

Faculty of Landscape Architecture, Horticulture and Crop Production Science

Social Sustainability Depends

 A Study on Urban Transformation and Social Inclusion in Norra Sorgenfri

Marcus Ljunggren and Sebastian Renfro

Title

Social Hållbarhet beror på – en studie om stadsomvandling och social inkludering i Norra Sorgenfri

Marcus Ljunggren and Sebastian Renfro

Supervisor: Vera Vicenzotti, SLU, Department of Urban and Rural

Development

Examiner: Nina Vogel, SLU, Department of Landscape Architecture,

Planning, and Management

Co-examiner: Natalie Coquand, SLU, Department of Landscape Architecture,

Planning, and Management

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Abstract

In many cities worldwide, decaying neighborhoods - residential or post-industrial - undergo urban renewal. Often located close to city centres, these neighborhoods hold the potential to be transformed into new, attractive residential- and mixed-use blocks. However, this type of urban regeneration seems to often lead to increased segregation and gentrification.

In the city of Malmö in southern Sweden, the neighborhood Norra Sorgenfri is located. While it is facing a regeneration process, we have noticed several indications of a potential gentrification - an outcome we see as harmful due to its destructive impact on equity and social relations. Therefore, this thesis problematizes gentrification in relation to social sustainability. With Norra Sorgenfri as a case, we aim to answer the questions: *How will the City of Malmö's plans support social sustainability in Norra Sorgenfri?* and *how could a public space in Norra Sorgenfri be designed to support mixed social use?*

We have studied Norra Sorgenfri's likely future development by analyzing the City of Malmö's plan programme, a complementary interview with a city planner of the City of Malmö involved in the plan programme, through site visits and an analysis of additional material such as published news articles concerning the area. Our theoretical background was primarily theories within critical urban studies and geography on gentrification and social sustainability.

Our key findings indicate that the area of Norra Sorgenfri most likely will undergo residential gentrification as a consequence of its urban development. This means that many of the area's current residents will be forced to relocate. However, the City of Malmö's plan programme is able to support a socially sustainable use of some of the neighborhood's public spaces through a well integrated structure, by improving the sense of place, planning for safety and by adding mixed structures that allow different activities and uses.

We test our own theoretical assumptions by applying them in a design proposal. Through our theoretical approach, along with the vision of the plan programme, we have designed a public space based on situated knowledge which has taken into consideration the movement of inhabitants. The design supports multiple groups, flexible activities and becomes an example of how public spaces can be designed to engage a diverse user group to interact in a space going through change.

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1. Old but Gold?

In today's cities, it is common to pass by a decaying district or neighborhood. Areas that once served a purpose have successively become neglected, unsupported and unfamiliar with the vital and necessary actions to uphold its previous functions and standards. Commonly, the lack of maintenance slowly transforms these sites into worn down parts of the city with overgrown vegetation and damaged facades. It can be worn down residential blocks, old industrial sites or just a forgotten part of the city. Due to the neglect of these districts they tend to be seen as poor, unwell and unsafe. These areas rarely give a visitor anything to do but to walk by, making the site often seen as useless.

Reviving decayed spaces seems to be a motivated strategy in larger city planning. With steadily growing populations, many cities struggle to accommodate the need for housing. These unused areas therefore hold an opportunity to reappear in our cities as fresh, new livable districts - making cities denser without the need for expansion. Areas that go through a regeneration not only change in their visual appearance with new modern architecture and refurbished or replaced old buildings, but the mental perception of them changes as well. Characteristics that once defined the area slowly become blurred and replaced by a more modern image of a sustainable city. Urban regeneration thus tends to be seen as a positive change in the city. More opportunities for improving housing and living conditions emerge and more activities are created for both residents and visitors. A once decayed district now offers higher quality of life and serves as a lively part of the city, contributing to the overall well-being of the city inhabitants. From a city planning perspective, this seems as an optimal choice since districts that have encountered decay might see a lower level of activity and fewer inhabitants, but what about the people remaining on site? Are they affected? The disguised backside to regenerating sites is the displacement of people not any longer able to pay for accommodation due to increased market value. Branding decayed areas or neighborhoods as opportunities for regeneration is something which usually involves the effects of gentrification, meaning that the area is providing more luxurious residential solutions and higher living standards. The people that can afford to inhabit these regenerated sites are thus a carefully and pre-selected target group in a new neighborhood that inhibits, rather than fosters social justice (Atkinson 2004:108).

This phenomenon is almost paradoxical, since plans for reviving old industrial structures into residential areas often turn into hot-spots where only high income residents can operate. The increase in price to both live and work on site simultaneously grows, pushing out the ones who cannot any longer afford it. Residents that once lived and shaped the atmosphere of a neighborhood are soon forced to move, further segregating our cities.

Buzzwords such as "sustainability" and "social justice" are common in city revitalization planning, but when evaluating the negative effects of gentrification, the level of sustainability achieved

through many of these regeneration plans is questionable. Sustainability comprises three factors; economic, ecologic, and social. While gentrified areas can still be both economically and ecologically sustainable, they are often socially unsustainable. The social aspects of sustainability are often neglected.

Does urban regeneration necessarily lead to gentrification? Does gentrification always negatively impact social sustainability? Can a gentrified area see an increase of quality living without harming social sustainability? With city planning being a tough task that needs to seek solutions to people regardless of their economy, we see the importance in asking these questions and we aim to keep this focus throughout this thesis.

Sustainability is a term used worldwide in city planning and in the marketing of cities. Malmö is argued to be a city of strategic sustainable planning (Dempsey et al. 2011:290). Malmö, known for its industrial history, notably the Kockums Mechanical Workshop, which not only employed thousands in the mid 19th century, but gave life to the growing city, has today a different character with high quality housing. As Kockums was disassembled in 2002, the industrial shape of the large lands in the Västra Hamnen district slowly transformed into an area which today is disguised by modern architecture and an above-average price on residential houses.

Another site, which is not as big but definitely as relevant for the city's current development, is the old industrial district called Norra Sorgenfri, where chemical and pharmaceutical factories were operating in the beginning of the 20th century. For a couple of decades, this was one of Malmös largest industrial neighborhoods, but for the last 30 years the site has experienced the shutting down of industries and abandonment of plots due to no longer profitable affairs. The structural decay is apparent and has lead to what in recent years has been seen by residents of Malmö as an infamous area with unsafe and illegal activities, such as drug trafficking and prostitution.

Norra Sorgenfri is today, at least partly, a pretty worn area. Big, stripped surfaces, decaying buildings and dubious businesses lowers the areas status. That it is the hot spot for prostitution contributes as well to the bad reputation. (Schlyter, 2006:6, our translation)

In 2008, the City of Malmö published a plan programme that would transform Norra Sorgenfri from its worn down and decayed character into a mixed-use residential district. Almost ten years later, the construction of the new Norra Sorgenfri has begun and with an expected completion date in 2030, the inhabitants of Malmö are promised a new district near the city center, which aims to celebrate its industrial history.

When observing Norra Sorgenfri, it is clear that the area might benefit from a regeneration in many ways. The blocks are worn down, industries have moved out and the site has been known

to host certain criminal activities. The plan programme seems to present a good opportunity to address the problems of Norra Sorgenfri, to improve its qualities and to help remove its negative reputation. The City of Malmö's plan programme for Norra Sorgenfri and the future of the site seem bright. However, as students in landscape architecture with a bachelor in Built Environment we see gentrification as a problem in city planning since it leads to an increased number of segregated spaces. Less wealthy citizens are pushed out from the inner city and replaced by more affluent inhabitants. Although the City of Malmö works with sustainability, we cannot help to see potential risks that Norra Sorgenfri becomes gentrified. We believe this kind of city transformation impacts social sustainability by decreasing the diversity of people living in our cities. Therefore, we will in this master project investigate the process of gentrification and its effects on social sustainability. We use the example of Norra Sorgenfri to discuss the relationship between urban regeneration and gentrification and to study whether the revitalization of an urban district can work for social sustainability. We have two goals with this project; our first is to analyze if it is possible to plan and create a new district that is both socially sustainable and non-excluding, as it simultaneously is being improved. Our second goal is to design a proposal that could build on our first goal by supporting multiple groups in Norra Sorgenfri. To lead our thesis, two research question were developed:

- How will the plans for the regeneration of Norra Sorgenfri support social sustainability?
- How Can a Public Space in Norra Sorgenfri be Designed to Support Mixed Social Use?

2. Method

This study aims to understand aspects of structural change in urban structures impacting social sustainability. To achieve knowledge about these structural changes demands a deepened understanding of *how* and *why* they are rebuilt in the first place. We strive to do a qualitative study about city transformation with the highly debated area Norra Sorgenfri in Malmö in southern Sweden as the base for our discussion. We chose to work with this site since our theoretical findings can be applied and analyzed in an ongoing city transformation. Because city planning and redesign of urban layouts differ from city to city, it would be inconvenient to quantify this process of city transformation. Different architectural solutions often impact the nearby existing building structure differently based on a site's current state and its vision for future use. To quantify this research would thus suggest that city transformations could be seen as static, with identical results bound to every urban change. A quantitative research approach would from this perspective be unmotivated.

