



# Urban Segregation in Malmö:

Discourse Policy Analysis at the Local Level and the  
Emergence of New Actors

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## Abstract

*Segregation* is frequently described as a consequence of the *global* restructuring of social, economic, and political expansions in which multicultural cities, like *Malmö*, become part of them. This study aims to highlight how visions of housing segregation and exclusion in the city of Malmö has been represented in the local policy documents (*Master Plans*) through the last three decades and to understand how a newly emerged *glocal* actor, known as *BID Malmö*, have impacted the urban governance in the city. In order to investigate these developments, this study applies two analytical frameworks. In terms of policy analysis, it employs a *what's the problem represented to be?* (*WPR*) approach and for the conceptualization of *BID Malmö* applies the theory of the *Global City*. Policy analysis shows that urban segregation has been persistent in the city of Malmö through the last three decades, however the representation of problem has shifted vibrantly from placing citizens as the main cause of housing segregation during 1990s to an arena that includes contingent processes and practices that need to be tackled. Policy analysis also shows that Malmö municipality, through shifting the burden of responsibility, now promotes partnership between public and private actors to reduce exclusion based on specific district needs. Moreover, this study argues that the city of Malmö, because of the cross-border network of global cities, is now a space where one can identify formation of new types of global politics of place where informal political actors are emerging and can actually impact the urban governance. Finally, this study maintains that the city of Malmö, along with its newly emerged glocalized actor, fit into the theory of the *Global City*, by Saskia Sassen. Therefore, this study has also a deductive qualitative analysis.

**Keywords:** *global, Malmö, segregation, local policy documents, Master Plans, glocal, BID Malmö, WPR, Global City,*

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### **1.1 Introduction and Research Question**

The city of Malmö, as Sweden's third-largest urban hub, has developed from being an industrial city to a city of knowledge (Malmö City Council, 2014: 32) in 2021. As of today, Malmö is evidently part of a global context as it is affected in different ways by both fast and slow developments such as migration, business expansions and globalization (Malmö City Council, 2018: 3). The city is also now linked closer to the outside world through high-speed trains and other set of fundamental facilities and systems that support the sustainable functionality of households and corporations (Ibid: 23). Today, Malmö is arguably one of the EU's fastest growing cities and can be seen as a growing node in global exchange. The city is also famous by constant population mobility, fluidity and marked rejuvenation (Salonen et al., 2019: 3).

From a crisis-ridden 1990s, Malmö has undergone a distinct transformation into a service-based city during the last quarter of a century. This urban transformation in Malmö has a multidimensional and, at times, incoherent character. In the media and public debate, Malmö's dual nature has often been constantly emphasized. Its front end is frequently linked to main infrastructure investments such as the Öresund Bridge, the City Tunnel, innovative housing construction and the establishment of Malmö University. Certainly, the emergence of many new jobs in media, computer technology and advanced services has formed the image of a stylish and cosmopolitan city in a globalized world. On the other hand, the reverse side of the transformation with growing inequality, vulnerable housing areas, gang crime and other signs of marginalization and segregation is constantly being reported, debated and covered in the media (Ibid).

The segregation process is often described as a consequence of the global restructuring of economic, social and political developments (Lilja & Pemer, 2010) in which metropolitan cities, like Malmö, become part of them. So far, many efforts have been done to reverse those negative trends in vulnerable and segregated areas in Malmö. Among them, one has recently attracted attention among scholars. In 2014, the municipality of Malmö localized an international concept, known as Business Improvement District (BID Malmö), in order to strengthen the livelihood of those areas. In that light, the concept of housing and urban

diversity is now, to some extent, have formed throughout the interaction between micro and macro societal levels (Lefebvre, 1991) including, for example, global, national-local policies and public debates.

Moreover, the political discourse on the issues of housing segregation and diversity exist in policy documents, as urban policies are now connected to policies of integration and migration in metropolitan cities. Thus, this study aims to highlight how visions of housing segregation and exclusion in the city of Malmö has been represented in the policy documents and how/why the city of Malmö has been subjected to a transformation during the last three decades. In order to understand these developments, this study first conducts a discourse analysis on Malmö city's local policy documents, and then attempts to conceptualize how BID Malmö, as a glocalized actor, has impacted urban governance in the city of Malmö. Accordingly, the research question is:

1. (A) How the problem formulation of segregated housing has been represented, developed or shifted in Malmö's local policy documents and (B) how BID Malmö, as a newly emerged glocalized actor, shaped by global and local dynamics, have impacted the urban governance in a globalized Malmö?

In order to answer this question this study relies on two different analytical frameworks for its investigation. For the first part of research question, this study applies a post structural approach, both as a method and as a theory, known as 'what's the problem represented to be?' (WPR), developed by Carol Bacchi (2009), to identify how visions of segregation and exclusion have been re/formulated in the city of Malmö through the last three decades. However, it is important to mention that in terms of discourse policy analysis, this study applies only some parts of WPR approach. The chosen local policy documents for the discourse analysis are Malmö municipality's Master Plans (MP), also known as Comprehensive Plans. MPs are considered as one of the municipality's long-term planning instrument. Thus, for a metropolitan city like Malmö, a MP provides guidelines for those constantly-ongoing structural changes such as housing, roads, railways and development areas for the urban governance.

The second part of research question calls for a theoretical framework that not only has the explanatory power to conceptualize how politics at local and global levels are now shaped by glocal actors, norms and contestation, but also can treat the concept of city as a tactical site for

the examination of numerous main topics meeting global politics, society, and sociology. The aim here is to obtain a deeper understanding about the complexities of housing segregation policy in Malmö within in a global–local framework. In that sense, the framework of the Global City in Sociology of Globalization, developed by Saskia Sassen (2007), is chosen as an empirical venue for the analysis of the second part of research question. To this end, the thesis has also implications for the theoretical discussion around two crucial concepts of globalization and glocalization in Malmö.

## **1.2 Globalization and Glocalization**

In the western world, many people would approve that contemporary everyday life in modern cities is ‘glocal’, in the sense that there are dialectic connections between global impacts and local life (Listerbron, 2013: 290). In that light, notions of global and glocal are aligned to this study. Thus, it is crucial to clear the crossroads for both terms before conceptualizing them. In everyday discussion, globalization usually refers to the economic integration that is evidently happening in the world throughout the rising flow of trade and capital. However, Globalization, as a field of study, refers itself to the connectivity of wide-ranging processes of economic, technological, political and cultural interrelations (Khondker, 2005: 183) and involves a spatial shift that needs to be comprehended as acting through a mixture of spatial categories (Robinson, 2009: 6). Sociologists, interested in the subject of global processes, observed that many of these wide-ranging social categories may adopt to a local product or to a local character despite the fact that they were created elsewhere in the world. In other words, much of the evolution of human production can be seen as diffusion and exchanges where borrowing, crossbreeding, and adjusting it to the local needs become routine in another part of the world (Khondker, 2005: 186).

Here is when the term glocal and glocalization come into discussion. In that sense, Robertson conceptualizes globalization as “the interpenetration of the universalization of particularization and the particularization of universalism” (2000:100). Thus, globalization or glocalization can be perceived as an interdependent process. This simultaneous globalization of the local and the localization of globality, according to Khondker, can be articulated as the twin processes of macro-localization and micro-globalization. Accordingly, macro-localization is making some local practices, ideas, and institutions global, while micro-globalization deals with incorporating certain global products and developments into the local setting (2005: 186-187).

In recent years, different experts, across the field of social sciences, have attempted to theorize global social transformations and to conceive of a global system with its own developing properties. Saskia Sassen, is among the most widely-cited scholars in this developing arena. Sassen's major book on globalization, *The Global City*, was first published in 1991 and have been updated since. *The Global City* has had an outstandingly extensive impact across the disciplines and left a deep-seated sign on the developing field of globalization/glocalization studies (Robinson, 2009).

The body of Sassen's theoretical framework tends to emphasize on various specific localized processes, (Ibid: 6) so it can be considered as a good fit for the analysis of the second part of my research question. In this theory, she suggests that a new spatial order is emerging under globalization based on networks of global cities linked by a digitalized infrastructure, involving new transnational movements of people, new local actors, influence, power and culture (Sassen, 2007). Sassen's employs the city, both as an analytical lens and as a political space, to interpret and comprehend this new spatial shift. She argues that cities are where impacts of globalization are strongly felt. According to her, cities provide possibilities to study local changes that are linked to global changes (Ibid:101). Her work is discussed substantially in the chapter four of this thesis, however before delving deeper into the theoretical discussion it is vital to look at other studies that have explored the development of housing segregation in Sweden.

### **1.3 Previous and Current Research**

Through the descriptive studies that have been done in Sweden, the knowledge about the extent and structure of segregation is relatively extensive. Most of these studies clearly show that segregation is a common phenomenon in today's big cities of Sweden. In depth-research on segregation in Sweden developed in the 1970s and 1980s through several studies of housing segregation. At the time, the aim of the research was to provide knowledge about the state of segregation and to use quantitative methods to describe the prevalence of segregation in different cities. The starting point was mainly socio-ecological perspective on segregation and a deterministic view of the connection between living in a vulnerable area and ending up in exclusion. During the 1990s, housing segregation received renewed attention through metropolitan investigations and political efforts to break down segregation. The ethnic dimension of housing segregation was highlighted, as well as research on the consequences of segregation. In Sweden, several longitudinal research projects were carried out with the goal

of mapping the significance of the environment for human development, so-called neighborhood effects. (Lilja& Pemer, 2010). However, I have found it difficult to find extensive studies that links segregation in Malmö with global politics of glocal actors in urban governance.

Until the beginning of the 2000s, most research on segregation was focused on the importance of the built environment and especially modern suburbs as a living location. They concentrated on the mechanisms of segregation and questions about the importance of public space for identity, social anchoring and different lifestyles (Lilja& Pemer, 2010). Examples of this research are Lieberg (1992) Ristilammi (1994), Mörck (1997), Gunnemark (1998), Lilja (1999) and Andersson B. (2002) (Lilja& Pemer 2010). As of today, the research on segregation has drawn more attention since segregation is becoming more prevalence in metropolitan cities (Lilja& Pemer, 2010), where most global changes occur.

As of today, the Department of Urban Studies and the Department of Criminology at Malmö University are constantly investigating segregation in Malmö. One ongoing project that is currently being conducted, in collaboration with the Department Global Political Studies, is known as SEGMIX (Segregated and Mixed). This project is a study of political concern about urban diversity and ethnic housing segregation in Sweden and Denmark. Malmö and Copenhagen, as proximate and metropolitan cities, are chosen as empirical cities. More specifically, the focus in this project is on three specific neighborhoods in Malmö and Copenhagen respectively. One neighborhood categorized by concentrations of wealthy and native born, one categorized by social and ethnic mixing, and one characterized by concentrations of poor and foreign born. In addition to social and ethnic characteristics, the neighborhoods are also chosen on basis of the population size, geographical location, housing and communication characteristics (SEGMIX, 2021).

