a participant who indicated Möllevången as a place she visits in her everyday life, a place where she thinks crimes occur and a place which she would consider attractive living in:

Around Möllevången, there's also a lot of... Shootings but it's one of the nicest areas. A lot of food, culture and both restaurants and shops. So I'm there a lot and I don't think about it until I read a newspaper "Oh, I was there, it was dangerous". But I'm sure, if you're not there, you'd be more afraid if you only read [the newspaper]. So there are probably those here [in Victoria Park] who only read, they have no reason [to go there], they don't work, they don't go there and you can get scared by only reading (Annika, Victoria Park).

Annika's statement and the patterns shown on the maps suggest that places we often visit seem to be considered safer than those areas we have less personal experience of. While map 5 suggests that most interviewees' everyday lives are concentrated to the west they also at times venture to areas east of the city. These areas are often visited because of friends or family members living there, or family members having leisure activities in these areas, or because certain shops or services are located there. In a few cases, the participants reported on having worked in these areas for shorter periods of time. The residents who had such a mobility pattern and presented a narrative of knowing an area better from previously living there, working there or knowing people there often challenged the discourse depicting the area as unattractive and dangerous. The impact of having personal experiences on feelings of fear has been noted previously by for instance Heber (2007: 124, 126), who contends that lack of experience of certain places by urban inhabitants tend to leave the image of the "problem ghettos" unchallenged. However, being familiar with a neighbourhood and having a personal experience of specific places turns out to have positive effects on feelings of fear. Just as in the case of the interviewees of this study, the own residential area was in Heber's study perceived to be more safe while crime and dangerous activities were seen as taking place "somewhere else".

The knowledge of the city is accumulated through a collage of both personal experience as well as information from second-hand sources, where the media often plays a large role in filling in the gaps. By acquiring more information about places depicted as unattractive or unsafe, discourses can be challenged and new representations and images of the city, its parts and its inhabitants can be produced.

Living in separate worlds

In the cases when the participants elaborated upon their views on segregation in Malmö, the ideas regarding why Malmö is segregated and whether this was perceived to be a problem or not differed. Molina (1997: 19) and Phillips (2006: 25) have previously noted that a common discourse about ethnic or racial segregation is that minorities choose to self-segregate in order to live with their peers instead of mixing with the majority population. This notion also existed among some of the participants of this study, but another

common perspective was to stress how the politicians were to blame for placing immigrants in certain areas from which they have limited options to move.

Some talked about segregation in Malmö as problematic, as they claimed that members of society would benefit from mixing more. and that especially the immigrants in socio-economically challenged areas receive a label and that segregation prevents them from improving their situations. School segregation, and when parents actively avoid placing their children in certain schools with a bad reputation, was particularly highlighted as problematic. Others acknowledged that segregation is problematic for some societal groups, but that they did not personally perceive this as a problem. Yet another group did not talk about segregation as a problem, as segregation has always existed in all societies and is perceived as naturally regulated by the economy. Thomas, for instance, argued that segregation was not problematic for him personally, except inasmuch as it limited the areas of the city that he would choose to live in.

Despite considering whether segregation is a problem or not, it was common to emphasise how vast differences exist between different parts of the city and that the urban landscape changes rapidly, sometimes by just crossing a street, both in terms of physical structure and population. Several participants spoke of how they perceived that the inhabitants of Malmö had very different realities; as if they were living in different worlds where certain things could happen in one world but never in another. The perception of these internal urban differences was mentioned in both positive and negative senses, but was nevertheless a way to stress how removed the participants in Victoria Park and Bellevue were from specific urban processes and phenomena.

When mentioned with positive undertones, they drew on the previously mentioned idea of Malmö as an international melting pot. Certain areas with a higher share of immigrants were thus perceived of as offering the participants exciting environments and different cultural experiences. Stig, for instance, explains how he perceived visiting Rosengård as close to going abroad:

We had an office [...] in the centre of Rosengård, it was funny because when you got there it was like coming to a different country, you know, there were people from all corners of the world, right. And that was actually quite nice (Stig, Bellevue).

This echoes the research by Ericsson et al. (2002: 19) showing how the immigrant dense suburb is discursively attached to characteristics such as colourfulness, foreign music and food and exotic people. But the authors also note how these spaces are attached to notions of problems such as crime, violence, youth gangs, oppression of women and social welfare dependence. A discussion between two of the members in one of the focus groups in Victoria Park exemplifies how the perceived differences between neighbourhoods can be interpreted in both positive and negative ways. Maria stresses how she perceives the differences between neighbourhoods as something interesting and fascinating, similar to Stig above, while Barbro interprets the presence of people of non-Swedish background as connected to a world of crime and social problems:

Maria: I think it's cool, kind of. And then I like the diversity of different cultures and I work in the middle of one of the largest problem areas which is almost next doors, so I have that contrast every day when I...

Barbro: Yes. But we've had so many murders and that. And they're often [committed by] foreigners even though they don't dare to write about it [in the papers]. Sometimes they write about it.

Maria: There are enormous problems in those areas, you can't deny it. I've worked in it now kind of...

Barbro [breaking in]: No, you can't! Even if you enjoy... So, you can't deny it. There's...

Maria: It's like stepping into another world, absolutely.

Barbro: Yeah. It's absolutely that way. But it's like you're saying, it exists in Stockholm also right, but we haven't had this before here in Malmö. No. We haven't.

Maria: No, we probably haven't, I guess it's a bit, not as much as before but it's also incredibly segregated, there are sharp boundaries in Malmö. [I] work in [the previously mentioned problem area] which is located very close [to here], it's an incredibly sharp boundary. Like, sometimes when I'm out walking to work I think... I stand still and then I look and see those detached houses there in Djupadal and Limhamn, kind of, and then I look the other way and I have Holma and then I'm standing in the middle of Kroksbäck and you just feel "Wow", kind of. We're so *close* to each other and still such completely different worlds, it's interesting!

Barbro: Yes, *completely* different worlds! (Focus group 2, Victoria Park)

The problems perceived as connected to immigration, unemployment and shootings were seen as something disconnected from the realities of Victoria Park and Bellevue. These problems are often discursively connected to the Million Programme, which become symbols of something Other; something simultaneously alien, dangerous, dark, exotic, problematic, mysterious and abnormal, as previously noted by Ristilammi (2006: 214) and Ericsson et al. (2002: 19, 102). While far from all participants claim to perceive the immigrant as inherently problematic, the stigmatised areas and their residents are racialised (Molina, 1997): “the racial becomes the spatial” as noted by Pred (2000: 98).

The descriptions of the city as consisting of separate worlds, and especially when talking of the areas which are a part of the Million Programme, have been noted previously. In a large-scale study of the living conditions in Malmö, Mikael Stigendal (1999) investigates what he refers to as the social worlds of the city. Peter Billing (2000: 9) also describes how permanent separate worlds are about to come into existence in Malmö as a result of increasing segregation and marginalisation due to deindustrialisation, alongside investments made in certain parts of the city intended to facilitate more growth. Additionally, in the study of media representations over a time-period of 30 years, Ericsson et al. (2002: 64-67) find hierarchical descriptions of Million Programme areas similar to those made by the participants of this study, regarding the neighbourhoods around Järvafältet in Stockholm. Ericsson et al. show how these neighbourhoods were often contrasted with each other and those depicted in the most negative fashion were described as unfinished, inhuman and anonymous, while the population associated with these spaces were depicted as struggling with crime and social problems. According to the authors, these kinds of representations build an invisible but increasingly fortified wall which separates the different worlds from each other.

The perceived physical and social distance between these separate worlds and their inhabitants reinforce images of them as different, as Other to the norm, and they become stereotypically characterised as deprived, unsafe and immigrant dense. Even though race and fear cannot be seen as the *sole* explanations for avoidance and self-segregation, certain areas become attached to ideas about race and insecurity which play a role in avoidance behaviours. The perceived security of the western part of the city seems to be an important aspect of settling here, and it may be an embedded quality

of neighbourhood choice even if it is not always fully stated, as Kristina in Victoria Park noted.

This chapter has shown how the self-segregation and parallel lives which minority groups are often perceived to practice can also be ascribed to the members of the upper-middle class since they locate themselves in the western part of town. The free choices of the residents can however be discussed. This chapter has demonstrated how urban inhabitants have the power to interpret spaces and neighbourhoods in different ways and thus show certain resistance to a dominant discourse. By, for instance, having direct experiences of a residential area these residents create their own discourses of what that area signifies. Those who have been brought up in for instance the eastern side of Malmö could choose to move back. However, while several participants directed critique towards what was perceived as undeserving bad reputations and negative stereotypes, very few of them actually declared willing to live in these areas. While the participants are perceived to have a certain ability to act within the structure, it has to be acknowledged how powerful spatial representations and already existing segregation patterns are. The choices of the inhabitants and the considerations regarding where to move are affected and restricted because of the negative stereotypes which are constantly reproduced through everyday discourse and their own knowledge gaps. Housing options in certain parts of the city are rejected as they are perceived to be located in socially and economically unsafe environments, where investments may be endangered. As Andersson (2008: 123) notes, it is not only the mobility of individuals which affects segregation as segregation in turn can affect mobility patterns. In one sense, avoidance becomes an insufficient concept to describe the neighbourhood choices of the residents, as some parts of the city seem like a non-option to move into.

While enjoying living in the calm and attractive areas in the west and being able to withdraw from the bustle of the city, the privileged position of the inhabitants of Victoria Park and Bellevue also caused conflicting emotions regarding the residents' class identities. This will be touched upon in the next chapter which analyses the physical and social environments of the two areas, as well as the everyday lives of the residents.

6 Living the lifestyle of the upper-middle class

While the previous chapter demonstrated how the residents in Victoria Park and Bellevue perceived the city of Malmö and its different parts, the two coming chapters zoom in closer to the housing milieu of the upper-middle class. They thus answer to the research questions related to the micro scale of the study: How do the participants represent everyday life and the lifestyles practiced in the areas and how are these spaces continuously reproduced as exclusive neighbourhoods in a divided city?

The present chapter offers an ethnographic analysis of the micro-geographies and everyday lives of the residents in Victoria Park and Bellevue. The chapter is divided into two parts, where Victoria Park is introduced first and Bellevue second. Both sections begin with an introduction of the spaces of the two neighbourhoods, before investigating the representations of the research participants' regarding the social and physical environments of the areas. While the security concept is investigated more closely in the next chapter, this chapter concludes with a discussion about class and how the residents had a strained relationship to the public representations of themselves as privileged. The concept of class is applied in order to understand their perceptions of themselves as well as how they think that others perceive them, and it is argued that class is an important ingredient in the socio-spatial reproduction of Victoria Park and Bellevue.

The following part investigating Victoria Park will be provided comparatively larger space in the chapter than Bellevue due to the fact that the area is new and has received a lot of attention in the media, and as the analysis also includes interviews with Malmö municipality and representatives of the real-estate company. It starts from the beginning and investigates the discourses surrounding its construction and the representations of the municipality and the housing company who were involved in the creation of the area. This is followed by the residents' representations of Victoria Park and their perceptions of lifestyle, community and the public discourse of the area, before turning to the participants from Bellevue.

Victoria Park: From limestone industry to resort homes

Victoria Park has been much discussed in the media. The public debate and critique directed towards the site of the lifestyle housing, and what is today its main building, first began in the 1970s with the construction of the new headquarters of the cement company Euroc. The site has long-been considered something of a landmark, exemplified in the following description by Tykesson et al.:

At the first glance of this peculiar building close to the edge of the Limestone quarry, the onlooker's imagination and curiosity is attracted. The closed façade hardly reveals the interior of the building – quiet water reflects the rhythmically repeated arch that is suggestive of Moorish palaces or Southern European monasteries. Actually we see a far-seeing chief executive officer's vision to unite a functional representative office with timeless art and architecture (Tykesson et al., 2001: 155, my translation).

The new head office received a mixture of praise and criticism. An article from 1979 published in the newspaper *Skånska Dagbladet*, for instance, describes the new building as elegant; comparing it to a Moroccan or Tunisian hotel ("Unikt kontorsbygge ger Limhamn ny sevärdhet", 1979). The security functions of the Euroc head office have received particular attention. For example, as one newspaper article describes, the entrance of the building - located at the end of something that resembles a drawbridge leading over a shallow moat - allows for easy surveillance and the opportunity to control and monitor everyone entering and exiting the building who would have to pass through. In addition, the internal security system is described as "well developed", as it requires all employees to keep their key cards close in order to pass all the locked doors within the building (Johansson, 1978). The closed façade described in the quote from Tykesson et al., (a long stretch of stone wall almost completely without windows towards the public street) is also reflective of the era in the 1970s, when there was a fear of terrorism and the Red Army Faction (interview U. Nordström).



Image 6: The main entrance of the old Euroc headquarters is now leading visitors and residents into the residential area's reception and lounge.

These aspects of seclusion, exclusivity and security also attracted severe criticism. The newspaper *Arbetet* ("Eurocs nya kontor blir en lyxbunker!", 1978) refers to Euroc's new headquarters as a "temple for directors", "security bunker", "luxury construction" and "the world's most ostentatious prison". The boundaries and control functions of the building are in focus, and the headquarters are described as having a complicated security and lock system which is keeping the public out and only allowing 80 of the employees the right of access. The article also states that the management of the company has written instructions which state how visitors should be handled: they have to wait in the entry hall until the employee come to meet them. The employee is responsible for the guest, and a stranger should never be left without supervision but should be accompanied out of the office when leaving.

The first barrier is the switchboard. No one can come in unless the guard sees you. If the person is recognised, the guard pushes a button. The door will open automatically. [...] No one can go to lunch in the office canteen without bringing their key card along. Without a card it is impossible to move within the headquarters ("Eurocs nya kontor blir en lyxbunker!", 1978, my translation).

The article is also critical of the luxury of the headquarters. In an interview, a cement worker describes the project as ridicule and a "slap in the face" to the workers who have created the materials for the building and were increasingly becoming unemployed due to the decline of the company. These workers were also denied access to this new "house of directors" ("Eurocs nya kontor blir en lyxbunker!", 1978). The article thus shows that concepts of class and security were discussed in relation to this building already in the 1970s.

Housing the upper-middle class as the solution to Malmö's problems

The discourse of the municipality

Because of the topicality of Victoria Park, I decided that I needed to hear the view of the municipality regarding how they perceive the development of this, in the contexts of Sweden and Malmö, very unusual conceptual housing. In 2011, I therefore interviewed Anders Rubin, at the time commissioner of the Social Democratic Party. The interview revealed how Victoria Park is yet another example of how the local social democratic politics perceive growth in certain parts of the city as contributing to the welfare of poorer areas.

Rubin elaborates upon the housing politics in Malmö during and after the industrial crisis of the 1990s, and paints a dark picture of a city on the verge of collapse:

Malmö came crashing down completely in the beginning of the 90s and Malmö entered a period when the city was fighting for its life. We were completely at [the private initiators'] beck and call, as you could ever imagine a municipality to be and that created a will not to decline things, but to really try all variants. Which resulted in that we for a while had four or five houses looking like Turning Torso in our planning because we were very positive towards trying new things. And in practice you could say that we entered a situation when we really didn't have that much to defend, apart from our survival that is. [...] The economy was collapsed, completely collapsed. All industries had fled the city and, the whole city was built on in-

dustry, so it had been emptied on its contents completely (Interview A. Rubin).

He explains that while Malmö has had a tradition of being permissive towards private initiatives in the city's planning processes, the crisis reinforced the involvement of private actors in order to re-attract capital to the city. An important way to stimulate more growth was to build a city that could entice the high-income earners back to the city. As such, a necessary step was to offer a wider selection of housing standards: everything from housing which comes close to being an accessory for its inhabitants and which conveys a certain status, like Victoria Park, to housing merely intended to provide a roof over the inhabitants' heads.

At the same time, the poorer parts of Malmö experienced increasing crowding, and Rubin explains that this problem led to that the municipality needed to increase the production of housing. The solution, however, was not to construct housing targeting the poor:

Our analysis was also that, if we at all would increase the construction of housing above average, we had to start satisfying special needs. That is, to a much larger extent not build standard housing, but build very many different kinds of housing, in very many different places, with different ingredients. Because our judgement was, that in order for those who really were able and could afford to buy newly built [housing] to have a motive to move you had to construct things that they couldn't find at all in the old [housing stock] (Interview A. Rubin).

Rubin thus emphasises that in order to come to terms with the problems of crowding in the poorer areas of the city, the municipality has to be tolerant towards the production of dwellings out of the mainstream as this will stimulate mobility in the housing market. In other words, constructing new exclusive housing for the upper-middle class will make people move from their previous dwellings. Eventually, the vacancy chains will hopefully trickle down to areas such as Rosengård, making people move out of their crowded apartments (see also Dannestam, 2009: 172, for an analysis of the argument of growth effects trickling down to all parts of the city in Malmö). The discourse surrounding the construction of housing for high-income earners and how this will benefit the poorer segments of the population, reveals how the housing politics contains elements of both older ideals of social democracy as well as neoliberalisation, which has previously been noted by Baeten (2012) and Christophers (2013). While aspects of neoliberalism are a part of

the entrepreneurial approach of the city, they mix with ideals of welfare in Malmö's planning policies (Nylund, 2014; Holgersen and Baeten, 2014). Rubin notes how the forces of the market and politics need to be involved in housing production, but that the state should be "an enzyme in the system rather than the main artery", as it was during the period of state financed subsidies. Coming to terms with the social problems in the poorer neighbourhoods of the city is highlighted as one of the main incentives for constructing any kind of housing the market demands, such as expensive housing in the attractive parts of Malmö:

On our part it became primarily, since the social problems in housing constantly increased and the problems went from bad to worse for us, youths and others grew up in these environments which were not at all good, we ended up in a situation where we became very anxious that housing should be built, no matter what. We ended up in a situation where we didn't feel that we really could choose or have opinions on what kinds of housing that should be constructed (Interview A. Rubin).

In the interview, Rubin emphasised that the municipality of Malmö opposed the construction of "enclaves" to the utmost extent, and that this was something they wanted to avoid in the development of the new residential areas surrounding the quarry. However, in the end, the housing in this new part of the city did not turn out as mixed as the municipality intended. At the same time, constructing neighbourhoods for people of means is obviously part of the strategy to make Malmö more attractive and contribute to the welfare of all parts of the city.

The reconstruction of a former but renowned industrial headquarter from Malmö's lime producing days into a US inspired "lifestyle housing", again, a concept which until now has never been seen in Malmö or Sweden, became an opportunity to use an urban structure from the city's past in order to offer more well-off inhabitants a unique and attractive way of living. Victoria Park, which is directed towards a specific income group interested in living a certain lifestyle, is in the interview with Anders Rubin depicted as both connected to the strategy of saving Malmö from economic demise, and as a way to aid the residents in socially vulnerable areas of the city.

Rubin mentions that a lot has happened in the housing market in Malmö since the 1960s, and that it would have been completely inconceivable to construct an area like Victoria Park in the "old uniform working class Malmö". Back then, all dwellings were con-

structured according to a certain nuclear family standard, Rubin contends, but today Malmö has “ended up in a situation where nothing is standard”, and “there is no dominating model that everybody should follow, but everybody does as they want and more or less dwell in their own way”.

Producing Sweden’s first lifestyle community

An exploration of the residential spaces

This section begins by providing a presentation of the spaces inside Victoria Park, and subsequently continues with elaborating upon the ideas, discourses and ideals of the representatives of the housing company that underlie the construction and the design of the area. Interviews with the founders of Victoria Park, as well as the CEO, the sales manager, one of the architects and one receptionist were carried out in March 2011. Their visions have been crucial for the implementation of what “lifestyle housing” implies, the everyday lives which are taking place in the neighbourhood as well as how the interviewees perceives themselves and what it means to be a resident of Victoria Park. The following section is thus intending to provide a presentation of how the area is designed and what the neighbourhood is supposed to offer.



Image 7: Main entrance to Victoria Park in the foreground, a couple of the houses located on top of the main building are visible in the background.

The two tenant ownership cooperatives of Victoria Park are located partially on top of the old Euroc headquarters (which is now called “The Victoria House”) and partially on both sides of it, encircling the park located on the inside. The Victoria House can be accessed by the residents through side entrances using their key cards, but visitors who wish to enter do so by calling the reception through a camera phone at the main entrance. Once inside, the visitor has entered the reception area and the lounge of Victoria Park. The reception is pointed out by the representatives of Victoria Park as “the heart” of the area, where all the information about what is going on in the area flows through and is collected by the staff for further distribution to the residents.

Staff at the reception are in charge of making sure that the lounge is neat and tidy for the residents and provide them with services of different kinds such as booking trips, receiving packages, keeping spare keys, etc. Amanda⁵, who works in the reception, however stresses that being social and spending time with the residents, in order to build a personal connection, are crucial parts of her work assignment. According to her, this is important so that they feel like they are at home in the lounge but she also argues that this might become harder to maintain as the area expands and more people move in. She says:

We’ve learned, we know... yeah, who their children are and what their names are, their sister-in-laws, we know everything (Amanda, Victoria Park).

The lounge is a big room generously equipped with groups of sofas and armchairs and, towards the right hand side, a long bar table seating approximately 14 people. The arched ceiling, part of the original design for Euroc by architect Sten Samuelsson, is held up by pillars and in-between a couple of them the floor has been lowered and filled with stones and water for decoration. The sales idea of the lounge, which is translated in the advertising of Victoria Park as well as the interviews with representatives and residents, is that this space is supposed to be the extended living room of the residents, where they can also bring their families and friends instead of being crowded in the flats. It is described as a ‘natural meeting-point’, where residents drink coffee or wine and can choose from several kinds of newspaper, which has made some of the residents to quit

⁵ The name has been altered for reasons of anonymity.

their own subscriptions. The soft music playing in the background often blends together with the murmur of the pool of water.



Image 8 and 9: The lounge and the bar table.

Opposite the reception is the entrance to the cinema, scheduled to show three movies a day, which inhabitants can also book for fami-

lies and friends. The lounge is often deserted during night-time after the last of the residents have emptied their wine glasses and gone back to their flats. In the morning, the lounge is often busier, also with people from the outside as workmen are coming and going to inspect the elevators or fix something broken. In order to move around the facilities, the reception gives them pre-programmed access cards that gives them access to the parts they need to visit and works for a limited time.

Adjacent to the lounge is the library, where residents can play various games, and from there they access the conference room which the residents can book for business meetings or social gatherings. From the library a spiral staircase leads down to the wine cellar. To the west, the lounge is connected to the restaurant, offering residents and visitors lunch, brunch and dinner different days of the week, through a set of glass doors which can be opened with the residents' key cards. To the east of the lounge are the residential corridors connecting the lounge with the spa, also accessible by key card, and the elevators that go up to the residential houses on top of the main building. The corridors in the main building partially overlook small outdoor spaces belonging to some of the flats, also part of the original design by Sten Samuelsson who was inspired by spice gardens in southern European monasteries.

The spa can be accessed by the residents from one of the corridors in the main building, while visitors enter the spa from its main entrance towards the street by ringing the bell. It is open exclusively for the residents for two hours before it opens to the public. Entrance to the spa and the gym is included in the service fee paid by the residents while visitors at present time pay between 325 and 425 Swedish kronor for accessing the facilities for up to four hours. The spa is equipped with pools, a Jacuzzi, several saunas, and a light treatment where you can choose if you want light from inspired by Bali, Mauritius or Miami.

The outdoor pool is open during the warmer months, surrounded by sun chairs and overlooking the big park and the quarry. The park can also be accessed from the lounge and the restaurant, and is surrounded by the quarry as a natural boundary on one side and the built environment as well as lower fences running between the houses on the other side. The founders Christer and Marcus Jönsson describe the park as playing an important role in the area, as many of the residents have moved from detached houses with gardens. They are thus used to being able to barbecue outside and their children are used to being close to nature. This idea of the founders of

the importance of nature is according to them also a reason why they have designed spacious balconies and patios.