2.1 How the Plan Programme is Used

Since our aim is to investigate physical - and social - change impacting social sustainability, we had several ideas of how we would approach the research question. We consider the municipal control over the sites renewal most important in order to analyse the impact these newly added structures might have. Our first focus were therefore to study the plan programme in order to comprehend how Norra Sorgenfri is to be transformed. The plan programme contributed with information that enabled an discussion regarding the future of the site, and to critically discuss the City of Malmö's approach to how these changes will occur. The plan programme is presented in this thesis with regards to the general changes, but also in depth to understand the future characteristics of the new Norra sorgenfri. The City of Malmö describes the transformation by explaining the new characteristics with these headlines; Diversity, Identity, Architecture, Landscape, Materials, Bottom floors, Scale, Future residents, Business and Commerce. We chose to use these headings in our thesis since they describe the municipalities intentions with the renewal, both how it will be, and why. Since our thesis discuss social sustainability, we chose to complement the characteristics with information regarding the human activity stated by the City of Malmö. By doing this, we had the material to discuss how and why Norra Sorgenfri is transforming and how the human activity within the site changes.

2.2 Interview

Because of the city transformation being an ongoing process, and the fact that the plan programme is published ten years ago (2008), we chose to hold an interview with the City of Malmö. By doing so, information regarding present approaches towards regenerating Norra Sorgenfri was received. The purpose of the interview was to see if the information in the plan programme is still relevant, and to see if there were thoughts that was not expressed in the programme. We came in contact with one individual through email who had been involved since the plans for Norra Sorgenfri were formed, who agreed to a interview at the city hall. Since the interview was held in Swedish we are aware of certain translation problematics that could have occurred as it was transcribed. We recognize that the translation could affect the meaning of some statements, but want to reassure that these have been translated as accordingly as possible to create a justified translation without affecting the information given during the interview.

The discussion during the interview was about the vision and sites future. The semi-structured shape of the interview let our source give detailed descriptions and answers without risking to lose the study's focus (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009:43). The interview revealed information such as the municipal control over certain parts of the neighborhood, the City of Malmös thoughts about social sustainability and how to activate the site. We present the interview as direct quotes, followed by our interpretations of them. Since we received a lot of information we present what we deemed

to be of most importance, but the entire conversation can be found in the chapter "Appendix".

With a study of this kind, we see importance in keeping our source anonymous. When asking if we could write the individual's name in our research, we received a humorous, yet ambiguous answer. With an answer difficult to interpret, we chose not state a name but to refer to the collected answers during the interview as the City of Malmö.

2.3 Site visits

To understand the changes presented in the plan programme and the collected information from the interview, we argue that it is important to understand how Norra Sorgenfri is perceived and how it works today. This is to put the transformation of Norra Sorgenfri into a context where it is possible to discuss the plan programme and the interview in relation to how the site will change. Therefore, we visited Norra Sorgenfri on several occasions during the time of this thesis. We also present a thorough site visit to present in our thesis. The reason for this is to explain what type of site Norra Sorgenfri is, and also to compare the changes with its framework, that is the site today. We present the site visit as our experience during the site, combined with an analysis of what we noticed. The analysis includes our experience of the sense of place, the territorial depth (borders between public and private), human activity, and the sites integration within Malmö. The analysis of Norra Sorgenfri is also used to critically approach the changes by the City of Malmö by comparing the vision with reality.

2.4 Our Theoretical Approach

When our empirical material was collected (the plan programme, site visits, the interview, and articles) we started our discussion. Since our study is focused on social sustainability we reviewed studies defining the term. Because our suspicion was that Norra Sorgenfri would become gentrified, we saw it as crucial to create an understanding of *how* gentrification occurs, and *how* it impacts social values that might have an effect upon social sustainability. The theories are presented in chapter three. Our approach were to divide our discussion into two chapters. The first chapter discusses gentrification and Norra Sorgenfri, and what impacts gentrification could have on the renewal of the site. The second chapter discusses social sustainability and the empirical material which concludes our thesis question: How will the plans for the regeneration of Norra Sorgenfri support social sustainability? By dividing our discussion into two parts we could use our discussion regarding gentrification and its impact on social sustainability in the discussion regarding social sustainability within Norra Sorgenfri.

2.5 Approach for Design Proposal

Our thesis is divided into two main questions, were the second question "how could one design a public space at Norra Sorgenfri to support a mixed social use?" uses the first question as basis. Thus, our findings regarding Norra Sorgenfri's ability to enable social sustainability guided the outcome of our proposal. We want to acknowledge that one design proposal is unlikely to be sufficient enough to generate widespread social sustainability. Instead we focus on how one proposal could support qualities that enables it on a specific site. By analyzing the characteristics of social sustainability in Norra Sorgenfri we get a sense of what is both lacking and in need, which will be reflected our proposal.

We use a reference project to highlight how space can be activated with social sustainability in mind. Our design proposal was inspired by Boxpark in London, which is a chain of temporary malls built by containers that are easily transformed to meet new demands due to its flexibility. By using a reference project, we can strengthen our proposal by arguing that this type of construction (Boxpark) is proven to be successful in activating a site. Boxpark is presented and our inspiration is explained before we introduce our proposal.

We do recognize that although Boxpark works well in its specific context, might not do so elsewhere. Our aim is not to copy it, but to research the flexibility of the project and to make our proposal more durable to the contingencies that could occur during the renewal of Norra Sorgenfri.

3. Gentrification and Urban Sustainability

Initially, to understand the factors that drive urban change in Norra Sorgenfri, we discuss theories of urban transformation that have discussed gentrification and urban sustainability. Both Neil Smith's and Peter Moskowitz' work are important when discussing social transformations of an urban landscape. Smith's article *Toward a Theory of Gentrification* (2007) identifies the complex cycle of physical and social city transformation, which Moskowitz builds on in *How to Kill a City* (2013). With these foundations we can problematize the City of Malmö's vision and the plan programme's ability to create the social mix desired. The work by Stuart Cameron and Jon Coaffee, *Art, Gentrification and Regeneration* (2005) is important to discuss in order to further address common aspects linked to city transformations. Their work focus on individuals able to make use of regenerated space. Rowland Atkinson brings forward important ideas in *The Evidence on the Impact of Gentrification* (2010) that problematize the use of the term gentrification itself in different contexts. It also holds important aspects dealing with crime, reputation and the "voice" of the site. With these sources dealing with gentrification, we can discuss Norra Sorgenfri in its current and likely future state based on the plan programme linked to the interview.

Nicola Dempsey et al.'s *The Social Dimension of Sustainable Development - Defining Urban Social Sustainability* (2011) plays an important role in our research with theories about different social relations and how social sustainability is developed or neglected through city planning. These theories become key tools that enable our analysis on city regeneration linked to a specific context.

3.1 Five phases of gentrification

Moskowitz (2017) describes the term gentrification, originally coined by Ruth Glass, as an urban change process that successively displaces the working-class occupiers in favor for middle-class residents. This ultimately changes the entire social atmosphere and complicates for current residents and their ability to remain. Fundamentally, gentrification is not about helping individuals upgrade their way of living, it is rather a tool to revive a declining neighborhood, which only wealthier residents can afford to inhabit (Moskowitz, 2017:31f). To describe the process of these gentrifying changes, Moskowitz describes a five stage phase. The first phase is when individuals, unsupported by any government or institution, start moving into the neighborhood, changing and renovating rundown apartments or houses. This phase is rather quiet, only spoken of via mouth-to-mouth with a complete lack of attention from any media form. The second phase begins when investors and wealthier people start buying real estate in the already changing neighborhood, hoping to profit in the future by investing early. At this point, media starts exploring the potential to highlight and promote the area and its potential, resulting in a supply-demand crisis with fewer vacant apartments. This ultimately causes prices to go up and the start of people being displaced (Moskowitz, 2017:33). As the third phase approaches, middle-class investors and people from different municipal or institutional boards have taken a larger role in the layout of the neighborhood changes. The neighborhood becomes a site where "a higher quality of life" is offered. Banks start lending more money to the now uprising site due to what is happening in phase two, and police increase and secure the site and make it feel safe. Moskowitz states that when the fourth phase is reached, the site has already been gentrified (wealthier that is) and rental apartments are seen as an opportunity to squeeze as much money from residents as possible due to the new and improved standards the neighborhood is experiencing (Moskowitz, 2017:34f). The relation between new and old neighborhood aesthetics is important to address since landlords and developers see greater profit when neighborhood change is most extreme. Gentrification is thus not about individuals, it is about financial control down to the smallest neighborhood. All these phases show the potential process of gentrification, and they might even be happening simultaneously or in a different order. The result on the other hand is always the same (Moskowitz, 2017:34f). In order to understand the relation and the impact landlords and developers have on both market and neighborhood atmosphere, a deeper explanation is in need.

3.2 Predictable Gentrification & Common Step-by-Step Change

Cities do not gentrify unless the process is profitable for real estate developers. Yes, hipsters and yuppies can move into a neighborhood and inflate local real estate values, but it is developer's profit motive that causes massive, citywide change. (Moskowitz, 2017:37)

A disinvested space is according to Moskowitz, always more profitable to gentrify than other, more invested parts of the city. This theory acts as a tool for predicting where the next gentrification might take place. One simply needs to search for the most decayed part of town since it would be the most profitable to reinvest in (Moskowitz, 2017:37f). But why has it decayed in the first place?

Neil Smith (2007) states that the first cycle of a new neighborhood is relatively stable. Both prices and rents are likely to go up for some time and the housing value is a direct reflection of the efforts put in place to build, restore or revive a neighborhood. However, due to constantly accelerated and improved construction methods, such as prefabricated modular constructions made off-site, even relatively new neighborhoods might see a decline in both appreciation and value as newer construction is developed nearby. This is believed to be a result of construction advances, which enables developers to build new, similar building structures quicker and more efficiently for a fraction of the price. According to Smith, it is when neighborhoods in close proximity develop with similar style that older ones tend to lose appreciation and value due to a wear and tear perception (Smith, 2007:543).