One the one hand, SEGMIX targets questions on how urban diversity is managed and planed in local and national policies and interventions. On the other hand, SEGMIX explores how urban diversity is managed and experienced in the everyday life of residents in the selected neighborhoods. The project is comparative in its approach, and in order to achieve its goals it draws on critical understandings of gender and ethnic diversity and sameness (Ibid). In that sense, the main areas that SEGMIX can relate to are:



- 1) The concern for everyday experiences and management of urban diversity and sameness in both segregated and mixed neighborhoods.
- 2) The concern for urban complex diversity both as a lived experience and as manifest in local and national politics and interventions.
- 3) The concern for dimensions of urban complex diversity in two societal contexts of Denmark and Sweden (similar welfare state regimes yet diverging integration regimes) (ibid).

Although the project SEGMIX is ongoing, but it has so far given me some insight about current urban developments and the local actors in both Malmö and Copenhagen. Working as a research assistant for this project has inspired this thesis with the idea to investigate how housing segregation in Malmö (as a single case study) has been represented and developed at a subnational level through the last three decades, and what are the implications for its newly emerged glocal actor through perspectives of Global Politics. Finally, this study is hopeful that its findings can contribute to other studies that associate local policies to the field of Global Politics or Sociology.

#### **1.4 The Association BID, a Glocalized Actor in Malmö**

In terms of urban development, like any other areas of social sciences, global concepts are trending and becoming localized (particularized) in metropolitan cities like Malmö. Some of these concepts have been developed internationally where collaboration takes place in districts with all relevant property owners, tenant-owner associations, municipal companies and business associations through a local development partnership. Many scholars in urban development argue that these concepts can strengthen the livelihood of a district, create attractive environment and develop businesses within a particular district or region. One model that has recently attracted global attention is the Business Improvement District (BID) (Bohman & Jingryd, 2015).

The association BID, also known as “Fastighetsägare BID” (property owners BID), was constituted on September 2014 on the joint initiative of the City of Malmö and BID’s members. In a broad sense, the purpose was for the property owners in one segregated area in Malmö, known as Sofielund, to work in a coordinated way to develop and improve the area from several perspectives (Malmö Stad, BID Sofielund, 2021). According to municipality’s agreement in 2014, the association BID, as a non-profit association, has the legitimate statues to:

1. Promote cooperation between property owners and tenant-owner associations in Sofielund (both North and South Sofielund) and between property owners, the City of Malmö and other actors, including the local Police, with the aim of benefiting a positive development in Sofielund.
2. Promote a positive image, increase attractiveness and pride in Sofielund.
3. Promote a positive value development of the property portfolio in the district.
4. Monitor and safeguard the members' interests in other respects based on annual meeting or board decisions (Bohman & Jingryd, 2015: 4).

The association BID is utilized to this study and it will be discussed later to understand how it has emerged and how it functions as a local actor in Malmö.

## **1.5 Disposition**

This study is divided into six chapters. In the next chapter this paper presents the housing situations throughout the post-war period in both Sweden and Malmö respectively. It, then, argues for the importance of MPs as reliable sources of local policy analysis. Chapter three is centered around presenting my qualitative methods, namely as Extreme Case Study, WPR and Theory Confirming which this study employs for its investigations. Chapter four reviews the chosen theoretical frameworks for the analysis. Since WPR should be treated both as a way of thinking and as a method, chapter four presents how WPR should be looked upon as theoretical framework in policy analysis. Later, this chapter discusses the theory of Global City, a Sociology of Globalization, developed by Saskia Sassen, as the second analytical framework. Chapter five is divided into two parts and is allocated for the analysis. It begins by analyzing Malmö municipality's MPs between 1990 to 2018. Five municipality's MPs have been designed by the City Council during this period. The first part of this chapter reviews all MPs individually within the analytical framework of WPR. The second part of chapter five conceptualizes the city of Malmö, along with its newly emerged informal actor BID, within the theoretical framework of the Global City. It, then, finalizes its findings through a short summary of analysis. Finally, chapter six carries out the conclusion.

## **Chapter 2: Housing Segregation**

### **2.1 Housing and Segregation in Sweden**

Since segregation is in a direct relation with housing policy it is important to mention that the housing shortage was always an important political issue throughout the post-war period in Sweden. While almost all construction was controlled by building quotas, the economic upswing after the Second World War, along with population growth, urbanization and rising wages together with price-regulated rents increased the demand for housing in Sweden. According to National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (NBHBP), housing construction was deliberately kept down in favor of other political goals and investments after the Second World War (Boverket, 2020). However, in 1965 ‘the million programs’ became the solution to the severe housing shortage in Sweden. Under the leadership of the Social Democrats, it was decided that over a ten-year period (between 1965 to 1975), more than one million homes (100 000 homes per year) would be built to solve the problem. It is also important to mention that the total Swedish housing stock at that time was hardly three million dwellings (Hall & Viden 2005: 303).

Through this national strategy, 1,005,578 homes were built in Sweden during almost 10 years (Malmö City Council, 1990). The properties that were built were not only large rental apartments, but also villas, semi-detached houses and terraced houses (Lilja & Pemer 2010). That number also includes all types of properties, regardless of the form of lease. However, despite the good intention, which was “housing for everyone”, the million programs came to be perceived as unsuccessful by most experts. The criticism was more around the consequence of the production conditions, forms of management and market conditions that prevailed at the time (Malmö City Council, 1990). Five to six years after the start of program, the demand for housing fell sharply and vacancies arose. By the end of the 1960s, the media and various studies drew attention to all the deficiencies that were associated with those prosperities, such as visual monotony, an isolated external environment, lack of transportation and local services and increasing management problems (Hall & Viden 2005: 303). As a result, in some of the moderately large-scale rental housing areas, vacancies and segregation developed shortly after the completion. Another reason for the failure of the million programs, according to Lilja & Pemer (2010), was a shift from labor immigration to refugee immigration, which resulted a decline in wages.

Remaining on the subject of immigration, the average number of asylum seekers, between 1984 and 2011, in Sweden was about between 10,000 and 40,000 annually. The number of first-time asylum seekers began rising tremendously in 2012 mainly because of conflicts and instability in Syria and Iraq. Both 2014 and 2015 were remarkable years, as Sweden received over 80,000 and almost 163,000 (Please see Table1) asylum seekers respectively (Stjernberg et al., 2020). “Relative to the size of its population, Sweden has seen the largest proportion of asylum seekers in recent years” (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019). As a result of these developments, the new immigrant situation brought about a demanding crisis in transcending administrative levels, housing sectors and ministerial areas (Myrberg 2019). In Sweden, the responsibility for accommodating asylum seekers lies within the Swedish Migration Agency during the application assessment, however the responsibility shifts to the municipalities (Malmö municipality in our case) once an asylum seeker receives a residence permit (Stjernberg et al., 2020).

Table1. Number of asylum seekers to Sweden from 2012 to 2017

Year	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
<b>Total</b>	43,887	54,259	81,301	162,877	28,939	25,666

Source: Migrationsverket, 2021. Asylum. Statistics about asylum applications - Swedish Migration Agency.

## 2.2 Housing and Segregation in Malmö

The 20th century, for Malmö municipality, as a whole is considered by strong expansion and immigration. In the period 1900–1970, Malmö's population increased by an average of almost 3,000 people per year. Malmö was for a long time one of Sweden's most crucial industrial cities and the population was increasing as a result of a strong industrial sector, being able to provide employment and income. The expansion was strongest during the 1950s and 1960s when the population increased by almost 4,000 per year. During that period, however, the industrial era in Malmö culminated. The employment rate among men in the 1950s was over 90% and more than half worked in industry (Malmö City Council, 2000). This figure has been estimated to be around 69% in 2019, which is lower than any other large cities in Sweden (Malmö Stad, nd, Sysselsättning).

By the end of 1950s, some traditional industries began to decline and this trend continued until the 1990s (Malmö City Council, 2000). Primarily, the decline of employment in industry was offset by the expansion of the public sector. The employment rate in Malmö deteriorated steadily both relative to the country as well as to the population income. The number of residents began to decrease during 1970s as a result of inhabitants relocation to the nearby municipalities' residential areas. The industries in Malmö, which had an emphasis on low-tech productions, weakened in a decisive way and it is no longer relevant to talk about Malmö as an industrial city. During the industrial crisis, population development also reversed in a crucial way. Malmö, thus, encountered with an aging population during that period (Malmö City Council, 2000).

In the mid-1980s, the decline was replaced by slow population growth, and from 1993 increased to about 3,000 people per year for the rest of the 1990s. The most serious problem for Malmö during the 1990s was that such a large proportion of the working-age population were outside the labor market and thus without self-sufficiency. The economic crisis in the early 1990s, intensified these trends drastically. Malmö lost more in employment and income than Sweden as a whole in 1990s (Malmö City Council, 1990). Malmö, which already had a relatively high proportion of immigrants, had a very evident multicultural character with 23% foreign-born and a further 13% second-generation of residents in 1990s (Malmö City Council, 2000). In 2005, NBHBP stated that the city of Malmö is one of the municipalities in the country that has the biggest problems when it comes to social exclusion, lack of integration and increased housing segregation (Boeverket, 2005).

During the last decade, the number of both long-and short-term relocations of immigrants to Malmö has tremendously increased and as of today Malmö is arguably one of the most vibrant cities in Europe in terms of multiculturality. The number of foreign-born people living in Malmö has increased by about 50,000 between the years 2000 to 2016 and that amount now extends to just over a third of the whole population. The proportion of those with a "foreign background" estimated to be 44 percent in Malmö in 2016 (Salonen et al., 2019). Today, Malmö is a natural hub for cultures, diversity and individuals from worldwide. According to the municipality, the city's residents come from approximately 180 countries and speak some 150 diverse languages (Malmö Stad, nd, Welcome to Malmö).

Although Malmö municipality now describes the city as a hub of diversity, a recent study conducted by Malmö University clearly states that Malmö is a segregated city with two clear sides; one is described as problematic, where crime is high and the criminal gangs are described to ravage freely, while the other side shows residents of Malmö live, to a large extent, together with people who have the same living conditions as themselves (Salonen et al., 2019). All these developments throughout the history of Malmö, motivates one to look at how discourse around segregation and diversity has been shaped, formulated and developed throughout time. Accordingly, one of the documents that can be considered as both valid and reliable source for understanding these developments is municipality's Master Plans (MP).

### **2.3 Why Master Plans?**

In Sweden, all municipalities have a Master Plan (MP), also known as an overview plan or a comprehensive plan, which covers the whole municipality's administrative area for its long-term goals. In that sense, a MP offers an overview of the current situation and can indicate problem areas in a municipality. Decisions on location and land use have both long-term and cross-sectoral consequences. Therefore, such decisions cannot be seen in isolation but must be enlisted in a larger context, so that good management of society's can be promoted, wrong investments can be avoided, and disagreements between conflicting interests can be minimized. A MP is, thus, the municipality's most significant strategic instrument for showing its intentions on how to manage and develop urban and rural areas in the long run. In that light, a MP is a control and efficiency instrument for other planning as well (Malmö City Council, 2000).