The park is equipped with a walking path, barbecues, benches and other seating areas, a putting green and a boule court, and the inhabitants can also use the tennis court located outside the park and borrow the necessary equipment from the reception. All these services of Victoria Park, as well as one free brunch and coffee twice a day in the lounge, are available to the residents for the fee of 1 300 Swedish kronor per month, per person in the household. There is also the possibility to add extra services for additional fees, such as cleaning services, handyman, rent guest apartments and dry cleaning.

The visions of Victoria Park AB

When elaborating on the origins of the ideas for Victoria Park, Christer Jönsson portrays a discourse about the decisive, independent and active resident born in the 1940s. According to him, the people born during this decade have specific residential preferences which separate them from the previous generation, as they have particular needs and higher demands on where to live and whom to live with. Christer Jönsson explains:

The people born in the 1920s and 1930s in the homes for the elderly, they always obeyed the state and the municipality in how to live, and you moved in and where pretty much offered a place in the home. We [the people born in the 1940s] want to make sure, ourselves, that we end up in the right place in time. And pay our way (Interview C. Jönsson).

Those born in the 1940s are portrayed as having more power and resources to choose, whereas the preceding age cohorts are seen as not having any influence on their housing situation. This is a discourse echoed by other representatives. The CEO Stefan Andersson says that it is important that cities can offer a wide variety of housing options as “it is an integral part of the behaviour of the people born in the 1940s to be able to choose”, while architect Ulla Nordström also highlights how the people born in the 1940s have higher demands on how to live, and that they do not want to settle with anything inferior to how they already live.

The reason for the cohort of the 1940s to have better choices and higher demands on how, where and with whom to live, Christer Jönsson elaborates, is because they have had a different experience from their working life as they have been more self-employed, trav-

elled more, met more people and they are more open minded. The cohorts of the 1920s and 1930s are by Christer Jönsson described as more reserved as they more or less only met their work colleagues. Victoria Park was thus initially intended to be an area for people over 55 years of age, and because of all the services included the media started to describe the area as “luxurious senior housing” (see for instance Larsson, 2007). Christer Jönsson wanted to create a kind of housing that had previously not existed in Sweden at all, and thus turned to gated communities and similar residential developments in the US as an inspiration. Marcus Jönsson, who at the time of the interview was responsible for the design and brand of Victoria Park, explains that he was sceptical towards only attracting people over 55 years of age and convinced Christer Jönsson to open the area up to all age groups. Victoria Park’s image was thus changed from senior housing to “lifestyle housing”, something Christer Jönsson realised suited his vision of the area as the people born in the 1940s, as perceived by him, do not want to see themselves as seniors. Instead, they consider themselves to be constantly 40 years old and after making sure that their children and grandchildren are taken care of they want to take care of themselves by living a certain way.

Lifestyle housing is described by Christer Jönsson as a new way of living and a new way of life. The new way of living means that apart from housing you are also offered multiple services, and the new way of life implies that you will become a part of a community. As a part of the community, you will meet new people but also, and this is stressed by Christer Jönsson, you want to be confirmed and acknowledged by others:

Well, it’s a new way of living. And lifestyle housing, it’s really... you could say a certain way of life and that is with community, you always meet people, like right now you can see over there [points towards the bar table where the morning coffee is served]. They come down for coffee and you talk to different people. I mean you don’t want to be left in your house or apartment because you always want to meet new people, you want to talk to people, you want to be seen and you want, well, to see people. Above all you want to be seen (Interview C. Jönsson).

The importance of the community aspect of living in Victoria Park is also stressed by Stefan Andersson. He compares his idea of Victoria Park as “a small society”, similar to a village society, to the otherwise anonymous life in the city. He describes the facilities availa-

ble here enable meeting new friends and family members, which according to him is rare in normal housing:

...you have a great family who shares a great living room, where you even have joint coffee twice a day and where you have free cinema [...]. So that's what you buy, apart from a flat, you buy this... little society, or meeting-point for a small society. [...] That is instead of inviting people home or go out in total anonymity and sit by a café table on your own and look at all the other people moving around but not meeting anyone because everyone does the same, they sit there in their anonymity and... you meet in a place where you have a reason, where you actually share something (Interview S. Anderson).

The idea of community and that the residents should feel encouraged to participate in social activities have affected the physical design of the area. Most flats are deliberately made smaller so that the residents can sleep there but will want to spend a lot of their time in the communal spaces of the area, which should be incorporated into their notion of home. This is echoed in the advertisement of the area from 2011 and 2014, where Victoria Park was marketed with slogans such as *"This is your new bathroom"* (with a picture of the pool), *"This is your new lawn"* (with a picture of the putting green) and *"This is your new TV room"* (with a picture of the chairs in the cinema), emphasising the view of the shared spaces as part of the residents' homes (see images 7-10).

According to the CEO, the need and demand for housing like Victoria Park has grown over the years due to increasing urbanisation, globalisation and computerisation as this has led to more people living in solitude. Having relations through computers, which has become more common today, implies that people do not touch and see each other and people do not have as close connections as they would have in real life.

To him, one of the advantages of Victoria Park is that it has to be somewhat secluded from the society, as if it would be located in a city centre the community quality might decrease and anonymity increase. In the city there are many other services close by that might attract people away from Victoria Park, and it would be harder to meet and get to know people inside the premises "...and then you are underway again with the classic way of living your life. Then you have no use of each other.". Living in a more secluded environment makes people stay at home more in the evenings and share the mutual spaces.



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Images 10, 11 and 12: Marketing as seen on the Victoria Park website (Victoria Park, 2014).

Another term brought up by the founders as descriptive of Victoria Park and is a part of what signifies lifestyle housing is “quality of life”. Time is mentioned as an important aspect of quality of life and Marcus, who from the beginning stressed the benefits of Victoria Park to those younger than 55 years of age, mentions how inhabitants with children will have more time for leisure activities; such as going to the gym, having a swim in the pool or watching a movie in the cinema. Christer Jönsson concurs and explains that Victoria Park facilitates an easier lifestyle as everything is located inside the premises and you do not have to go anywhere else. If you want to make your lifestyle even more comfortable and save up some more time without having to eat in the restaurant every night, there is always the possibility of subscribing to grocery delivery services, Catarina Persson notes, even though this service is not provided directly by Victoria Park.

Moving into the resort

The representations of the residents

The easy lifestyle with services close by, and the opportunity of being able to manage your time better was something mentioned by the residents as well. Many of them related the concept of lifestyle housing with comfort and a new-found freedom to do what you like instead of spending time on the maintenance of their houses. Mikael, who moved to Victoria Park with his family, for instance says:

You don't feel coerced to go out later in the afternoon when the weather is nice and clean the garden. Instead you can go out and sit on the patio, so that's nice (Mikael, Victoria Park).

Kristina notes how she appreciates the proximity of the restaurant, as she and her neighbours have an easier option to eating out on the town. She decided to move to Victoria Park as she was ill and did not think she would be well enough to travel again. She says:

So when I saw this, the folder, I thought that if I can't travel then I can [at least] live in a holiday resort (Kristina, Victoria Park).

This notion, that Victoria Park shares certain resemblances with a hotel, is reflected in the area's slogan “Like living in a hotel. But at home.” (see images 10-12) and it was repeated by a couple of interviewees who made parallels to different vacations they have had in

the past. Malin, the youngest participant of 34 years who moved to Victoria Park with her spouse and child, explained that the everyday luxury in having her home in a hotel-like setting. She has all her personal things in her flat, but she can hand over her dry cleaning to the reception and if she goes away on a vacation she can have them water her plants and take care of her mail.

Another interviewee also explained how he lives in a resort and that he in the summer worked during the morning and then relaxed on the sun deck in the afternoon. These notions are also exemplified by Maria, who moved to Victoria Park with her children due to a divorce:

Maria: You know, my son said during the first weeks when we were living here, when we were down lying by the pool and that, then he said: "Mom are we going up to our room now?" So he had that feeling that we were on vacation.

Ann: So is the concept working, that it feels like you're on vacation?

Maria: Yeah, it actually does. Yes. Especially when the pool is open, the outdoor pool and all that, then it feels a bit like a concept à la vacation (Maria, Victoria Park).

The fact that some of the residents can move through the corridors, also bears certain similarities to those often found in hotels. For example, in order to get from their flats to the spa only wearing their swimsuits and robes is also mentioned as strengthening the feeling of living in a resort. The lifestyle concept and the in-house services were, as mentioned in the previous chapter, one of the most important reasons for moving to Victoria Park. Malin, for instance, explains her first impression of Victoria Park like this:

Then, suddenly, we read the paper and saw this ad about Victoria Park and like "Wow, we have to take a look at this, it sounds too good to be true!" Swimming pool, gym and a pool table and a cinema and a restaurant and everything inside the area. And then we came here and completely fell in love with the concept. And then we just bought a flat on impulse without thinking it all through (Malin, 34, Victoria Park).

The residents enjoy the exclusivity of the area, but the critique directed towards Victoria Park for being a segregated, luxurious area for the elderly and for being a gated community affected them, even though the building's exclusivity and restricted access have been topics of discussion even before Victoria Park existed.

The majority of the people in the study were very irritated with the media and blamed the journalists for what they perceived to be an untrue image of their area and the characteristics of its inhabitants. The residents explained how they have participated in a couple of interviews for newspapers and the radio, but have later felt that they have been misunderstood and misquoted. The discourse about Victoria Park as a gated community was one of the public “truths” about their area that they were the most upset about, but why this was perceived as such a controversial matter will be left for now as it will be further analysed in the next chapter of the thesis. Closely connected to this is however the public image that the residents of Victoria Park are segregated as well as very rich and old, which was something the participants in this study heavily argued against; instead, they wanted to highlight how mixed the residents are in age, income and background.

Some of the younger inhabitants mentioned how they sometimes need to justify why they have chosen to move to a place that their surrounding perceives as a place for seniors. Many residents explained that this initial sales pitch of housing those over 55 years of age has been hard to ‘wash off’, but they also stressed that this image today is completely misleading. For instance, Malin thinks that some of the facilities, like the gym, are not there for the ‘truly old’ who will not be able to use it, and Annika stresses how Victoria Park rather than actually segregating the older population due to its community bridges a gap between generations.

That all residents are supposed to be rich and are trying to avoid mixing with others was denied among the participants. It was asserted that there is everyone from poor retirees to multimillionaires represented amongst the residents. The portrayals of the people in Victoria Park as richer than average provoked some of the residents. Margareta, for instance, asserts that people have had a lot of opinions about Victoria Park and she explains that one of her family members refuses to come and visit her as she thinks that Victoria Park is so bombastic. According to Margareta, people care too much about others’ financial situations, but that these ideas about the inhabitants as very rich in any case is only prejudice and that the residents in Victoria Park have worked their way up to where they are today:

Because... people don't think that it is for ordinary people, that's all. I mean for ordinary 'Svenssons', I get that a lot. Sometimes you don't want to say... "Where do you live?" "Yeah, I live on Kalkstensvägen." "Right, where is that?" "It's by the limestone quarry." I

usually don't say Victoria Park, and then they say "Is it Victoria Park? Oh I see, that's where the rich people live". So... it's simply prejudices. [...] And it's the media which has written a lot... about how a certain clientele living here. With the gates and... and then they get answers from angry people living in the suburbs that "It's deplorable that they can shut themselves in like that" and "while we poor bastards have to live here", something like that. But that's not the way it is at all. I mean, we have worked and fought, we didn't have anything from the start. We worked and fought our way up and saved up (Margareta, Victoria Park).

Lena also explains that she has grown weary of the public discourse that there are only multimillionaires living in Victoria Park rather than "ordinary Svenssons", and that the residents believe themselves to be superior to other inhabitants of Malmö because they have more expensive flats:

...that is the most tiresome thing when you speak to people, right. "Oh, you live *there*. Eh, can you afford *that*?". You know, like that. "Well, it depends on if you invest money and that" I said, "perhaps you didn't do that". You have to squash them a bit, right (Lena, Victoria Park).

The interviewees who mentioned that they were worried about whether their new neighbours were going to be rich and snobby declared that this first appearance was deceptive. Inger, for instance, who is mainly retired and moved with her husband from a house where she had lived for 20 years, realised how many of them have worked for a living in "ordinary occupations" and like her been able to move because they have sold their houses and apartments.

Some residents sometimes explained the critique directed towards Victoria Park as coming from Swedish unaccustomedness to exclusive housing, and that people were jealous of them. Victoria Park may be going against certain traditions and ingrained opinions still remaining from the time of Folkhemmet, which relied on solidarity and a notion that everybody should have similar standards of housing, as one resident suggested. Everyone cannot live in Victoria Park, such as the unemployed or the young, but the residents are not only comprised of well-paid directors. As noted previously, a common statement among the residents was that their housing costs have lowered since they moved, or as Leif expresses it: By living in Victoria Park the average resident saves up to one trip to Mallorca per year.

Annika explains how she thinks the discourse of Victoria Park as an area for the rich partially comes from the initial marketing of the

area which included the extravagant parties, intended to give off an image of the area as luxury-housing. This initial marketing strategy, where party guests were offered free Cuban cigars and loads of food as well as entertainment, is described by Annika as unnecessary and extravagant. She thinks that the concept of Victoria Park with the shared facilities does not entice those who are truly attracted by luxury-living, as they would like to own the pools and the park themselves and be able to show them off. Victoria Park is luxurious, but the area is not as prestigious as living in a large detached house with a massive garden and a pool.

Apart from not being populated solely by the rich, a counter-discourse of Victoria Park as a heterogeneous area was also frequently offered by the interviewees. But on this matter the participants were not completely in agreement. Co-founder Marcus Jönsson presents an image of Victoria Park as an area for everybody and that there is a “total mix” of people in the area:

...it becomes a cross section of society if you do not have any limits or barriers, as all kinds of people have moved in here. From families with children to ninety plus, Swedes, immigrants, it's everyone. Everybody has moved here and that is enriching, for all (Interview M. Jönsson).

That the residents are very different from each other, rather than similar, was also described and the unique social environment is by some highlighted as contributing to new encounters with people of a different background.

...when there were lots of writing about this being gated and that no foreigners could ever live here and ... blah blah blah. There are loads of people from other countries living here. It's so much fun, you know! I would never have gotten to know them if I didn't live here (Inger, Victoria Park).

Some residents, on the other hand, did think that Victoria Park is too homogenous and would benefit from a greater mix in backgrounds and ethnicity. Magnus, who is working full-time and who moved to Victoria Park due to a divorce, is one example, as he felt that some of his neighbours were intolerant towards people of foreign background. He thinks this has to do with class, as his perception is that most of the residents in Victoria Park are actually working class people who have lived in the less-nicer parts of the city and managed to sell off their property in order to move to Victoria Park.

Those who expressed a certain worry for their area becoming more heterogeneous brought up the coming phases of construction of Victoria Park as uncertain factors that might alter the composition of residents. One concern was whether the coming development stages of Victoria Park would consist of rental apartments as the new clientele might bring down the value of the property. In an interview performed before the residents of Allén had moved in, Inger explained that some neighbours had discussed what would happen if their new neighbours deviated too much from the norm:

Inger: Some [of the residents] have been like “But perhaps a lot of Muslims will start moving in here”. Yeah, it wouldn’t be that fun if they walk around in here in veils. Otherwise they can have whatever religion they want, right.

Ann: That is... [they talk about] that phase of construction? [Gesturing towards where Allén is being built]

Inger: Yeah, I don’t know what’s coming. But I don’t think so. No because, there’s a thing among a lot of people here. No Muslims.

Ann: Oh, is that right. OK.

Inger: And that is not because they are Muslims, but it is when you see, it becomes marked ‘That is a Muslim’ [because of the veil], and then everybody goes like... mostly women: “Why the hell is she walking around in that veil? We... she lives in Sweden! Adapt yourself!”, kind of, right? (Inger, Victoria Park)

The social environment

The social environment, as previously pointed out, was a key part of the founders’ vision of Victoria Park. Several residents who participated in the study stressed that they found it to be an important, unique and positive aspect of living in Victoria Park. Many of them mentioned that they consider themselves to be very social individuals who love talking to others. Leif, for instance, who is a more-or-less retired 64 year old, explains how he moved to the neighbourhood because of the services and care-free living which does not imply cleaning a pool or a garden. But apart from that, he also had an idea about the social environment and that Victoria Park would give him a chance to meet other people who share his interests:

Yes, yes, but if you move in with 170 people I can guarantee you that there are at least five who share the same interests as you. Not through and through, but I mean if you’re interested in golf [...], I can guarantee you that at least 10-15 of them play golf, right? If you’re interested in bridge it’s guaranteed that there are a couple in

this housing that play bridge, right. [...] And it's the same here, there are some 40 residents who have boats, I like boats, I like the sea so there is a lot of boat riding in the summers (Leif, Victoria Park).

While the social community was a part of the vision of the founders, however, residents and staff mentioned how they expected it to be even more vibrant than it is right now. This was typified by the lounge, which was quite often experienced as empty of people. This is partially explained by the fact that the area when this study was carried out was not fully constructed and populated, but some participants mentioned that many of the retirees seem to use their apartments more than their communal "living room", their communal "garden" and their communal "bathroom", which can be seen in opposition to the original idea of the housing concept.

Those who are the most active members in the social environment are a smaller group of inhabitants; a social group which was started up by the handful of residents who moved in first. They are sometimes referred to as the regulars, the gang or the pioneers, and they often frequent the complementary coffee with biscuits prepared by the staff in the lounge twice a day. Several of the members of this group are retired, and can thus participate more in the activities that take place during the day, but some of them also work full or part time.

There are also other residents who participate in the everyday social environment to different extents and they are a bigger and broader composition, even though the majority of them are middle aged or older. One common denominator was that the most active residents were those who lived close to the main building and could walk indoors to the lounge, while many of the residents living in the buildings detached from the main building are in a sense also more detached from the social environment. Those who work, are otherwise occupied during the day or choose not to participate in the day-time social activities sometimes join the others in the lounge in the evenings for example, a glass of wine and lighter food. The residents' key cards, which they use to enter the building as well as access the different facilities within the area, can be charged with credit and thus used as a smart card which allows them to order food and drinks in the lounge without bothering bringing their wallets with them.

The lounge is sometimes explained as playing the part of a local square or a neighbourhood café inside Victoria Park. Most of the everyday social intercourse take place around the bar table in the

lounge, mentioned by a few residents as Klagomuren (“The Wailing Wall”), and could be said to be the most “domestically public” place of the residential area. An unwritten rule is that this is the general meeting place where everyone in area is allowed to participate in conversations. The bar table is a natural place where news about Victoria Park and its residents are communicated among the neighbours and it is also a place to discuss the weather or things going on outside of the area, such as the local and global news. If the residents want to use the lounge but engage in more private conversations or perhaps sit alone with a cup of coffee and one of the available newspapers, they can signal this to the others by sitting down in one of the groups of couches and armchairs.

These behavioural codes or unwritten rules in the lounge are mentioned as an example by Anders, who moved from a house in the same city district due to a divorce, and who thinks that the residents of Victoria Park are more socially competent and respectful than he has experienced in other areas:

There is a curiosity here combined with a respect for one another’s integrity. If I sit down in my favourite armchair to read, people won’t disturb me. Because, that is, you’re so... you have such high social competence that you always know how to decipher the situation. And... [you are] not pushy and you don’t burden anyone else with your aggressions (Anders, Victoria Park).

Anders’ lead phrase is “tranquillity”, which is something he finds at Victoria Park. To him, this entitles getting good service to a good price in a nice, aesthetically appealing and peaceful atmosphere. He says that his notions should not be seen as if he enjoys living with people of the same ethnicity or the same political views; instead he thinks that high education is the key to achieve a civilised social environment like the one in Victoria Park:

It became very clear to me when I came here to Victoria Park that I got the kind of environment that I think I work well in. It’s easy for me to talk to anybody, I can generally say that we who live in Victoria Park are very social, and social competence, where does that come from? Well it’s, of course both biology and environment but... it’s a combination of life experiences, education... actually, it has nothing to do with ethnicity or political belonging or religion, it’s a certain basic level, education, and yeah basically, birds of a feather flock together. It’s a bit like that (Anders, Victoria Park).

Among those residents who had chosen to engage in the social environment, the community was several times mentioned as the best

thing about living in the area. Some of them mentioned having much more contact with their neighbours now than before. Leif describes:

I used to live in a... detached house with 14 houses on a street. And I lived there for ten years, I knew two [of the neighbours]. Yeah. And I recognised people when they sat in their cars, I recognised the cars going by since I lived in the first house on the street. But I, if I met people in the grocery store, I couldn't be certain that they were my neighbours. But here... Already when I moved in here I knew some hundred people, both by name and what kind of people they are. And we have people who suddenly started travelling together, families (Leif, Victoria Park).

Kristina explains how coming home from work and meeting the neighbours in the lounge is like coming home to family members. But the social activities are not only taking place in the lounge as the residents as well arrange different events, parties and activities together, such as the bridge club, the choir, the film club, the art club, cooking courses and the discussion group. Several of the more active members in the community explained that the social activity at the bar table in the lounge enables them to help each other out with various issues as they can draw collectively on all the residents' acquired knowledge and expertise.

The residents who often visit the bar table in the lounge for a cup of coffee or a glass of wine claim to be updated with one another's lives and what the other frequently present residents are up to. During one of my own stays in Victoria Park the news spread fast during the day around the group of people coming and going to the lounge that one of the presently absent residents had just fallen over and contracted a fracture. Several of the residents around the bar table volunteered their spare crutches and the involvement in each other's well-being is also stressed by Inger who says that the neighbours keep an eye out for each other:

Then someone asks "Where is Beatrice⁶?" "No but she's out of town, she's in Germany". You know that much about each other. Because you start wondering, those who usually have coffee "Why isn't she coming? Is she sick?" So you also know whether people are sick, or if they're out of town (Inger, Victoria Park).

Having social skills and enjoying spending time with people were brought forward by some participants as important qualities in order

⁶ The name has been altered for reasons of anonymity.

to cooperate with the neighbours and enjoy living in Victoria Park. Kristina thinks that the concept of Victoria Park is not that likely to spread to several locations because of its emphasis on community:

The people who choose to live here have to like the community. Eh, and not everybody does. Many would like to be anonymous and... in their dwelling and... keep their lives separate [...]. You can't be anonymous here. So... I don't really think ordinary people would want to live like this. I don't think so. I have friends who say, "I would never want to live here" (Kristina, Victoria Park).

The concept of cohousing was mentioned several times by the participants when they talked about their lifestyle in Victoria Park. However, all of them stressed that their kind of lifestyle still differs from certain less desirable traits which they attached to what cohousing implies. Living in a cohousing unit was understood by the residents as having the neighbours close, or too close even, and that you would not be given enough privacy (Sandstedt and Westin, n.d.).

Instead, the residents emphasised a certain distance to their neighbours, and they stressed that instead of having to do the cooking and cleaning themselves they have staff who take care of for them. This way, conflicts which may arise in normal cohousing due to issues such as cleaning standards and lack of privacy are not as prevalent. One resident thus refers to Victoria Park as "cohousing deluxe", while another explains that since any complaints are directed towards the service company rather than a misbehaving neighbour, the inhabitants form a bond between each other instead of getting on bad terms.

What could be referred to as "community with distance" implies that no one should feel obliged to participate in the community and that you respect each other's personal space. Margareta, for instance, notes that keeping some distance to the neighbours is important to her and she therefore decided to live in one of the detached houses as she does not always want to dress up and be social, which she feels that she might have to if she lived closer to the lounge. She does not spend that much time with the neighbours outside of the communal spaces of Victoria Park, apart from a few exceptions, as she would like to avoid spontaneous visits:

...but otherwise we keep that distance, we meet each other outdoors in the summer. Then we talk a lot, we sit by the pool and... so we keep that distance which my husband and I think is important. We've seen... when we lived in a detached house how the neigh-

bours who recently moved in always ran in and out [to each other]. We thought that we'll never do that. And conflicts arise, yeah. So we didn't want that to happen to us (Margareta, Victoria Park).