...eventually sustained depreciation of the house value occurs and this has three sources: advances in productiveness of labor, style obsolescence, and physical wear and tear. Advances in the productiveness of labor are chiefly due to technological innovation and changes in the organization of the work process. These advances allow a similar structure to be produced at a lower value than would otherwise have been possible. (Smith, 2007:543)

A neighborhood's need for greater and more frequent repairs reflects an irregular and poor maintenance policy which in turn affects property value and the willingness to invest (Smith, 2007:543). As a result, homeowners who inhabit areas unable to see profitable repairs and investments seek other more safe accommodations where their capital is not at risk of decline. Since homeowners are both consumers and investors, abandoning houses for other, more profitable housing opportunities often lead landlords (who primarily receives capital from house rent) to convert tenant rights to tenant rentals (Smith, 2007:544). This form of accommodation follows less strict rules for how the building is maintained, allowing lesser investment to be made since profit can be made elsewhere where a larger surplus of capital is guaranteed. It is, according to Smith, a common response to a declining market (Smith, 2007:544). Financial institutions normally lend less money and support to low value neighborhoods, causing a continued decay of site capital and an increase of vandalism. Higher building investments made will see a decline in value due to a nearby declining and decaying market. A common outcome

is an abandonment, not as a result from unusability but since they are no longer profitable for current landlords (Smith, 2007:544f)

Though the previous explanation is not universal, Smith argues that common gentrification occurs when developers can profit from every step in the construction process; from purchasing land or run down buildings to pay the construction and labour costs, to profit from the rehabilitation, to be able to pay mortgage and loans and in the end, be able to charge or sell for a satisfactory price. Smith states that housing prices normally reflects the value of the structure, the improvements put in place plus a ground rent captured by previous landowner. Smith mentions this relation as a rent gap, which is the relation between present and potential future rents produced through new development. The larger the gap is (percentual increase), the greater the rent. The gentrified site is thus fundamentally about moving capital and not people back to the city (Smith, 2007:545ff).

3.3 Two Sides of New Development

Renewal of decaying city blocks has often caused a clash between political and social opinions and interest. Where revitalization for some implies refurbishing existing architectural structure in order to regain historic qualities and healthy, attractive spaces, some see these city changes as a direct hit on the residents that the area currently houses. It is important to bring forward both sides and the aspects of these renewals where gentrification has different meaning, which is largely depending on many different factors. City planners who are aware of social issues and residents who are economically affected by these structural renewals usually have mixed feelings towards change. Atkinson's research on British gentrification raises several socio-economic questions which focus on inhabitants' ability to remain on site (Atkinson, 2010:108). Government and municipal policies usually embrace revitalization which ultimately aims to house middle-class residents without regards for its larger social impact. These policies often promote block revitalization as an important action towards reducing concentrated poverty (Atkinson, 2010:108).

According to Atkinson, measuring data regarding gentrification and people affected by revitalization (people referred to as displaced) is in many studies difficult since causes behind relocation might not be due to economic reasons (Atkinson, 2010:114). What Atkinson means is that displacement often can show inaccurate numbers since the underlying cause for moving out of an area might be caused by several different reasons, such as the desire to be close to family or friends resettling elsewhere or a desire to be closer to one's occupation. These move-outs can thus be caused by personal interest rather than the ability to financially remain.

According to Atkinson, another problem in this type of gentrification analysis is the landlords' ability to influence current renters. Despite sometimes using illegal means, they do have the power to end tenancy in advance to either sell a property or to seek higher paying tenants (Atkinson, 2007:114). It is important, however, to note that the British regulation might differ when analyzing gentrification

problematics in a different context. In Sweden, laws prevent landlords to act on free will and citizens are protected by law.

The reason for above mentioned statements are to show that there are some hidden aspects which might contribute to the perception of gentrification. As Atkinson states, gentrification is not always simply due to financial inability to remain. The term is also unable to indicate inhabitants sense of loss for home which is far more difficult to measure in studies focusing on the effects of gentrification (Atkinson, 2010:115). We would like to clarify Atkinsons arguments for how displacement might be wrongfully perceived with an example: 5 inhabitant might relocate due to personal interest, 15 might move due to increased rents and 7 might move because the atmosphere was never right for them. Data of gentrified areas might indicate that all 27 inhabitants are displaced due to increase of cost, which would contribute to a inaccurate perception of an area going through change. Measuring displacement is thus difficult since it would almost require a personal interview with every citizen relocating.

Defining a spaces' atmosphere is difficult, but with gentrification comes new characteristics and new architectural qualities which ultimately, as Atkinson mentions, changes the voice of the area. What Atkinson means, is that the gentrified area transforms the atmosphere from a working-class to a middle-class space where unattractive structures and unpleasant activities such as street-begging are unwelcome (Atkinson, 2010:116). Even criminal activity, that working-class neighborhoods usually fall victim to, has been used as a motif for areas need for new development in order to eliminate crime and to create safe spaces for residents. Atkinson does, however, address the importance of seeing this from different perspectives since studies regarding gentrifications crime preventing ability have shown differences. Some studies have supported gentrification due to its crime preventing abilities, while some have argued that gentrified neighborhoods are targeted more often due to their higher class and new, affluent atmosphere (Atkinson, 2010:116). Atkinson also introduces other theories where the new atmosphere, generated through new development has shown to positively influence nearby deprived neighborhoods, leading to a belief that gentrification might be an answer to not only aid a decaying neighborhood, but the adjacent ones as well (Atkinson, 2010:117).

...gentrification in one area was shown to impact on surrounding deprived areas in terms of an accelerated decline of the adjacent poor area's reputation. In this case gentrification was then proposed as a mechanism for dealing with the problems of this deprived area. (Atkinson, 2010:117)

It is important to note in this section that the most obvious change gentrification holds (the change of the physical fabric) is of course beneficial for the overall state and well-being of the city. We do believe that improving a decaying neighborhood encourages further investment in local shops and industries and generates a more positive perception from city residents not living in the gentrified area. Unused spaces can be used by city inhabitants and unattractive- or abandoned land can become social parts of a new neighborhood and we do argue that dealing with a neighborhoods negative reputation with

new development is a strategy with good intentions. It is arguable however, that despite the underlying cause for relocation, the current residents within pre-gentrified areas would be affected the most by new apartments and buildings of higher standard. Beyond those who relocate (or become displaced) for non-financial reasons, it is important to discuss those who do. Living in an area where gentrification occurs it is, of course, arguable that working-class residents would benefit financially since their apartments would see an increase of value, but this neglects the underlying reason for their need to move. Despite a possible financial gain through gentrification, the sense of loss for home is still an important aspect of this argument. Would inhabitants move if they could remain financially? As Smith states, residents tend to seek accommodation elsewhere where their capital is secured or where it is not at risk (Smith, 2007:544). This makes it highly unlikely that those residents would relocate to an area of higher- or same price within the city since these neighborhoods would withhold the same problems such as high rents or other costs that caused the move in the first place.

Atkinson states that the problems with pre-gentrified areas are that they often are seen as a revenue-increasing opportunity, meaning that the renewal of a neighborhood increases a city's tax revenue (Atkinson, 2010). A point made by a number of commentators has been that gentrification provides a boost to a city's revenues through having more households, and more affluent households at that. However, existing research evidence on the origination of gentrifiers does not support this point. Surveys of gentrifiers have consistently shown that they are almost exclusively movers *within* the city (Atkinson, 2010:119).

Residents moving within the city would those provide no added revenue to the city since they already have been part of it. The argument could instead be turned the other way around. People moving from the area, regardless of income, might have larger impact if they are forced to relocate outside the city since they would contribute less financially to the city (Atkinson, 2010:119). Atkinson argues that although regenerated neighborhoods would provide better living standards, safer environments and increased options in the form of local shops and other, more public and revenue-increasing facilities, the working-class inhabitants are rarely able to make use of these added services intentionally planned for the inhabitants within the gentrified space (Atkinson, 2007:119).

3.4 Arts, Culture and Gentrification

Although the indications for gentrification provided by Moskovitz and the theories by Smith and Atkinson describe the process of gentrification thoroughly, there is another perspective of gentrification worth discussing. In Stuart Cameron and Jon Coaffee's article Art, Gentrification and regeneration - From Artist as Pioneer to Public Arts (2005) the role of the artist and artwork is discussed in relation to the process of gentrification and how art, in some sense, can contribute to a "positive gentrification". Cameron and Coaffee states that the artist's attraction of decaying working-class neighborhoods is not only due to the rough aesthetics of decaying areas, but due to the

more unregulated and loose relations these sites offer (which usually repel middle-class residents) (Cameron & Coaffee 2005:40). However, Cameron and Coaffee continues by arguing that although the relations that attract artist also repel a middle-class, there are parts of the middle-class society described as "the new middle-class" which is identified by its higher cultural- rather than economic values (Cameron & Coaffee 2005:41). The new middle-class share many of the values and interests of the artists and are also attracted to the decaying working-class atmosphere. They work and operate with limited finance and often within non-profit organisations, thus the desire to seek low-rent tenures (Cameron & Coaffee 2005:41).

Cameron and Coaffee describe the movement of artists and the new middle-class into working-class areas as the first indication of gentrification. The change of the old areas is described as the second indicator as the neighborhood transform's its living conditions to adjust for the artist and new middle-class needs. Residential forms such as studios and large roof spaces converted for residential living (loft-living) appears (Cameron & Coaffee 2005:42). The appearance of loft-living marks the start of a transformation with older industrial buildings changing to meet new conditions (Cameron & Coaffee 2005:42). Cameron and Coaffee states that the appearance of studios and loft-living and the transformation of industrial buildings are starting points of a generalized interest for an area, followed by an increased interest from high-income, middle-class residents and investors (Cameron & Coaffee 2005:42f.).