With its long-time perspective, the MPs have become an accepted arena for a general discussion about the municipality's present and future plans. In a MP, proposals and visions concerning the municipality's development can be published, debated or given political support. According to the Swedish Planning and Building Act (PBL), a MP must be easy to comprehend, it must be adopted by the City Council and before that the proposal must be the subject of consultation and public exhibition. The PBL's regulations, thus, guarantee that the content of a MP is disseminated and treated politically. However, it is important to mention that the MPs in Sweden are not binding but must provide only guidance for decisions on how land and water areas are used and how the built environment is expanded, developed and preserved (Boeverket, 2020).

Moreover, a MP does not intend to govern all areas, nor replace other plans and programs. The main role of a MP is to make trade-offs between different actors, sectors and interests. In that sense, competing interests can often combine without an issue. However, sometimes they have to be evaluated against each other and some form of prioritization needs to be made. One of the main purposes of a MP is, therefore, to be accessible and collectively report conflicting short and long-term interests and state the municipality's motives and strategies for action in the event of possible conflicts of interest. Hence, it is also desirable for the state that the MP and other long-term plans or programs work in interaction and frequently analyze the municipality's long-term strategies. In that light, the MP becomes an instrument for dialogue with the state about public and national interests. To the extent that the municipality and state agree on how national interests are to be treated, the MP can be seen as an agreement on those issues (Ibid). For example, during the 1990s, Malmö's position on the Öresund Bridge connections in the MP have been given great importance in discussions with the state on infrastructure investments (Malmö City Council, 2000). Given all these considerations, a MP can clear the crossroads for this study to understand how segregation or housing policy has been problematized, categorized, represented or shifted during the last three decades.

Having discussed the importance of the MPs, this thesis now needs to engage with applicable methods that can aid this study to, first, analyze the discourse that are articulated by Malmö City Council and, second, to conceptualize different dynamics that have impacted urban governance in the city of Malmö.

## **Chapter 3: Method**

In terms of methodology, this thesis applies a mixture of methods in order to (1) gain a detailed knowledge on the problem of housing segregation in Malmö, and (2) to analyze how this problem has been represented in the local policy documents, and finally (3) to conceptualize dynamics that have transformed the city of Malmö from being an industrial one to a global one to identify the newly emerged local political actors in the housing sector. Accordingly, the study employs three methods that seems applicable for its investigation. First, it employs the extreme-case study method to recognize the social, political and discursive developments around housing segregation in Malmö. It, then, lies on 'what's the problem represented to be?' (WPR) method to analyze the implications behind the representation of the problem (housing segregation) in Malmö municipality's local policies during the last three decades. Finally, it employs a theory-confirming method to understand the extent to which the city of Malmö, along with its newly emerged local actor, can fit into the theoretical framework of the Global City.

### **3.1 Extreme Case Method**

The first method that this study employs is the extreme-case method. The extreme-method seems pertinent to this paper because all the dimensions (the social, political and discursive developments) around the problem of housing segregation in Malmö have been extreme through the last three decades. In other words, the extreme-case method is chosen because there is a causal relationship in which both independent variables, (unemployment rate, population growth, immigrant population, etc.) and dependent variable (housing segregation) have had extreme values (Gerring, 2012: 101) in the city of Malmö. Therefore, here, extreme values are observation that lies far away from the average of a given distribution (Ibid:101-102). To put it another way, extreme case is employed here because my chosen case of investigation is neither a usual nor a typical case. The case under investigation is special in many ways, such as extreme mobility, high unemployment rate, sharp demographic trends of mobility, urbanization and etc. As Gerring argues, an extreme case often corresponds to a case that is “considered to be prototypical or paradigmatic of some phenomena of interest” (Ibid: 101).

However, it is important to mention that although the method is a single case study but it can contain several dimensions including social, political and discursive developments at a small political space (Ibid:20-21), such as the city of Malmö. It is also crucial to point out that



although some case studies are often performed with the aim of exploring causal relationships (Ibid:102), but this study is not concerned whether there are correlations between the independent variables (unemployment rate, population growth, immigrant population, etc.) and the dependent variable (housing segregation). Instead, this paper is occupied investigating how the representation of housing segregation in Malmö has been re/formulated through time and it further seeks to examine how and why different dynamics have impacted the urban governance.

### **3.2 What's the Problem Represented to be?**

In terms of local policy analysis this study applies a post structural approach, both as a method and as a theory, known as 'what's the problem represented to be?' (WPR), developed by Carol Bacchi (2009), to analyze the problem representation of housing segregation in Malmö city's MPs between 1990 until 2018. In that light, WPR approach starts from the proposition that what one (Malmö municipality) suggests to do about something (segregation) uncovers what one believes is problematic (needs to change) (Bletsas & Beasley, 2012). Applying 'WPR' analysis helps this study to read Malmö city's MPs with a critical lens on how the 'problem' is represented within the municipality's context and assists this thesis to treat this representation of problem with critical inspection (Bacchi, 2009). WPR also enables this study to perceive new aspects in contemplating about how discourse on urban governance in Malmö city's MPs have took place, or shifted as a result of global developments, during the last three decades. To do so, Bacchi has formulated set of six questions to one's suggestions for change:

1. What's the 'problem' represented to be in a specific policy?
2. What assumptions or presupposition support this representation of the 'problem'?
3. How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?
5. What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?
6. How/where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced, disseminated and defended? How has it been (or could it be) questioned, disrupted and replaced?

Source: Carol Lee Bacchi (2009). *Analysing policy: what's the problem represented to be?* Frenchs Forest, N.S.W.: Pearson.

According to Bacchi, the entire idea of 'policy' fits inside a specific understanding of the role of authorities (Malmö municipality in this case). As she argues, policy “takes shapes within specific historical and national or international contexts” (2009; 1). Therefore, policy has an irrefutable cultural aspect, which eventually generates a cultural product (Ibid). In this way of thinking, and through asking above-mentioned questions, this paper can optimistically scrutinize the source of a policy and understand how it functions. Most importantly, Baachi’s approach can help this study to comprehend how urban governing have took place in Malmö and what were/are the implications for those (Malmö residents) that are being governed.

However, in order to ensure that the study remains reasonable in scope, and in line with its research questions, it is important to indicate that the local policy analysis in this thesis is only occupied with the first four questions of Bacchi’s model. As Baxter and Jack argue, one of the usual risks linked with the qualitative case study method is that “there is a tendency for researchers to attempt to answer a question that is too broad or a topic that has too many objectives for one study” (2015: 546). Thus, question number 5 and 6 have been left out from the analysis due to, first, their irrelevance with the aims of this paper and, second, because of their space consuming attribute. All the MPs, between 1990 to 2018, are analyzed separately and each one is finalized through providing a table, highlighting the answers to the first four questions of Bacchi’s framework.

### **3.3 Theory Confirming**

Single case studies have the ability to test complex theories through the application of finely grained empirical evidence (Ulriksen& Dadalauri, 2014: 223). Therefore, it is suitable to employ a theory-confirming case study to examine the extent to which Malmö, along with its newly emerged informal political actors, fit into the theoretical framework of the Global City. In a theory- confirming method, a case (Malmö in this study) needs to be chosen as an empirical venue to examine its aptness into a descriptive theoretical framework based on an existing conceptual scheme (the theory of the Global City) (Moses & Knutsen, 2007). Through this method, this study attempts to identify the objects that are involved in the theory of Global City to asses if those objects have the explanatory power to elucidate Malmö as a global city. To be more precise, this approach enables this study to use Malmö to provide empirical evidence for the explanatory relevance or relatively strength of the theory of the Global City (Ulriksen& Dadalauri, 2014: 225).

The theoretical framework, the Global City, which is discussed substantially in the next chapter, draws from several processes and developments of Globalization, such as transnationalisation, policy learning, ideational policy-making, transnational networks and etc. (Sassen, 2007). Through the application of the Global City model, this paper aims to unpack the processes and developments (Ulriksen& Dadalauri, 2014: 226) of the most recent Malmö municipality's housing policy to the problem of housing segregation. The recent policy reforms in Malmö municipality are conceptualized as a multi-actor and multi-level process where policy learning, policy actors (both formal and informal), and policy ideas (both domestic and external) are the main dynamics in a policy process. Each dynamic is a crucial part of the theory of the Global City. In that sense, this study is ambitious to argue that Malmö, as metropolitan city, fits into the existing theoretical explanations of the Global City and, therefore, has a deductive nature (Ulriksen& Dadalauri, 2014: 228) in its analysis.

## Chapter 4: Theory

### 4.1 What's the Problem Represented to be?

As it was discussed before, WPR approach “offers both a novel way of thinking and a new way of analyzing policy” (Bacchi, 2009, xvi). Therefore, it can be treated both as a theory and as a method. This section, as the title implies, is concerned about the way of thinking in which WPR approach offers. To begin with, WPR tackles the contemporary dominant intellectual paradigm that focuses on solving 'problems'. WPR insists to shift the focus from solving 'problem' to questioning 'problem'. Although it might seem to be fairly indisputable to talk about solving 'problems', but Bacchi argues that this specific approach to knowledge and practice can be recognized as a particular governance project in recent decades. She maintains that the notion that there are just a few 'problems' that need to be attended generates the impression that societies are mostly functioning well and, therefore, not much needs to be changed (Ibid). Here, the very idea of 'policy' becomes a matter for examination, as they are source of proposals for ‘problem’ representations or ‘problem’ solving.

The word ‘policy’, according to Bacchi, is a course of action and is usually associated with a program. Malmö’s MPs, for example, are then a term that describes a program that is offered by an authority. Here, the basic assumption is that policy is a positive program that fixes up everything, and policy makers (authorities in Malmö municipality) are those who do the fixing. The whole idea of ‘fixing’ then carries the idea that there is a ‘problem’ (segregation in this case) that needs to be fixed. The assumed ‘problem’ can be, but not necessarily, overtly explained in those documents. However, as Bacchi argues, most policy documents do not formally state that there is a problem that the policy will tackle and fix. Rather, she argues, by indirectly implying something needs to be changed policy documents make changes. Therefore, policy proposals and policy documents include an implicit representation of what is assumed to be the ‘problem’ (‘problem representations’) and what presuppositions exists to that ‘problem’ representation. Therefore, WPR theory integrates the ways in which suggestions for change represent 'problems' in policy documents (Ibid).