Even though the involvement in the personal life of others was appreciated by some, others highlighted negative aspects of this. One resident told me about how she once was worried about her neighbour who had the flu, but that she was relieved to see how the neighbour was well enough to bring in the paper. The same neighbour who had the flu however told me in another meeting that she has become careful to bring the paper in as quickly as she can in the morning. This due to the fact that she, being retired, likes to sleep in but had received comments from a third neighbour who had noticed how she sleeps for a long time, since she lets the newspaper stay in the holder well into the morning.

Malin, who is the youngest participant in this study, says that she wants to avoid certain aspects of social control in Victoria Park. In order to be more private she and her spouse thus chose to move to an apartment in one of the detached houses outside of the main building. She says:

...[the house] lies separately. And that's the way we wanted it too. We said that, it doesn't feel that nice to walk through the reception every time you get home. "Oh I see, now they've been shopping again", that kind of feeling. It's nicer to just be able to walk into your own front door and go up to your flat. I think it's more of a pensioner-thing, so they think it's cosy to go in there and chat a bit, while the likes of me is to be more private (Malin, Victoria Park).

Barbro, a participant in one of the focus groups, also highlights how she, in comparison to some of the other participants, wanted to avoid aspects of social control in the lounge sometimes and tells a similar story to Malin:

And then I think, do I have to enter the lounge and show my... that I have been to the grocery store, the bags from the grocery store. And then [the people in the lounge will think] "Oh, has she been to Malmborgs [a local grocery store] and done some food shopping." Like that... makes me want to live a bit further away from it and I don't want to... show that I've been grocery shopping at Malmborgs. I'm not going to eat in the restaurant instead we're cooking ourselves (Barbro, Victoria Park).

Community discipline and preserving the nice environment

Even though far from everybody actually participated in the social environment (in fact, the younger participants were clearly more interested in using the services than to take part in the community) an idea of the active resident was sometimes brought forward by the interviewees. Mikael, for instance, said that in order to get something out of Victoria Park, you should rather enjoy meeting people in the lounge than sitting at home alone in front of the TV. In both conversations with residents and representatives it was additionally mentioned that the inhabitants of Victoria Park should not be too old or too sick, as the services in the area do not offer more care than any other tenant ownership cooperative.

The community was mentioned by many of the active members as something that they enjoyed very much, and the representatives additionally painted a picture of everybody getting along in the area. However, during my observations and talks with residents it became clear that everybody do not automatically fit into the community. This was especially the case when a couple of the residents showed signs of being too negative or complaining too much about their lives and their surroundings.

Annika explains how the sharing of spaces and managing the in-stated rules sometimes lead to arguments, and she mentions that since they are so many who have to get along, those who take up too much space or take on a dominating role have to become re-disciplined by the community, and in some cases when it hasn't worked out they have eventually moved out of the area. She says:

There have been those kinds of irritants but... someone who just sits and complain, and no one wants to hear it, the first time you comfort, the second time you comfort, but when you come here and every time hear complaints or... those kind of tiresome events that just keep repeating then, actually... not me, but then someone else has said "Right, if you're going to talk that way you won't get many friends here. If you just see life from a brighter side, then...". And it's become a bit like... re-socialisation, if you will. You... adapt, if you want to be here and have this community, otherwise you can stay outside of it. You don't have to be social with people (Annika, Victoria Park).

A few residents mentioned avoiding certain people they think come across as too negative and that they sometimes peek out through the glass doors separating the lounge from the apartment corridors, or

walk back or take another route through the area if they see someone they do not want to talk to at the moment. The community consists of several groupings of people as the participants find more common grounds with some than with others.

Those who are the most active in the social environment in Victoria Park are generally the older population, even though there of course are residents who do participate and hang out with their neighbours despite their full time jobs. Eva is a resident who stands out as she is retired, but she considers herself to be younger than the other residents who frequent the lounge and the social activities. She is also the participant in this study who expressed the most critique towards the community of Victoria Park as she feels that she wants to be able to use the lounge and the facilities but do so in peace and quiet.

Eva says that she does not always appreciate to share the spaces with the others, and that she feels a certain pressure to participate in the social activities in order for her to be able to use the spaces as much as she would like. She previously lived in a big house and had trouble getting used to the smaller apartment and to compromise about the communal spaces. She thus wishes she would be able to use the lounge as an extended living room, but since there are always people talking there she does not get the relaxation that she was looking for. She also feels that the community is divided between different groups and that everybody does not always socialise on equal terms as there are differences in income and resources. Her perception is that those residents with much more money are not interested in socialising with “the poor” residents.

When interviewing the younger population in Victoria Park it became increasingly clear that age and family situation was a significant factor as to whether you think the community aspect of living in Victoria Park is important or not. Some of them thought that they are simply too young to become a more integrated part of the community, but it was also noted that working full time and having children made it harder to participate even if they wanted to. Some of the activities were scheduled during day time and the group of residents who are mainly older and have lived there the longest time are perceived of as having formed their own social group. One of the younger residents expressed a desire to take a larger part in the community but that full time workers need to be included. It was also suggested that Victoria Park should become more vibrant and mixed in regards to ages, so that the area could be a meeting place for parents with children and provide more family oriented activi-

ties. Several of the younger residents however stressed that since they have their own social networks outside of the neighbourhood, the in-house services are perceived of as more interesting than the in-house community.

Victoria Park as something like a “cohousing deluxe”, where the residents share large facilities together, brings out contrasts for the residents who have left their detached houses with private gardens behind. It is common for tenant ownership cooperatives to have certain rules or regulations that clarify how the shared facilities should be used and maintained. This also goes for Victoria Park, which has quite extensive written and unwritten regulations regarding the residents’ rights and duties, fire safety, aesthetics and conducts. The written rules exist in different sets; one is composed by the board of the tenant ownership cooperative (updated 2011-09-16) and is in force for the apartment buildings as well as the shared facilities, one is compiled by Victoria Park which elaborates on the shared facilities, one is especially regulating the activities and conducts in the spa and one determines the rules for using the laundry room.

The rules are partially there to help the residents decide on how the spaces should be used, one example being the lounge where the restaurant has a permission to serve alcohol which means that the residents cannot bring their own alcohol but have to consume this in other spaces of the area. Other rules are more dedicated towards maintaining the aesthetic values of the communal spaces and obstructing neglect or deterioration, and keeping Victoria Park a nice, calm, clean and luxurious environment is mentioned among several interviewees as important. It is for instance not allowed to eat or drink in the cinema, as the light leather chairs cost 15 000 Swedish kronor, according to Leif, and dogs cannot come into the park unless they have first relieved themselves outside the premises:

Ann: Why can’t someone walk their dog in the park?

Leif: No, but it’s not that fun to have dogs running around loose here and, and relieve themselves and then you’ll step in it. That’s not nice.

Ann: It’s not enough to pick it up?

Leif: No, why? It’s better that you don’t, there are other surfaces here and it’s also like this, no dog suffers from taking a walk. No. And if you let a she-dog go out and make a puddle out here, there’ll be green tufts everywhere. It becomes fertilised right there, right. Yeah. And then there’ll be big green... like that. And then you have someone else who’s got a male dog, and he doesn’t want to pee on the grass, he wants to pee against a pole. And there will be no peeing on these poles (Leif, Victoria Park).

Most of the maintenance work at Victoria Park is taken care of by the service company, but residents described how they themselves, or their neighbours, also take an active part in ensuring that the facilities are used and maintained the way they are supposed to be. The tenant ownership cooperative has for instance instated “inspection groups” consisting of residents who make rounds of the premises, and check that the service company performs its duties to a satisfying level in order to prevent that the facilities become unkempt over time. A couple of residents did however feel that the commitment in controlling the environment was a bit exaggerated. They sometimes felt that there were a bit too many rules and that they are occasionally being monitored by some of their neighbours who are quick to tell others off if they do something wrong.

There are also a couple of unwritten rules about the conduct in, mainly, the lounge. As previously mentioned, the community with a distance approach is supposed to render it possible for the residents to sit on their own in the lounge without being bothered, but there are also other notions of tidiness and calmness that regulates some of the behaviours in the area. The “extended living room” was mentioned by several of the residents as something different from their own living room in their flat, such as they think it is appropriate to dress up a bit and keep a tidy appearance when using this space. Several residents mentioned that they would never wear sweatpants for instance or throw themselves into a couch and put their feet on the table as they might do at home.

One important part of the lifestyle concept is the peacefulness of Victoria Park and the possibility to live in a more comfortable and relaxing milieu. Catarina Persson gives a good example of how Victoria Park constitutes a calm environment which still renders it possible to see movement of the city from a distance:

...then it's the limestone quarry, the air... nothing is built, that is also a bit meditative I think myself. That you can see a car drive by over there far away, you can see the train going by occasionally. You don't have it so close as it's far away and that also becomes a calm feeling. So I think it's an incredibly peaceful environment here (Interview C. Persson).

This idea of Victoria Park as a peaceful environment makes some of the residents frown upon certain behaviours, noises and nuisances. One potential disturbance is the presence of children; an issue discussed several times during the fieldwork in Victoria Park, and it is clearly something that divides the residents.

For an illustration of this, I will draw upon an example from one of the participant observations I performed during my stay in Victoria Park in the beginning of 2013. I was sitting by the bar table in the lounge together with some of the residents who were having a glass of wine after listening to choir rehearsal near the grand piano. A discussion began about the presence of children in the spa and Annika told me that in order to protect the peaceful atmosphere in the spa, the access of children was regulated by having certain opening hours for them specifically. This however had to be removed as there were more and more grandchildren visiting Victoria Park than first anticipated. Annika is one of the more socially involved residents who like children and who was positive towards them being in Victoria Park. Based on this she explains that the change in the rules was completely in order as children are not a source of disturbance. "No disturbance?" a woman next to her bursts out, and another man who sits next to her agrees in the critique. Someone in the vicinity remarks how she thinks that children are incredible annoying. Annika realises that she has said something controversial, smiles and covers her head with her arms as a joke to shield herself from the critique.

This is an example of the differences in views regarding what kind of atmosphere and norms that are aimed for in Victoria Park, and loud children are by some seen as threatening the peaceful lifestyle that some inhabitants try to uphold. After the construction of the new houses in Allén, Victoria Park AB anticipated that younger people would be attracted by the generally larger apartments, which also opened up for more children in the area. In an interview with Eva, she explains that this development worries her and she thinks it would be a disaster if more children moved in. Eva already feels that the lounge is less calm than she would like it to be and if more children were there they might threaten the peaceful atmosphere even more. This would limit her freedom in Victoria Park even more, she says. Inger agrees with this notion during her interview and describes that some residents are worried about more children moving to Victoria Park:

Yes, we've talked about it a bit, that no one would be thrilled if there are a lot of children running around in here screaming. Because it should be calm and quiet here. Yeah... so we're hoping there won't be that many children. No (Inger, Victoria Park).

These notions were however not echoed among the residents who are younger and have children of their own. On the contrary, they

directed certain critique towards the lack of activities for children and that the area is generally not particularly child friendly. They all mentioned that they would like there to be more children in the area. Maria, for instance, wishes that there would be more children in Victoria Park. She said that she can use the facilities with her children most of the time, but that she sometimes feels like she and her children are disturbing some of her neighbours.

At the moment, the only space that is dedicated to children is a play room which is located in the restaurant, on the other side of the glass door equipped with a card reader constituting a boundary between the lounge and the public restaurant. Maria says that she would like the children to be more included in the spaces that are dedicated for the residents, and that perhaps the children could be given some space in the lounge where they could play with crayons and Lego. She also suggests that there could be a place to play football and a climbing frame in the park. But she says:

Well, right now I don't think others would welcome it. No, I think they want to keep this style. But I think there could be room for both. You don't have to have it in the same room, but like I said this place is quite big. So I'm sure there would be space for it, but then like I said there need to be more children (Maria, Victoria Park).

The presence of children is one example of the conflicts that may arise between users of a socially produced space such as Victoria Park. While it is important to note that far from all residents frown upon children, they are sometimes portrayed as clashing with the image of Victoria Park as a calm, peaceful and tranquil environment that is free from disturbances. To have activities for children in the lounge, for instance, is not likely to be appreciated, and one resident suggests that a playground would be nice as long as it is located outside of the premises. The rules together with the ideas of "community with distance" and the specific kinds of services offered in Victoria Park (spa, golf, boule, choir, fashion shows etc.) suggest certain frames for what the everyday lives of the residents should look like in the area, while inevitable discouraging other interpretations and practices.

Bellevue: The nice and calm lifestyle on the “Lakeside”

Bellevue has been one of the most expensive areas in central Malmö ever since the bourgeoisie decided to move there in the beginning of the 20th century in search of an area that could offer them a healthy environment, comfort, privacy and a focus on the family. Escaping the lower classes and what was perceived of as a dirty and unhealthy city, the new industrial classes had the means to physically separate themselves and find improved housing ideals and lifestyles.

In the previous chapter, it was noted that many of the participants in this study moved to Bellevue as they wanted to live in a detached house with a big garden in an area that was close to the city centre but still has beautiful nature and proximity to water. Since its conception, Bellevue has been perceived as offering certain qualities having innate values which are still considered to be precious and in need of certain protection.

For instance, the physical qualities of Bellevue as something ‘out of the ordinary’ that needs to be preserved is determined in a publication from the Malmö city planning office (Gråhamn and Hansson, 2001: 3, 7, 10) from the year 2001, describing the guidelines for potential development of Bellevue and its neighbouring areas⁷. The publication reveals the contemporary view of Malmö Stad regarding which values, in terms of land use and aesthetics, that they think should be preserved in Bellevue for the future. It is also established that the main part of Bellevue is of great value to the city because of “its lushness, its big plots and softly shaped streets”. The greenery along the streets is stressed as vital to protect for the future together with some of the walls and hedges around the plots as they contribute to the distinctive character of the area and constitute a significant part of the communal street space. The designs of the in Bellevue common boundaries in the shape of walls, fences, hedges and other features are described as important to how the public street is experienced by its users. But the importance of Bellevue to the city of Malmö is also stressed, as it provides its inhabitants with a different kind of verdure to the more public parks of the city.

⁷ Apart from Bellevue, the areas included in the guidelines are Nya Bellevue, Västervång and Fridhem. The guidelines were accepted by the city planning committee on the 14th of December 2000.



Images 13 and 14: Suburban street and house in Bellevue.

The report also stresses that the “interplay” between the buildings, the vegetation and the street space is important to take into consideration if the area risks becoming denser in terms of built environment. It is described by Ingemar Gråhamn and Anna Hansson (2001: 7, 18) that bigger plots have become partitioned in order to make room for more houses and, additionally, more businesses have started up in the otherwise mainly residential area. This development is described as potentially harmful in the report, as the disappearance of verdure and the increase in traffic is seen as affecting the

character of the neighbourhood in a negative way. Businesses in Bellevue are regulated in the sense that the residents living in an already existing older house can run smaller businesses as long as they only involve the owner, they do not disturb their surroundings and have few visitors.

Potential changes in the neighbourhood caused some concern among some of the participants, who stressed the need to preserve the aesthetic qualities and the area's calm environments. For example, the prevention of municipal plans to construct more row-houses on spare plots in Bellevue was mentioned together with the concern about how new residents tear down the old houses in order to build big modern ones with high walls and pools. Several of the people in this study mentioned that they are concerned about the densification of the area where old houses are torn down, plots become increasingly partitioned and green gardens have to leave room for stone walls and cementation.

But apart from the physical and locational qualities of Bellevue, it became clear when the interviewees explained what they think of their area that the social aspects were of great importance to them. Just like in Victoria Park, the peacefulness of the area was mentioned repeatedly and one of the most common words used to describe Bellevue was that it is *calm*, which was associated to notions such as the area being quiet, the neighbours stable, the traffic limited and a general lack of action in the area. Linda, for instance, says:

It's a very international area. People from all kinds of countries live here. High-income earners all of them as it of course is expensive to live here. People have good jobs, good incomes. A very... calm and peaceful area. And safe (Linda, Bellevue).

As noted in the previous chapter, one way of speaking of Bellevue was to talk about it in a comparative way with respect to other neighbourhoods in Malmö. It was stressed that Bellevue is one of the 'better areas' or 'comparatively calmer' than other areas. The social status of Bellevue was mentioned by several participants when describing the neighbourhood's characteristics. Johan, for instance, describes the positive qualities of Bellevue like this:

Calm. Quiet. Green. Status. I guess I'll have to say. The long-term perspective in that you don't have to move around to other areas, you know that you live... it's hard to live much better (Johan, Bellevue).

During interviews, several participants informed me that what I call Bellevue is actually often more commonly referred to as “Bellevue Sjöside” (Lakeside), especially by real estate agents but also by residents in popular speech. One of the residents explained that the whole purpose of singling out “Bellevue Sjöside” is a status marker, and when living in this area of Malmö the residents do not need to bother with proving their status in other ways, such as by owning expensive cars. Instead, owning an old car in “Bellevue Sjöside” can in turn signal that the inhabitants do not care about positioning themselves, as they already own a house on one of the best addresses in town.

The social boundary of “Bellevue Sjöside” extends along the street Linnégatan / Erikslustsvägen which runs in-between Bellevue and Nya Bellevue. The term “Bellevue Sjöside” is thus a way to distinguish and to socially separate Bellevue from its namesakes Nya Bellevue and Bellevuegården. Even though the social boundary between “Bellevue Sjöside” and Nya Bellevue is merely 8-10 meters, several residents mentioned that it is peculiar how the differences in housing prices can be as great between the areas as the houses are of the same size and style. In the previous chapter, the neighbourhood choices of the interviewee called Linda was described, and how she found the social status of the neighbourhood crucial to her moving decision. She is one of the participants who is emphasising the importance of referring to the neighbourhood as “Bellevue Sjöside” rather than just Bellevue in order to stress the difference in social status to the surrounding areas. She says:

[Bellevue Sjöside] is close to the sea and very close to the city centre and, these are parameters that can never be taken away. Location is location. I mean, when it comes to real-estate, location is A, A, A. There's nothing else. It's the location. You can... you can renovate your property as much as you like and make it as nice as you like. But it's the *location*. Location, location, location (Linda, Bellevue).

According to her, there are very nice and old houses in Nya Bellevue as well, but as she puts it, it is the harsh reality that they are on the wrong side of Erikslustsvägen. To her it is something completely different to live in Bellevue than it is to live on her side of the road. As already noted in chapter 5, the status of Bellevue Sjöside guarantees that her housing investment does not decrease in value.

Social interaction between neighbours

As the social environment and notions of community were found to be important to the ideals behind the lifestyle housing of Victoria Park and its spatial production, I decided to investigate what social connections among neighbours look like in Bellevue, and what these connections meant to the residents. As will be elaborated upon, several of the residents directed criticism towards the other inhabitants of Bellevue (see further below), but at the same time most of them claimed to like their neighbours and that they have some kind of interaction with them. The degree of social interaction varies greatly among the participants, however, and it is difficult to find any distinct structures suggesting why some are more involved than others.

Several of the retired participants, who have lived in Bellevue for many years, as well as a couple of the still working residents, explained that they have had good contacts with some of their neighbours. They provided several examples of how neighbours help each other out with things like keeping an eye open on the houses when the neighbours are away, taking care of their mail and their pets, cutting their grass and exchanging other kinds of favours.

Among some of the most socially active, the positive contacts between neighbours was described as one of the best things about living in the area. Others described how they know who their neighbours are and what they do for a living, and sometimes they talk to them over the boundaries of the adjacent gardens and have coffee together from time to time. One couple explains that the good connections render a certain level of social control possible in the neighbourhood.

In some cases, the good social contacts between neighbours were described as having decreased over the years as a result of a shift in generations. But yet in other, it was clear that not all residents find that the social connections in Bellevue have been very easy to participate in. Among the older participants, one person mentions that she found it difficult to get into the social environment at first as she was working full time while some of the other mothers were housewives, and another says that the residents in Bellevue are quite individualistic and are therefore not as actively seeking contacts as inhabitants in other areas might. This notion of individualism is closely connected to the desire for privacy, something some of the inhabitants highlighted as characteristic of living in Bellevue and as an important factor affecting the social interaction.

One interviewee mentions that he knows his neighbours by name and that they greet each other on the street but that they do not invite one another over. His experience is that the generally older clientele who live in Bellevue do not let other people into their networks easily unless you are a person of particular status or who makes an impression on them somehow. Johan had a similar notion, saying that he knows his neighbours' names but that his interaction with them is limited as many of them are older and do not have any children. People want to mind their own business and to keep a certain distance, and perhaps no more than nod to each other when meeting on the street which is part of the image in Bellevue according to Johan. The boundaries of fences and bushes surrounding the plots aid the privacy and create distances between the residents, which he thought was a problem when he and his family moved to the area:

So we had been walking around for five years, no, six years with prams and looked, we had never seen a single playmate for [our daughter]. They're behind the walls. It's very strange. So this was a negative thing, to start with. Before we eventually came to a school and could see that there were other children.

...and it's not odd that we've never seen them. Because they have summer houses in France, Spain and... everywhere and... they're not visible. And [they] drive their cars into their garages and that... (Johan, Bellevue)

In a similar fashion, Linda indicates how the boundaries around the plots and the desire for privacy in Bellevue make neighbours less inclined to talk to each other. It can happen that neighbours invite each other over, Linda says, but she has noticed that there are not much spontaneous conversations over the property boundaries. She appreciates this and compares to her previous dwelling in a smaller city in the north of Sweden:

Here you have a lot of privacy because everybody has fences and enclosed gardens so you don't see one another when you're out. In Northern Sweden no one encloses [their gardens] like this so when you go out to have your coffee the neighbour will come out and sit down and have coffee and then you talk. [...] You keep a check on each other in a different way, for good and for worse, in Northern Sweden. Here, I think it's really nice, I have my privacy, [I can] go out and sit in the garden and... I get to sit there all by myself and enjoy my cup of coffee and... and I don't need to chat to anyone at all if I don't want to (Linda, Bellevue).

While some of the participants stressed how Bellevue is an area of privacy, there were of course exceptions. Anna, who lives in a newly built house with her spouse and children, explains that she deliberately chose to construct low and transparent boundaries between her property and the public street in order to encourage people to visit. She is one of the younger participants who seem to have the most contact with some of her neighbours, as she has gone travelling with some of them. Based on the statements of the participants, contacts among neighbours seem to be aided or obstructed depending on desire for privacy which is sometimes materialised in the shape of dense walls and fences. This became increasingly clear when comparing some of the narratives above with the experiences of the three residents who live in the two areas dominated by row-houses in western Bellevue. All of them described how their small sub-areas facilitate quite extensive contacts among the neighbours, which seemed to be especially the case for the row-houses in a particular sub-section of Bellevue where the property is owned and governed by a tenant ownership cooperative. All houses on this street have patios facing a green lawn which is shared among the members of the cooperative, and the interviewees described how this shared space support social activities and enables a higher level of social control in the area.

Conflicting notions about a segregated, high-status lifestyle

While some of the residents emphasised the importance of separating Bellevue Sjöside from the adjacent areas of Bellevue, in order to stress the superior social status of the neighbourhood, this also caused some conflicting feelings among some of the other participants. It became clear that living in an area perceived of as more well-off and nicer than average invoked certain identity-related ideas of what it means to be a member of a privileged class.

Some of the participants were highly critical towards the notion that “Bellevue Sjöside” is nicer and better to live in than other areas, and what is perceived of as a hunt for increased status. The interviewees for instance talked about how some of the inhabitants seem to think that they are more distinguished than others and that they therefore want to live in an area like Bellevue which is better than other parts of Malmö.

At the same time, there is little that actually separates the houses in Nya Bellevue from theirs apart from the prices of the properties.

A few perceived the residents in Bellevue to be narrow-minded and presumptuous, and some mentioned that they find Bellevue to be segregated as it is only a place for the affluent which affects the residents' view of the rest of the city. Stig and Clara are examples of this but they stress that the segregated lifestyle is not the reason why they moved there:

Stig: It is a segregated area but that is not why we like it.

Clara: No.

Stig: We did not try to go to a white community.

Clara: No. No, no (Stig and Clara, Bellevue).