Once the interest of these areas expand, capital investors seek to be part of the new, more cultural, working-class area. The artist's development of creative space is followed by a momentum of gentrification that successively makes the former functions obsolete when capital value becomes more important than the cultural value of the site (Cameron & Coaffee 2005:43f).

Although it seems that artists unintentionally place a seed for gentrification, Cameron and Coaffee describe what is called "positive gentrification", referring to the role of art and cultural facilities in gentrification. As an example, Cameron and Coaffee discusses the British city Gateshead, which used to be an old industrial town south of Newcastle with only the river Tyne separating them. For a long time, Gateshead has been defined by its poor neighborhood while Newcastle acted as a hotspot for cultural and commercial activities (Cameron & Coaffee 2005:47). In 1986, Gateshead started a programme called "art in public spaces" with the main goal to regenerate public spaces with an increased number of public arts. Arts and cultural facilities and activities were used - often combined with their industrial heritage - to reshape the landscape and to reinforce its social and cultural community. Although this programme was produced by Gateshead council, private actors were invited to collaborate with the state to regenerate the district (Cameron & Coaffee 2005:48).

During the years, Gateshead improved its dilapidated reputation and soon became a centre for culture and arts. Many art projects were invested in and today projects like "The Angel in the North" and "The Millennium Bridge" are considered landmarks and recognized globally (Came-

ron & Coaffee 2005:49). In 30 years Gateshead transformed from a working-class area to a new regenerated zone with mixed use, known all over Britain for its new cultural profile (Cameron & Coaffee 2005:49). Despite Gateshead being explained as a clear example of art playing a role in gentrification and how it can be used as a catalyst for both positive gentrification and positive city transformation, the negative effect of gentrification (the negative impacts it has on the existing residents) still occur (Cameron & Coaffee 2005:55).

3.5 Defining Social Sustainability

Social sustainability is a term frequently used by planners and architects but it is seldom explained since it lacks a clear definition. We see it as crucial to discuss the concept of social sustainability due to its central role of our thesis.

During the 1980's, the term sustainability was planted in planning and architectural processes and was used to describe a long-term commitment to economy-, ecology- and social factors when planning and drawing new residential areas (Dempsey et al. 2011:289). Although economy and ecological factors are well defined by what could be measured by numbers and results, the definition of social sustainability is more difficult to pinpoint since there is nothing tangible to measure. The loose definition of it as social justice or long-term human activity are buzzwords that do not underpin the meaning of social sustainability (Dempsey et al. 2011:290).

In Dempsey et al. (2011) they account for the term social sustainability. Although it is stated that social justice and long-term human activity are important for social sustainability, it is a shallow dimension of an abstract concept that needs a deeper explanation of what social sustainability really stands for (Dempsey et al. 2011). Sustainability works in multiple scales, some factor's impacts are on a national- or city level, and some on a local level. Although all scales are important, the local scale is most crucial when describing social sustainability (Dempsey et al. 2011:292).

Social equity has an important role when describing social sustainability. This involves social justice on both a local and regional level. Dempsey et al. describe social equity as the inclusion of inhabitants, and everyone's right to the space, which is important for social sustainability. Dempsey et al. argue that inequality and exclusion may lead to deprivation and poorer living conditions (Dempsey et al. 2011:292). Another aspect of social equity is accessibility to key facilities and services that are needed for the overall well-being of the community. These includes e.g. public transport, schools, supermarkets, corner shops, libraries, pubs, post offices, and recreational facilities (Dempsey et al. 2011:293).

Dempsey et al. states five dimensions besides social equity that is part of social sustainability. Social interactions/activity is one of them. Social activity within the built environment is important for achieving social sustainability. The interactions between the residents create networks and

bonds and when residents feel they can depend on each other it influences their everyday life, creating a sense of safety and well-being (Dempsey et al. 2011:294f.)

Participation in local activities is also described as a dimension of social sustainability. This contributes to social coherence within a neighbourhood and the sense of community. This does not mean that every resident should attend every public event, but that there is an general attendance in local activities, increasing a community's sustainability (Dempsey et al. 2011:295f.). The mobility of residents has also an impact on sustainability because if there is too high mobility of new residents (people frequently relocating), it affects the social relations in a neighborhood negatively since it does not enable vital interactions between people. Lower levels of mobility, meaning less people move, stabilize the neighborhood and create a sense of attachment with more social networks and interactions (Dempsey et al. 2011:296).

A sense of place and pride is a vital element for social sustainability. To identify with a place and having a sense of belonging, residents need to appreciate their environment. The sense of place and pride over it affects the well-being of the community: stronger feelings of pride and a sense of place indicate a strong and functioning neighborhood (Dempsey et al. 2011:296).

The last dimension of social sustainability is safety. Safety and security are affecting the other dimensions of social sustainability, since without them the other dimensions would not work (Dempsey et al. 2011:297). Another factor of safety is "natural surveillance" (Dempsey et al. 2011:297). Natural surveillance is important for the feeling of safety and refers to aspects such as windows with a view of the street creating visual connections to - and between the neighborhood (Dempsey et al. 2011:297).

According to Demspey et al., categories accounted for above is what enable social sustainability. It is important to note that social sustainability still is a term that is difficult to grasp since none of the dimensions are constant but changes over time (Dempsey et al. 2011). While it is difficult to comprehend the term, breaking them down to these categories is a helpful tool for discussing them since it become more tangible and concrete.

4. Norra Sorgenfri

In the southeastern part of Malmös inner city, Norra Sorgenfri is located. Characterized by its industrial atmosphere with worn down buildings and deserted plots, the reputation has deteriorated with it. With it being a rough and unattractive part of Malmö, it has not been recognized and associated with the structures and qualities of the inner city. The site has been a haven for illegal activities such as prostitution, drug trafficking, and refugees illegally squatting on privately owned land. There have been some attempts by non-municipal actors to improve the area's status by implementing social activities and studios for artists to practice their art, but the area has struggled

to shake off its reputation as an unsafe and unattractive part of town.

Norra Sorgenfri used to be an old farm in 1842. The area was used for agriculture by the municipality, with farmlands and roads connecting Norra Sorgenfri to the city. More farms were added to the area through the years, establishing the foundation for the street structure we see today. In the beginning of the 20th century, plans were made to transform the outdated farmlands into a modern site. Large parts of the area was municipally owned, allowing it to be used by public institutions rather than usual residential blocks more commonly seen in central areas. According to Olga Schlyter (2006), a paint factory, a gas company and an oil mill (to mention a few) were established in the area (Schlyter 2006:7f).

Norra Sorgenfri continued to grow during the 20th century, transforming plot by plot into the area seen today. Many industries moved to the site and everything from leather workshops to chemical industries were located in Norra Sorgenfri. In 1990, it reached its peak and demolition of industries started to take place, changing the neighborhood from a booming industry into a worn down and barren industrial site with a deteriorating reputation (Schlyter 2006:8)

This chapter aims to create a better understanding of Norra Sorgenfri as a place to analyze potential outcomes of structural and atmospheric changes. A site visit was therefore needed. It is explained below.

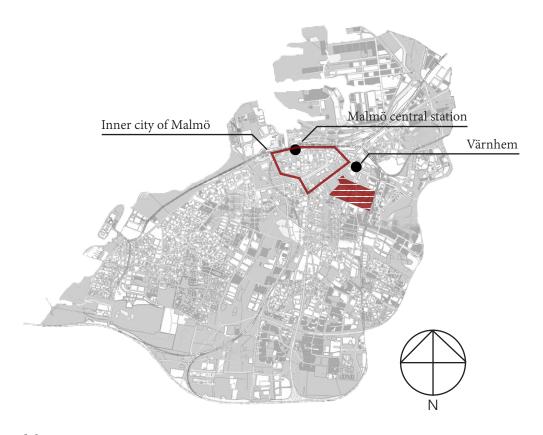


Figure 4.1 Norra Sorgenfris location within Malmö 1:140000

4.1 Arriving on Site

To understand how the plans will support social sustainability we argue that it is important to know how the plans will transform the site. To understand that, one needs to know how the site operates today to put the changes into a wider context. Therefore we see it as crucial to explain the site as it is today, which later on opens a discussion whether the plan programme's suggested changes can improve the site as it is. The following part will account for how we experienced the site, and how the site is today which is followed by an analysis that combine theories with what we experienced.

We chose to start at the crossroad between Industrigatan on Kvarteret Spårvägen (see figure 4.2) close to Nobelvägen. Beginning at the central point of Norra Sorgenfri allowed a natural attractive force to guide us to the next area we found most interesting. Beside Industrigatan's and Nobelvägen's ability to guide people through the area, we were drawn by its high traffic capability and its ability to generate life into the neighborhood.

With new construction and newly developed apartments lying close, we faced to Kvarteret Spårvägen, where most people were circulating (it is worth mentioning that this area also lies closest to the city core). Despite it being difficult to predict the future social use, we both felt that this area has risen dramatically throughout recent years, turning from an almost abandoned empty space into something new and invigorating. We felt, however, as unwelcome intruders when entering that part of Norra Sorgenfri. The somewhat pre-gated communities felt private and uninviting and led us rather quickly out.

We continued our walk alongside Industrigatan leading us to Kvarteret Brännaren which mainly consists of barren and abandoned land (see figure 4.3) with a few industrial buildings along one of the longer sides. Since it has close relation to Kvarteret Spårvägen, the uninhabited and unused land drew our attention due to its directly opposite aesthetic. It also felt most connected despite Industrigatan's connection to Östra Farmvägen being narrower than Nobelvägen. The in comparison small and abandoned brick building which used to be a chemical industry owned by Benzons AB (see figure 4.4) (Schlyter 2006:8) today lies alone on a gated 18000 m2 space with overgrown vegetation with a large concrete wall running parallel that was filled with graffiti. The large plot created an empty void between Kvarteret Spårvägen and Östra Farmvägen. On the opposite side of Industrigatan there were more operational industrial buildings, but they did - like the lonesome Benzon factory - give a perception of privacy, decay and lack of maintenance due to its overgrown vegetation and graffiti coverage and ultimately did little to keep us on site.