It is also very crucial to note that here the emphasis is not on identifying intended problem manipulation or tactical tricking. Instead, the goal is to comprehend policy better than those who make it by questioning the unevaluated assumptions and deep-rooted abstract judgements within hidden problem representations (Ibid). In other words, this emphasis means to be aware

to the forms of knowledge that support public policies. The crucial point, as far as WPR method lights upon it, is that lives are lived in particular ways because of the influential impact of proposals that generate specific understandings of 'problems'. "Hence, the analysis counters a relativist assumption that one 'truth' is as good as any other" (Ibid; 22).

In that light, WPR approach can identify three main propositions; 1) citizens are ruled throughout problematization, 2) therefore, they need to question the problem representation rather than the problem, and finally 3) they need to problematize the problematization that citizens are being offered, through scrutinizing the premise and the effect they carry. The WPR theory may help one to better understand that policy is not necessarily the best determination to solve a problem. However, they are very likely to generate 'problems' with specific connotations that influence who and what gets fixed or not fixed, and how citizens live and choose the way they live (Ibid).

Moreover, policies are filled with concepts such as housing, employment, health, welfare and etc. These concepts are abstract labels that are somewhat open-ended. Because of their open-endedness, concepts are strongly contested. Individuals supply them with diverse meanings. Arguments over the meaning of key concepts are connected to the contesting political ideas. Given the contested nature of concepts, a WPR way of thinking seeks to identify key concepts in problem representations and to understand which meanings are given to those concepts (Ibid: 9). For instance, by reflecting upon segregation in Malmö this study can conceptualize how the notion of housing in Malmö is understood. For example, are poverty, immigration and unemployment considered to be integral parts of segregation? Is there a shift in understanding segregation throughout time? And if yes how the representation of the 'problem' has altered? Asking these questions can help one to apprehend how policies use concepts to categorize people and places. In other words, categories play a pivotal role in how governing takes place. For example, Bacchi argues that categories like 'the homeless', 'single mothers', 'youth', welfare dependents', 'students' and etc are given in policy documents to transfer particular meanings to problem representations. Here the task is not to accept them but to understand how they function in problem representation (Bacchi 2009: 8-9).

Moreover, categorizing people has substantial outcomes for the ways in which governing takes place, and for how individuals come to contemplate about themselves and about others. From a social constructivist perspective, therefore, WPR approach consents that citizen frequently

place confidence in 'fixed' reality which are actually products of specific times and places. For this reason, Bacchi “encourages us to identify and examine categories and concepts that are embedded within particular policies and to see them, to an extent, as pliable and variable” (Bacchi, 2009: 264).

However, as it was discussed before, examining these effects and outcomes are not in line with the main aims of this study. These examinations are the concern of question 5 and 6 (Ibid.9), which will be left out from the analysis of this paper. The discourse analysis that this study intends to do has two goals: the first goal is to uncover primary assumptions and presumptions in problem representations. The second goal, on the other hand, is to identify and reflect upon silences and what it is that fails to be problematized. Such a discourse analysis is taken up in Question 4 (Ibid). This thesis elaborates more on conceptualization of the first four question in the next chapter.

With having WPR approach as an analytical framework, this study is hopeful that the approach facilitates this paper to conduct a critical interrogation of Malmö municipality's MPs to better understand how these documents have represented the problem of housing segregation in Malmö and how those representations have changed or evolved through time. Theoretically, WPR approach allows this investigation to see if the problem is constructed instead of being objectively addressed.

#### **4.2 The Global City, a Sociology of Globalization**

The other theory that this paper applies to its analysis is the Global City, a Sociology of Globalization, developed by Saskia Sassen (2007). This theory seems relevant to this study as it is a collective effort that maps an analytic terrain for the study of globalization. The theory encompasses a complex understanding of globalization that not only contains understandings of globalization as growing interdependence and obvious emergence of global institutions, but also detects the presence of globalizing dynamics in thick social settings that combines national and subnational sections (local or regional authorities such as Malmö municipality in this case) (Ibid).

According to this theory, studying the global involves an attention that not only calls for what is explicitly global in scale, but also requires a focus on locally scaled practices, activities and conditions that are enunciated with global dynamics. According to Sassen's theorization,

studying the global must have an emphasis on the multiplication of cross-border networks among localities in which certain situations reappear: different kinds of inequalities, environmental issues, mobilization around certain struggles (Ibid: 18) (such as housing segregation in this study) and so on. This framing of the global allows this paper to use research practices that can be found among localities which are developed within both global and subnational environment (Glocality).

According to Sassen, globalization involves two distinct sets of dynamics. One set of dynamics encompass the foundation of obviously global processes and institutions, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), World Health Organization (WHO) and etc. She argues that, “the practices and organizational forms through which such dynamics operate constitute what is typically thought of as global” (Ibid: 5). She maintains that they are partially endorsed at the national scale and they are, to some great extent, novel and explicitly global formations. However, the other set of dynamics contains processes that do not essentially scale at the global level as such yet, but they are still part of globalization. According to her theorization of globalization, these processes occur far down inside institutional domains and territories that have been constructed mainly in national and subnational terms. Although these processes are localized in national and in subnational settings, they are part of globalization in which they involve entities and transboundary networks that are connecting multiple national-local processes and actors. They can be results, or the recurrence, of specific issues (for example, housing segregation in this case) or dynamics in a growing number of nations or localities. Sassen maintains that when the social sciences emphasis on globalization, it is usually not on this second kind (set of local processes), but rather on the global scale (Ibid).

Among these set of local process, Sassen includes, for instance, cross-border networks of activists that are involved in a specific localized struggle with an either explicit or implicit global agenda (Ibid:6) such as segregated housing in which requires the implementation of particular monetary policies or employing different actors. In other words, she incorporates more elusive developing situations, such as forms of politics and imaginaries that are determined on localized subjects and issues that are shared by other localities around the world (glocalization) (Ibid).

### 4.2.1 Global City

Globalization can be decomposed in the matter of different strategic places where global developments and the links that bind them emerge. In that sense, “the city, together with the metropolitan region, is one of the spaces where major macrosocial trends materialize and hence can be constituted as an object of study” (Ibid: 101) in the *Sociology of Globalization*. Thus, the concept of the city can be seen as a tactical site for the examination of numerous main topics meeting global politics, society, and sociology. As we begin a new era of telecommunication, Sassen argues, the city may be perceived as a strategic site for understanding some of the main new trends reconfiguring the social order (Sassen, 2001:243). Among these developments are the rise of the new information technologies, the intensification of transnational and translocal dynamics, the increased voice and presence of specific types of sociocultural diversity and, indeed, globalization (Sassen 2007:101).

Sassen maintains that once economic activity is globalized, it partially reforms contemporary social orders and aids to the construction of new ones (Sassen, 2001:243). These new orders emerge through the practices of economic actors, such as global corporations and marketplaces, and the expansion of specific economic regimes. Investigating these transformations entails theoretical architectures; one model is the global city. Since the global economy has enlarged over the last three decades, we have now witnessed the creation of a rising network of global cities (Sassen, 2007: 31). A global city is, then, a strategic site because of its political and economic functionality (Ibid:125). These cities have emerged as strategic sites for both the formation of transnational identities and transnationalization of labor (Ibid: 123). In that sense, these cities generate a place for new forms of politics to incorporate new types of transnational politics. These global cities are the ground on which people with different cultures, from different countries, are most likely to meet to create a multiplicity of cultures. In that sense, the global character of these cities relies not only in their global firms and telecommunications structure; but it extends in many diverse cultural surroundings such as set of beliefs, practices, customs, discourses and behavior (Ibid).

Immigration, then, becomes one of the constitutive processes of globalization in global cities. It becomes one major process through which a new transnational political economy is being formed, both at the micro level of translocal household survival strategies and the macro level of global labor markets. So far, immigration is fundamentally rooted in global cities, because



most immigrants, surely in the developed countries, are concentrated in major cities. Global cities of today, then, concentrates diversity. Their spaces are decorated with not only the dominant commercial culture but also with a variety of other identities and cultures (Ibid). According to Sassen, the dominant culture in global cities might, or may not, partially share power with immigrants but they still mark immigration and ethnicity with “otherness” (Ibid: 123).

Moreover, according to the Sociology of Globalization, the city is a far more concrete space for politics than the nation. Global cities can become a site where informal political actors be part of the political scene in a way that is more perplexing than the national level. For instance, politics, at the national level, need to operate through prevailing official procedures, whether the judiciary or the electoral system. Indeed, one needs to be a citizen to be part of that. Informal political actors, on the other hand, are more invisible in the space of city politics. The city, as a political space, appeals a broad range of informal political actors and the politics of culture and identity, such as demonstrating against racism or police brutality, fighting for the rights of homeless and immigrants or politics of protecting sexual minorities (Ibid). In that sense, urban politics can become very concrete because they are visible on the street, and are enacted by activists and informal political actors rather being dependent on media or the judiciary system. In that light, “street-level politics makes possible the formation of new types of political subjects that do not have to go through the formal political system” (Ibid: 200), but rather through glocal networks and informal political actors (Ibid).

#### **4.2.2 Local Actors of Global Cities in Global Politics**

The new information and communication technologies and globalization have allowed a mixture of local political actors to enter international arenas, once limited only to national states. Numerous kinds of oppositional and claim-making politics articulate these developments. In addition, the possibility of global imaginaries has allowed even those who are geographically fixed to be part of global politics (Sassen, 2004: 649). Indigenous local communities, NGOs, refugees, immigrants, and many other local actors are progressively becoming players in global politics (Ibid). These is mainly because these players have become subjects of decision in human rights and environmental judgments. In other words, individuals or collectivities, informal and non-state actors have gained visibility by entering in global politics and international settings; evolving from the invisibility of collective affiliation in a nation-state, which once was exclusively represented by the sovereign. Sassen argue that “one

way of interpreting this is in terms of an incipient unbundling of the exclusive authority over territory and people that we have long associated with the national state” (Ibid: 649). The most strategic observation of this unbundling is perhaps the global city, which functions as a partially denationalized stage for global capital and, simultaneously, is evolving as the main meeting site of diversity of people from all over the world.

Moreover, the rising force of communications among global cities is generating a planned cross-border geography that partially detours national states. The new network technologies intensify these communications, regardless of whether they are Internet-based communications, among the members of globally dispersed diasporas and civil society organizations, or electronic transfers of specialized services among firms. These new network technologies have expanded the geography for civil society actors beyond the strategic networks of global cities, and have strengthened this politics of places, to include peripheralized localities (Ibid: 649-650).

All these several developments have enabled the formation of a politics of places on global politics. As Sassen argues, local actors, even when resource-poor and geographically immobile, can contribute to the creation of global spheres or practical public domains, and “thereby to a type of local political subjectivity that needs to be distinguished from what we would usually consider local” (Sassen, 2007: 191). She maintains that there are two dynamics that come together in generating these new types of politics (peripheral localities and innovation policies) and subjectivities. One is the power of transnational and subnational spaces and actors, and the second one is the formation of new Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), which have empowered local actors to become part of global networks (2007: 192).