The public discourse of Bellevue as an area for the rich and privileged made some of the participants distance themselves from this image, either by highlighting that the desire for status among some of the residents is silly, or just like in Victoria Park, pointing out that this image is not entirely truthful. While it was even more common in Victoria Park to completely dismiss the public discourse of the area as exclusive and segregated, this also occurred to a lesser extent in the interviews in Bellevue. Two participants argued how Bellevue is actually a culturally mixed area rather than segregated, and mentioned that other residents in Malmö have preconceived ideas of the inhabitants. Stig says:

If you mention that you live in Bellevue in Malmö people say "Oh right." "You belong to the wealthy and rich". Yeah, it's a bit like that, there's a label attached to it (Stig, Bellevue).

Several of the participants noted that they did not identify themselves with the image of the stereotypically rich Bellevue resident. They drew on their backgrounds and argued that they were not born into a wealthy or privileged position, but that the free education in Sweden and the chance to make profits from selling previous dwellings enabled them to move to Bellevue. Some pointed out that the houses in Bellevue have become much more expensive over the years, and that they got a good price or a good deal when they bought them several years ago.

Berit is one example of someone who says that as a single parent, she would never be able to live in Bellevue if it was not for the fact that she inherited the row-house where she lives from her parents. She notes that the new generation of residents moving to Bellevue are often families where the parents have distinguished jobs with

two high incomes, which is necessary in order to afford the high prices.

Some of the residents experienced conflicting notions of enjoying living in a high status area, while also being critical towards this lifestyle, and some of them drew upon narratives to convey a story of how they differ from some of the other residents in the area.

Anna, for instance, is critical towards what she perceives as status markers of the traditional Bellevue lifestyle. She grew up in eastern Malmö, where her parents settled down deliberately even though they could have lived in another part of town as they wanted their children to be able to interact with all classes of society. After making money on purchasing and selling real-estate, Anna and her husband eventually moved to Bellevue where they managed to buy a rare empty plot where they could design and construct their own house inspired by the many ideas they picked up from travelling the world. The house where they live is grand, 500-600 square meters, with five bedrooms, two living rooms, a pool house, a gym, a kitchen and six toilets (at least one for each family member). The room where the interview takes place has a very tall ceiling and almost equally tall bookshelves, super-designed furniture, fresh flowers and various decorations from different cultures such as wooden masks, statues and animal skins.

Anna explains that since she grew up in eastern Malmö she was afraid that she would not fit into the area where “the distinguished people live”, as she puts it. Her image of the inhabitants, and especially the women, was that they are always dressed up, always wearing makeup, have mink furs, are thin, own a status dog, perhaps have done a face-lift and always behave in a correct manner. Anna feels that she does not fit this stereotype, and she explains that she has received a comment from a neighbour about how she does not seem to care as much about her appearance as others, but that she ‘gets away with it’ since she lives in the biggest house in the area. She has paid attention to certain class markers, such as how the residents in Bellevue never take their shoes off if they visit someone else’s home.

She directs critique especially towards the demarking of Bellevue as the “Lakeside” which according to her is an example of a hunt for status and belonging:

I think that’s exactly the kind of things I don’t like, that you want to belong to a certain group. And, perhaps that you want to belong to those people who live in Bellevue Sjösidan. Because they have gotten somewhere in society. But *I’m* not... I’m more like the opposite, I

can become... I can become super-anti these things (Anna, Bellevue).

Anna also expresses a certain concern regarding the segregation in Bellevue. She is worried that her children might become as narrow-minded, as she thinks some of the other inhabitants to be, and that they might not be able to talk as easily as she can to anyone who is different from them. She says that Bellevue becomes a fantasy world and a safe haven for its inhabitants who are protected from the rest of the city. She explains how she noticed her children reacting when they realised that the inhabitants in the rest of Malmö were not all blond and white as she perceives most people to be in Bellevue.

Another interviewee using a similar narrative is Peter, who grew up in Rosengård, and he stresses how he managed to go from growing up as an immigrant in Rosengård to getting an education and eventually purchasing a house in Bellevue. He does not view himself as a rich person, and he did not choose the area because of its reputation; to him, the house just happened to be in Bellevue and he got a good deal when buying it. His narrative stresses how he does not consider himself to be as narrow-minded as some of his neighbours as he has lived in the eastern part of the city and has a more nuanced view of the city. He also explains that his family is under a certain financial stress at the moment and that living in an area like Bellevue can cause negative emotions as you might be expected to afford certain status clothing and expensive vacations while not everybody in the area have that kind of money.

Peter criticises how people are attracted to Bellevue because of the status of the area, and the idea that some people want to escape certain problems they perceive exist in the city, while not really knowing anything about the things they refer to as problems. However, while directing this kind of critique, he also expresses how important it is to purchase a dwelling in a nice and stable area in order to protect the investment. He says that Bellevue is an area that is not likely to change much because of the lack of free plots, and the fact that the houses are genuine and expensive bring positive aspects of Bellevue that will keep the prices stable. If the houses had been more mixed with other tenures the values of the properties might have fluctuated more.

The status and the area's good reputation are important aspects of settling in Bellevue as the residents convey an image of pride of living in one of the nicer areas of Malmö, but this also make some of them torn about their own positions in relation to the public image of Bellevue. Anna and Peter use their narratives of their own trajec-

tories in order to stress that they have different views of certain neighbourhoods in the city and by doing so, also create a separation between themselves and a certain discourse of what living an upper-middle class lifestyle might entail. Even so, they have chosen to settle down in this particular neighbourhood because it is calm, child friendly and economically stable. The status of the area as comparatively better than other parts of Malmö is still one of the benefits of living in Bellevue. The participants' perceptions of their own class identities become negotiated by the public discourse of what it entails to have a more privileged position on the housing market and to be able to choose to live in an attractive area such as Bellevue or Victoria Park.

Concluding remarks: Victoria Park and Bellevue as spaces of the upper-middle class

When I started out doing research in Victoria Park in 2011, I was merely treating class as a way to understand the socio-economic situations of the inhabitants of the two neighbourhoods. Through the statistics, which have been presented in chapter 2, it is possible to interpret the residents as generally wealthier and more highly educated than the average of the city district and the general city. The two neighbourhoods also have a lower share of unemployed residents and inhabitants of foreign background than the city district and Malmö Stad.

However, when carrying out the interviews and participant observations, I realised that the interviewees in especially Victoria Park, but also Bellevue, have a strained relationship to the public representations of themselves as members of a privileged class. The conflicts between the residents' choices of living in exclusive areas and their perceptions of their own class identities showed that class is more complex than merely being a static socio-economic category as it is also socially constructed. It has an effect on the participants' identity processes and their perceptions of their choices on the housing market.

Being a member of the upper-middle class implies being able to choose the lifestyle of living in an exclusive neighbourhood which is calm, economically stable and, especially in Victoria Park, where more time is meant to imply enhanced quality of life. At the same time, these privileges and the social status of living in Victoria Park and Bellevue become attached to negative notions of stigma and

shame which encourages some residents to distance themselves from the public discourses of the areas as segregated. The inhabitants in Victoria Park often remark how they think that their lifestyle includes aspects of everyday luxury, but they do not like being critiqued for living luxurious lifestyles.

In both areas, interviews showed that several of the participants did not identify with a discourse of what it means to have this kind of class position. In Bellevue, several interviewees criticise some of the other residents' lifestyles, which was less common in Victoria Park where the residents seemed more inclined to promote a positive image of their area. The reasons for this is most likely because of a stronger public discourse of the area as segregated, and since the area is so new there is still a struggle trying to define and brand the development. Another reason might be that since the number of inhabitants is much smaller than in Bellevue and the notions of community is stronger it is likely that the participants feel less comfortable criticising the neighbourhood and its residents if they indeed had anything negative to say.

The feelings of stigma among the participants, and especially those in Victoria Park, regarding the public discourse of their neighbourhoods as segregated is interesting, especially since similar results have been found by André Jansson (2006: 106, 114) in his study of the inhabitants in the Bo01-area in the Western Harbour. Because of the negative medial image of the area, the residents' experiences how the area had become publicly stigmatised, even though stigmatisation is most often discussed in the context of socially marginalised groups. Just like in Victoria Park and Bellevue, there was a conflict among the residents of Bo01 between their self-images and the media discourse as the residents want to be proud of their area, but still not confirm an excluding lifestyle and what they see as a misconception of their area. Jansson notes that the experience of becoming stigmatised leads to an "accentuated proudness"; a mechanism which often occurs among marginalised groups.

In Victoria Park in particular, there is a tendency of both the residents and the representatives of the real-estate company to note that the neighbourhood is not as segregated as the public discourse suggests. Instead, a counter-discourse of the neighbourhood as an area for everyone is emphasised; it is meant to attract people of all ages, of different income and different backgrounds.

Many of the residents from both areas also emphasised an image of themselves as originally not coming from the upper-middle class and that in that way they did not fit into the public image of the

area and its residents. These ways of presenting a specific image of yourself and convince listeners as well as yourself of your good qualities is also a common feature of telling stories and representing one's identity, according to Riessman (1993). To use narratives by drawing on one's background as proof of not belonging to an upper-middle class uncovers a discourse of how this group is seen as something negative.

The statements regarding how mixed the inhabitants in Victoria Park are rather than being segregated according to class, however, reveals a certain "class unconsciousness" (Crossley, 2008: 232) on behalf of the participants. The residents may be perceived as heterogeneous in terms of backgrounds but they still have certain characteristics in common: they share certain preferences in terms of housing environment and they have the privilege of being able to choose living in Victoria Park. The area is supposed to share certain similarities with resorts and housing developments in the US, and the services which are being offered are inherently targeting the upper-middle class who recognises the pools, the putting green and the reception services from their previous travels. In addition, the initial idea that especially people born in the 1940s would be attracted to Victoria Park, as they have higher demands on their housing, also reveals an unawareness of class, as this statement assumes that all members of this age group have power and the economic ability to choose where to live. There was an already existing notion of what kinds of lifestyles that should be practiced within the boundaries of the area when the housing concept was elaborated by the founders, and this notion became built into the physical structure of the facility as well as practiced and further developed by its inhabitants.

Class relations are hidden but incorporated in lifestyle, taste and consumption (Duncan and Duncan, 2004: 25). In the neoliberal discourse, "lifestyle housing" receives a universal and value-free meaning instead of being seen as connected to the concept of class. The concept of lifestyle disregards from how the activities, codes of behaviour and rules which affect everyday lives in not only Victoria Park but also Bellevue produce these neighbourhoods as spaces of the upper-middle class.

The residents in this study are thus not only perceived to be members of the upper-middle class due to their possessions of economic resources, which are larger than average in the context of Malmö, but they are also seen as members of this group from the perspective of consumption and their particular ways of life (something Weber, 1987: 39-44, refers to as status group). The

concept of status as socially constructed valuations of certain aspects of a lifestyle, and the conflicting notions between the pleasures and stigma of living in a high-status area, additionally aid an understanding of the dialectic relationship between the two concepts *exclusivity* and *exclusion*. As noted in chapter 2, in order for certain goods, degrees or titles to withhold status there is a need for distance and exclusivity. Symbolic capitals can become monopolised by certain social classes as they are not accessible to the wider public (Weber, 1987: 42; Broady, 1991: 169-173), and a certain level of exclusion is therefore always inherent in the valuation of something as exclusive.

The concepts of class, status and exclusivity are central to the socio-spatial reproduction of Victoria Park and Bellevue. In the latter area, the bourgeoisie escaped the lower classes and what was perceived to be a dirty, unhealthy city in order to self-segregate and live according to new housing ideals. They created a high-status lifestyle outside of the city which was only attainable by those who could afford it.

The lifestyle which is advertised as included when purchasing a flat in Victoria Park builds upon similar notions of living in a calmer setting which offers more comfort, relaxation and “quality of life”; it is a retreat from the stress, bustle and anonymity of the city. To live in a calm area like Victoria Park or Bellevue implies that this space is orderly and separated from social problems which are perceived as existing “somewhere else”, as the previous chapter has shown.

The characteristics of the areas’ physical environments are also aspects adding to their exclusivity. In Bellevue, the lack of traffic together with the proximity to nature, the sea and the grand and lush gardens create the suburban idyllic spot of “Bellevue Sjöside”, while the cleanliness, orderliness and aesthetically appealing interior design added to the exclusivity of Victoria Park. In the latter, ideas regarding how the spaces should look and be cared for turned out to be important to how they were used. The written and unwritten rules and the ideals of aesthetics becomes a part of the socio-spatial production of these spaces where certain behaviours and ways of using these spaces become more normative than others. Noises and nuisances disturbing the peace which is a part of the exclusive lifestyle in Victoria Park thus become out of place and are not welcomed by all inhabitants. The community in Victoria Park is also interpreted by CEO Stefan Andersson as reliant on a certain distance and seclusion from the city; if it had been located in the middle of the city, the idea of community might decrease as anonymity increases. If everyone could access and enjoy the community, the

tranquillity and aesthetically appealing spaces of Victoria Park, the whole idea of exclusivity, which is at the core of the area's marketing, would be lost.

The housing company, as well as the residents, highlight the importance of community in Victoria Park, and that the social environment offers something more genuine than what can be found in the otherwise anonymous life of the contemporary city. This notion relates to Bauman's (2001: 3, 47-48, 60) elaboration about how today's society of deregulations, deinstitutionalisations and globalisation implies a lack of more long-lasting and reliable social settings. The contemporary "liquid" society entails, according to Bauman, uncertainty regarding the future as the social environment and its rules continuously change. This state makes people feel a loss of community; a concept which is attached to a nostalgic discourse as "a warm place, a cosy and comfortable place. It is like a roof under which we shelter in heavy rain." (Bauman, 2001: 1). Community is ideally a place where the members are safe from the dangers lurking outside and it is based on mutual understanding, trust and good will. Those who have the ability thus try to buy themselves community where they live, but in the individualised society community receives a different notion; it is the community of the welfare state which ideally counteracted extreme injustice and where individual misfortune was supposed to be insured by the collective (Bauman, 2001: 86, 111-115).

In an early analysis of Victoria Park published in the newspaper *Göteborgsposten* in 2009, Thörn (2009) notes how the area is represented as "an inverted reflection" of the dream of Folkhemmet on behalf of the people born in the 1940s. This is an interesting observation, as Victoria Park clearly is the result of the political context of the entrepreneurial city of Malmö, where processes of neoliberalisation blend with aspects of social democracy and ideas about welfare. The community which is described by the participants as a "family" or a "small society", is supposed to be a place where everybody is included (even though there are also tensions within the social environment) and where the members share something together as well as support each other when, for instance, falling ill. At the same time, this community is, however, *chosen* and *bought* as a part of an exclusive lifestyle. It is a community of care-free relaxation where a certain social distance is emphasised rather than being the kind of community which Folkhemmet ideologically intended to represent.

The importance of community and the areas' social environments will be further investigated in the next chapter, as they also hold specific relevance for the perceptions and practises of security.

7 Reproducing neighbourhood security

In chapter 5, it was acknowledged that security was a contributing factor to why the participants chose to live in the western part of the city, as these areas were perceived of as socially and economically more stable and calm. While the recent shootings in public space caused feelings of unpleasantness for some, the majority explained that these events did not affect them to any appreciable extent as they were perceived to happen “somewhere else”. The spatial representation of Million Programme areas in particular as “bad neighbourhoods” with social problems had an impact on the participants who depicted these areas as potentially unsafe. It was noted that first-hand experiences of an urban space were important to perceptions of security and danger, as frequently visited places were perceived as safer.

Security is an interesting aspect to investigate further because of the previously mentioned discussion in the media depicting Malmö as an unsafe city and because of the findings presented in chapter 5 regarding neighbourhood choice. Additionally, security was especially highlighted in Victoria Park as an important aspect of the lifestyle offered in the neighbourhood which this chapter will elaborate upon further. The current chapter aims to continue the analysis of security by applying the same micro-geographical ethnographic framework used in chapter 6; more specifically, it focuses on how security is perceived and practiced in the familiar spaces of the neighbourhoods.

It is argued in this chapter that security is an inherently complex and comprehensive concept and that feelings of security include more aspects than merely feeling safe from crime. The security concept is additionally proven to hold both positive and negative values, where measures used to achieve “absolute security” are sometimes associated with notions of exclusion, segregation and superiority while “social security” is more often related to the health and well-being of the residents. The argument from chapter 6 regarding the dialectic relationship between exclusivity and exclusion is developed

further by discussing how the desire for security and privacy together with class become a part of the socio-spatial production of Victoria Park and Bellevue. In Victoria Park in particular, a certain level of exclusion is necessary in order to achieve calmness, privacy and feelings of security.

An introductory note on security, *trygghet*, *säkerhet* and security practices

As noted previously, the participants of the study generally perceived their own residential area as safe; both in terms of their own emotions (low levels of fear) and their perception that risks or dangers were absent from the neighbourhood. When talking about “*trygghet*”, the participants in both areas referred to an emotion, something one experiences, while “*säkerhet*” (in this thesis translated to security practices, see chapter 2) was more commonly mentioned when referring to those kinds of actions or routines that prevent unwanted events or behaviours or prevent access to a space, such as different kinds of demarcations, boundaries and access control. Such implementations in space were sometimes perceived as “objective” measures, but *säkerhet* was also used by the interviewees in a few cases to describe a feeling that arises due to the security practices which are keeping away those things that cause concern. The concept of *säkerhet*, in this sense, aims at achieving absolute security, meaning that threats are neutralised and avoided which in the end provides a feeling of security (see however Zedner, 2003). When talking about *säkerhet* as “objective”, however, it is important to bear in mind that this is a simplification, as the physical world is always interpreted in different ways and implementations of security measures are always intended to have some kind of effect. Discourses and assertions of what might pose a problem or threaten security could thus be the reason why a certain action is taken. When the practices are in place they in turn may be perceived in different ways; while a gate to some people means stop and surveillance cameras signify that they are being watched, others might interpret these security measures as an indication that they are guarding valuable and perhaps desirable objects. For this reason, security practices are in this study interpreted as “unobjective” as ideas are linked to actions and materialisations which play a part in the socio-spatial production of space.

When the residents spoke about security in relation to their own residential areas, the word *trygghet* was usually close at hand for the

residents to use. However, this concept proved to be vague and simultaneously self-explanatory, as the participants very seldom elaborated upon what they meant by it on their own accord and it was sometimes difficult for them to convey the feeling in words. Security was at times described as the absence of an unpleasant feeling or event and was connected to feelings of well-being. When asked to elaborate upon how she perceives the feeling of security in her everyday life, Maria hesitates briefly and then says:

Well, it's mainly the absence of fear, kind of, or something. That you feel that it's calm somehow (Maria, Victoria Park).

In the two previous chapters, the nice, calm and exclusive environments of Bellevue and Victoria Park located separately from the noise and stress of the city centre with good neighbours were noted among the residents and, as the quote by Maria shows, the perception of calmness is sometimes closely connected to the residents' feelings of security. That an area is calm in this sense implies that it is less likely for something unexpected or negative to happen which would give a reason to be afraid or concerned.

In this chapter, the measures taken to enhance security, which can be both social and physical, are investigated and analysed as materialisations and practices of security and privacy discourses. It is however important to mention that this study is not seeking to completely reveal all security practices taking place in Victoria Park and Bellevue. As security practices in the framework of this thesis is interpreted as actions or materialisations in space which are connected to discourses of security, fear or risk, they could comprise many kinds of practices: from, for instance, installing a security camera to an individual looking over her shoulder when walking down a street in the evening. Instead of investigating individual strategies connected to isolated incidents of worry or fear, the focus of this study is to understand those practices which are more long-term and are tied to the dwelling and the neighbourhood. These are the security practices that the interviewees have mentioned or that I have noted during my participant observations in Bellevue and Victoria Park.

While the perception of high security levels turned out to hold certain importance in both residential areas, the security concept was used more frequently in Victoria Park when describing the everyday life of the residents. The chapter will thus start by analysing what role the concept of security plays in the production of Sweden's first "lifestyle housing", before moving on to Bellevue.

Victoria Park: Community and the defence of semi-private space

...it is a great security. Recognising people. Not having to start over. To be able to continue a conversation where you once left off. I mean to be, yeah, to be close to each other and that people care about you, they know that you are significant and they'll miss you when you're not there one day, so... Yeah, for older people then. [...] I don't think it would happen easily that people would, like, lie here for three months and die from dehydration because they broke the neck of their femur so they can't move. I don't think that'd happen. Because you're within a whole, you're a part of society. In that, I think they find a great security (Interview S. Andersson).

The quote above from the CEO of Victoria Park exemplifies the most common way of talking about security among representatives and residents. The ideal of the community, which was elaborated upon in the previous chapter, as a place where the residents in Victoria Park can find a unique social context in which they are close to each other, recognise each other and support each other, is a part of the lifestyle planned, constructed and marketed by the founders. This preconceived idea of community has in turn later been carried out by the residents themselves as soon as the area became populated. Social routines, like having coffee twice a day at the “Wailing Wall”, clubs for certain hobbies and events and parties are planned by those residents who take part in the community. Security, in this context, is understood as not being lonely and that the neighbours look out for each other and help each other out. The following excerpt from the interview with Margareta provides another example of how security was mentioned in this context:

Ann: This social community, what do you think it means for the many of you who are social?

Margareta: I think it means a lot. I absolutely think it means a lot, and even among those who are not as social I think the older residents feel safe. They probably still talk to their neighbours. And... then there are some younger residents who have their acquaintances, they don't have that need. You see, over there are two older ladies, they are almost always here. And I think it is really nice that they get out of their apartments and join in and even if they are not always doing well they still join in. So that, I think that is really nice. [...]

Ann: You said that the social environment can imply security. What do you mean when you say security?

Margareta: Yeah, it can provide security in that you don't feel lonely, that you feel bad and perhaps don't have... there are those who don't have their immediate families, or have them far away. Perhaps you need help buying something, or with other things that you may not comprehend and... so I think it's a security that you care about people. If someone's sick we are very anxious to [ask]: "Have you heard how that person is doing?". Even if you don't know the person well, right, there's always someone who can walk past and knock on the door: "How are you, do you need any help?" (Margareta, Victoria Park)

Karl also notes how the social setting makes him and some of his neighbours feel safer in Victoria Park:

And then there's the feeling of security. [...] I think it depends a bit on... I have such good relations here, I can talk about this and that and "Tonight this and that happened and I heard some strange noise coming from outside, I wonder what that could be?" There are social relations and, perhaps, an anchored security here (Karl, Victoria Park).

Similarly, Kristina, in a continuation of her argument from chapter 5 about how she would not feel safe in an area with social problems where she would feel like she is part of an ethnic minority, stresses the importance of her neighbours in Victoria Park and describes her feeling of security in the following way:

It is very large. And, it was sort of what I meant [by saying] that I wouldn't feel safe if I don't feel... have knowledge about how my neighbours work. And here I do. Here I feel great security. Because there are... the same people coming and going all the time and... my circle of contacts is very large here amongst the neighbours. And I know that I can ask a whole bunch of people about different things that I... I ask for advice, and that is also security (Kristina, Victoria Park).

The quotes by Margareta, Kristina and Karl describe how security in this sense means being able to help and ask for advice as well as consult each other on both individual issues as well as things that affect them as a group. Similarly, Lena mentions this particular aspect, and how the feeling of security originating from the community is unique to Victoria Park and is not likely to be found in any "ordinary apartment". Like the others, she perceives security as having someone to talk to in her everyday life, someone she feels comfortable with and that she can both help and be helped by. This help could be offered in a number of different contexts, when one

has fallen ill, for example, or when one needs to borrow an ingredient for cooking.

It was quite common for the participants to note that the security of the social environment is an extra comfort for those residents who are older, but this perspective is not exclusive to that category as most residents found the idea of community in Victoria Park important to their feelings of security. The strong social community was mentioned by some as also affecting their feelings of security outside Victoria Park, as new contacts among neighbours have led the residents to sometimes venture out into the city together during the evenings and then accompany each other home. Annika, for instance, explains how this means that the occasional older resident who would not dare to go out alone is now able to enjoy the city at night time, and that this contradicts the public discourse suggesting that the residents live in isolation. Instead, Victoria Park can be used as a social platform to increase participation in city life, according to Annika.