As we continued towards the intersection of Industrigatan and Östra Farmvägen the atmosphere changed into a mix of both old and more modern architecture with operating industries. We walked alongside Kvarteret Grytan and saw that the block slowly had begun to change according to the plan programme with some construction (see figure 4.5). The already existing buildings were more or less of the same industrial character. No building was more than three stories tall

and were roughly same in scale. Östra Farmvägen was also more lively than Industrigatan with people walking, bicycling and using the buildings. The structure and maintenance of the green environment were more obvious. There were bushes and trees that were maintained and taken care of. We saw the effects of the plan programme slowly transforming the block and could conclude that the void between Kvarteret Spårvägen and Östra Farmvägen currently lack activities that bridges the gap between these emerging neighborhood blocks.

We chose to continue our site visit east towards Agneslundsvägen. On the left, industrial buildings could be seen, much like those on Östra Farmvägen. On the right side a green, fenced-in area resembling a park was seen. The area was private and the park like structure belonged to the pharmaceutical company Qpharma AB. This building was of industrial character but differed in scale from the rest in Norra Sorgenfri. It was larger not in height but in ground scale and reminded more of a modern factory than the other industrial buildings. On the other side of this plot, there was a green pathway leading from Agneslundsvägen to Industrigatan. This street was maintained and had trees planted alongside it forming a typical alley-like structure (see figure 4.6).

We continued on Agneslundsvägen, which lead to a dead end and a railroad track that follows the eastern part of Norra Sorgenfri. It was a rough atmosphere with more worn down industrial buildings, big fences and graffiti covering many of the fences. There were few people walking here and it felt like the space was solely for working purposes. Alongside the nearby railroad there was a pedestrian street and skatesteps made by materials found nearby (presumably since it was made by heavy concrete blocks) (See figure 4.7). The buildings on the other side of the railroad had a mixed use with a metal- and scrap recycling industry and some buildings which seemed abandoned. Although we did not get close enough to confirm our suspicion, the materials were faded, buildings had boards covering the windows and a several facades were filled with graffiti. It was a rather noisy space with essentially one function; to guide people away. The pedestrian street was narrow and poorly managed. The vegetation had overtaken the structures and seemed since long abandoned by any kind of maintenance. It felt like an unsafe environment mainly due to the railroad but also in combination with the obvious decay of nearby structures. The street eventually led to a stair down to Industrigatan and the level changed due to the railroad going over Industrigatan forced a pathway and road underneath it.

We were now on the eastern parts of Industrigatan, which was like Östra Farmvägen, more maintained but still with some barren areas such as a parking lot with an abundance of overgrown greenery that had taken over the site, making the intended use impossible. The building structure was higher than the rest of Norra Sorgenfri and resembled modern offices rather than industrial buildings. We noticed another skatestep of smaller scale that reminded of the ones we encountered earlier (see figure 4.8). The road going underneath the railroad was broader than the roads we walked along earlier. Our site visit ended back in the intersection between Industrigatan and Östra Farmvägen.



Figure 4.2 View of where we started



Figure 4.3 View of Kvarteret Brännaren



Figure 4.4 Benzons AB



Figure 4.5 The view of Östra Farmvägen



Figure 4.6 The green pathway



Figure 4.7 The first skatestep



Figure 4.8 The second skatestep

4.2 Analysis of Site Visit

As part of our analysis of the plan programme of Norra Sorgenfri, we wanted to understand how the site is going to answer to its upcoming change. Since many of the industries in Norra Sorgenfri are to remain unchanged (City of Malmö interview 2017) we were wondering whether the area would become as including as suggested in the plan programme. With the industrial character currently defining the site and thus having an impact on our experience of Norra Sorgenfri, we are curious about how the general perception of the site will merge into the vision of the City of Malmö has. To open up for this discussion, we have categorized our experiences in greater detail below:

Territoriality

From our site visit we received a general appreciation of how Norra Sorgenfri both operates and has operated in the past. Several of the industrial buildings were fenced in and thus private. Many even had walls blocking insight from the street. There were a lot of borders affecting our perception of both territoriality and privacy on site. John Habraken, professor in architecture, has coined the concept territorial depth, which explains the fluctuating boundaries between public and private. Habraken identifies territorial depth as the levels an individual passes in order to go from public to private space and uses the example of a hotel with its entrance, its elevators and the rooms one as a guest can check in to. According to Habraken, these different levels depend on the individual's situation and states that as a guest staying at a hotel, the lobby and elevators are public and free to use. As soon as the hotel room is reached, you are entering a (temporarily) private space. As a non-guest, you may still enter the lobby and still be within the public space but the elevator are considered private since a non-guest has no business there (Habraken 1998:137f.) This theory act as a tool for evaluating our impression of Norra Sorgenfri's either welcoming- or unwelcoming character. Habrakens' hotel example is interesting since many parables can be linked to the same qualities of a hotel environment. Many spaces might be considered public, such as large parking spaces outside offices or industries, but if we do not work or have certain agendas to interfere with these facilities, we much likely would be asked to leave.

Within a city, these territorial boundaries between private and public usually are blurred since there is territorial depth defining space (Habraken 1998:136ff.). Malls, shops and offices are a few examples of spaces that are not public nor private but rather semi-private or semi-public. These entities open up the public space, making a street more than a transportation route.

Habraken's concept of territorial depth is of importance in a situation like Norra Sorgenfri due to its many territorial boundaries. Despite our experience of Norra Sorgenfri not matching the exact characteristics of Habrakens theory, it brings an interesting perspective to the site. Most buildings went from public to private directly at the front door (see figure 4.9). Other plots had a visual connection to the private zones but were fenced or gated which sealed these plots and therefore



Figure 4.9 An example when the territorial depth goes from public to private immediately

made them feel private. Some of the bigger complots even had a designated parking space. These affected the territorial depth since they were more open and accessible, but a parking space lacks the ability to create the same semi-public feeling as a mall or a store. It is a space designed for cars and people with relation to its industry, not for public use. This layout was seen through a majority of the sites many plots and our experience of the territoriality that exists on Norra Sorgenfri is its sharp and clear borders dividing the private and the public. We see this as an important analysis since territorial depth is important to understand/work with if Malmö stad wants to create the attractive and inviting space as visioned.

Place and Location

Human geographer Tim Cresswell distinguishes the words place and location. Place is described as the emotions connected and associated with the location. Place thus has more depth and value than just its geographical meaning since it also defines what, where and to who the place belongs.

While location refers to a position within a framework of abstract space, often indicated by 'objective' markers such as degrees of longitude and latitude, or distance from other location, place has come to refer to a mixture of 'objective' and 'subjective' facets including location but adding other, more subtle, attributes of the world we inhabit (Cresswell, 2013:249).

Cresswell describes the concept of being in and out of place and how it may depend on factors such as urban or rural environments (Cresswell 2013:249ff.). When something is in place it refers to something or someone belonging to a certain location, like a tractor on a farm or a businessman on Wall Street. In place is therefore when the associated norms of a place conforms with what is felt and experienced on site. Out of place refers to the opposite - you do not associate with the norms at the site (Cresswell 2013:250ff.).

Norra Sorgenfri as a place is currently defined by its industries and building structures. The place has a strict usage (i.e mostly space used by and for industries) and with the many fences and barriers surrounding many of the industries, the area is more private than public. The privacy of the many plots allows little appreciation of ongoing activity or business inside, which resulted in long streets with almost no movement of people alongside. The barren plots made the place feel abandoned and desolate. We were not in place in Norra Sorgenfri, but rather out of place. This space belonged to the people working here which operate on site in a specific manner. With the concept of territorial depth in mind, there was nothing inviting more than the public streets. Workers would probably experience Norra Sorgenfri differently since they spend most of their time here. From this perspective, our perception of Norra Sorgenfri as a location, might for others be a stronger sense of place with both association and emotion connected to the site.

It is hard to state whether or not inhabitants of Malmö feel in or out of place in Norra Sorgenfri. It is possible that individuals have negative or positive associations connected to a site of this character, but due to the low activity and its lack of place-generating emotions with a majority of private industries, we believe Norra Sorgenfri is viewed as a location, rather than place for the typical city resident passing by.

Tissue and intersections

Norra Sorgenfri is well linked with most parts of Malmö through its infrastructure. There are important roads going in every directions making it a well integrated part of Malmö. Brenda Scheer, professor in city planning, describes a road structure called *static tissue* (Scheer 2010) as a particularly well intersected tissue formed as a square - like a typical American city such as New York (Scheer 2010:51ff.). We noticed a static grid system similar to this in Norra Sorgenfri. Its static tissue makes the integration to the rest of Malmö clear since the axial roads stretch far. This resembles "global integrations" which is a term within space syntax referring to integrations that stretches over longer distances. A global integration creates important connections between two points that do not directly meet, but through a clear linear structure the distance between them is less important since they are easily reached (Spacescape 2005:6f).

The global integrations are important for the overall system, but they do not affect a site on a local level (Spacescape 2005:7). To measure the interactions on a local level, one could analyse the local integrations instead. A local integration refers to the integrations that directly affect the

areas close by or the integrations within a specific site (Spacescape 2005:7). Local integrations indicate that a site is used by the people living there and since a global integration connects over far distances, visitors tend to pass by an area that is globally integrated as well (Spacescape 2005:7). A combination of global and local integration is therefore positive since an area that contains both has the potential to accommodate both local and non-local residents within the same space (Spacescape 2005:7).