As for these two dynamics, Sassen claims that the new strategic geographies and the major cities that bond them, detour national states and can be understood as a part of forming the infrastructure of global domains, comprising global civil society. According to her theory, these two dynamics form the infrastructure of global domains from the ground up, via several microtransactions and microsites. The actors, among these political sites, are a mixture of organizations focused on transboundary matters, such as asylum, immigration, international women’s agendas, or the problem of housing segregation in our case and etc. Although all these associations are not necessarily urban in their genesis or orientation, but they lean to converge in global cities. In addition, the new network technologies, in particular the Internet, have

reinforced the urban map of transboundary networks (Ibid). At this point, cities and the networks that tie them together operate as an anchor and an enabler of cross-border issues. “Global cities, then, are thick enabling environments for these types of activities even when the networks are not urban per se” (Ibid: 201).

An important nexus in this configuration is the decrease of formal power of states over national territory. This weakening of power enables the dominance of transnational and subnational actors and spaces in politico-civic developments. These actors and spaces incorporate activities that once was limited to the national domain, which now are becoming part of global networks. These political sites are novel spaces that have evolved in the context of globalization and the new ICTs. The weakening of dominance at the national level have generated opportunities for non-formal actors and new kinds of politics and power at the subnational and supranational levels. Sassen argues that the national, as vessel of power and social process, is now cracked. This cracked shell, according to her theory, opens up a geography of civic and politics that links subnational spaces. As a result, global cities are now primary in generating local actors in these new political spaces (Ibid:193-194). In that sense, “the density of political and civic cultures in large cities enables the localizing of global civil society in people's lives” (Ibid: 194).

Sassen argues that people’s network in global cities are now micropolitics of global civil society and they are in fact cross-border networks. These cross-border networks of global cities are areas in which one can identify the formation of new types of global politics of place that contest human rights abuses, environmental issues and so on. According to her, “this is a place-specific politics with a global spam. It is a kind of political work deeply embedded in people’s actions and activities but made possible in part by the existence of global digital links” (Ibid: 197). These links are mainly institutions that are working through networks of cities, along with the involvement of informal political actors. For example, among these actors are women who involve in political struggles in their womanhood, or ethnic minorities who join to protest against inequality. Such a political space can compose a knowledge network or a community of practice (Ibid: 208). Sassen claims that these social practices constitute an explicit type of global politics that routes in localities and is not necessarily established on the existence of global institutions. Theoretically speaking, this type of global politics clarifies the difference between a global network and the factual communications that constitute it. In other words, the global features of people’s network do not necessarily suggest that its transactions are

equivalently global nor that they all have to occur at the global level. It, rather, illustrates that the local networks can be multiscalar (Ibid: 205).

Hence, the forms of political practice theorized by Sassen “do not form the cosmopolitan route to the global. They are global through the knowing multiplication of local practices” (Ibid: 212) or glocalization. These are kinds of struggle and sociability that are intensely surrounded in people’s activities and actions. They are different types of institutions building, with global opportunities, that can emerge from informal social actors and networks of localities with restricted resources. As Sassen argues, local actors do not have to become cosmopolitan during the process. According to her, they may or may not remain particularistic and domestic in their orientation and continue to engage in their local community struggles and households, nevertheless they are contributing in developing global politics (Ibid: 212).

## **Chapter 5: Analysis**

### **5.1 Conceptualization of WPR Approach**

The goal of question 1 in WPR approach is to recognize implied problem representations in Malmö' municipality's MP. As policy documents are complex, combining variety of proposals, this study expects to encounter with more than one problem representation within the MPs. This study is also aware that different types of representations may also conflict and even contradict each other (Baachi, 2009: 3-4). Therefore, it is crucial to treat question 1 with cautious. Question 2 requires asking which presuppositions or assumptions persuade a recognized problem representation. Here, the terms presuppositions/assumptions refer to background 'knowledge' that is postulated. Question 2 incorporates epistemological and ontological assumptions. Therefore, by investigating presuppositions, the analysis can identify the conceptual premises that support specific problem representations in the MPs. In other words, the main goal here is to identify and analyze the conceptual logics that support particular problem representations (Ibid: 5). To do so, one must consider the importance of people categories as part of governance (Bletsas & Beasley, 2012). As it was discussed before, categories are concepts that play a pivotal role in how governing takes place. Some of these examples are age categories, gender, single mothers, the homeless, welfare dependents, (Baachi, 2009: 9) immigrants and etc.

Question 3 has two interconnected objectives. The first one is to reflect on the specific developments that supply to the formation of identified problem representations in the MPs. The second objective is to understand that competing problem representations exist both across space and over time, and therefore that problem representations could have developed quite differently (Baachi, 2009: 10-11). In other words, this analysis applies question 3 with the purpose to consider the contingent processes and practices through which this understanding of the 'problem' has developed (Bletsas & Beasley, 2012). This aids the analysis to underline the circumstances that enable a particular problem representation to take shape and to assume dominance (Baachi, 2009: 10-11). Finally, question 4 allows this analysis to investigate what fails to be problematized. The main objective here is not that there is another way to think about the problem, but rather that particular policies are protected by the ways in which they represent the 'problem'. Therefore, the goal is to bring concerns, perspectives and issues (that are silenced in identified problem representations) into the argument (Ibid: 12-13).

## **Malmö City's MP 1990**

In this document, Malmö municipality's MP discusses the problem of segregation two times. It claims that housing in Malmö is a complicated problem because house planning and market forces have together led to a situation with extensive relocation movements within the region and an ongoing segregation of housing. However, the MP reformulates the problem of segregation with the term "regional imbalance" and it measures it through high dependency of some minority groups on social benefits in some areas in Malmö and Sydvästra Skånes kommunalförbund (SSK) (Malmö City Council, 1990: 78). The MP states that;

"Malmö has a relatively high proportion of 20-29-year-old, high unemployment, a high proportion of immigrants and many single parents. In all these groups, dependence on social benefits is higher than average" (Ibid ;78).

Later on, the MP states that:

"High dependence on social benefits corresponds with low income, unemployment, substance abuse and exclusion" (Ibid: 79).

According to the MP, physical and mental illness show a similar pattern. The MP claims that relocation of these groups is high during 1990s, but many move around between similar areas. In that light, the MP assumes that the municipalities' finances will be affected as a result. Although no particular areas are mentioned, but the MP states that in some neighborhoods 50 to 70% of households may be dependent on social assistance (Ibid: 79). According to the MP, this regional imbalance and segregation are to some great extent a human problem that have an individualized angle. The MP claims that:

"The human problems that are concentrated in low-reputation residential areas are not based on built-up areas but mainly on a complex of lack of education, unemployment, physical illnesses, mental health problems, drug abuse, crime and the like. The best help for these people is individual and family-oriented rehabilitation and support efforts" (Ibid:79).

Here, the MP specifies an individualized vision of integration, in which individual needs and responsibilities replace group-based responsibilities and rights. In problematic areas, external

factors such as outdoor environment and community support do not seem to be important in the MP (Ibid: 79). The MP does not include a gender perspective in its problematization to recognize that men and women might have different needs. The MP is also silent about the role of communities and group support in 'problematic' areas. The MP is hesitant to discuss the role of municipality in remodeling the urban infrastructure through constructing accessible pathways and roads for people with disability. In the same sense, the MP does not problematize structural causes such as equal opportunities or mechanisms and the elements that might be discriminatory in the labor and housing market. There is lack of planning for providing safety and crime control measures in 'problematic' areas. In terms of education, there are no planning nor recommendations for establishing a higher educational system for the city's young population.

During this period, representation of the problem generates otherness. Here, poverty is considered a human fault and physical and mental illness correlate with segregation and poverty. The best help for these people is assumed to be individual and family-oriented rehabilitation and support efforts. In this problem representation, the burden of responsibility falls mainly on the groups of people with no education, who are unemployed and have physical or mental illness. Being unemployed itself creates the 'problem' as individual capabilities or incapacities to fit into the labor market (Bacchi, 2009:12).

**Malmö's Master Plan 1990**

1	What's the 'problem' represented to be in a specific policy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Movement within the region and an ongoing segregation of housing.</li> </ul>
2	What assumptions or presupposition support this representation of the 'problem'?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dependency on social benefits.</li> <li>• High proportion of young people.</li> <li>• High unemployment rate.</li> <li>• High proportion of immigrants.</li> <li>• Many single parents.</li> <li>• Physical and mental illness.</li> <li>• Substance abuse.</li> <li>• Lack of education.</li> </ul>
3	How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Regional imbalance</li> <li>• House planning and market forces.</li> <li>• Human fault</li> </ul>
4.	What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Structural causes such as equal opportunities.</li> <li>• A gender perspective.</li> <li>• Mechanisms and the elements that are actually discriminatory in the labor and housing market.</li> <li>• External factors such as outdoor environment.</li> <li>• Community or group support.</li> <li>• The role of municipality.</li> <li>• Accessible pathways and roads for people with disability.</li> <li>• Providing safety and crime control measures.</li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of planning in providing higher educational system for the city's young population.</li> </ul>
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### **Malmö City's MP 2000**

One can notice a shift in the discourse of problem representation in this document. The term 'segregation' in the MP is clearly more visible (28 times) compare to the previous one; and in fact, it has a chapter, namely as 'Integration', which challenges 'Social and Ethnic Segregation' in the city of Malmö. The MP states that "Malmö is clearly a segregated city" (Malmö City Council, 2000; 252), where different parts of the city can be experienced as different worlds (Ibid). According to the MP, in some places this means area-related cohesion, and in some other places means lack of community between different groups (Ibid: 252). According to the MP, around 30% of the inhabitants of Malmö live in about 25 residential areas which in a negative sense are characterized by social and ethnic segregation (Ibid: 21).

The MP states that Malmö's population has increased and it has now over 250,000 inhabitants. The MP indicates that the increase in population is mainly due to Malmö having a "surplus of immigrants" (Ibid: 16), whom are young people from southwestern Skåne and people from other countries:

"Every fourth Malmö resident has their roots in countries which in many cases have a completely different culture, something that in many ways colors the city" (Ibid:16).

The MP argues that because of this increase in population, one of the most serious problem for Malmö is that such a large proportion of the working-age population is outside the labor market and thus without self-sufficiency. The document also mentions that the employment problem in Malmö is somewhat connected to the fact that the residents' level of education is lower than other comparable places. Therefore, the MP maintains that the establishment of Malmö University is a strategically important future investment (Ibid: 16).

Another issue that the MP brings into question is that there is a potential threat of social unrest between neighborhoods with different conditions, different ethnic groups and etc. (Ibid: 252). The MP states that segregation and social exclusion are social risks that do not only involve a risk of immediate damage, but can also be seen as a long-term threat to the city of Malmö (Ibid: 250). The MP allocates some areas with positive (attractive) identity and claims that these areas have great social cohesion and local involvement, and therefore can contribute in making Malmö more attractive. On the other hand, it argues that in districts with problems and difficulties of various kinds, it may, in some cases, be essential to break down the negative identity (ibid: 250-252).