Connected to knowing the neighbours and having a social community on the inside of the area's boundaries are the in-house services, the reception and the control of access to the communal spaces. Most of the interviewees moved from detached houses into Victoria Park, and a couple of them talked about how the physical proximity to the neighbours and living in an apartment which is harder to access from the public street was something that made them feel safer than they had in their previous dwellings. Lena, for instance, explains that being able to drive the car straight down into the underground garage and then take the elevator to the door of her flat, without having to walk outside when it is dark has made her feel safe. Inger also stresses the importance of knowing the neighbours as well as the controlled access into the building:

Yes, it feels very safe here, you know. I know *many* times when I've "Oh my God, I haven't locked the door! Anyone could come in." [Actually] they can't because you can't get in here unless you have some business here. No. And that feels safe, and you know everyone who lives in the house and... you know, when you're just going down with the rubbish, then I have to think "Do I actually have time to meet someone now?" because you always meet someone, and then you stop and talk and it can take very long [...] And because you know everyone it's very safe. You know who they are (Inger, Victoria Park).

To live in a community, which means having certain knowledge of the neighbours, and to know that the people you meet inside the

area are legitimate and have somehow been granted access, is facilitated by the boundaries surrounding the communal spaces. The community and the relatively low degree of anonymity are thus partially aided by the exclusivity of Victoria Park.

Strangers, privacy and security

When marketing and selling the area and the flats, the real-estate company promoted Victoria Park as an area with exclusive services which were supposed to be for the residents only; the restaurant and the spa which today is accessible by paying visitors was not initially intended to be open to the public but to the inhabitants who own them through the tenant ownership cooperative. As the production of the area slowed down due to the financial crisis of 2008, external guests had to be attracted however in order to make the services less expensive for the inhabitants. The selling argument that these services were exclusively meant for the residents, and that for instance the spa despite being open to the public was still referred to as the residents' bathroom, seemed to have been important to how the interviewees defined the spaces inside Victoria Park. When interviewed, the CEO of Victoria Park explained how he believes that the shared spaces make the residents experience a feeling of security connected to territoriality as they are in majority there. In the words of the CEO, the spaces in Victoria Park are almost like public spaces as they are shared among the residents. The lounge and the park, however, are more like "free zones", as they are more isolated and controlled than the restaurant and the spa where there are also external guests.

As noted in chapter 2, it is problematic to define space as either public or private, and it is obvious that the shared spaces in Victoria Park need to be conceived as lying in-between private and public. The restaurant and the spa, which are accessed by paying customers, could thus be defined as *semi-public* while the lounge, the park and the corridors leading to and from the private dwellings in turn could be interpreted as *semi-private* (see Olsson, 1998: 6). The lounge is an ambiguous space, as it is described as holding qualities of "publicness", almost like a public square, simultaneously as it is described as the residents' private living room. The lounge thus falls in-between the binaries of public space and private space. This idea of the lounge as the "extended living room", or the spa as the "extended bathroom", which implies that the residents' private spheres should be elongated into communal space, brings Oscar Newman's

(1972: 2-3, 9) framework of defensible space to mind. According to Newman, who directs strong critique towards social order in high-rise housing projects such as Pruitt-Igoe in the United States, increasing the residents' notions of territoriality and community in the neighbourhood can deter crime and unwanted behaviours. By dividing spaces into a hierarchy of defensible spaces (public, semi-public, semi-private and private spaces) and making it clear that these spaces are controlled, the residents will feel more confident and become encouraged to question the comings and goings of others. Newman writes:

Any intruder will be made to anticipate that his presence will be under question and open to challenge; so much so that a criminal can be deterred from even contemplating entry (Newman, 1972: 3).

Newman's framework fits well into neoliberal approaches of implementing "responsibilisation strategies" in crime prevention (see Garland, 2001) and it emphasises the benefits of increasing privatisation of public space. This framework, despite being criticised for advocating architectural determinism and for perceiving strangers as threats, has however still had a great influence on crime prevention strategies (Listerborn, 2002: 79, 106-108, 123).

Most of the residents did not really mind that external guests are now allowed access to the semi-public spaces which were initially exclusive to the residents, and some even mentioned that they enjoyed this conceptual change. A couple of the participants, however, did express strong feelings of territoriality regarding these spaces. Leif, for instance, is critical towards how the restaurant and the spa have become occasionally overcrowded, which was not what the real-estate company had promised the residents. When talking about how the restaurant seemed to be quite popular amongst the public, Leif says:

Yes yes yes, but it's not supposed to be like that. The intention is that it is... it should serve us, right. And it's the same, we have externals who come into our spa. [...] But when we moved here, I mean signed [the contract], then they said that "There will absolutely not be any external guests entering your facility" (Leif, Victoria Park).

The crowdedness of the spa, and also that some of the visitors disturbed the peaceful atmosphere, was mentioned by those who were a bit more sceptical towards having external guests in the spa. But other reasons noted were the importance of ownership and that the

visitors really pay their way when they use the restaurant and the spa. Margareta, for instance, stresses the idea of ownership and that certain boundaries need to be in place to separate the lounge, the park and the residential corridors from the external guests:

Sometimes I can feel that people are very curious, like standing there looking and pulling the door and, sometimes they've come to the inside and been standing and looking in through the windows, right. And we have, I mean it is very important that we get to have this to ourselves, right. Many people want to sit here in peace and read their magazine and don't want a lot of people running around who you don't know and who don't belong here. So this becomes ours, in here (Margareta, Victoria Park).

She continues:

We *live* here, this is our home. So it's important that it is our living room so to say. We don't go down here to see, you know, people who walk through while curiously looking at us. I mean, this is ours somehow [...]. They [the real-estate company] have pointed it out so many times when we bought this, right, so it has kind of become true to us that this is ours. And this is where we have our parties, we decide for ourselves basically. We drink our wines to subsidized prices, we can order in a bite here and eat if we don't feel like going in to eat a larger [meal]... so I think it's important to many people. Many are very aware of who walks here, for a while they had big groups visiting, that wasn't that nice either. There we were, drinking coffee and everybody, like 25 people, walked through and looked the whole time when they were walking, right. And us trying to behave as if nothing had happened, you can't. So no, I believe many think that... I think it's important that it's ours. And that not just anyone is let in (Margareta, Victoria Park).

While those who frowned upon public access in the spa and the restaurant were in the minority, there were many who stressed the importance of spatial separation of public visitors from the lounge and the park which only residents and their invited guests are supposed to use. The reasons mentioned why this was important were *security* and *privacy*. In the latter case, privacy was desirable as the communal facilities of Victoria Park were often considered as part of the residents' homes and private spaces. Non-residents who do not have legitimate reasons for being in these spaces are often seen as trespassers who violate the privacy of the residents. Anders, for instance, who is generally very optimistic about having external guests visiting the spa and the restaurant, stresses how Victoria Park should be an area open for the public but also a space offering a

calm atmosphere and a certain degree of separation from the public realm:

[I am] very open socially and I naturally think that it should be extremely open here. *But...* I want the lounge to be closed. The lounge should be my oasis. The volume is lower there, there is no running about, that's where we have... I kind of know what to expect there (Anders, Victoria Park).

The lounge thus becomes a space of withdrawal where he does not have to meet anybody new and where there are not so many unexpected things happening. I ask why he finds this separation important, and he says:

Integrity. Among other things. This is my private [space]. It's my living room, well but hello? Do you let anyone into your living room? No (Anders, Victoria Park).

Security was however also mentioned as a reason why unauthorised people were unwanted in spaces defined as exclusive to the residents, even though the notions expressed here were not unanimous amongst the participants. While some mentioned that they do not connect the lifestyle of Victoria Park to security, there are however those who do and some of them talked about how important it is to recognise the neighbours and know that non-residents cannot easily access their premises. Inger, for instance, believes that a notion of the area as offering a certain level of security might have attracted some residents to move there, and especially single women who feel safer in Victoria Park than they did before. She says that in Victoria Park, you do not have to worry about the people around you or be afraid of a stranger who might come up to you to steal something:

So... here it was kind of... it was supposed to be safe and it is safe. And here you can walk around without being worried. A lot of women, lonely women, especially the older ones, they don't dare to go downtown. They don't dare to keep their purse with them, nothing. And for a while everybody took off their golden necklaces because, they were snatched, gangs snatched them off.

So I think everybody feels, this home that we have here, it's so safe. And here you kind of dare... yeah, to be without being afraid. "Who's that walking past?", you don't have to wonder too much (Inger, Victoria Park).

Similarly, Karl explains how he thinks there are fewer dangers in Victoria Park as they are less likely to be exposed to pyromaniacs, robbers and people posing as home-help services. Annika also mentions how she has read about how someone in another neighbourhood had been fooling older people by knocking on doors and misleading them to give away money. This, she says, would never happen in Victoria Park because of the control in the area and the lack of anonymity; especially in the Victoria House where the residents usually know who lives in the building and who does not.

The connection between the presence of strangers and theft was made by several residents. Leif, for instance, reacts when I ask whether people walk into the lounge sometimes without living in the area or being invited:

No, here you... absolutely *no one* can come in here. No, not a single person who does not live here can come in here. Except my son and my friends and the friends of my neighbours. You see what this place looks like. I mean, you know, if someone would come in here that does not live here, for how long do you think that vase would still stand there? These bottles of wine and the liquor bottles standing on the shelf, for how long do you think they would be standing there? Huh? These pillows? It would probably just take a week and then nothing would be left here. So... that wouldn't work (Leif, Victoria Park).

While it was occasionally noted that not all external guests pose a threat to the residents and their possessions, several participants mentioned how they were concerned that strangers may commit burglaries, theft, vandalism or general deterioration of the surroundings. A couple of the residents mentioned how they have seen or heard about people managing to enter their facilities in order to look for valuable items to steal. The upkeep among the inhabitants of the nice and aesthetically appealing environment was described in the previous chapter, and the participants noted that if anything is worn down or broken the residents will have to pay the price to get it fixed again. Maria comments on this and how the physical boundaries prevent the public from destroying the well taken care of physical environment as well as from committing crime, drinking booze or doing drugs in the area. These boundaries are also a way to keep the children in the area safe from people no one has a relationship to:

Ann: So in what way would you say that it is important to make sure that this is only for those who live here?

Maria: Well, it's probably because you should take care of it, I think. Yeah. That it should be nice and well-kept and that you should be able to feel safe and secure too, I think, with the kids and then I think of those who are older, they of course think about it. That it should be, kind of, safe, that we are the ones living here and that there aren't a lot of other people coming here that no one knows, so to speak. That those who come here from the outside have been brought in by someone else and then you trust that, that it's OK. Mm, so it's probably the factor of security (Maria, Victoria Park).

In the discourses of the residents, then, the semi-private spaces of Victoria Park are more controlled which implies that unwanted and disturbing behaviours of the public are avoided, while the security and privacy of the residents increase. In that sense, the control of the community comes close to the kind of territoriality that Newman (1972) promotes.

Security has so far been discussed from the perspectives of community and the spatial production of exclusivity. In Victoria Park, security is, like the concept of class, a sensitive issue however, which becomes clear when analysing the discourse of gated communities and how the residents perceive this public discussion about their neighbourhood. Investigating this discourse among the representatives of the real-estate company and the residents additionally provides a further insight into how they strive to brand Victoria Park by defining what they perceive it is *not*.

“Social security” rather than gated community

While security was often used in Victoria Park to describe the lifestyle in the residential area and the usage of space, fear was a concept that was seldom mentioned and it was not common for the residents in the areas to use it to describe their feelings about security threats. As already noted in chapter 5, most inhabitants seemed to portray themselves as rather unafraid.

Something that separates Victoria Park from Bellevue is how the concepts of security and fear were more clearly expressed as something the residents in the former neighbourhood wanted to distance themselves from. The image of Victoria Park in the media and public discourse as a ‘gated community’ had affected many of the residents who wanted to dissociate themselves and their neighbours from an image of themselves as fearful. This resulted in discourses regarding fear and security being portrayed in a slightly different way in Victoria Park than in Bellevue, as the residents in Victoria

Park more often related these concepts to issues of class, segregation and exclusion.

At the same time, the idea of providing the residents with housing that supplied a high degree of security was developed by the founders already before the residents moved in. However, the founders made a separation between what they perceive represents security in gated communities, such as walls, gates and guards, and the “social security” which they stress is uniquely on offer in Victoria Park. Marcus Jönsson, for instance, says:

It's wrong, in the beginning we were incorrectly called a gated community, when you shut people out. But what we have wanted from the start is for people to meet, so it became almost comical (Interview M. Jönsson, Victoria Park).

In the interpretation of the founders, social security is provided by the social community through which the residents can help each other out which is similar to the idea conceptualised by CEO Stefan Andersson, who compared Victoria Park to a village society offering security in an otherwise anonymous city. This is the aspect of security which is marketed by the representatives of Victoria Park as a part of the lifestyle in the area, and it is a definition of security which displays similarities to the kind traditionally promoted by the welfare state in its provision of shelter, health and well-being (Bauman, 2001; Svenonius, 2011: 190).

The gated community “stigma”

The media's portrayals of Victoria Park as a segregated space, populated by the rich and the old and of being “Sweden's first gated community” were almost unanimously rejected by the representatives of the real-estate company and the residents. Even though it was generally believed that the image of Victoria Park has slowly improved, the topic of gated communities was sensitive to the participants.

That fear has been described as a reason for moving to gated communities (see for instance Low, 2003) was something that the residents noted, and several of them mentioned how they have been perceived in public discourse as particularly fearful. Many, and especially the male participants, were opposed to the belief that fear was a key reason for moving to Victoria Park. Anders, for instance, says in opposition to how some of his neighbours perceive security in the area that his wish for a calm environment is not at all con-

nected to a desire for increased security but rather a desire for privacy:

So, nothing here, nothing in this concept is related to security for me. None what so ever. But rather it is seclusion, tranquillity, I want my park. Not in order to go out and be safe but because I want it quiet and calm. I don't want people to play football here or whatever it is, but... hit a couple of golf balls, a bit... barbeque a bit over there, so... Again, nothing to do with security (Anders, Victoria Park).

Some residents became clearly annoyed when talking about the perception of Victoria Park as a gated community and the image of the inhabitants as afraid. Leif, for instance, says that people seem to think that they are all fearful recluses who have shielded themselves off from the rest of the world. Instead, he offers a counter-discourse of the residents as more outgoing, daring and experienced, and that the social environment in the area has made the residents go on travels and excursions together. He says irritably:

You know, this thing about gated community, forget that! You know, we've got people here, a lady here who... she was 62-63 years old and went interrailing on, what's it called, the Orient Express. And down to China and from... flew from here up to Moscow and then flew down to Australia and went around Australia for a couple of months and then home. Fearful people don't do that. Right? (Leif, Victoria Park)

Most of the participants of the study had an image of gated communities as something non-desirable and as a phenomenon clearly attached to a negative discourse that neither the residents, the representatives of Victoria Park nor the municipality wanted to be associated with. Characteristics such as segregation, wealth and homogeneity as well as fearful inhabitants secluding themselves from society were presented as ways of understanding what a gated community signifies. Again, this image comes into conflict with notions of the residents' class positions, and the gated community concept collides with the ideals influencing the Swedish housing history of the 20th century. The ideological principle of non-exclusion is for instance something the idea of a Swedish gated community challenges, as living in the latter would imply that the residents are more distinguished and much richer than other inhabitants of Malmö, and that they need to use more extensive security practices in order to protect their valuables.

Similar to the representatives of the real-estate company, the residents held an image of gated communities as areas with guards as well as high gates, walls and fences which are much more impenetrable than those in place at Victoria Park. Gated communities were perceived as more shut off from the rest of society and with much more rigid security measures making it impossible to enter for those who are not authorized. Inger stresses the importance of these kinds of security measures when she says:

Yeah, it's not gated here in that way, this place is a bit special. But there are gated communities, yeah, in the US above all but we've also seen in Spain that you *can't* access, there are high gates and alarms and stuff and those fences with spears you know, you have no... [you] can't come in. And *that* looks a bit unpleasant to me but at the same time I understand if people want to feel safe. Because there are so many things happening (Inger, Victoria Park).

When Inger claims that it is not “gated here in that way”, she uses the English word “gated” when describing the access control to the area rather than using a corresponding word in Swedish (such as “inhägnat”). Additionally, when the participants in general mention the concept “gated community” they use this particular English word, which is also the case for the media when they have reported on Victoria Park. This is a sign that the phenomenon is perceived as foreign in the Swedish context, even though there is also a frequently mentioned shared understanding that the existence of gated communities in other contexts is not a strange development. Several of the interviewees had encountered such housing developments when travelling, and the security measures in these areas were depicted as necessary in these contexts in order for the inhabitants to protect themselves from burglars. But the security practices in Victoria Park were not deemed to measure up to these international residential areas, as the fences and gates could be climbed and it is possible to sneak in through the entry doors if someone is careless. Victoria Park was for instance described as lying somewhere in-between having the more rigid and closed kind of security that the participants associate with gated communities and the kind of area that have unlocked doors where anybody can enter: the spaces are locked but it is not impossible to get in. A more common way to describe Victoria Park was to highlight the normalcy of the tenure form which often implies that certain spaces are shared among the inhabitants. Though conspicuous due to its larger-than-average supply of communal spaces, the security measures and the boundaries in place around Victoria Park were portrayed as similar to those of

other tenant ownership cooperatives and owner-occupied detached houses. The camera equipped entry phones placed at the entrances of the reception and the residential houses were for instance in the interviews compared to peep-holes often located on apartment doors in other areas. Also, the fact that the buildings are not located completely inside fences and gates implies that the roads are not privatised and that there is freedom of movement along the front of the property. Furthermore, the fact that the public is allowed in certain spaces was also mentioned by the residents as proof that Victoria Park is not a gated community. In this quote, Kristina talks about how she and her neighbours reacted to the media's description of the area:

And that didn't feel good, because it... we didn't think what the newspaper said was true. That this is a segregated housing development and that it's... [a] gated community. It's a completely ordinary tenant ownership cooperative to us. And it is normal to have an entry code; we had one where I lived before as well. It's normal not to let anyone, and the public, into one's garden (Kristina, Victoria Park).

The supply of services was also mentioned as something separating Victoria Park from gated communities; the latter according to some had everything to do with security but nothing to do with services. A quote from Marcus Jönsson exemplifies this:

I mean in the US, there are gated communities which don't have any services or activities, they are just housing and you immerse yourself with high boom barriers and [a] sentry. That is a gated community. And then the other is something completely different. I mean there are endless amounts of dwellings... yeah, in the whole world, where you have... a gym or a communal space or whatever it may be which is not gated at all in any way. So they are two different things, but you mix them up out of pure ignorance according to me (Interview M. Jönsson).

Previous research on the phenomenon of gated communities has however suggested that gated communities do not necessarily have to imply rigid security measures and impenetrable boundaries. Rather, these areas are permeable to different degrees which vary according to context, and there seems to be a continuum of gating implying that some boundaries and measures may be very impressive while others provide mere symbolic security. No matter how the boundaries are enforced, they are all however imposed as tools

to discourage permeability (Schneider and Kitchen, 2007: 53-54; Atkinson and Blandy, 2005: 177-178).

Additionally, even though the representatives of Victoria Park emphasised the importance of “social security” rather than absolute security, it is clear that the inspiration for the area was originally taken from gated communities in the United States. During the interview, Marcus and Christer Jönsson also mentioned that they initially were thinking about imposing more security measures than they ended up doing. The decision to impose higher levels of security was revised because of the media’s negative reactions to the American style concept and because of internal disagreements between the founders; one of them was more critical of the concept of gated communities and more rigid security practices than the other. Christer Jönsson mentions that he generally thinks that gated communities do have certain positive aspects, which he believes the residents agree with. According to Christer Jönsson, as a resident you want to feel safe and secure and hence do not want “every Tom, Dick and Harry” to access the premises and the places where you keep your possessions. Marcus Jönsson, on the other hand, stresses that while he agrees that a certain number of security measures must be taken to protect the dwelling from burglary because of “how society unfortunately is today”, he did not want to take preposterous measures. Over time, the gated community concept has almost become taboo in Victoria Park. In one of the focus groups, a resident explained how she, before giving an interview about the neighbourhood, was given instructions from Victoria Park AB not to mention the concept gated community as “that did not exist here, it was not supposed to be here”.

This chapter has mainly elaborated upon the participants’ representations of gated communities and their statements regarding how the area has been misinterpreted by the public. The concept of gated communities is, however, linked to the four core concepts of the thesis (self-segregation, class, security and neoliberalisation). In the next chapter, which constitutes the conclusions of the thesis where these concepts are jointly discussed in light of the Swedish housing market, the analysis of gated communities will be continued.

Emotional reactions and security practices

Despite the reported levels of safety in their neighbourhood the participants repeatedly mentioned a couple incidents that diverged from the general trend. While none of the participants of this study

had been exposed, burglaries and attempted burglaries were said to have occurred in the area. This was experienced as more of a problem a few years ago when the residents had only lived there for a short time as the area was still a construction site and it was easier to get into the park from the outside. Apart from housebreakings, burglaries and vandalism aimed at the underground garage and the cars parked there, two specific events were mentioned: one evening the reception was robbed and on another occasion the cash register at the spa was stolen. These events upset the residents and caused discussions among those who take an active part in the social environment of the area.

Interestingly, the inhabitants generally did not say that they reacted to these events with fear but with anger and annoyance. The residents often stated that they were angry about the robbery in the reception, the stolen cash register in the spa and the burglaries, even though they believed that particularly the older inhabitants in the area might have become more worried. Margareta, for instance, expresses annoyance about these occurrences:

Yeah, we thought it was damned rotten, I mean, in a place like this where there are cameras and there is surveillance, there is staff here [during] the night, I mean around the clock, these things should not happen (Margareta, Victoria Park).

Anders also claims that the robbery did not make him feel afraid, as he generally does not see himself as a target of assault since he is middle aged and describes himself as having a high level of confidence:

No, I mainly get pissed off that I didn't happen to pass by [when it happened]. Then I could have hit them in the head. Because I don't accept that. Rob a bank but don't rob people. Don't expose people to violence (Anders, Victoria Park).

While this study focuses more on class as a social category and less on gender, the empirical material from Victoria Park indicates that male and female participants' statements regarding fear and insecurity differ slightly. It was more common among the female residents to talk about "trygghet" when discussing the social environment and everyday life in the neighbourhood, while the male participants more distinctly portrayed themselves as being unafraid. It was also slightly more common among the men to express anger or annoyance when talking about the disturbances in the area. Previous research has indicated that feelings of fear seem to be unevenly dis-

tributed among the population, and that certain groups experience more fear than others. Women, the elderly and minority groups, for instance, are reported to be more common targets of certain kinds of crimes such as sexual offences, racism and hate crimes, and they are also negatively affected by power structures and feelings of vulnerability (Heber, 2007: 70).⁸ Research on men's fear has however found that men are often more reluctant to express feelings suggesting vulnerability due to hegemonic masculinities. The social construction of the stereotypical man takes shape in different ways in different contexts and time periods, but could for instance be attached to characteristics usually ascribed to the Western, white, middle-class 30-plus man (Goodey, 1997: 411; Burcar, 2005: 19-20). Activity, strength and an ability to take action are qualities often ascribed to a stereotypical man which are not compatible with victimhood, a loss of control, passivity and suffering (Burcar, 2005: 19-20). Men have a tendency to answer to questions on fear in a socially desirable way, according to Robbie Sutton and Stephen Farrall (2005: 212-213), implying that they are generally less willing to report their fear levels than women.

The trespassing of curious people visiting the area together with the burglaries, the theft, the vandalism and the robbery did not only cause different levels of indignation among the participants; these events have additionally resulted in action, and specifically to new practices aimed at increasing security. The social environment and the communal spaces which encourage communication among the residents are important in this regard, as this is where information is spread about what has happened, and it is also where practices are developed and carried out. The following excerpt from the interview with Karl exemplifies how the robbery towards the reception affected the residents:

Karl: Yes, there was a stir and there probably was some talking over at the coffee table and that. Oh yes, a lot.