In Norra Sorgenfri we see signs of both global and local integrations. Areas such as Kirseberg, Möllevången and Södra Sofielund are well integrated globally, while Rörsjöstaden and Värnhem seems to be well integrated locally. Norra Sorgenfri seems to accommodate both qualities of global and local integration.

In this part, we have made several points that will help us describe:

- The changes that Norra Sorgenfri faces,
- Its future potential,
- Motivate our design proposal,
- How social sustainability can be worked with,
- Important aspects considering preservation of valuable pieces.

4.3 A Place with a Damaged Reputation

In reporter Patrik Lundberg's article *The Camp of Sorgenfri - A story About a Wasteland*, light is shed upon the severe problems that Norra Sorgenfri has endured throughout recent years; squatters occupying a 9200 square meter large wasteland, prostitution and soil contamination. The plot, that in fact was and still is privately owned, was filled with shelters in form of tents, lumber and any debris the 150-200 squatters could come across in order to keep warm during the winter. This escalated and turned the plot into a political battle between the people and the plot owner who had very different plans for the site. With laws unable to tackle situations like these, this was a lingering issue which prohibited actions to remove the people from the site. A following issue was MIKA's (today KST, working to prevent sexual services) confirmation of at least 17 Romanian prostitutes consequently circuiting the area. This has created an unpleasant atmosphere and rumour that Norra Sorgenfri still struggles to shake off. The soil contamination is also problematic since it is several meters under ground level, forcing excavation before continuing reforming the site (Lundberg 2015).

Backa Elias Bondpä, reporter for SVT, writes that Norra Sorgenfri high school was closed down only three years after completion due to soil contamination previous industries had caused. The mobilization of over 400 students was necessary to avoid further health problems (Bondpä, 2013). This situation is interesting because according to the plan programme from 2008, the City of Malmö states that due to the largely spread soil contamination in the area, an environmental engineering survey is

always required before land use is altered. Since the high school was completed in 2010, more than two years after the plan programme, one can wonder whether these requirements were forgotten, or if a survey was done but the soil contamination was unnoticed. In the information booklet sent out by the high school in 2011, the school promotes itself as being in an area going through a major transformation, turning the site into an attractive part of the city with plenty of stores and new apartments (Norra Sorgenfri Gymnasium, 2011).

Other issues that might affect the area's vision and future establishment is the relocation of E.ON's operation (one of Sweden's biggest energy supplier), leaving a large building to be currently unused. The articles from Lundberg and Bondpä highlights some of affecting factors which have contributed to the negative reputation seen in Norra Sorgenfri. Generally, city inhabitants seem to share this perception, and the fact that the City of Malmö admits to the site's reputation underlines that the problems still exist (Schlyter 2006:6). In a way, the changes presented by the City of Malmö and their plan programme are an indirect response to these problems since their focus is to transform the site into an attractive space, but is the underlying reputation a problem for the future state of Norra Sorgenfri? If so, how is the City of Malmö working towards solving these existing problems? Will inhabitants ignore the negative reputation as new apartments emerges? The plan programme will be presented below where changes will be identified.

4.4 Introducing The Plan Programme for Norra Sorgenfri

In 2006 the City of Malmö published their vision for Norra Sorgenfri. The old industrial complex would be transformed into a new, attractive residential area with mixed use. Norra Sorgenfri is the City of Malmö's highest prioritized project with its potential to become a vital part of Malmö's inner city growth (the City of Malmö 2008:4). The site is to spare the old industrial heritage with its core values; its variation, diversity and small scale structures (City of Malmö 2008:4). The district is to see 48 hectares with 280 000 m2 of residential building and 30 000 m2 used for offices and other services. The area is envisaged to accommodate 5000 new residents and 2000 new occupation opportunities during its final phase (City of Malmö 2008:5). To create a sustainable environment, the City of Malmö is focusing on three main aspects which are: ecology, economy and social use. To become a sustainable area, these have been subcategorized to explain how and why they are affected by each other (City of Malmö 2008:4).

The transformation will according to the plan establish several smaller structures than the ones existing today. The block structure is to be divided into smaller structures with an integrated street tissue that enables a variation of squares and green areas (City of Malmö 2008:5). Wider streets that connects with the bottom floors and well planned corners with activities will according to the City of Malmö improve the social and public life and help the district integrate with the rest of Malmö (City of Malmö 2008:5). Other important actions is to fuse mixed services, well connected public spaces and attractions (City of Malmö 2008:6).

4.5 The New Characteristics of Norra Sorgenfri

To summarize the plan programmes key focus areas, the City of Malmö has described the changes of Norra Sorgenfri with ten headlines; Diversity, Identity, Architecture, Landscape, Materials, Bottom floors, Scale, Future residents, Business and Commerce. These different headings will be presented and explained below:

Diversity

The City of Malmö aims to generate a new social space within Norra Sorgenfri with a diversity of people. To do this, a variety in both structure design and structure use are explained as important tools in generating diverse social spaces that can host and attract a wider audience. Building structures are planned with cafés, workplaces, shops and culture in new residential buildings. A variety in size and expression will according to the plan attract different lifestyles, cultural preferences and professions which demand space or flexibility (City of Malmö 2008:12). Accessibility is a key focus to achieve this diversity. Preferably, Norra Sorgenfri is to be linked with more walking- and biking paths but also through better public communications such buss services (City of Malmö 2008:12).

Identity

The new identity of Norra Sorgenfri should be based on its history as an old industrial area. A large part of the site has been used by artists and creative services that have generated a certain atmosphere. The skateboard park Steppen and the Open Air Theatre on the Benzon factory are other examples that show how private initiatives can be used to create a sense of place in a rather private area. The City of Malmö strives to keep this. In combination with old industrial buildings, also mentioned as worth preserving, these many identity-creating elements are to serve as the backbone and platform for the continued future identity on site and is seen as meaningful for future positive growth. (City of Malmö 2008:13).

Architecture

The architecture is based on the history of Norra Sorgenfri as an industrial area. With its already diverse expression (brick, wood and concrete), the selection of materials is rather broad. The already existing architecture should be developed if possible, and turned into more modern locales within its already industrial structure. However, despite the variety in structure, there will be guidelines to make sure the area remains coherent. Already existing structures are allowed to take on other expressions as long as they portray and represent its historic identity and are cohesive with both old and new development (City of Malmö 2008.14).

Landscape

The landscape within Norra Sorgenfri should enable visual connections between residents passing by - courtyards and entrances should be of glass to connect the public- and private areas and generate inviting atmospheres. There should be less borders drawn by fences or other visual barriers and more territorial borders created through different materials, vegetation or low walls to further create a sense of welcoming areas. In addition, streets will be spacious with a sparse set of public furniture such as benches (City of Malmö 2008:14).

Materials

The choice of materials is to go hand in hand with what the City of Malmö strives for under the categories architecture and identity. Materials such as bricks and stone will be common elements due to it being used in the majority of the already existing buildings. Regardless of the guidelines for cohesiveness, some new elements such as wood, steel and boards of high quality are allowed to create some variety between new and old (City of Malmö 2008:15).

Ground Floors

Ground floors are important in the new Norra Sorgenfri. The first floor is noticed first and should therefore be created with care in detail. Creating open ground floors establishes visual connections between streets and buildings and invites people passing by to interact. With stores, cafés, local shops or other services, inhabitants are able to remain on site and use nearby spaces. If possible, older buildings with qualities for supporting new features will also be implemented with these services (City of Malmö 2008:16).

Scale

In contrast to the big scale of Norra Sorgenfri today, the smaller scale is in focus when shaping the new spaces. With a focus on human scale the aim is to generate several smaller solutions rather than a few larger ones. This will, according to the City of Malmö, enable a diverse area with many possibilities for a wide group of different facilities and activities (City of Malmö 2008:16).

Future Residents

The City of Malmö's explains its future target group for Norra Sorgenfri as broad. In order to attract the wider audience, Norra Sorgenfri must establish "the right" atmosphere and a sense of place. With the housing value being based on more than just its price, the current industrial atmosphere does withholds an appealing and interesting living environment which attract a wide group of people (City of Malmö 2008:18).

Since people tend to prefer different styles of living, the mix of residential styles are important. Presented are two different options of living called loft living and Townhouse living. Loft living is described as a rawer apartment style with less finished functions (i.e an unfinished kitchen). This allows apartments to be reduced in price and gives the purchaser the opportunity to design the apartment layout and style by choice.

Townhouses are described as a way of combining apartments with business locales on street level – thus combining both living and working in the same building. Norra Sorgenfri should be a space where this experimental way of living is tested (City of Malmö 2008:18).

Businesses

The small scale business is argued as important for the overall economy of the city. The City of Malmö aims to create a variety of locales where future businesses can take place in different forms. This would generate a variety of rents which can benefit lower income residents. Although some businesses will be placed around different nodes in Norra Sorgenfri, they will mainly be alongside Industrigatan (City of Malmö 2008:19).

Commerce

The small scale business and commerce in an area is to create an environment where everything is reachable by walking or bicycling, thus eliminating as much car traffic as possible. This makes the area more environmental friendly, but also makes the use of parking space lesser, which opens up the possibilities for more public space (City of Malmö 2008:19).

4.6 Public Spaces and Human Activity

Beside the above mentioned categories, the City of Malmö describe their vision for the public spaces and the human activity desired in Norra Sorgenfri. Although large parts of Norra Sorgenfri are abandoned or unused, human activity is still present to some degree. Many small scale industries are still operating and artists and other cultural actors still inhabit the area. These activities are stated to be a part of the future Norra Sorgenfri and to regenerate the area, cultural elements that have shaped the environment through the years are seen as important pieces.