The basis for housing segregation in Malmö is found in the low-income groups in the city. The MP states that social segregation has a strong ethnic character. It states that this segregation is “self-selected” (Ibid: 20) and has both advantages and disadvantages (ibid). The MP acknowledges that housing segregation in Malmö is mainly forced in a sense that residents with small financial resources and weak networks are forced to apply to the areas that have been ranked low in the housing market. According to the MP, it is not the physical environment or the population structure itself that causes people to be poor, but the primary reasons are such as a weak labor market and a lack of flexibility in the system (Ibid: 20).

The MP, indirectly, mentions Rosengård as an area with segregated character. It states that Rosengård, perhaps more than any other part of Malmö's districts, is desirable to change social conditions (Ibid: 300). It also states that Rosengård has a relatively young population (31% of the inhabitants are 15 years or younger) and a large proportion of households that have many children. 77% of the population in this area has an immigrant background, compared to 28% for the city as a whole (Ibid: 300).

As it was mentioned earlier, the document contains a chapter on integration to tackle segregation in Malmö. It argues that the fundamental efforts are in adult education and labor market policy to incorporate the inhabitants into working life. It shortly discusses that employer are required to change their attitude in order to understand how to utilize the resources and skills that the immigrant population possesses. The MP states that all forms of discrimination on the grounds of ethnic origin must end (Ibid: 21).

Although the MP acknowledges that Malmö is a segregated city and integration policies are required, but the MP does not discuss the mechanisms and the elements that are actually discriminatory in the labor market as much as it discusses the problem of segregation. The MP, at only one point, acknowledges that there are discriminatory elements in the labor market, but it is hesitant to discuss this matter further in a more substantial way. Unlike the previous MP, here the burden of responsibility is not only on Malmö's residents (human fault), but it also demands a change in the attitude of employers. However, the MP is still silent about its own role in providing a comprehensive plan to tackle segregation and is hesitant to include a gender perspective in problem representation. However, in comparison with the previous MP, the number of issues that have left unproblematic is less than the MP in 1990. In other words, the MP seems to problematize more issues compare to the previous version.

### Malmö's Master Plan 2000

<b>1</b>	What's the 'problem' represented to be in a specific policy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Malmö is a segregated city.</li> <li>• Social and ethnic segregation.</li> </ul>
<b>2</b>	What assumptions or presupposition support this representation of the 'problem'?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Working-age are outside of labor market (unemployed).</li> <li>• Groups with small financial resources.</li> <li>• Groups with weak networks.</li> <li>• Level of education.</li> <li>• Attitude of employers</li> <li>• Segregation is self-selected (forced).</li> <li>• Surplus of immigrants.</li> </ul>
<b>3</b>	How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Weak labor market.</li> <li>• Lack of flexibility in the systems.</li> <li>• Lack of community in some areas.</li> <li>• Area-related cohesion.</li> <li>• Population growth.</li> </ul>
<b>4.</b>	What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mechanisms and the elements that are actually discriminatory in the labor and housing market.</li> <li>• Structural causes such as equal opportunities.</li> <li>• A gender perspective.</li> <li>• Malmö municipality's role to tackle segregation.</li> </ul>

## **Malmö City's MP 2005**

In 2005, Malmö municipality updated the previous MP (2000) with some of the developments that are incorporated to the city. In other words, the MP in 2005 is just an editorial revision of the previous MP. At that time, the main features of the previous MP were still relevant and most of the planned-development was still unused. However, since this study is interested to understand how problem representation of segregation has evolved, it is worthy to apply the MP form 2005 to the Bacchi's framework.

The MP indicates that in the short term there is a serious problem: although the number of job opportunities have increased in Malmö, but there are still too many Malmö residents without employment. According to the MP, the commonly increasing differences in living conditions between different employment and differences in income are obviously reflected in increasing housing segregation both within Malmö and between Malmö and the surrounding region. The MP states that, above all, people who have immigrated in the last decade are without work and it is this group who do not become integrated into society. The MP argues that socio-economic segregation has a strong element of ethnicity with the risk of increasing isolation, growing exclusion and a social heritage that threatens to be passed on to new generations (Malmö City Council, 2005: 8).

The MP maintains that work is the prerequisite for people's livelihood, housing and security (Ibid: 18). The MP argues that what is negative for Malmö is the image of a metropolitan setting that is characterized by growing social and ethnic segregation, high unemployment rate, along with increasing crime and insecurity. The MP presumes that the establishment of Malmö college (Malmö College at that time) will raise the level of education of Malmö residents, and the Öresund bridge, which connects Malmö and Copenhagen, will create more job opportunities and integration possibilities to Malmö residents (Ibid :8).

The MP indicates that the industrial city of Malmö has now been transformed into an education and service city (Ibid: 8). It argues that many new jobs have been created in the last ten years, but the proportion of gainfully employed in Malmö is still below the national average. Creating more jobs, along with increasing higher employment rate, are mentioned as high-priority goals of Malmö municipality (Ibid: 8).

When it comes to housing, the MP argues that housing construction throughout the country, including Malmö, has been low during the last decade. This has led to increased overcrowded housing in some areas. At the same time, the MP states that “a significant arrival of people with a foreign background has led to increased segregation in housing” (Ibid: 19). In that sense, the MP claims that it is “young and low-educated people as well as immigrants” (Ibid: 8) from the last decade who have difficulty entering the labor market (Ibid: 8).

In comparison to the MP from 2000, this revision stresses more on Malmö municipality’s role in tackling segregation and providing equal opportunities in different sectors including for example pathways, roads and means of transport for people with disability. The MP asserts that the traffic system plays an important role in making Malmö safe and accessible city for all its inhabitants, regardless of age, gender, physical and economic situation. The MP states that a well-function traffic system can increase social balance and can contribute to make Malmö more attractive (Ibid: 48). As one of its overall goal, the MP states:

“A fundamental goal for the municipality is to ensure that all Malmö inhabitants have good welfare and living standards. Higher employment rates and self-sufficiency of Malmö residents are the most effective tools against insecurity, exclusion and segregation. Housing and community services are basic welfare components” (Ibid: 21).

Like the previous version of MP, the document is still hesitant to address issues such as the elements of discrimination in the labor and housing market. The main focus again is on socio-economic segregation and unemployment. Here, like the previous version, the MP problematizes segregation through significant arrival of people. However, the MP seems to problematize even more issues compare to the previous one.

<b>Malmö's Master Plan 2005</b>		
<b>1</b>	What's the 'problem' represented to be in a specific policy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Differences in employment and income groups are reflected in housing segregation.</li> </ul>
<b>2</b>	What assumptions or presupposition support this representation of the 'problem'?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Too many Malmö residents without job (unemployed).</li> <li>• Significant arrival of people with a foreign background has led to increased segregation in housing.</li> <li>• Socio-economic segregation has a strong element in ethnicity and education.</li> </ul>
<b>3</b>	How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Housing construction has been low during the last decade.</li> <li>• Overcrowded housing in some areas.</li> <li>• Traffic system plays a role.</li> <li>• Population growth</li> </ul>
<b>4.</b>	What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mechanisms and the elements that are actually discriminatory in the labor market and housing.</li> <li>• A gender perspective.</li> </ul>

### **Malmö City's MP 2014**

The MP states that housing with higher population density has generally increased in Malmö but differs sharply between districts. In parts of Malmö, the MP argues, overcrowding is a

serious problem because competition for housing tends to affect low-income households. In particular, young people, students, homeless and unemployed have difficulty in entering the housing market. The MP indicates that homelessness in Malmö is also increasing and more and more people are becoming homeless. The problem representation of segregation in the MP, which is mainly presented as housing with higher population density in some areas, means that the differences in living conditions between districts and individuals have widened social and physical proximity (Malmö City Council, 2014: 31).

To reduce this exclusion, the MP states that municipal board has decided to implement specific area programs in five districts – Seved (Sofielund), Herrgården, Lindängen, Holma-Kroksbäck and Segevång for a more socially sustainable Malmö. By prioritizing these five areas, the municipality is ambitious that the programs can be based on each area's specific needs and dynamics. The MP states that central idea in the area programs is that they should be built around physical skeletons and social muscles. To do so, the MP emphasizes that new forms of partnership between public and private actors needs to be developed (Ibid: 63).

In contrast to previous years, here the MP assumes that unequal conditions that exist between different places and individuals in Malmö can be read in a number of indicators. In order to overcome these indicators, the MP emphasizes on proximity, equality and integration policies. It claims that exclusion can be counteracted by, for example, bridging barriers, through creating diverse range of meeting places with different contexts. Therefore, it also assumes that “all districts can be attractive to settle in and have high-quality living environments”. The document states that “proximity between people contributes to a more integrated city” (Ibid: 71). The MP also discusses that a gender equality perspective must be included in the work to promote and ensure access for everyone to housing. It emphasizes that housing should be both large enough and acceptable in a good living environment with basic community services nearby (Ibid: 39).

Unlike previous MPs, here the problem representation (overcrowded housing and homelessness) has structural reasons such as lack of housing, financial conditions, strict demands from landlords (Ibid 31). The MP, by indirectly discussing gender perspectives, highlights that women and men, girls and boys have different experiences and needs and they must be made visible, lightened and taken into account in future planning. The MP states that gender equality perspectives must be covered in all areas of activity and in all stages of planning and decision-making. In its strategy, the MP argues that in order to promote integration,



municipality should locate activities that are aimed at children to contribute to a mixture of children with different backgrounds meeting each other (Ibid: 31).

‘Regional imbalance’, which was emphasized in the 1990s, is now being replaced by ‘social balance’. The MP focuses on its long-term strategies to provide conditions of good life and “affordable housing” (Ibid:39), for today and future citizens. In a whole chapter, “Social Balance and Good living Conditions”, the MP emphasizes on most basic needs for everyone, such as work and livelihood, having a home, the opportunity to get good education, feel safe and have access to good care. Unlike regional imbalance in 1990, which was measured through dependency on social benefits, social balance here is achievable through democratic processes such as feeling involved in a context, having the opportunity to participate in cultural activities and expressing oneself creatively (Ibid: 39-40). Therefore, citizen participation and involvement among residents seem to be an important prerequisite for reducing social exclusion.

In addition, a socially balanced city, according to the MP, must also be an equal city (Ibid: 15). In contrast to previous MPs, here the MP constantly brings up contexts such as justice, democracy, equal participation, gender equality and equal opportunities through the document. The fact that all minority groups, such as people with disability, should have the possibility to reach the whole city by convenient means of transportation is also discussed much more substantially compare to previous MPs. This indicates that more issues have been problematized in the MP compare to the previous ones. However, although there is a significant change of discourse in the document, but the MP still does not tackle the issue of discrimination that can be systematically found among different sectors. For example, the MP discusses the fact that there are strict demands from landlords, but it is silent to discuss what those demands are. Those demands can indirectly signify how selective the landlords are when they want to choose a tenant or a roommate. The same silence is again visible when the MP discusses employment and labor market.