Ann: What did people say then, when it happened?

Karl: Well... It's obvious that they, that there was a lot of talk. "That's horrible" and "What should we do to protect ourselves?" and so forth.

Ann: Were there any ideas concerning improvements that should be done?

⁸ For further research on gender and fear of crime, see for instance Listerborn (2002), Koskela (1996; 1997; 1999), Koskela and Pain (2000), Pain (2001) and Sandberg (2011).

Karl: That's what happened, improvements in security and these key cards became more personal and... the glasses were toned so that it is not as easy to look into the reception and then one's careful of who to let in during night time, etc etc. You increase control (Karl, Victoria Park).

This quote demonstrates how practices taken to increase security tend to change over time and are connected to spatial relations, events and discourses. Several of the residents spoke specifically of the robbery, and how this single event has led to the implementation of several security practices in the residential area. Routines of locking certain doors have been officially implemented and access to the premises is more tightly controlled, for instance.

As Karl mentions in the quote, the *key cards* were also altered due to this event, and these cards together with the reception plays an important role in controlling and preventing unauthorised access into the facilities. Temporary cards can be given out to those people visiting who are employed by external service providers and can be designed to fit every specific purpose; some can be valid for only certain hours of the day and others only open specific doors. To be in possession of a key card signifies who belongs and who does not, something I was made aware of when performing fieldwork in the area. During two of these visits I was entrusted with a visitor's key card and suddenly could move like a resident through the spaces of the area.

The social community in itself can in a sense also be seen as a security practice, as the idea of "social security" where the neighbours can support, help and take care of each other is seen as providing the residents with increased feelings of security. The community and the "free zones", or semi-private spaces, where the residents have the possibility to recognise each other and know that those who use the spaces have somehow been approved for having legitimate business in the area, decreases anonymity and reduces worries regarding not only criminal actions but also the deterioration of the exclusive environment. In order to maintain this, and to protect the residents' privacy and security, social, physical and symbolic boundaries have been put in place.

Despite being a source of conflicting emotions among the residents, the *physical boundaries* of the area fulfil the desirable function of preventing certain unwanted behaviours and events. As previously noted, the discourse of the building as closed rather than open has been a topic of discussion since the 1970s, and even though the founders of Victoria Park maintain that they removed some of the

locked doors when they took over the building, several of the security systems are still present today. The *fortified façade* of the main building towards the public street, the main entrance which is controlled by the reception and the many locked doors and passages inside the area are thus materialisations of security discourses present already 40 years ago.



Images 15 and 16: Gates and fences running in-between residential houses and encircling the communal park.

When the old headquarters were about to be transformed into a residential area other artefacts were installed by the real-estate company; *gates* and *fences* were erected between the residential houses standing to the sides of the main building and encircling the park and *cameras connected to the entryphones* at the doors to the residential houses and the lounge were installed. These cameras were however appealed against to the administrative court and could not be put into use until they were eventually approved.

The *reception* and the *staff* are other practisers of security in Victoria Park, both in terms of the kind of “social security” that the community strives to achieve as well as controlling access. The reception and staff exist to aid and support the residents and act as a hub through which information flows about what goes on in the area; they can help the residents with many of their questions and they acknowledge them every day. The convenience of having a reception that offers services of different kinds was sometimes mentioned in the context of security, as the residents for instance can book external services such as a handyman or cleaning services without having to compare different companies or prices. This means that the residents can feel reassured that they will get a good price and that the people who enter their homes have been approved by Victoria Park first. The access control practiced by the reception implies that a visitor who wants to enter the lounge has to ring the doorbell outside the main entrance while being filmed by a security camera before the doors are opened by the staff. The receptionist explains that the social control is a service that they provide on request from the residents:

Yeah, well it was partially one of the promises they got when they bought [an apartment] here. That it is the residents who are supposed to be in here and no one else. In the beginning, well, when everything was new and no one really knew their roles, someone came in here [to the lounge] and wanted to go to the restaurant, for instance, then we said “OK, we’ll let you through”, and that. But... we don’t do that anymore because we’ve found out from the tenant ownership cooperative that they don’t want anyone else here. And this is thus strictly for residents and nobody else (Amanda, Victoria Park).

The robbery of the reception has resulted in new routines among the staff as they are more careful about letting people in through the doors if they give a bad impression or raise suspicion. The incident additionally led to the replacement of the night staff with *patrolling guards* from a private security company, who patrol the premises at

regular intervals. Several surveillance *cameras with motion sensors* were also installed in the communal spaces which are monitored live by the security company, a change that received mixed evaluations by the residents. Some agreed with this decision as it was an economically beneficial option, others were indifferent and a couple thought that the removal of the night staff impaired their feelings of security.

But security is not only maintained by the staff and specific material security devices such as cameras, locks and key cards. The *residents themselves* play an important part in practising security. Those who are the most active in social activities, especially the scheduled coffee breaks, and who are part of the so called “regulars” or “pioneers” sometimes also play a role in controlling the lounge. The bar-table provides its users with a good view of the comings and goings through the lounge, and the residents sitting there sometimes engage in discussing whether they recognise the people who step through the doors. This control is not necessarily directed only at keeping out malicious people, but also curious visitors who are quite often seen as disturbing. Inger explains:

But those who live down here, they really know, you know. Yeah, they do. So they go out and tell them “You can’t be here” and so forth or “Where are you going?” and... “Well, we just walked out of the restaurant, we were just going to have a look.” “No, but this is our garden.” “Oh.” And then they leave, mostly it’s, I mean it’s not... they’re just curious of course. But... It’s not that fun if they, if there are loads of people running around here (Inger, Victoria Park).

Even though many of the participants claimed to know the people in the area, there were several who said that there is still a certain level of anonymity as there are many residents who do not take part in the community, especially the younger inhabitants. A couple of the residents mentioned however that there are certain strategies for understanding who belongs in the area and who does not. In the spa, it is possible to separate residents from visitors as the former have specific bathrobes from Victoria Park. The key card is however the most important asset. When I ask Inger whether she can separate the residents from the visitors in the area, she stresses that it is, after all, not that common to encounter suspicious people in the premises but that a decisive and purposeful walk as well as a tidy appearance are attributes of a stereotypical resident.

Inger: [...] most people look neat, so to say, who come here. And I know that once in the spa, anyone can go there and buy a day card,

and there were a couple of guys there, I never saw them, but someone wondered if they really... "Ugh, they look so unpleasant" and they looked a bit suspicious. And I saw someone once who was actually walking in the corridor, and then I asked "But what are you doing here, you don't live here". "No, I came in by mistake", he had slipped in after someone else then.

Ann: Right, OK. What do you do in that situation?

Inger: Yeah, then I said "You should probably not be here". Then he walked out. But then I thought, that could have been a shady person. One could have gotten a knife in the back or something. Afterwards I thought perhaps I shouldn't have said something. [...] Someone else had seen [something], and said "Yeah, it's one of those proper to old Yugoslavia". Then, everybody becomes nervous. Yeah, because there is that kind of mafia in Malmö which, I don't know if they are Kosovo Albanians, I think. Yeah. Dealing with drugs and stuff (Inger, Victoria Park).

Because of the trespassing of unauthorised individuals into the spaces perceived as the residents' territories, and the feeling that this threatened their privacy and security, the inhabitants decided to react by increasing social control. Letters were sent out to the inhabitants informing them about the presence of non-residents in the park and urging them to help prevent this. The residents have also jointly agreed not to open the doors to strangers who want to get into the lounge:

But we're not supposed to open the doors here. It's not our job to run [to the doors] and open. And they can tear at that door leading in here from the restaurant, if we don't recognise them then we don't open. Because everyone living here has a card. And if there are many of them there's always someone who's got a card. So then we simply don't open. And we have decided that jointly, so... We don't. Of course, if we recognise someone we open, and then sometimes you can ask "Do you live here?". You'll have to do it in a nice way, you can't say "Well, you can't get in here!" like that right, you don't do that. Instead you'll have to say it in a nice way so that they don't misunderstand, because it might be someone who wants to buy [a flat] here and then we shouldn't drive them away, right (Margareta, Victoria Park).

In some cases residents use a harsh tone with non-residents in the wrong places, and they explained how they have shown them out in different ways. One man for instance explained how he threatened to physically throw a reporter out the door if she did not leave voluntarily, and that he once refused a worker to come in to the lounge as he could not provide him with an ID showing that he actually

was who he claimed to be. During the focus group, Kristina also explains how she feels positively about the joint action of the community against unpleasant people or events as “a handful vigorous men here would march out and scare them off immediately”. She says:

It makes me feel safe. Because if someone came here or moved about in the area, someone we don't want here, then there are residents and staff that would take care of that problem. And I feel very safe knowing that. I would not dare to, but there are others here who do. Yeah. And who have done so (Kristina, Victoria Park).

Another joint action that resulted in trying to discourage the presence of unauthorised visitors was the implementation of *symbolic boundaries*. Between the spa and the park, as well as the restaurant and the park, signs marked “private” were installed to signal to the paying visitors that they were not allowed beyond them. Since these boundaries do not provide absolute security, the residents explained that they were quite often defied by the visitors who walked into the park anyway. Mikael, for instance, stresses how the boundaries in Victoria Park are actually not intended to keep people out; hence, they do not successfully defend the security of the area:

But the reason that we have put up gates that you can walk around and climb over is not to keep someone out, it is to show that this is a private area. If you want to enter you can climb over it. Eh, you could walk around them as well because they only go up to the patios, and then you could walk on [the] patios, it shows that it is a private area. So it, it has nothing to do with security measures, because they don't serve the purpose of security (Mikael, Victoria Park).

According to some residents, the boundaries are therefore in place to keep the spaces private in order to prevent them from being ruined by over-use or misuse. However, symbolic boundaries still serve as important barriers and markers of territory and, as Newman (1972: 63) has stated, they are intended to inform people that their presence beyond a certain point needs to be justified. Physical, social and symbolic boundaries are in Victoria Park connected to discourses of security and privacy, even though some of the residents stressed how they have come about as the result of a desire for privacy rather than security.



Image 17: Private-sign signifying spatial demarcation.

As Listerborn (2002: 242) has argued in a study of crime prevention practices in Gothenburg, “säkerhet” and the more technical solutions used to increase security and fight crime are sometimes understood to have negative connotations in comparison to the word “trygghet”. This proves to be the case in Victoria Park as well, as several of the interviewees wanted to distance themselves from the gated community concept as well as interpret the boundaries, artefacts and social routines in the area as the result of “social security” rather than absolute security. Some of these security practices and materialisations are the result of the fear of another robbery or the encroachment of perpetrators and serve the purpose of controlling access and preventing crime. However, whether the practices of access control in the area are interpreted as increasing security or privacy, they are an important part of the marketing and selling of the housing concept. In 2012, I participated in a tour of the area together with potential buyers of flats in Allén, and the realtor kept emphasising the boundaries in the area by explaining which spaces were “private” and which ones the public was allowed to use. She also mentioned that the security of the area was quite high and that the key cards together with the help of the staff at the reception ensure that unauthorised people do not enter. The security cameras in the lounge were showed to the group and she explained that all

external entrepreneurs and service personnel have to provide IDs in order to enter the area.

Security together with a specific lifestyle, which is really a euphemism for class, are vital aspects in the spatial production of Victoria Park as an exclusive resort-like community. The boundaries (physical such as walls, fences and gates, symbolic in the shape of smaller signs and demarcations and social in the sense of the social control of the community) in the area are intended to preserve the privacy, the aesthetics of the environment and protect the residents from potential burglars and thieves. As noted in chapter 6, these spaces would not be perceived as exclusive if everyone were granted access, and exclusivity, recognisability of the neighbours and calmness are discursively linked to what a safe housing environment is perceived to be.

While having boundaries around communal spaces is not something that is unique to Victoria Park as other tenant ownership co-operatives also have them, the size of these communal surfaces and the designed social platform which facilitates more intense social cooperation make Victoria Park an interesting case. Even though the spaces inside Victoria Park are not necessarily privatised, as they have never really been public, these spaces are ambiguous. The extension of the residents' private spheres into the communal spaces, which seems to increase their notions of territoriality, as well as the concept of the housing development where dwellings are sold as a package with services principally serving its residents, should still be seen as the result of a privatisation process. The desire for privacy can be related to discussions regarding the impacts of neoliberalism where private rights come into conflict with the rights and the interests of the public. Victoria Park was never intended to be just like any tenant ownership cooperative, as the exclusivity, the resort lifestyle and the community were part of the sales argument made to potential buyers. The housing on offer could provide these buyers, who belong to the upper-middle class of Malmö and have greater spending power, a way of living that previously has not existed in Sweden. In order to achieve this, a certain level of exclusion is unavoidable.

Bellevue: Living in the presence of good people

While security was mentioned by several of the residents in Victoria Park as an important aspect when defining the lifestyle and the spaces in the area, it was less common for the residents in Bellevue to use the concept in this way. Here, the interpretation of the security concept was usually more diverse and less clearly connected to a dominating theme, such as community in Victoria Park, and there were no obvious differences between the male and the female participants.

Security was several times talked about as a state of mind when one feels like he or she is out of danger or harm's way and that he or she can move freely in public space. In a couple of cases, security was mentioned as an important aspect of living in Bellevue. In chapter 5, Linda's perception of the importance of the social characteristics of the neighbours and the status of the neighbourhood was elaborated upon. In her view, this is connected to security and domestic economy:

I mean, the further away you get from the attractive areas, the lower the probability that you get your money back if the times are bad. [...] It's that simple. Plus, this area is calm and safe. It is very calm and safe, it is a nice and safe area, great neighbours (Linda, Bellevue).

Anna also mentions security as a way of describing Bellevue. She says:

...I like the area enormously, it feels very safe for the children. We have great neighbours... (Anna, Bellevue)

A few minutes further into the interview, I ask her:

Ann: So if you'd think about what you think are the most positive aspects of Bellevue and then also if you can think of anything you find negative?

Anna: The location is very positive. I work out a lot and it is amazingly beautiful to go out for a run. [...] Beautiful gardens and, as I said, safe and not as much traffic and very beautiful with the sea and all that (Anna, Bellevue).

However, it was still far less common to clearly state that security was one of the more important aspects of living in the area than it

was in Victoria Park. The social atmosphere of the neighbourhood and the impact of neighbours on feelings of security are mentioned by Anna and Linda above, which is similar to Victoria Park. However, the social environment was mentioned in a slightly different way in Bellevue. The kind of community between neighbours that is emphasised in Victoria Park differs a lot from the general descriptions of the Bellevue residents regarding their contacts with neighbours. While some talked about having spent some time in the past with certain families and others mentioned doing so presently and helping each other out with various things, there were also residents who claimed that they did not spend any time with their neighbours or that they found it hard to make contact with them due to the individualism and privacy that they think characterise everyday life in the area. The kind of close contact that was described by the residents of Victoria Park, where the more active residents are members of a community and spend some of their free time together, was not talked about to the same extent in Bellevue. There was however one exception. The residents living in the two areas of row-houses in the western part of Bellevue tended to mention certain similarities with the kind of community that the residents described in Victoria Park. In one of these areas of row-houses, the cooperative owns the communal lawn around which the houses are located, and like in Victoria Park there are certain joint rules regulating the maintenance of the shared spaces. The physical proximity of neighbours as well as the shared spaces seemed to have an impact on the feelings of security among the participants living in this cooperative, just like it had in Victoria Park.

Berit, who inherited the row-house from her parents and has lived in the area most of her life, is very attached to her home and neighbourhood and she stresses how important the security in the neighbourhood is to her. This feeling of security has to do with how well she knows the area and the neighbours, and also that the neighbours are located in such close proximity to her. This makes her feel, similar to the residents in Victoria Park, that she will be able to get help from the neighbours in case something happens to her:

Yes, security is the most important thing of all. [...] But I feel safe here exactly because the neighbour is so close, I know that if something... I just have to go around... the garage and ring the door there, right. I mean, I am convinced that the neighbour would help me if there was an emergency. Absolutely. And... yeah, I feel safe and I think that's why I'm hesitant to move. It's probably one of the

main reasons, because I find it hard to believe that I'll feel the same security somewhere else (Berit, Bellevue).

It was also explained that the three residents who live in the sub-areas of row-houses in the western part of Bellevue have quite extensive contacts with their neighbours, and the residents living in the tenant ownership cooperative described the social environment as a positive and important aspect of living there. Because of the tenure form, the residents share the responsibility for certain spaces, like the residents in Victoria Park; but the participants living in the detached houses of Bellevue seem to have less intense contact. The lack of boundaries between the neighbours, which are otherwise in place around most houses in Bellevue, encourages contact among the residents in the row-houses, and the joint social activities, the design of the tenure form as well as the social contacts which are facilitated can in some cases therefore have an impact on how security in the neighbourhood is described and valued.

A good social climate in the residential area was mentioned as important to security by several interviewees in the greater area of Bellevue as well, but it was less common to stress the importance of being part of a community, to spend time with neighbours and get to *know* them than it was to have certain *knowledge* of them. The socio-economic characteristics of the people living in the area were mentioned as important by several of the participants to the calmness and security in the area. When Thomas is asked to describe to me what he thinks about Bellevue, for instance, he says:

It's not... if you say, it's not as criminal out here... Not like in many other areas, it's... no thoroughfare where gangs traverse and... you know everyone, you get to know all the neighbours and then everybody helps out and keeps their eyes [open]... nice neighbours and that (Thomas, Bellevue).

The impact of the niceness and the social characteristics of the inhabitants on feelings of security are also mentioned by Berit. Like Thomas, she compares the security of the area with other areas where she would not feel as safe and talks particularly about Möllevången. Her perception is that the characteristics of the inhabitants in the latter area are different to the population in the city district Limhamn, where she has lived the majority of her life:

No, I wouldn't be able to live anywhere where I wouldn't feel safe. [It] would never work. And there [pointing out Möllan on the map] I feel a bit of worry for my daughter and the son who live over there.

Because here, it feels like, this is a nicer [area], it feels like it's kind of a safer area. [...] And then I go to my daughter's house, right and... you see that there are completely different people who move on the streets there, right, all kinds of odd people and you see, there are often a group... Yeah, often, I think they are immigrants... men standing in a group and talking outside of the shop lying directly below her apartment, right, and... I who... who come from... I don't feel that safe there, right (Berit, Bellevue).

Linda, who has already been mentioned as highlighting how she perceives Bellevue as a safe area, elaborates:

Why the area is calm and safe? It has to do with that there are good people living here. They go hand in hand. And then you're going to ask: OK, and why are good people living here? Well, that has to do with the high prices, so it's... everything goes hand in hand. The prices are high, people who are ambitious, who are good, who are successful buy houses here. And... those people want to have peace and quiet in their residential area (Linda, Bellevue).

She continues:

I mean, the further away you get the lower the educational level. Sure, there are probably those who are very highly paid living scattered here and there, but when you live in these areas that are the best it becomes very... a high concentration of well-educated people in the same spot. They don't have to be highly educated, they might have been successful in other ways right, but... and it creates... security and peace and quiet. These are people who don't run around and cause disturbance and throw rocks and... it's just that simple. Unfortunately, that's how it is, that is how harsh life is (Linda, Bellevue).

Linda explains how the social status of the residents in the area, which creates a calm and peaceful atmosphere, makes Bellevue a safe area in three ways. Firstly, she says that the area is safe "physically", as you do not risk being attacked on the street. Secondly, Bellevue provides a "mental" safety as the residents do not have to worry about social disturbances. Thirdly, the security in the residential area, its status and the good and calm neighbours make Bellevue a financially safe area as these factors guarantee that you do not take a risk when buying property here. From this perspective, security does not only imply being safe from crime, attack or nuisance but also from economic decline.

In other words it was more common for the participants in Bellevue to talk about how they live in an area where they know that the

neighbours are good and decent, and that they contribute to a peaceful atmosphere, than to spend time with them like in Victoria Park. Some of the residents with children, for instance, noted that the good social characteristics of the other inhabitants of the area makes it safer to raise their children there, and the calmness and lack of traffic or thoroughfare adds to the feelings of security. Peter, for instance, mentions how Bellevue is a good place for children as he would not like his own to fall into a bad crowd and in the last chapter Anna explained, though critical, that the area is like a fantasy world and a safe haven. She notes:

Security, when you have children I find it incredibly important. I have lived dangerously in the past but now I don't want to anymore. The only insecurity is probably that there have been quite a number of burglaries here because of the attractive houses, there are waves of burglaries and then it feels pretty unpleasant. No, but also security regarding the neighbours, that they are sensible and nice, decent people, you kind of don't have to... be worried. And [having] friends close. Yeah. There are actually many children here. Families with children (Anna, Bellevue).

The importance of socio-economic status, thus, was stressed more concretely by the residents of Bellevue when compared to those of Victoria Park. In this sense, the security concept becomes connected to wider societal structures and economic development. The calmness in the area together with the lack of crime and disturbances, the locational qualities of Bellevue as well as the dominating tenure form and the history of Bellevue as one of the nicer areas in Malmö, have led many people to believe that buying property in the neighbourhood is a relatively secure investment in comparison to other areas of the city.

In Victoria Park, the concept of security was sometimes referred to when talking about the presence of unauthorised people inside the area, and especially when these individuals appeared in spaces defined as part of the residents' private or communal territory. The presence of strangers was an issue that caused concern as the residents perceived that there had been so many curious people visiting them since Victoria Park opened its doors; this was something some of the participants felt threatened their joint home and the privacy they strive for. In Bellevue, however, security was not mentioned in this aspect in the same way and while the drawing of boundaries around spaces perceived as private exist in Bellevue as well, the lack of jointly managed spaces in the area made the residents perceive strangers in a less strained way.

As the private properties are linked by public streets used by people passing through the area while walking, running or biking, the participants explained that they were generally quite unsuspecting of the activities taking place on the street. When asked about this issue, several participants mentioned how it was very difficult to know whether any of the people passing by on the street would pose a threat to security as they did not recognise many of the individuals in question. A couple of residents also noted that it is everyone's right to walk the public street no matter where they come from, and that they would therefore not react if they would see someone walk past who did not seem to be living in Bellevue. The aesthetic qualities of Bellevue was mentioned among the interviewees with a certain pride, and several of them explained how they enjoy it when people walk down the street outside their houses and look in to admire their gardens.

Even though strangers on the street generally did not cause any concern among the participants, the security that is stressed in Bellevue has proved to be closely related to the calmness of the area and the social status of the residents. The aesthetic qualities also make the area attractive to those residents of the city who do not live there, but the calmness is regulated by Malmö Stad as businesses that attract many visitors are restricted in the area and traffic is supposed to be limited (Gråhamn and Hansson, 2001: 7, 18). The peaceful environment is thus necessary for Bellevue in order to keep its status as a place with good neighbours, high prices and a safe milieu, which also means that there cannot be too many disturbing elements appearing in the area. Thus, while the residents generally find it unproblematic that people pass through the area as it is their right to use the public streets, these individuals are not seen as deviant enough to threaten the calmness, the aesthetic qualities and the security of the area.

Emotional reactions and security practices

Just like in Victoria Park, the residents stressed how safe they felt in the neighbourhood but they also spoke about certain events that affected their sense of security. Burglaries were the single most common threat to security, and it was much more common for the Bellevue participants to have been exposed to this particular crime than it was for the residents in Victoria Park. However, while some of the participants from Bellevue perceived this as a major problem, others did not. Some of the residents viewed burglary as a common

problem; almost everyone in the area had been targets for housebreakings due to the many attractive houses containing antiques, jewellery or paintings. On the other hand, there were those residents who did not view burglary as a major threat, and said that they have not heard about any of their neighbours being exposed to it or that it had been several years since they heard of a housebreaking.