Recreational activities have become valuable for a city's function but Norra Sorgenfri is currently lacking such activities. It will therefore be important to establish spaces for recreational purposes in Norra Sorgenfri (City of Malmö 2008:20). It is important to shape these spaces by thinking of activities and attractions that will support people with different backgrounds, lifestyle, age and gender. It is also expressed that these public spaces need to feel safe. By having visual connections and people present on site, the sense of safety will indirectly establish itself. By designing the built environment so that it communicates visually with the otherwise well integrated urban tissue in the outdoor space, this can be achieved (City of Malmö 2008:22).

The many unused locales and plots are seen as opportunities where cultural activities and

other forms of leisure can be established. The empty locales could for example be used for the artists as studios or for athletes as a sports centre (City of Malmö 2008:23). Since the site currently lacks maintained green spaces, there is a desire to create new green environments in convenient locations (City of Malmö 2008:25). Because some of these areas are heavily polluted, there is a priority in sanitizing these before these spaces can be designed (City of Malmö 2008:86).

In this part we have accounted for several points in the plan programme that in the discussion will help us describe:

- How the City of Malmö have planned for the different categories of social sustainability,
- The City of Malmö's vision for Norra Sorgenfri and how we generate necessary site specific knowledge which will serve as a guideline for our design proposal,
- How to tackle the potential problems we currently see in the planning process and how social sustainability can be achieved through proposed functions.

4.7 Interview With the Municipality

The City of Malmö has thought about several affecting aspects when creating the plan programme. The historic character of Norra Sorgenfri is seen as a guideline for shaping the new neighborhood. Because the plan programme was published almost ten years before construction began, it would be necessary to analyze how both vision and conditions of the site might have changed during the years. An interview with the City of Malmö about the current shape of plans for Norra Sorgenfri was a necessity to get up to date with more current visions. This also enabled us to receive information that was not stated in the original plan.

There are a few deserted plots and some still operating industries... and there are activities going on here and there in these abandoned places. Today there is a big mixture of a few industries and cultural operations. I am sure you know of this. The idea is that it is to become a part of Malmö... of the city core if you like, with a variation of building structures. (City of Malmö interviewee 02-11-2017)

This statement is of importance since it is still well linked to the original statements found in the plan programme. The fundamental idea of shapeshifting Norra Sorgenfri thus seems to be to establish important and functioning structures and nodes within the site that are better linked to the city core. The plan programme suggests that the diversity in building structure works as a tool for achieving attractive spaces that can host wider audiences. With an increase of paths for

walking and biking, Norra Sorgenfri can be easily reached by inner city inhabitants. The variation of building structures allows new services to open up for people who do not visit the site on a daily basis. Linking the site to the city core by these methods is at first glance a well working strategy for creating a new social atmosphere, but due to the diverse land ownership structure, we were curious about the approach for achieving such goals. As many operating industries might disagree with the future vision, how can the City of Malmö proceed with such major plans as in the plan programme?

Yes, there are private landowners except a few small areas in the neighborhood. There is a small plot that the municipality owns. But the municipality is actually buying parts of these blocks and some of the residential buildings will also be bought by the municipality. (City of Malmö interviewee 02-11-2017)

The response to our question indicates that although the City of Malmö is the catalyst for a (currently) small part of the urban transformation in Norra Sorgenfri, their ability to shape the built environment is not limited to one block. They hold the power to buy plots and buildings from private landowners within the area (to what cost was left out of this discussion). With many different actors on site, the relationship between municipality and private owners needs to be addressed and we see importance in understanding how the City of Malmö takes into consideration these already existing actors. Are there any risks with the diverse land ownership structure that might complicate or interfere with the process of new development?

...we know quite well which of the private landowners who want to develop their land and which of the current corporations that want to develop their industries... but a lot, almost all industrial activity here have close to no effect on the area when it comes to risks, from that perspective a mix is possible. In that case, the existing industries can continue and we can look surrounding areas around them and how these can develop instead. (City of Malmö interviewee 02-11-2017)

The City of Malmö is aware of the diverse land ownership within Norra Sorgenfri and which of these who want to develop their industries in the future. Because of said low impact on the surrounding space's overall capability of becoming mixed use spaces in the future, there seems to be no risk or interference with the City of Malmö's plans. This has, however, not yet fully answered our question. If landowners wish to develop within the site, how can they do so?

Well... it depends... it depends on whether or not they are interested. They can remain with their current operations and continue as industries, but if they want to develop they need to do so according to the vision. That is pretty much it. In a way, the vision is that some industries remain. (City of Malmö interviewee 02-11-2017)

It seems that the municipality is confident that if the private landowners and industries choose to develop, they do so according to the plan programme. Although they cannot force private landowners to sell, they are able to guide how private land and industries are developed. This municipal guideline seems important in order to establish the attractive- and socially functioning atmospheres desired in the vision. Since the perception of Norra Sorgenfri is negatively branded due to its current shape with worn facades, hostile environments and illegal activities (which have thrived in the existing structures) and some of these are to remain, how is the damaged reputation of Norra Sorgenfri improved? Can it improve through new development only?

I think that this will change once the construction really begins. Then it becomes something else. In a way many of these criminal activities will disappear as a result and then the reputation will change as well. But maybe it will remain, especially for those who have lived in Malmö for a long time. (City of Malmö interviewee 02-11-2017)

The strategy for dealing with the negative reputation seems to be mostly through physical change, hoping that the negative reputation will go away as a result of new construction. The current reputation is not seen as a disabler of their vision. We question this view of dealing with the negative rumor surrounding the site and wonder if it is doable to change it just by constructing a new physical structure. We have seen creative forces working with Norra Sorgenfri to improve the site, but their influence on the reputation was not discussed during the interview. Since the site has been a hotspot for artist hubs, we were curious if this was something the municipality could see as an advantage. Since some have been forced to shut down during recent years, is there a way to reactivate the creative actors on site?

They have been a part of developing the public space programme within the area. There will be an art university. Also, there have been attempts to find places for artists and to find tenants and such. It is a dilemma since the development made by private actors want to do something else. It leads to higher rents and a classic gentrification problem. (City of Malmö interviewee 02-11-2017)

The cultural actors still have a place in Norra Sorgenfri, although the municipality acknowledges that it is an dilemma to find fitting locales. What is interesting is that the City of Malmö quickly brought up gentrification as a possible outcome without us guiding into the subject. We realized that our suspicion regarding gentrification and Norra Sorgenfri seemed to be coherent with the City of Malmö's thoughts as well, which lead us into the question if there is any risk with the current development leading to an incipient process of gentrification.

Yes, but gentrification does not have to be negative. That is the hard part. We do not really have a solution for this. (City of Malmö interviewee 02-11-2017)

We were surprised by the City of Malmö's response, considering that gentrification often is identified as a negative term from a social perspective. We thought the response could be clarified. In what ways can gentrification be positive?

Actually, I do not think gentrification is negative or positive... really. It is more about transforming a neighborhood into something attractive, which is not negative per se. The negative aspect could be that all the interesting parts that once made it attractive move elsewhere. (City of Malmö interviewee 02-11-2017)

The City of Malmö convey the impression that their focus is on making the site attractive both structurally and socially, but do recognize that certain elements that made it attractive in the first place might move elsewhere. It is difficult to state exactly what these attractive elements might be. Our interviewee gave no specific information, but we would assume that it would be the artists and other industries which have been part of Norra Sorgenfri's history. The fact that our interview revealed awareness of this problem and stated that they did not have any solution for this, we wonder how the site will spare its character with a planning process causing attractive elements to move elsewhere. How would it affect Norra Sorgenfri socially?

Although we agree that neighborhoods sometimes need structural support to flourish, we disagree with the description of gentrification as an undefined term with fluctuating meaning. From a social perspective, we believe gentrification is harmful since it tends to exclude many of its original inhabitants. How can one work with both typical gentrification problems and maintain social sustainability when developing new city structures?

That is something worth investigating... you guys could give us a good answer later (laughter). But I do not think these parts of Malmö... In a way this area stretches across from Rörsjöstaden which is attractive. It is a big difference, I would imagine, in aspects such as income and such in these parts (In Norra Sorgenfri). These parts of Malmö are not the strongest, really. So, with that in mind, I believe new building-structures in this neighborhood will create a mixture within the area on its own, which is positive. (City of Malmö interviewee 02-11-2017)

The response was not really an answer and we would like to emphasize the difficulties in answering such a question. While it being rather broad, we did receive useful information explaining the reason for linking Norra Sorgenfri to other nearby areas since the connection might establish a diversity of people. The City of Malmö believes that the characteristics of the nearby area Rör-

sjöstaden combined with the new structures in Norra Sorgenfri will generate a mixture within and around the area. We do believe that their intentions and this plan might be beneficial for the overall appreciation of the renewal of the site. Because the municipality seems to stress the importance of cohesiveness within the built environment, will the renewal of Norra Sorgenfri resemble the typical inner city characteristics? If so, it is arguable that since the inner core supports certain inhabitants, certain activity and certain services, the resembling appearance of inner city structure would support residents of this type, but not the ones living on site. What is the approach for allowing inhabitants of different background to move to Norra Sorgenfri?