**Malmö's Master Plan 2014**

<b>1</b>	What's the 'problem' represented to be in a specific policy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Differences in living conditions between districts and individuals have widened social and physical proximity.</li> <li>• Homelessness is increasing.</li> </ul>
<b>2</b>	What assumptions or presupposition support this representation of the 'problem'?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Young people.</li> <li>• Students.</li> <li>• The homeless.</li> <li>• Unemployed.</li> <li>• Low-income households.</li> </ul>
<b>3</b>	How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High demands from landlords.</li> <li>• Competition for housing tends to affect low-income households.</li> <li>• Need for social balance.</li> <li>• Unequal conditions that exist between different places and individuals.</li> <li>• Different areas have not met their specific needs.</li> <li>• Need for participation in social and cultural activities.</li> <li>• Need for a gender perspective.</li> <li>• Need for equality.</li> <li>• Need for children's activities.</li> <li>• Need for partnership between public and private actors</li> </ul>
<b>4.</b>	What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mechanisms and the elements that are actually discriminatory in the housing and the labor market.</li> </ul>

## **Malmö City's MP 2018**

This document, which also comes with a short English version, states that:

“Malmö is partly characterized by segregation and social disparity: differences in living standard and public health between different city districts are large. These trends must be broken for Malmö to unlock the full potential that the city's population and cultural structure offers. The physical environment is a framework for social interaction and is therefore a basic condition of life in the city” (Malmö City Council, Summary in English, 2018: 4).

The MP states that a wide range of housing with variation in house and apartment types, such as forms of tenancy, sizes and cost levels contribute to the attractiveness of the city and the region and are an important factor for business and the development of the labor market (Malmö City Council, 2018: 26). When it comes to assumptions, here the problem representation of housing segregation not only has structural causes, but it also has multiple global and regional angles. However, the remaining assumption of problem representation in the MP is again population growth in Malmö and high unemployment rate.

The MP predicts that Malmö's population in 2027 will be around 378,000, which means an average growth of around 5,000 inhabitants per year. The MP indicates that this number requires around 1,900 homes per year (Ibid: 73), therefore, according to the MP, there are at least three challenges when it comes to housing:

- To accomplish housing construction that is in line with population growth.
- To meet the need for housing that everyone can demand, including low-income households.
- To reduce homelessness (Ibid: 26-27).

The MP states that these are great challenges for Malmö as the municipality is responsible to ensure that people with different terms and conditions have the opportunity to find housing, especially for groups with a weak position in the housing market (Ibid: 26). The MP claims that the number of newly constructed homes has not increased in line with the population growth, and this has led to a housing shortage for some groups. In addition, the MP states that, more than ever, the competition for housing has intensified as the housing prices are increasing and landlords are placing high demands on tenants in the form of financial security and care.

As a result, the MP claims that more and more people are without a home and homelessness is on the rise. The socioeconomic angle is again visible in the document as the MP argues that housing construction in Malmö is affected by the fact that households' ability to pay is relatively low (Ibid: 27). The MP states that:

“Newly built homes are too expensive to be in demand by low-income earners and Malmö is a young city with many debutants who have a weak foothold in the housing and labor market. The fact that more Malmö residents have work and self-sufficiency is crucial for increasing demand for newly produced homes” (Ibid: 26).

The MP mandates municipality to create conditions for housing construction through detailed plans, building permits, land allocations, development agreements and through ownership directives for the municipal housing company MKB. In that sense, the MP states that the City of Malmö's housing policy goals are based on the tools that the municipality has at its disposal within the housing supply, i.e., the planning instrument, land ownership and land policy, as well as the housing agency Boplats Syd (Ibid: 26-27).

Moreover, the MP argues that Malmö's opportunities for action are largely governed by system prerequisites provided by the state, the EU and the UN. At the national level, the MP states that national decisions have an impact on local matters. It argues that today Malmö has become a university city and that the city will be linked closer to the outside world through high-speed trains and other infrastructure (Ibid: 3). Malmö's geographical location on the national border and on the Öresunds bridge, as one of the busiest waterways in the world, makes the city a meeting point for communication and transport between the continent and northern Europe (Ibid: 22). In that sense, one very important aspect that the MP constantly brings to discussion is the fact that Malmö is now part of global context and therefore that housing market is the arena of many actors (Ibid: 26-27).

From a global perspective, the MP argues that Malmö has been used to symbolize the challenges of globalization (Ibid: 22). The MP states that not only social balance, equality, security and safety are crucial issues to achieve for a good life for Malmö residents, but it is also important to show the outside world that Malmö is a proactive and attractive city. Therefore, when it comes to strategy, the MP focuses on international and national goals, plans and projects that can potentially affect Malmö (Ibid: 22-23).

The MP also states that the UN adopted 17 global goals in 2015 for economically, socially and environmentally sustainable development which Malmö can adopt and cope with. The MP brings up the Amsterdam Pact, which is adopted by the EU in 2016, for a new urban policy. The Amsterdam Pact, which the MP is also planning to implement, is a future-oriented program aimed at supporting UN goals through better legislation, better funding and increased knowledge. Moreover, as one of the main strategies, the MP states that the UN's global sustainability goals and Agenda 2030 will be starting points for Malmö's urban development projects (Ibid: 22). According to the MP, Malmö is clearly part of a global context because it is affected in different ways by both fast and slow developments in the world such as climate change and migration.

Like the previous MP, here the participation of citizen and involvement of different actors are again highlighted as the prerequisite for reducing social exclusion. The MP also states that although municipality is accountable for housing supply, but that market is the field of many actors (Malmö City Council, 2018 :26). Moreover, here, the discourse on problem representation has a lot of similarities with the previous version of MP in 2014, in terms of bringing the contingent processes and practices through which the understanding of the segregation should be tackled (question3). Moreover, to place Malmö as a city in global contexts have been highlighted significantly. In the next section, this thesis discusses these global developments within the framework of the Global City.

### Malmö's Master Plan 2018

<b>1</b>	What's the 'problem' represented to be in a specific policy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Malmö is partly characterized by segregation and social disparity.</li> <li>• Homelessness is on the rise.</li> </ul>
<b>2</b>	What assumptions or presupposition support this representation of the 'problem'?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Homeless.</li> <li>• Households' ability to pay is relatively low.</li> </ul>
<b>3</b>	How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Landlords are placing high demands on tenants in the form of financial security and care.</li> <li>• Need for participation of citizens.</li> <li>• Housing shortage.</li> <li>• Newly built homes are too expensive.</li> <li>• Macro level decision-making has impact on local issues.</li> <li>• Housing prices are increasing.</li> <li>• Malmö is part of a global context and therefore housing is the arena of many actors.</li> <li>• The competition for housing has intensified.</li> <li>• Population growth.</li> <li>• The physical environment</li> </ul>
<b>4.</b>	What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mechanisms and the elements that are actually discriminatory in the housing and the labor market.</li> </ul>

## **5.2 Conceptualizing BID as Glocal Actor and Malmö as a Global City**

This section investigates how informal political actors and political processes, at the heart of contemporary transnational politics, have emerged in the city of Malmö through the use of symbols, identity, and transnational networks (Lyons & Mandaville, 2010). To begin with, one angle that the latest two MPs (2014 and 2018) are focusing is globalization and the emergence of different actors in urban planning. As the latest MP (2018) argues, rapid and constant changes of the outside world have an impact on Malmö in various respects, therefore it is crucial that Malmö closely follows and exerts influence, as much as possible, on events and actors that directly or indirectly affect housing and Malmö's inhabitants (Malmö City Council, 2018: 22). In the same light, the MP in 2014 emphasizes that new forms of partnership between public and private actors needs to be developed. The MP proposes that in order to reduce exclusion, municipal board has decided to implement specific area programs in different districts, based on their local needs (Malmö City Council; 2014: 63).

In other words, what the last two MPs are fundamentally promoting and bringing into discussion is the role of different actors at different societal levels in the city planning. The MP in 2018, for example, argues that planning and housing construction are processes that take long time and they involve many actors. In addition, in order to propose new methods for solving the problem of segregation, the MP brings the role of new potential actors into picture such as global, regional and local actors. It states that although municipality is responsible for housing supply, but that housing market is the arena of many actors (Malmö City Council, 2018 :26). It claims that housing construction takes place on market terms and thus follows economic fluctuations rather than needs. Therefore, for initiatives to have an effect, the players in the housing market must work together. The MP states that municipality, property owners and property developers need to act together to maintain a sufficiently high level of housing construction and have a consensus on good quality in the housing stock (Ibid).

As it was discussed in the introduction chapter, the association BID was constituted in 2014 on the joint initiative of the City of Malmö for the purpose of cooperation between formal actors (Malmö municipality and the local Police), and informal actors (property owners, property developers and tenants) to reduce exclusion and increase attractiveness (Malmö Stad, BID Sofielund, 2021) in one of the venerable areas of Malmö, known as Sofielund. The concept of BID, which internationally stands for Business Improvement District, has been reformed and

has a different abbreviation in Malmö. BID Malmö, also known as BID Sofielund, stands for Boende (housing in English), Integration and Dialogue (BID Malmö, 2020).

According to municipality's agreement in 2014, BID Malmö has the legitimate statues promote cooperation between property owners and tenant-owner association. It has also the legitimate statues to cooperate between property owners, the City of Malmö and other formal actors, including the local Police, with the aim of advancing a positive development in the district Sofielund (Bohman & Jingryd, 2015: 4). In that sense, before going to a more in-depth analysis of this newly emerged actor, it is important to briefly investigate its origin and its functionality within the city of Malmö.

### **5.2.1 Role of BID Malmö in the City**

The early examples of BIDs originate from Canada and the United States in the 1970s. The concept first originated in Toronto, in the Blood West Village, as Business Improvement Area (BIA). Soon, cities in the United States followed the concept: as American cities depopulated, the conditions for retail trade in some cities deteriorated. Recently, the concept of BID has spread globally to a large number of countries, including Sweden, the United Kingdom, Germany and Denmark. As of today, BID associations, as informal political actors, are collaboration between several actors for urban development in a geographically delimited area. In other words, BIDs are now seen as occupying a political space between the public and private realms (Bohman & Jingryd, 2015).

According to a report by the Crime Prevention Council (Brå) in Sweden, 5,250 crimes were registered only in Sofielund district in Malmö between 2007 to 2014. This includes robbery, gun shooting and drug related crimes (Brottsförebyggande rådet, 2015: 11). In the same light, a study conducted by Malmö University, department of Criminology, conducted in 2012, showed that residents in Sofielund experienced a high proportion of insecurity and disturbances compared with other parts of the city of Malmö. Well-being, social cohesion, trust in local authorities, local problems, insecurity, anxiety and perceived risk of exposure to crime are the main areas that this study is focusing (Ivert et al., 2013).