The Bellevue residents also talked about minor incidents of vandalism and theft and one resident mentioned drug abuse among the privileged youths of the area. Several years ago, a man of Eastern European descent was shot to death at his home in Bellevue, which according to some residents, had to do with organised crime. This was an event that was mentioned by several participants. Some of them lived in the area at the time while others had heard the story from neighbours; it was quite common to retell this story as something spectacular and almost amusing rather than something unpleasant. Marja, for instance, speaks of the shooting as a “funny” incident and says with a smile that that neighbour was probably up to shady business. Berit describes the incident in the following way:

But it was ten years ago approximately, right, because I came... We laugh about it because the kids were so excited about that it had been a shooting over there, right. And then they were joking with me at work for years, that I was living [in an area] where they shoot people on the streets and that (Berit, Bellevue).

Berit’s quote suggests that the shooting is today, many years after, considered by some to be a joke as it is almost ridiculous that something like that would happen in this part of the city where it is otherwise so peaceful and calm.

Similar to Victoria Park, most of the participants in Bellevue mainly reacted with annoyance to incidents of crime rather than fear. Two residents in Bellevue were however clearly emotionally affected by burglaries. The first is Marja, an older lady living with her husband in a big detached house, who was subjected to a housebreaking while she was at home sleeping. This, she said, made her feel so awful that she did not wish to elaborate on it in the interview. The other one is Anna, who is also the only one who explicitly expresses fear of housebreaking. Even though she has never been exposed to it she feels a need to do what she can to be protected from such incidents:

We have an alarm and constantly update it to the latest model, both inside and outside. And they are directly connected to the emergen-

cy service centre. And when we travel we always have someone watching over the house, often living here. Because I'm afraid (Anna, Bellevue).

Siv, when talking about her experiences of housebreakings, says however:

I've never reacted by becoming afraid, but actually I react with anger, I feel infringed upon. It's not like we've ever been wealthy, we've actually worked for all of this... (Siv, Bellevue)

Generally, the interviewees in Bellevue portrayed themselves as quite unafraid of burglaries, and several of them were women. Boel in Bellevue, for instance, experienced a burglary only 10 days before the interview but despite this she said that she still felt safe and Ulla who had also been exposed to a housebreaking said that she was not particularly worried that it would happen again. Vera, a woman almost 80 years old who lived alone in a big house, had experienced two housebreakings and once scared off the burglars on her own. She does not talk about these events as fearful experiences, but rather says that she found it annoying when her house had been broken into as someone had rummaged through her things. According to her, there is no use worrying too much about the house or her own safety. She is generally critical of the idea that security is something that is actually achievable:

Well, I can tell you that to me that is a concept that really doesn't exist... it's not real. I mean, you can do loads of things, they try [to tell you] in the commercial that you should put locks here and that there and we've done some of that, but on the other hand you know that the person who wants to get in, he will get in anyway. And I also think that you can cross the street and be run over by a maniac, I mean, there are no securities what so ever. There's only one thing that is certain in life: Insecurity (Vera, Bellevue).

Vera is one example of how several of the older women in the study, and especially in Bellevue, are not necessarily more fearful than other societal groups. Age has been portrayed as an important factor behind feelings of fear and related emotions in research, and the elderly have traditionally been depicted as more fearful than the younger population. This understanding has however come to be increasingly revised and nuanced as more recent research has found that the fear experienced by elderly people might be less than previously thought (Pain et al., 2000: 3). In fact, it has been elucidated that older women in particular are less afraid of certain crimes, such

as sexual assault, as their lifestyles and movement patterns are often different to younger women's, who sometimes report a higher degree of worry in their own residential areas during the night hours (Sandstig, 2010: 146; Litzén, 2006: 98; Lupton, 1999). But there are of course also exceptions. Berit who is retired like Vera says that she does not feel safe walking around outside at night:

I mean, I don't go out alone after dark, so to speak, anywhere really. I don't feel safe anywhere. If I, I mean... at midnight I wouldn't be out walking anywhere. I don't think so. There is not enough security for women in Sweden for me to dare to (Berit, Bellevue).

At the time of the study, there was no organised or formalised co-operation among neighbours for the purpose of increasing security or preventing burglary. This was likely due to the fact that the social contacts between neighbours are less intense and formalised than they are in Victoria Park. Instead, security practices are more often carried out by individual households as a way of protecting private property. That said, some levels of more or less joint action among a couple of neighbours do exist; they know each other's routines and keep a look out for any suspicious activities.

Stig: You basically know what kind of schedule they [the neighbours] have and who moves around and such.

Clara: You look a bit, you definitely do (Stig and Clara, Bellevue).

Anna also explains that the neighbours pay a certain amount of attention to what happens on the street, also when other residents are not respecting the peace and quiet of the neighbourhood:

But it's the case that, for example, if you notice that a car blows past really fast. Then the people here react and often... they start talking and calling at each other's doors and then "Have you seen that car, who's that" and "We have to do something, who's going to call on that person or who will make contact?" (Anna, Bellevue)

Anna is the only one who mentions that she would like there to be a more formalised cooperation between the neighbours for security reasons; both in terms of burglary but also for traffic safety. The residents of the neighbouring area of Fridhem, which is often described as having a higher status than Bellevue, are sharing the costs of having a private security company patrolling the public streets outside the large and expensive patrician villas and there are signs put up along the streets informing pedestrians about this. Such an

arrangement, wherein private security patrols public spaces, is described by Anna as a potential solution that has been discussed among her neighbours in Bellevue.

In the areas in the vicinity of Bellevue, such as Nya Bellevue, it is not uncommon to come across signs letting passers-by know that the neighbours are mobilised in preventing crime together. In Bellevue, most of the participants were however more sceptical of such kinds of organised cooperation. Bo for instance comments on the hiring of private security companies in Fridhem in the following way:

Well, then they are very scared. Yeah, they have to be. That's silly. No but, we don't want those kinds of gated communities. It's almost... no, I think that's nonsense but it's, if they want to do that, put money into that, then I guess the security companies will be happy (Bo, Bellevue).

Neighbourhood watch programmes, where the residents themselves would have to get involved in the surveillance of the streets, are met with scepticism by some of the residents. The arguments against such formalised joint action were that they are unnecessary and exaggerated, that the residents are too old or too inexperienced to get involved in such activities and that their perceived class positions and request for privacy among the inhabitants of Bellevue renders such practices a sign of low status:

I mean, I even think it's more common in those areas [indicating on the map other areas of detached houses in Malmö] than in these areas and even less in Fridhem. [...] Here, I don't think neighbourhood watch is, kind of... it has low status, right (Peter, Bellevue).

Peter continues:

It's never been up for discussion. Mr von Trois who lives somewhere around here, he would never consider to go around and see if there's any... No. They won't (Peter, Bellevue).



Image 18: Signs of neighbourhood watch on a public street in the neighbouring area of Nya Bellevue.

The residents living in the tenant ownership cooperative of row-houses, however, held a more positive attitude to organised cooperation among neighbours to increase security and they stressed that they basically have such cooperation even though it is not official: they do not collaborate with the police or an insurance company and they do not have the signs. There has however been an official neighbourhood watch programme once in this area, and the former contact person of this programme explains in an interview that it did not come into existence as a response to unpleasant activities such as crime or burglary. Instead, it was implemented as a precaution and the signs were put up to make passers-by understand that the neighbours in the area have that kind of cooperation. After a few years, the programme was however rendered unnecessary as the neighbourhood continued to be calm, there were no crime-related problems and the signs eventually were removed for aesthetic reasons.

The joint amenities in Victoria Park rendered the interpretation of these spaces slightly ambiguous, as they were simultaneously described as public, communal and private. Hence, the presence of strangers was a sensitive issue that caused a great deal of concern. The boundaries in Bellevue, in contrast, are constituted by the hedges, shrubberies, walls, fences and gates that encircle the properties of the households and are not as much an object of conflict or interpretation to visitors not living in the area. As Newman (1972:

51) has claimed, the single-family house is “its own statement of territorial claim” as the ownership is clear and it is delimited from the surrounding neighbours and public spaces. The security practices in Bellevue that were discussed in the interviews were therefore more often carried out by individual households than in Victoria Park, and the most common practice was the use of *alarm services*.

Most of the participants in the study had some kind of alarm system installed in their houses; some were more advanced with *motion detectors*, and in one case *cameras*, while others mainly gave off sound and were connected to a security company that provided turnout. Only two participants did not have alarm systems; both were older women living alone. When walking through Bellevue, common features are *signs* and *stickers* on gates and gateposts signalling that the property has surveillance and alarms, or warning passers-by or visitors of dogs. Many of the participants found the alarm systems to be a natural feature when living in a detached house, and believed that almost everyone in the area has them.

But I guess it's just become that way that everyone... that it's just supposed to be there right (Thomas, Bellevue).

Johan also notes that the inhabitants of Bellevue are generally anxious to employ various security features to their houses and deter potential criminals as they have the resources and can afford it. He also says that since several inhabitants either work from home or have enough money to stay at home during the days they also scare off burglars:

I think almost everyone has alarms. And, in this weird area, not everyone subsists on earned or unearned income. You own something and then you stay at home. People are at home more. People have dogs. And people have alarms. Big Securitas signs... they deter (Johan, Bellevue).



Images 19-20: Stickers and signs signal passers-by in Bellevue that the properties are protected. The sticker in image 19 is of a dog underneath the phrase “Break in! Make my day”.

While some residents installed the alarms as they moved in, others took over the alarms of the previous owners. A few more did initially not have an alarm but were later exposed to burglaries and decided to get one. The participants often talked about these security practices as making them feel safer and a couple of the participants mentioned other kinds of investments they have made in order to make their houses more difficult to break into, such as fortified doors, locks and windows. After reading about burglaries and talking to their neighbours about them, a few of the participants also

changed some of their previous routines, becoming more careful, for example, to *lock their doors*. A couple participants noted that the commercials and offers proposed by security companies and insurance companies had influenced their decision concerning what kind of security measures to get. The security companies were mentioned by the participants to have forceful marketing as they often send them advertisements or have sales people call them, and the insurance companies promise better bonuses if they install certain security features. When Thomas was about to get an alarm, the security company convinced him that he should also get cameras in order to keep burglars out:

When I spoke to the alarm company about an upgrade they offered me a free camera, and if I wanted more they would give me a 50% discount. It was simply them who convinced me that it was a deterrent detail that would make it less attractive to get into the house. It never occurred to me to get a camera when I contacted the alarm company (Thomas, Bellevue, complementary interview via email).

The security practices of installing alarms and having signs informing passers-by that the property is protected and watched over are clearly materialisations of fear and worries of burglaries, but as noted previously in the chapter the residents were not equally worried about the risk of exposure.

Many participants had quite transparent gate-equipped *fences*, *walls* or *shrubberies* surrounding the lawn and house and demarcating the property from the public street. In several cases, these were already in place when they moved in, but a couple of residents altered them or added new fences or walls. The boundaries around the plots were only seen by a couple of residents as a security feature that might prevent crime or burglary. The tendency to replace shrubberies with more solid walls and wooden fences was previously mentioned in the study, and the participants thought that this might have to do with security and privacy as well as decreasing maintenance costs. Boel, for instance, who recently experienced a house-breaking explains that she is also thinking about replacing her green mesh fence and bushes with a more solid wall for protection:

And I understand that [people build walls], I'll also do that here. I'll also lock myself up. I'll make a... by the garage I'll make a gate that automatically closes. And opens. And I'll start locking this gate too. Because there are so many burglaries (Boel, Bellevue).

However, it was more common among the participants to interpret the fences and walls as a materialised request for privacy, and to signal that the garden is not supposed to be trespassed on. In those cases when the walls and fences were taller, a request for less visibility from the street or the neighbours was mentioned by the participants. The gates were often left unlocked or ajar and most of the participants explained that they did not work as an impenetrable boundary to keep someone out but as a way to show where the demarcation is between public and private space. Peter, for instance, who moved from an Eastern European country as a child explains why he replaced a small hedge with a low fence and a gate in order to emphasise a certain demarcation:

What happened was that when we were in the garden and a lady walked... through the hedges and asked, you know, if we were... labourers from Eastern Europe helping out because she needed help in her garden. And then I kind of felt like... do I want people to run about in here without inviting them, right? I want people to open the gate and enter. And then we decided that we're building this fence, also we think the fence looks good, that's our opinion. We have even designed it ourselves (Peter, Bellevue).

At the end of the quote, Peter mentions another important aspect of the physical boundaries separating his property from the public streets in Bellevue which was not typically mentioned by the participants in Victoria Park: the aesthetic qualities of the gates. The boundaries in a suburban area like Bellevue become an important part of how the surroundings should look and are seen as adding value to the environment, which is also mentioned in the report by Malmö Stad as qualities worth protecting in Bellevue (Gråhamn and Hansson, 2001). Several of the residents spoke fondly about the beautiful qualities of their gates, fences and shrubberies; in some cases they highlighted how ornate gates or flower beds have been there for the last century and in other cases the design of newer walls and fences are said to have been inspired by housing trends from abroad.



Images 21, 22 and 23: Boundaries with different degrees of porosity in Bellevue.

The removal of lower fences with shrubberies in favour of more solid and high walls and wooden fences was not appreciated by several interviewees, who thought they made the area less beautiful and gave off an impression of increased status, enclosure and privacy. Rather, many of the participants in Bellevue highlighted that while they had created boundaries towards the street as a demarcation and for aesthetic reasons, they also appreciated a certain porosity and transparency towards the street and the passers-by. Instead of emphasising the kind of privacy that implies low visibility, they explained how they made sure to keep their bushes or fences low, which made it possible for them to look out at the street, and at the same time for people on the street to look into their gardens. A couple of residents mentioned how they appreciate it when passers-by enjoy the work they have put into the gardens and like exchanging a few words with them over the hedge or gate, or even inviting them in for a better look. Mats, for instance, appreciates having hedges towards the street but also emphasises how he likes having contact with the public street:

Yeah it's because, I mean, it gives a feeling of demarcation, that you are in a demarcated space. At the same time it provides a green backdrop. And you still kind of want to be able to look out if there are people walking on the street. At the same time I think it's fun with people who are interested and look in at the garden. And they should be able to. And they can look even more through the gates if they want to. But to be able to look over a hedge I think is... much nicer than a big wall (Mats, Bellevue).

Siv also enjoys having contact with passers-by and likes that people who come from other areas who do not have gardens of their own can enjoy the ones in Bellevue:

But that we have flower beds along the street, there are *loads* of people who walk [by] and sometimes... While I was raking leaves the other day a woman said, "I have to stop and tell you that I *always* bike down this street because you have such beautiful flower beds to look at" (Siv, Bellevue).

Her husband Bengt adds:

...we wanted the contact, you know. Somewhere you need to have contact with other people and... and certainly if one could offer them a small bouquet of flowers at the same time. (Bengt, Bellevue)

It is possible that these residents who appreciate people enjoying their gardens are those more interested in gardening, but there are also participants who do mention having this interest who also like having transparent boundaries towards the street. Thomas, for instance, mentions:

Most houses here are quite open. But it's coming, we've seen during the time we've lived here that more and more people build walls and confine themselves. I still think that one would rather not confine oneself, we wanted... we have a fence and a gate so that we could get more of a view, so to speak (Thomas, Bellevue).

In the cooperative of row-houses in one of the subareas of Bellevue, the shared lawn is open and accessible from the street and not surrounded by any fences or gates. In a similar way to Victoria Park, the neighbours spoke of how they help each other out and have certain mutual rules about the maintenance of the shared spaces; this is a cooperation that is facilitated by the tenure form as well as the physical proximity of neighbours. Whereas it was more common in Victoria Park to talk about the communal park as a private garden, similar to the kinds of gardens that surround the detached houses in greater Bellevue, the need to protect the communal space from curious visitors and strangers was not mentioned by the residents living in the row-houses. This is despite their previous commitment to a neighbourhood watch programme. The concerns about how the communal spaces will deteriorate or attract disturbing or even potentially criminal visitors unless boundaries are enforced was not expressed in this area in the same way as it was in Victoria Park.

Privacy is of central importance in the production of both neighbourhoods, in Victoria Park as a part of the lifestyle housing theme and in greater Bellevue as a result of the area's suburban history and traditions. But the results indicate that privacy and security are perceived as more threatened in Victoria Park, which has led to more cooperation between residents and staff to increase social control. This is most likely related to the ambiguity in the definition of the spaces as private yet public, as well as the social platform of cooperation in Victoria Park where threats to security are discussed and collectively acted upon.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has continued the discussion of security from chapter 5 and has investigated how security is perceived and practiced in Victoria Park and Bellevue. One of the core arguments has been that feelings of security include more aspects than merely feeling safe from crime, something which has also been previously stressed by Low (2003: 59) and Blakely and Snyder (1997a: 88) who note that security in a wider sense can be interpreted as being free from solicitors, mischievous teenagers and general strangers. The security concept is complex, hard to define and is difficult to convey the feeling in words. The participants described their interpretation of security as the absence of unpleasant feelings, and the concept was in their statements connected to feelings of well-being and calmness. An area is thus safe and calm when it is less likely for something unexpected or negative to happen, which seemed to correspond with their perception of the security levels in both Victoria Park and Bellevue.

The statements of the residents in Victoria Park and Bellevue show that the security concept is interpreted as both holding positive and negative values. When interpreting security as those practices and spatial materialisations aimed at achieving absolute security or "säkerhet" in Swedish, in the shape of walls or tall fences for instance, it is sometimes associated with notions of exclusion, segregation and superiority. Another important way to interpret what security means has however been to talk about "social security", a concept appearing initially in chapter 5. In Victoria Park, social security was stressed as an important quality connected to positive notions of not being alone but part of a context where one can receive help from the local community of neighbours who one knows are legitimate as one meets them every day in shared spaces. By advertising and enhancing this discourse of security, the representatives of the real-estate company in Victoria Park play down the existing security practices in the shape of spatial boundaries and surveillance functions. By doing so, they avoid the negative discourse that could be attached to these security practices and instead connect security to the health and well-being of the residents (see Svenonius, 2011). While the desire for actual community was stressed more clearly in Victoria Park, the relation between feelings of security and the social environment in the neighbourhood was however noted by the participants in both neighbourhoods. Social security was interpreted as feeling safe in the calm and stable part of

the city among others with similar socio-economic abilities and values. This was also noted when investigating the neighbourhood choices of the residents, as the participants avoid moving to areas considered to be characterised by social problems and concentrations of immigrants and instead see areas located in the western part of Malmö as calmer and safer. In Victoria Park and Bellevue, the residents do not have any problems with disturbances, riots and dissatisfaction. The symbolic capital of living in a high-status area adds to feelings of social security as well as economic security as the neighbourhood is not likely to deteriorate. Security is thus in this thesis interpreted as connected not just to isolated elements or places of danger but to wider social structures.

However, the security practices of access control, privacy and boundaries were, despite being attached to a negative discourse, also perceived to increase feelings of security among the residents. These practices intended to increase security were carried out in both areas in response to discourses of threats, but they were also meant to uphold the exclusivity of the areas. Controlling access and protecting privacy contribute to maintaining a safe housing environment where the aesthetics and beauty of the surroundings are protected from not only theft but also misuse and deterioration committed by those who do not belong there.

While most of the residents in Victoria Park and Bellevue depicted themselves as unafraid and their areas as safe, they mentioned certain aspects of their dwelling as sources of insecurity. Such feelings are naturally not uniquely experienced in Victoria Park and Bellevue; it can in fact be argued that it is difficult to talk about feelings of security without simultaneously analysing potential threats to security. Also, in Bellevue, the interviews showed that some security practices, such as alarm systems, have become a normal feature of living in a detached house in general (something which is aided by the campaigns of private security companies and insurance companies). The residents in Bellevue and Victoria Park, however, have the resources to segregate themselves and also engage in security practices which others may not be able to afford. Previous research has noted that walls, gates and practices of security can become status markers and signs of distinction which are not only used to ensure security but also to maintain property values and class positions (Pow, 2009; Low, 2003; Davis, 2006). In Bellevue, a new development was noted among the residents as the older shrubberies and green boundaries were increasingly replaced with higher and less transparent walls made of solid wood or stone. And

in Victoria Park, the security functions in the shape of key cards, cameras and identity controls were used by a real-estate agent in order to promote the area to new potential buyers, which means that it is not only the welfare-style social security which constitutes the area's image and appeal. The status of security becomes part of the socio-spatial production of Victoria Park and Bellevue as areas of the upper-middle class.

The topic of gated communities was however sensitive in Victoria Park, and the residents stressed how different they thought their neighbourhood was from such foreign developments. While the height of the walls and the denseness of the fences are actually not that different from other tenant ownership cooperatives in Malmö, the residents expressed notions of territoriality regarding their semi-private spaces inside the residential area and they defend them through the community. The extension of the residents' private spheres into these spaces together with the amount of services located inside the area makes Victoria Park the result of privatisation processes. The desire for privacy can be related to discussions regarding the impacts of neoliberalism where private rights come into conflict with the rights and the interests of the public. The physical, symbolic and social boundaries of the area reproduce the spaces inside Victoria Park as exclusive, private and tranquil despite their size and ambiguous nature. The intention of keeping the spaces exclusive and private, a notion first developed by the founders and then practiced by the residents themselves, is interesting from a security perspective. The analysis of the gated community phenomenon and its connection to the concepts of class, self-segregation, security and neoliberalism will continue in the next chapter, where all of these concepts are discussed in relation to the Swedish context.

8 Conclusions

In order to understand urban residential segregation, we need to approach this phenomenon as a process encompassing all of the city's inhabitants; as a "system of differences" in Persson's (2008: 4) words, where all neighbourhoods, wealthy as well as socio-economically challenged, are linked to each other. The concept of segregation is, however, often discursively connected to an idea of minority groups voluntarily clustering together instead of integrating with the larger society while the segregation of higher-income groups and classes traditionally have been disregarded (Molina, 1997; Phillips, 2006). Because of the lack of attention dedicated to this group, this study has set out to put the upper-middle class in focus in order to bring fresh knowledge about segregation processes in Sweden.

The main purpose of the study has been to investigate processes of segregation from the perspective of more privileged groups who have greater resources to enable them to choose where to live in the city. The purpose was also to study how neighbourhoods of the upper-middle class are socio-spatially reproduced in a housing market increasingly affected by elements of neoliberalisation. This has been studied on two scales: on a macro scale, the focus has been on the general city of Malmö and how the research participants represent the city and its parts, while the micro scale zoomed in on the two neighbourhoods of Victoria Park and Bellevue in order to investigate the housing milieu of the upper-middle class more closely. The concepts of security and class have been especially scrutinised in order to understand segregation processes and how these two areas are socio-spatially reproduced as exclusive neighbourhoods in a divided city.

An important contribution of the study, apart from investigating "the other end" of segregation, has been the application of a qualitative and ethnographic methodological framework on a topic which, in the Swedish context, is usually investigated using quantitative methods and extensive databases. The study also develops findings from previous studies of how neoliberalisation affects the Swedish

housing market by applying the concepts of self-segregation, class and security, and the analysis suggests that groups with enough resources living in Swedish cities can buy themselves security in areas which are physically, symbolically and socially confined. The latter is argued in this final chapter, which concludes and discusses the main findings of the study as well as revisits the core concepts of the thesis in order to analyse them together in the light of the Swedish context.

Constantly reinforced residential segregation

There is a rift running through the urban fabric of Malmö, splintering the city up into perceived separate worlds.

Chapter 5 demonstrated how members of the upper-middle class showed tendencies to self-segregate towards the western part of Malmö, while they rejected large parts of the city. Their perceptions of the city consisted of a collage of information, procured through discourses presented by the media as well as the narratives and trajectories of the residents themselves, and these spatial representations were crucial to these processes of segregation. In the representations of the participants, the two neighbourhoods were portrayed as calm and safe spaces; discursively distant from the negative image of Malmö as the Chicago of Sweden. While the residents reported feeling worried about burglaries, trespassers and theft, there were no signs of riots or discontent in Victoria Park or Bellevue. The shootings in public spaces which have been frequently debated in the media were seen as belonging to the other realities of the city. While these worlds may not be located far away from each other geographically, as Malmö is a rather compact city, they were represented by the residents as socially distant. This study confirms the results of previous research showing how the neighbourhoods constructed during the era of the Million Programme are attached to negative discourses depicting them as exotic and socially problematic, as well as connected to ideas of race; they become spatial Others (Molina, 1997: 210; Ericsson et al., 2002: 19).

These neighbourhoods were the most common areas to be depicted as unattractive to live in among the participants. Occasionally, they were visited by some of the participants, but more often they were portrayed as located out of the way of their everyday trajectories and many reported having deficient information about them. As they seldom ventured to these areas themselves, negative

stereotypes were therefore reproduced through everyday discourse and knowledge gaps. As Pred (2000: 98) has noted, these racialised spaces are often perceived as out of bounds and not easily knowable; they become “elsewherised”. This kind of discursive and geographic separation is likely to increase fears and perceived distances from certain neighbourhoods, as fear has a tendency to engender negative stereotyping while these stereotypes, in turn, are likely to result in increasing fears, similar to what Sibley (1995: 15) has argued.

The negative stereotypes were, however, questioned by several interviewees who acknowledged that most of their information came from the reports by the media. The participants who had previously lived in close proximity to stigmatised neighbourhoods also challenged the representations of them as “bad”, dangerous or unattractive. However, when the same people were asked where they would like to live in the city, the results showed that they still did not want to settle in these parts of Malmö. The spatial representations are a strong force to be reckoned with when it comes down to the neighbourhood choices of privileged groups. This is connected to wider housing market realities as well, as the upper-middle class does not wish to make a bad investment. In a sense, then, avoidance becomes an insufficient term regarding the segregation patterns of the upper-middle class, as areas perceived to be exotic, exciting, Other, “bad”, socially problematic and immigrant-dense are not necessarily even contemplated when choosing a neighbourhood to settle in. Both when depicting these areas in positive or negative terms, the residents emphasise how removed they are from certain urban phenomena.

In terms of segregation processes, it is difficult to prove which of the chicken or the egg comes first: as Andersson (2008: 123) notes, it is not only the mobility of individuals which affects segregation as segregation in turn affects mobility patterns. Already existing segregation patterns have a great influence on where it is perceived to be attractive to live, as urban inhabitants desire to live in an area which is safe not only from crime and disturbances, but also from threats to their social and economic status.

Searching for social security

All three empirical chapters of this study have to varying degrees demonstrated that security is an influential concept, both in terms of neighbourhood choice as well as for the socio-spatial reproduc-

tion of Victoria Park and Bellevue. One of the main arguments has been that security from crime and disturbances is related to economic and social security in the neighbourhoods of the upper-middle classes. Security was described by the participants as the absence of unpleasant feelings, and Victoria Park and Bellevue were seen as safe areas as they were perceived to be calm and because it was less likely for something unexpected or negative to happen there. As it is expensive to buy property in the neighbourhood, most of the inhabitants have high incomes and they are “successful”, which produces a safe, peaceful and quiet atmosphere, as one interviewee noted. The residents of these areas are likely to hold high levels of economic and symbolic capital (even though the symbolic capital of living in Victoria Park might be adversely affected by the “gated community” label), and not having to be afraid is therefore in the cases of Bellevue and Victoria Park connected to class and privilege.

The kind of “social security” (social trygghet) which living in the neighbourhoods was perceived to imply meant feeling comfortable with the neighbours around you, and that it is possible to relate to them and trust that they are “decent”. They are not perceived as too Other and they come from similar economic and social conditions, which means that the area’s status level and the domestic economies of its inhabitants are likely to remain stable. This aspect of social security existed in both Victoria Park and Bellevue, but an essential difference was that the participants from Victoria Park stressed the importance of community among the neighbours: a community which implies that you have close relations with your neighbours, that you recognise each other, receive help from each other if needed and that loneliness is counteracted.

In order to understand the “social security” which was brought forward as an important aspect of living in Victoria Park and Bellevue, I have chosen to apply Bauman’s (2001) analysis of community. According to Bauman, community stands for...

...a site of equal shares in jointly attained welfare; as a kind of togetherness which presumes the responsibilities of the rich and gives substance to the hopes of the poor that such responsibilities will be taken up (Bauman, 2001: 62).

Community was something that the “paternal” welfare state was supposed to provide to its citizens to protect them from extreme injustices (Bauman, 2001: 111-112). However, Bauman also stresses, while community is often attached to feelings of nostalgia and

well-being, “really existing community” implies subordinate obedience in exchange for services such as security. Being a member of this “really existing community” would therefore imply that you have to sacrifice aspects of individual freedom, but the same would be true for the reversed scenario: in a society with great levels of individual freedom and no community, security will have to be forfeited. He claims:

Security and freedom are two equally precious and coveted values which could be better or worse balanced, but hardly ever fully reconciled and without friction (Bauman, 2001: 4-5).

He continues:

Promoting security always calls for the sacrifice of freedom, while freedom can only be expanded at the expense of security. But security without freedom equals slavery [...] while freedom without security equals being abandoned and lost (Bauman, 2001: 20).

In the “liquid” society of today, which is characterised as progressively deregulated, deinstitutionalised, globalised and competitive, the provisions by the state have diminished and feelings of security have consequently decreased while individual freedom has simultaneously increased. The “liquid” society gives rise to less long-lasting and reliable social settings and it entails uncertainty regarding the future as the social environment and its rules continue to change. The idea of the community of the past is something that is no longer available, which means that society is perceived as increasingly precarious and unsafe, and the individual, who is responsible for her own hardships, thus needs to find her own security (Bauman, 2001: 47-48, 60, 86, 112, 144).

It is difficult to buy certainty and existential security but those who can afford it try to buy community and “safety of place”. However, this kind of community, which is offered in, for instance, gated communities, rather stands for seclusion than “really existing community”. The citizens in such a community do not aspire to be like residents of the welfare state, as they would not gain from losing their freedoms and privileges. Instead, they try to countermeasure insecurity by securing their possessions, their homes and their neighbourhoods, with the result that they end up being more suspicious of strangers. Community receives a new notion in this context, Bauman notes, as they are more like “defensible enclaves” where the members are homogenous and the Other is absent. Thus, the neighbourhoods which aspire to create community but are still serving

the cause of freedom are not likely to counteract the lack of security which the “liquid” society has brought, but rather reinforce it (Bauman, 2001: 58, 113-114, 143).

It is not credible to claim that contemporary Swedish society is completely “liquid” as ideals of welfare are still prevalent, but, as it was stated in chapter 3, city planning and housing politics contain a mixture of social democratic values and aspects of neoliberalism (Baeten, 2012; Christophers, 2013; Holgersen and Baeten, 2014). Despite not being completely deregulated, there are certain similarities between the way the representatives of Victoria Park describe contemporary Swedish society, and the lack of community and security Bauman ascribes to “liquid” modernity. The then CEO of Victoria Park AB advertised Victoria Park in the interview as sharing certain similarities with a village society, and that the residents thus buy themselves a meeting place for this society. The general city was described as anonymous by him and several other participants, and he stressed that in Victoria Park the residents could meet new friends and family members and share something with each other. This kind of community thus implies “social security” to the residents, and this discourse of security contains aspects of health and well-being which are similar to the kind of security usually associated with the provisions of the welfare state. However, the community in Victoria Park is not a “really existing community” in the conceptualisation of Bauman, as the residents explain that their community is of an allowing kind; it is a community with distance. It has been referred to as “cohousing deluxe”, meaning that the residents have no demands placed on them but great levels of individual freedom. The exclusivity and easy-care aspect are important ingredients in the community of Victoria Park.

The kind of security which is seen as characteristic of Victoria Park and Bellevue, and which relies a lot on the feelings of comfort regarding the decency of the neighbours as well as the obstruction of economic uncertainties, is a kind that can be purchased with enough resources. Those who have the possibility of physically locating themselves to the calm and safe part of the city are thus also likely to have the means to take increasing responsibility for their own security, and they can buy security as a commodity. Previous research has also noted that security has become an increasingly powerful industry. Gates and signs of protection are intrinsic elements of upper-middle class landscapes and, as Pow (2009), Low (2003) and Davis (2006) have noted, such features are sometimes interpreted as adding status and distinction not only from a security perspective

but also by maintaining property values and class positions. Privileged groups “can afford the safety industry equivalents of *haute couture*” while those who are less well-off have to settle for inferior replicas (Bauman, 2001: 113, italics in original). That security can be bought, rather than being a universal right, was not something the residents questioned, which suggests that this is an aspect taken for granted under neoliberalism.

Practising security in the shape of alarms, gates, cameras or different kinds of boundaries as a result of discourses on threats and risks were prevalent in both Victoria Park and Bellevue, where the goal was not only to prevent crime but also to preserve the exclusive spaces of the neighbourhoods. The measures used to control access were in both areas discursively connected to a desire for privacy, while in Victoria Park it was even more common to emphasise that access needed to be controlled in order to prevent burglaries, theft and deterioration. The spaces inside Victoria Park have in this study been characterised as ambiguous, as they are interpreted by its users to hold qualities of public as well as private space. The semi-private nature of these spaces, where the residents’ private spheres are extended into the communal spaces, seemed to increase their notions of territoriality (similar to what has been advocated by Newman, 1972). It was noted by several of the participants that their feelings of security were enhanced by recognising the neighbours and being able to single out those visitors who are strangers and potentially could commit criminal acts, otherwise cause deterioration in the neighbourhood or simply threaten the privacy of the residents. This notion was expressed much more clearly in Victoria Park than in Bellevue; while Bellevue also contains a small sub-area of row-houses governed by a tenant ownership cooperative, the suspicion towards strangers was not as prevalent as in Victoria Park. What makes Victoria Park special in this case is most likely its ambiguous spaces as private yet public, as well as the social platform of cooperation where threats to security are discussed and collectively acted upon. As Bauman (2001: 115) has noted, these kinds of neighbourhoods receive a new notion of community as they are homogenous “defensible enclaves”. They can thus be characterised as more excluding than including.

However, the representatives of Victoria Park AB put a lot of emphasis on advertising the inclusiveness of the community, and by enhancing this discourse of security they played down the existing security practices in the shape of spatial boundaries and surveillance systems. As has been noted in this thesis, this kind of “absolute secu-

urity” (see Zedner, 2003) is perceived as attached to certain negative notions of exclusion, and by stressing the social security of Victoria Park they avoid the negative discourse and instead connect security to the health and well-being of the residents (see Svenonius, 2011).

Swedish gated communities

The discursive connection between absolute security and exclusion was also apparent in the participants’ perceptions of the gated community concept. This housing type becomes a materialisation of all those perceived negative aspects attached to privilege and security, and at the heart of the discussion lies the dialectic relation between *exclusion* and *exclusivity*.

The status inherent in living the lifestyles of the upper-middle class did, as this thesis has shown, result in certain feelings of pride among the residents but it also had an impact on their own identity processes. The negative discourse connected to the privileges of the upper-middle class made several of the residents of Victoria Park and Bellevue present counter-discourses of their areas as less segregated than the public discourse suggests. They also dissociated themselves from holding a higher class position than average. This was especially the case in Victoria Park because of the neighbourhood’s public label of being Sweden’s first gated community. As has been argued in this thesis, these kinds of counter-discourses reveal a certain “class unconsciousness”, or *habitus* (Crossley, 2008: 93). The concept of lifestyle, however, and the behavioural codes and rules which are especially apparent in Victoria Park, is an important and essential aspect of understanding what the concept of class actually means in this context. When used in the advertisement for Victoria Park, lifestyle becomes a way to defuse class relations into an ideal which is value-free. While described as a lifestyle community, the residents, the participants as well as the politician from Malmö Stad made it clear that Victoria Park was not a *gated* community. This concept was discursively connected to segregation, fear, wealth and homogeneity and it was therefore important to stress how different Victoria Park was from such a development. However, the counter-discourses of Victoria Park as an inclusive and open area form a contradiction to the interviewees’ emphasis simultaneously on the exclusivity of the dwelling and the importance of privacy from visitors and non-residents.

Gated communities were clearly perceived as a foreign development, which was further demonstrated in the statements of the participants as they used the English terms of “gating” and “gated communities” rather than any equivalent Swedish expressions. This housing type has been perceived as an unlikely development in Sweden as it clashes with the non-exclusionary ideals of, for instance, Folkhemmet and the right of public access. Instead, gated communities are seen as belonging to other contexts where crime is a bigger problem, where there are more significant disparities between different income groups and where processes of neoliberalisation have a longer history and have been implemented to a greater extent than in Sweden.

In the neoliberal discourse, social inequality is perceived as necessary in order to facilitate entrepreneurialism and innovation, and neoliberalism is thus, according to Harvey (2007b: 22, 24, 34), a success for the upper classes. Gated lifestyle communities, which have been observed by, for instance, Blakely and Snyder (1997b) and Low (2003), became increasingly popular among retirees and people looking for carefree and active lifestyles in the USA during the second half of the 20th century. These kinds of housing developments have become an international trend and they have been noted in other parts of the world apart from the USA, as a response to the new economic regime. As Jill L. Grant and Gillad Rosen (2009: 577, 584, 587) have claimed, the construction of a gated community can be the result of an idea taken from a global scale which is then interpreted, moulded and implemented by local producers in accordance with local histories, ideologies and values. In their study, they observed how Canadian housing developers were inspired by gated communities in the US but that their security measures were developed in keeping with the safe urban context in Canada and that walls and gates tend to be more impenetrable in places where law and order cannot be guaranteed. They note:

Neoliberal policies create a political economy and governance forms that favour downloading of residential services to self-governing communities. Local cultural histories and practices filter these global influences as they reproduce the built form of residential environments (Grant and Rosen, 2009: 587).

Victoria Park is unmistakably a version of this international and neoliberal trend of communities, which was also recognised by the founders of Victoria Park AB who found their inspiration in the United States. But just as Grant and Rosen noted in their Canadian

example, the emphasis on security practices has been negotiated to fit the Swedish context. This neighbourhood is a product of the desire in local politics to attract high-income earners to the post-industrial entrepreneurial city, as well as the result of the prospering power of private actors in a progressively deregulated housing market. Housing has increasingly become a commodity and the upper classes are the coveted customers when producing newly built, out-of-the-ordinary exclusive housing. The creation of Victoria Park, and the public discussions the neighbourhood has given rise to, provide striking examples of the conflicts which appear between processes of neoliberalisation and the lingering ideals of social democracy in the housing market in Malmö and Sweden. The negative discourses attached to class, status and exclusion in Sweden make the neoliberalisations of the housing market a bit ill-fitting with the traditional notions of welfare.

While the development of this kind of international housing trend is new in Sweden, the existence of boundaries between neighbourhoods and certain parts of the city is not. In both Victoria Park and Bellevue, physical, symbolic and social boundaries are in place as the result of security practices. They have effects on our perceptions and practices in space, irrespective of their impenetrability or permeability, and they are crucial to the reproduction of Victoria Park and Bellevue as exclusive, private and tranquil neighbourhoods of the upper-middle class. The *physical*, such as walls, gates and other materialisations of security, have attempted to create material obstacles for outsiders. The *symbolic*, which like physical boundaries are spatial manifestations in the shape of signs and other kinds of demarcations, signify that there is an inside and an outside. And finally the *social*, which are perhaps the most interesting boundaries to this study, as they seem to have had a great impact on the feelings of security among the residents of the two areas. Social boundaries were particularly seen in Victoria Park, where the large semi-private spaces enabled the neighbours to increase social control to defend their neighbourhood in order to increase security and privacy. However, social boundaries also divide the perceived separate worlds of the city from each other; they exist in the spatial representations of the interviewees when they depict certain parts of the city as Other while their own areas are seen as safe and calm. Social boundaries might be just as delimiting as physical walls, and thus have the power to seclude the residents of upper-middle-class areas, such as Victoria Park and Bellevue but also other similar kinds of neighbourhoods. The social boundary does not necessarily imply

that it is physically impossible for strangers to enter, but it provides the inhabitants of the upper-middle class protection through the status of the neighbourhood. They can feel safe behind the social boundary, which has become increasingly fortified throughout the years, as Malmö has been divided by class structures during the whole of the 20th century, even before the city entered the post-industrial era.

The physical boundaries and security practices surrounding Victoria Park were not as impenetrable as they perhaps could have been if the area had been constructed in another context, although the enforced social boundaries compensated for them and thus reinforced the boundaries of the area. In a sense, Victoria Park does not meet the classic criteria of gated communities defined by Blakely and Snyder (1997b: 2) which maintain that “normally public spaces are privatized”. There are, for instance, no privatised roads for traffic on the inside of the neighbourhood. However, the extension of the residents’ private spheres into the communal spaces, together with the amount of services located inside the area, implies that Victoria Park is still the result of *privatisation processes* in urban space. Laws, planning policies and ideals of welfare have previously held at bay the extent of privatised and gated neighbourhoods in Sweden. But the international proliferation of context-dependent gated communities, together with an increasing tendency to gate in already existing neighbourhoods in Malmö as noted by Herbert (2013), constitute a new development on the housing market. If future gating and boundary drawings between different neighbourhoods and parts of the city are to be prevented, public planning and the implementation of social values will play an important role.

Moving forward

At the centre of this study has been the argument that there is a need for greater knowledge about how the upper-middle class choose and negotiate where to live in the city. To put this group in focus for a study like this has, I believe, been the main contribution of the thesis to segregation research, but studying this group has also been challenging at times. Because of the discourse of segregation as an “immigrant problem”, it surely would have been much easier, and generated fewer raised-eyebrow discussions at dinner parties, had I been able to confirm the question from the new acquaintance

recited at the beginning of this thesis by simply saying, “Yes, it’s Rosengård I’m studying”.

Doing research on the upper-middle class can be perceived as provocative. Most of the city’s inhabitants want to live well, and we all use the means we have at our disposal to the best of our ability in order to live in a neighbourhood we like, whether it be an expensive area in the inner-city, a gentrified hipster neighbourhood or a safe and child-friendly suburb of detached houses. Those of us who might be perceived to be in this category and having more privileged positions in the housing market in comparison to other groups may feel accused by this kind of research. Because what does that say about us and the possibilities we have to affect urban segregation patterns?

While this study has been a critical investigation of prevalent structures affecting segregation and focusing on the perspective of more privileged groups, I would like to repeat my approach as stated in chapter 4 which suggests that we are all part of wider social structures. As this study has shown, knowledge about the city and spatial representations about its parts are dependent on discourses which are often broadcast through the media as well as on our own experiences which we receive during our trajectories throughout the city. The economic structures, the tight housing market and the already existing segregation patterns constantly reproduce which areas are perceived as “attractive” and which are seen as “unattractive”. Urban inhabitants of the upper-middle class are therefore in this thesis also treated as subjected to power structures of different kinds which encourage avoidance behaviours and restrict their possibilities to live anywhere else in the city.

Because of the existence of these structures, the intention has never been to put the blame on those households who choose to live in more attractive areas in order to achieve more social and economic security. However, this is not the same as saying that the urban inhabitants are completely powerless and that they cannot do anything to change negative stereotypes about certain areas of the city. On the contrary, this study has demonstrated that having personal experience about certain neighbourhoods makes it possible to challenge dominating discourses of them as “bad”. However, this does not automatically imply that they are perceived as attractive to live in. Such social structures are difficult to change by individual households who might pay a visit to such a neighbourhood, but have their homes, social contacts, schools and workplaces localised in the other side of the city. Therefore, it is probably more appro-

appropriate to direct the critique towards the municipalities and the politicians for not doing enough to counteract patterns of residential segregation which have existed for a long time.

There are several themes and inquiries which would have been interesting to scrutinise in more depth than what has been possible due to the existing scope of the thesis. One such theme is the connections between the two social categories of class and race; a topic which is important as race and class are co-constitutive and thus difficult to disentangle from each other. Such an intersectional approach has however not been the focus of this study even though it would be interesting to investigate in further research. Also, another aspect which appeared in the empirical material, and which I would be curious to know more about, is how the upper-middle class has the possibility to consume the exotic “multicultural” aspects of Malmö, while still living in the calm and safe part of the city and thus be able to distance themselves from them.

An additional way to move forward with the results of this thesis would be to use the same methodologies in order to investigate how inhabitants in other parts of the city portray their neighbourhood choices in Malmö. This would make it possible to compare the discourses and spatial representations of inhabitants in different parts of the city. A study by Listerborn (2014: 13) has, for instance, shown that the high-income areas of Malmö were perceived as threatening to women wearing the hijab who live on the outskirts of the city; areas which the participants of this study perceived as unattractive and potentially unsafe. Enlarging this kind of study to include many neighbourhoods of Malmö would provide a fuller perspective of how spatial representations influence neighbourhood choice and residential segregation in the city.

I would also like to encourage further research on segregation patterns among more privileged groups. In Sweden, this has become particularly relevant because of the deregulations and the new strategies aimed at further profit-making from the domestic housing market. Since these new approaches make it less profitable to construct housing for the poorer population, the upper-middle class becomes the target group. As the interview with a commissioner of the Social Democratic Party in the local government revealed, they were motivated in the hope of creating vacancy chains and trickle-down effects in poorer neighbourhoods. The goal is that this will facilitate housing careers for households with less means, but it does not affect the existing division of the city into attractive and unattractive areas. Instead, segregation patterns are at risk of being re-

produced as more niched, exclusive and unique neighbourhoods are developed in attractive locations. Segregation research needs to continue monitoring the changes in the housing market and processes of neoliberalisation which affect the urban fabric and the spatial division of the city's inhabitants.

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Appendix

Below is a brief presentation of the participants in the interview and focus group study. All participants' names, apart from the representatives' of the real-estate company and the interviewee from Malmö municipality, have been altered and the exact ages are not stated.

Victoria Park

Interviewees

Catarina Persson	sales manager		
Ulla Nordström	architect		
Christer Jönsson	founder		
Marcus Jönsson	founder		
Stefan Andersson	former CEO		
Amanda	receptionist		
Karl ♂	resident	retired	> 80 years old
Margareta ♀	resident	retired	> 60 years old
Eva ♀	resident	retired	> 60 years old
Leif ♂	resident	partially retired	> 60 years old
Inger ♀	resident	partially retired	> 60 years old
Lena ♀	resident	employed	> 50 years old
Kristina ♀	resident	employed	> 50 years old
Annika ♀	resident	employed	> 50 years old
Mikael ♂	resident	employed	> 50 years old
Anders ♂	resident	employed	> 50 years old
Maria ♀	resident	employed	> 40 years old
Magnus ♂	resident	employed	> 40 years old
Malin ♀	resident	employed	> 30 years old

Focus group participants

Marit ♀	group 1	resident	retired	> 70 years old
Gunnar ♂	group 1	resident	retired	> 60 years old
Inger ♀	group 1	resident	partially retired	> 60 years old
Annika ♀	group 1	resident	employed	> 50 years old
Lena ♀	group 1	resident	employed	> 50 years old
Isabelle ♀	group 1	resident	employed	> 30 years old
Barbro ♀	group 2	resident	retired	> 70 years old
Birgitta ♀	group 2	resident	retired	> 60 years old
Kristina ♀	group 2	resident	employed	> 50 years old
Maria ♀	group 2	resident	employed	> 40 years old

Bellevue

Interviewees

Bengt and Siv ♂ ♀	residents	retired	> 70 years old
Stig and Clara ♂ ♀	residents	retired	> 70 years old
Bo ♂	resident	retired	> 70 years old
Vera ♀	resident	retired	> 70 years old
Boel ♀	resident	retired	> 70 years old
Marja ♀	resident	retired	> 60 years old
Berit ♀	resident	retired	> 60 years old
Ulla ♀	resident	retired	> 60 years old
Mats ♂	resident	retired	> 60 years old
Thomas ♂	resident	employed	> 60 years old
Peter ♂	resident	employed	> 50 years old
Linda ♀	resident	employed	> 40 years old
Johan ♂	resident	employed	> 40 years old
Anna ♀	resident	stay-at-home mom	> 40 years old

Malmö municipality

Anders Rubin Commissioner of the Social Democratic Party in the local government. Responsible for city planning, roads, traffic and environment.

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