However, since 2014 up until 2020, the district has considerably improved. In 2019, Municipal Police, Freddy Nilsson, stated that effective collaboration between the Police, the municipality of Malmö and BID Malmö has created a very positive development in Sofielund. This report



states that collaboration among different actors is a key factor in this improvement and they will continue collaborating with BID in other districts with high crime rate (Polisen, 2019).

On December 2019, BID Sofielund was announced as the winner of the European Crime Prevention Award (ECPA) in a competitive contest with 14 other contributors in Helsinki, Finland. BID Sofielund was praised for broad crime prevention efforts in Sofielund which has led to increased well-being and stability in the area. In second and third place came Germany and Denmark. The jury of ECPA stated that BID's extensive efforts in Sofielund have upturned a negative development in the area, which has had major problems with both serious and minor crimes. The jury also stated that the difficult problems have been resolved by strengthening the collective capacity among different actors who live and work in the area. They praised BID Sofielund for a wide range of initiatives that have been implemented by both civil society, business and formal actors, such as the municipality and the Police in the form of camera surveillance and efforts to increase social cohesion (ECPA, 2019). The jury concludes that:

“Researchers have followed and evaluated the work. A strong and vigorous local network, where all parties who contributed in different ways, has formed the basis for success” (Ibid).

As of today, the collaboration of Malmö municipality and the BID Sofielund is considered as one of the most successful partnership between formal and informal actors in reducing crime and overcoming corrupt property management. In that light, the Minister of NBHBP, made a statement, appreciating BID Malmö's strategy:

“A good example is the Seved (South Sofielund) area in Malmö, where they have gone from a situation of excessive social unrest and exclusion some decade ago, to a calmer, more well-managed area with a higher proportion of serious property owners and residents who are much more comfortable. In order to spread this method to more areas, the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning was commissioned earlier this year to investigate how the work with site collaboration can be strengthened” (BID Malmö, 2020).

NBHBP has also commissioned to study BID Sofielund model together with other BID processes in Gothenburg and Stockholm to involve property owners; together with tenants and business owners to create a good, inclusive and safe living districts in other cities (Ibid).

### **5.2.2 BID Malmö and the Global City of Malmö Within the Theoretical Framework**

Now that this paper has discussed the role of BID Malmö, it is important to see how they are formed and how it has glocalized in the global city of Malmö. To begin with, the formation of a BID is different from city to city, but in general it takes place in the following way: first, a number of property owners in a district come together and decide to initiate a process to form a BID. They form a committee that develops a plan for the BID, its goals, forms and funding. Then they apply to the municipality for the formation of a BID (a bottom to top process). The municipality deals with the matter and decides on the formation of the BID (Bohman & Jingryd, 2015). The detailed design for BID is different from one place to another. For example, the concept of BID, in most cities, is based on legislation that forces property owners to participate with both money and resources (BID Malmö, 2020). However, this is not the case in Sweden. In Malmö, BID has formed the association Fastighetsägare BID where property owners, tenant-owner associations, village associations and companies have committed to work together with the municipality, authorities, the Police, researchers, associations and housing to develop two main districts in Malmö, namely as Sofielund and Möllevången. The BID process here is a developmental collaboration to further reduce disparity and crimes and to increase integration, the well-being of residents, security and cohesion (Bohman & Jingryd, 2015).

Malmö, because of the cross-border network of global cities, is now a space where one can identify formation of new types of 'global' politics of place. BID Sofielund is now a particularized (glocalized) actor, with some reforms (Boende, Integration and dialogue instead of Business Improvement district) in the global city of Malmö as a new model of sub-municipal governance to protect private capital for improving the attractiveness of Malmö. In other words, BID Malmö can be seen as a place-specific politics with global span. It is a kind of micro level politic that is intensely embedded in people's actions and activities. BID Malmö has emerged through the existence of global digital linkages and the cross-border network of global cities. As Saasen argues, these types of politics mostly come as the form of organizations operating through networks of cities, involving informal political actors (2007). As the theory of the Global City articulates, BID can be seen as a type of street-level politics that makes possible the construction of new types of political subjects that contests macro level politics (Ibid: 200).

Within the framework of Global City, this study argues that “combination of spatial dispersal and global integration has created a new strategic role” (Sassen, 2001: XVII) for Malmö municipality to enable informal actors to gain visibility in city’s planning and decision making. In that sense, it is safe to claim that globalization and the new communication technologies, along with transnational networks, have enabled local political actors (property owners, tenants and business owners) to gain visibility to enter to an international arena of urban planning which was once exclusive to only formal authorities (Sassen 2004: 649). BID, although initiated locally in a geographically remote area, is now an international phenomenon and has become increasingly common in big and metropolitan cities, including the city of Malmö.

Although policies, agendas and goals on reducing housing segregation are still defined in a territorial or normatively particularistic terms, but the rise of organizational activism or cross-border networks contest the power of those formal political actors to some extent. Several patterns of citizenship, such as civil society mobilization across borders and lobbying with different groups are strategies adopted by informal political actors (such as BID in this case) to advance their particular political goals. Thus, in line with the work of Sassen on the Global Cities, this thesis argues that transnational politics have enabled this thesis to understand how localized political processes (such as BID Malmö) are progressively spread among numerous, geographically disparate settings.

On the one hand, in a global city like Malmö, formal authorities (Malmö municipality and the local Police) seek opportunities to use the potential of informal actors (such as migrants, tenants and property owners) to advance their agendas (promoting integration or preventing crime). On the Other hand, in a global city, informal actors (such as BID Sofielund, civil society organizations, interest groups, and diasporas), like other formal political actors (such as political parties), are now organized as instruments to impact political outcomes and make political claims to local political processes that can even affect national policies. As it was discussed in the Global City model, these local actors are an explicit part of a bigger transnational civil society groups and symbolize as an actor that participates in public life.

In addition, what makes these glocalised actors so distinct is that they constantly tackle the modern notion of how their political life should be structured. Globalization, therefore, has shaped a degree of divide between the territorial nature of regulatory system of authority (legal systems of control and enforcement), and the contemporary political life of ordinary citizens

in global cities. Finally, in terms of combating segregation, it is fair to argue that the city of Malmö, as a global city, have benefited from global development through ‘think globally, act locally’ approach in order to create a better urban environment and to run global projects that may attract national and international attention.

### **5.2.3 Summary of Analysis**

All the sociopolitical dimensions in the city of Malmö, including housing segregation, population growth and unemployment rate have been extreme through the last three decades. Malmö has undergone a distinct transformation into a service-based city during the last quarter of a century and it has developed from being an industrial city to a city of knowledge in a global context in 2021. In Malmö, the representation of segregation, during the last three decades, has developed from a focus on regional imbalance in 1990 to ethnic segregation, overcrowded housing, population growth, lack of housing to socioeconomic segregation in 2018. Increased focus on socioeconomic segregation is the overall concern of all MPs and problematization of unemployment and population growth have been continuous throughout the last three decades. There is a clear shift of discourse in the problematization of segregation and categorization of people and places during the last three decades. Terms such as “equal rights” and “equity” have been brought into discussion and, as a result, more issues have been identified as the contingent processes and practices through which segregation has been developed through time. In other words, the MPs in 2014 and 2018 have left less issues unproblematic in the problem representation compare to the previous MPs. Nonetheless, this thesis argues that the elements that are actually discriminatory in the housing and the labor market have not given much attention in all the MPs.

Since 2014, the burden of responsibilities no longer lies merely on individuals, but rather structural causes have been brought into the discussion of policy documents. However, during this period, all the MPs indirectly claim that there is correlation between unemployment and exclusion. The last two MPs (2014 and 2018) promote the participation of different actors and encourage to localize global projects and tools around the world to achieve the greatest possible impact on the city's needs based on the municipality's prioritized issues and interests. The last two MPs argue that Malmö is part of global context and therefore the city must constantly reflect upon global changes and exerts influence, as much as possible, on events and actors that directly or indirectly affect housing and Malmö’s inhabitants.

In an increasingly globalized time, decision-making and events in different parts of the world have become progressively vital for Malmö. Political dynamics such as globalization, the growth of innovative transnational social networks and new patterns of human mobility are political processes that has turned Malmö into a global city. These political processes, which are rooted in communities and networks, are not limited by geographic locality. This thesis has also implied that transnational politics does not merely focuses on universal issues, but they can strongly be concentrated on specific locations, symbols, identities, and local issues. Within the theoretical framework of Sassen, one can fairly argue that BID has entered and gained visibility in global politics as a form collective, emerging from the invisibility of collective membership in a small association.

Malmö as a global city, with its thick enabling environments for these types of activities, have enabled people (informal actors) to form BID Malmö and experience themselves as part of a global nonstate network. This means that both BID Sofielund, as glocal actor, and Malmö, as a glocal city, fit into the framework of the Global City of Sassen. Moreover, the efforts that have been done by BID's Sofieund in reducing crime clearly shows that collaboration among different actors can bring positive trends in vulnerable areas. However, despite the ambitious attempts by the public sector and the informal actors to counteract segregation, through various types of projects, programs and policies, this paper argues that segregation and exclusion are still problematized in the latest MP and it seems that they have a correlation with high unemployment rate in the city of Malmö.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusion**

Malmö is clearly part of a global context as the city is affected in different ways by both global and local developments. Political dynamics such as globalization, the growth of innovative transnational networks and new patterns of human mobility are processes that has turned Malmö into a global city in 2021. However, urban segregation has been persistent in the city of Malmö through the last three decades. The representation of segregation has shifted vividly from placing citizens as the main cause during 1990s to an arena that includes contingent processes and practices that need to be confronted. Nonetheless, focus on unemployment and segregation is the overall concern of local authorities in Malmö and have been continues in their problem representation during the last three decades. Moreover, shifting the burden of responsibility in housing section is another aspect that could be identified in the discourse of local authorities. As of today, new forms of partnership between public and private actors have been developed in the city in order to reduce exclusion based on district needs. In other words, a micro-globalization has occurred in the city of Malmö through incorporating a global product (BID concept) into a local setting.

In line with the theory of Global City, this thesis argues that BID Malmö, as a newly emerged informal actor, provides services that other formal actors such as municipalities and the Police may no longer be able to solely provide. BID Malmö is people's cross-border networks in a global city that can impact micropolitics of global civil society. Thus, a cross-border network in a global city, such as BID Malmö, is an area in which one can identify the formation of new types of political identity and global politics of place that can contest a political issue, such as segregation. BID Malmö, together with the public sector, as an informal actor, have generated its own political space and have opened up the opportunity for other private actors to take initiatives for growth. Finally, this thesis concludes that both Malmö, as a global city, and association BID, as a glocalized actor, fit into the theory of the Global City.

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