That is nothing the City of Malmö... the City of Malmö do not decide the prices. We do not have a big impact on that. What we can do is to decide that Kvarteret Spårvägen should consist of a mixture of tenures and also a mixture of building-structure - it is important since it should not become just townhouses or apartment buildings. This will contribute to a mix. Then there are a lot, in recent years, ideas about social sustainability like in Gothenburg, where they subsidize the apartment with lower rents. They decide in advance that in order to build at all, rents must be low - which is something that has been thought of lately. It is a big discussion, but here in Malmö we have not really worked with this at all. (City of Malmö interviewee 02-11-2017)

It seems that the municipality has little influence on the residential market, but they can develop different building structures that could support and inhabit different living styles - like loft living solutions. It is worth highlighting that the City of Malmö can purchase land from private landowners to realize their vision but has little influence on some aspects that could help establish social sustainability. Malmö has chosen to take a step back from Gothenburg's approach regulation and has put more efforts into physical changes. The plan programme does, however, indicate a strive for an increase in activities on site in the early stage to improve the liveliness. It is suggested that holding public events could attract city residents to engage and use land for different purposes prior to its finished phase, and we were curious to what kind of activities this might be:

Maybe it is more about these activists, the skateboard parks.... Steppen... well, these can be all over the place... somewhat abandoned places that are still put in use. I also think that the intention is for the municipality to actively arrange events, like urban farming for example. It is usually a thing to discuss, but we have not really started with that yet... we have not held any activities and events. (City of Malmö interviewee 02-11-2017)

With public events and other social activities encouraged by the City of Malmö, it seems as it has become a secondary task in the renewal process since nothing has been done to support it. Due to the soil contamination and the fact that the City of Malmö (currently) only owns twenty percent of

the land, it is difficult to analyze how much that actually could have be done. We do, however, see value in the plan programme's desire for private initiatives and actions. To encourage these private inputs (i.e Steppen and the Open Air Theatre) might be beneficial in the long term.

In this part we have accounted for several points that complement the plan programme by:

- Updating the vision for Norra Sorgenfri,
- Giving us additional information not written in the the plan programme.

4.8 Interpretations of Norra Sorgenfri

Norra Sorgenfri has been marked for its industrial setting but it has over the years also defined its potential for becoming a publicly used space. The City of Malmö visions a wide and inviting space where private initiatives are encouraged. The problem, however, lies in the sites established sense of privacy. As a visitor, is it possible to act or use space in a deeper sense than just being on spot placed alongside the many roads? With the many borders creating several nodes of privacy, we did not belong anywhere in Norra Sorgenfri. We felt uninvited and with the abandoned plots, deserted buildings and the record of criminal activity, the site felt unsafe. As long as there is a lack of activities for residents passing by (or out-of-place citizens) who could use space during its renewal, we believe that Norra Sorgenfri will continue to struggle with the negative rumor that has been widely associated with the site. Aspects such as territorial borders needs to be considered in order to establish an active and functional neighborhood that feels safe and inviting. From this perspective, we do agree that the site is need of change.

The plan programme and the interview with the City of Malmö gave us useful information. Attracting people to the site by adding mixed uses and structures is an important idea for the areas future functions and the physical structure is perhaps the most obvious change to establish new qualities within a site that has been poorly used. It seems, however, that the void between old and new is rather forgotten (or at least not dealt with). Since nothing has been done to support different private initiatives, what shape will the transition take? Will new residents simply relocate to the site without worrying about its rather dark past? Will it be used as planned? Most importantly, will it be socially sustainable? To work towards social sustainability is a continuing process that needs more than just words of functioning futures. The fact that the municipality encourages private initiatives, but has done little to support its transformation from new to old is questionable.

In terms of gentrification, the City of Malmö seems to be aware of its possible occurrence, but it is not seen as a risk but a potential to create an attractive society. The City of Malmö seem to have certain blind spots regarding the harmful effects of gentrification in terms of social sustainability, although they recognize some of the harmful outcomes e. g. interesting facilities/industries moving somewhere else.

There is still many plans to incorporate mix uses and diversity. Both the plan programme and the interviewee indicated that it is a key part of the renewal. The City of Malmö spoke about the art university as one of the entities that could establish cultural activities at the site, which indicates that they already started to plan for these activities.

There seems to be a some planning for activities that could enable social interactions within the renewal of Norra Sorgenfri. We see this as positive, but it begs the question; does only social interactions enable social sustainability? As our discussion of the term above (chapter 3.5) indicates, it does not, but supports a category within it - social activity. Can social sustainability be be achieved at all? We will deal with these questions in the next sections, where we will discuss both gentrification and its characteristics along with the plan program.

5. Gentrification's Influence on Social Sustainability

In the previous chapter, we presented the plan programme and our complimentary interview which reveals the City of Malmö's visions, ideas, and thoughts for Norra Sorgenfri. To answer whether the plans for the renewal of Norra Sorgenfri would support social sustainability or not, must first discuss gentrification in relation to the site. In order to determine Norra Sorgenfri's chance of enabling social sustainability, we must first look at its potential risk of facing gentrification, and we see it as important to understand both negative or positive effects. This chapter will discuss the process of gentrification and how it affects Norra Sorgenfri, but also its affects on the different dimensions of social sustainability.

5.1 How to Recognize Gentrification in Norra Sorgenfri

Due to Norra Sorgenfri's unfinished state, it has been difficult to predict the future outcomes of these large changes without theory regarding urban change. The City of Malmö is working continuously with transforming the decaying and largely under-used area into a flourishing and well working social space that in the next decade can hold a diverse group of people and activities. The vision and idea behind these changes are on the surface promising and justified. The site does indeed need change in order to both function and catch up with the rest of Malmö's, in comparison, quick development. Its large unused lands establishes confusement and vandalism. This not only contributes to disagreements regarding change, but it is important to confirm Norra Sorgenfri as a strategically well placed area in the close outskirts of the central parts of Malmö that offers advantages due to its historically valuable character.

We would like to introduce Smith's theory regarding different gentrification indicators since it has value for our evaluation of the site and its potential future. Moskowitz's theory regarding

gentrification is quite cohesive with that of Smith. We will try to analyze and weave these together. With Norra Sorgenfri's role as an important industrial neighborhood in the mid-end of the 20th century, it has arguably been a valuable land and neighborhood. The clear outcomes of its decaying industrial character is much due to companies being forced to either move elsewhere or shut down. This not only indicates the importance of financial stability for using space, but that it has the power to decide the layout and use of both structures and people as well. With information about the long history of Norra Sorgenfri, it is interesting to go back to the cycle of neighborhoods presented by Smith and the typical phases by Moskowitz. Smith defines a typical (not universal) rhythm of both financial and social aspects that are simultaneously affecting each other. Placing Norra Sorgenfri in one of these phases not only gives one an interesting perspective on the importance of monetary power, but gives a credible hypothesis for possible future outcomes. With a currently two-sided character of both decay and revitalization, placing Norra Sorgenfri in the end-beginning cycle not only seems logic due to its state, but gives insight into the process the site is currently facing. It is clear for people passing by and those familiar with the site that it has been undermaintained for a period of time and that the site is slowly, but definitely, transitioning into a site with modern dwelling more matched with more central parts of Malmö.

5.2 The Cycle of Gentrification

In the ending cycle, even though Smith mainly discusses apartment complexes and neighborhoods, we would like to argue that Norra Sorgenfri along with its existing industries have suffered similar outcomes not only due to lack of maintenance, but due to the strict development plan and vision the City of Malmö has laid. This is arguably a two-sided discussion, since it is possible that without municipal control, these private landowners and industries might go their own way and accelerate other aspects of a potential gentrification. However, regardless of residential- or industry shape, seeing a structural decay like Norra Sorgenfri, with municipal guidelines for future development (City of Malmö interviewee 02-11-2017), existing non-municipal landowners might feel hindered to develop according to their vision which, as Moskowitz mentions, is a common reason for private landowners to seek profit elsewhere (Smith, 2007:544f). Since some industries in Norra Sorgenfri have been left with no choice but to move, this theory seems well-fitting. Restoring or expanding existing houses or industries is not made without the City of Malmö indirectly guiding its change (City of Malmö interviewee 02-11-2017). With a plan that seek to create inclusive, attractive spaces and new housing opportunities, it is interesting to question the method for inclusive development. Even though the plan programme suggests variation among building structures that can house social diversity, our interview confirmed that gentrification does not have to be seen as negative, since it might contribute to an varied and attractive space (City of Malmö interviewee 02-11-2017). Defining gentrification as not good nor bad, but stating that it is

positive in that it makes sites more attractive would indicate a focus on structural improvements and appealing spaces rather than inclusive and social diversity. Since gentrification is, by definition, negatively affecting people, it is worth evaluating the new rising, more attractive market and how this affects current residents.

Table 5.1 A table showing the risen value of apartments around Nobelvägen in Norra Sorgenfri, information by: (Booli.se 2017)

The residential value around Nobelvägen			
Year	2013	2016	2017
Price	≈650.000kr*	≈650.000kr*	≈1.300.000kr*
Increase	-	0%	+82%

^{*} prices differ with +- 150.000 kr

It is worth mentioning that the value of apartments in Malmö has seen an overall increase. According to recent data from Svensk Mäklarstatistik, apartment value has increased by 11.5% during 2017 (Maklarstatistik.se 2017), but it puts it nowhere close to that of Norra Sorgenfri. Due to new residential houses being open for purchase and occupancy since 2017, it cannot be denied that price increase on older nearby apartments is due to new construction. Smith's rent gap is interesting, since an increase of apartment costs, indirectly enables an increased rent opportunity. Despite new or old, with a more attractive market and an increase of residential prices, higher costs certainly hinders working-class from being a part of the new Norra Sorgenfri which the City of Malmö initially have claimed to be an inclusive, attractive space designed for social diversity.

5.3 Increased Price Tags and VIP Housing Policy

Using Smith's first cycle perspective, there are clear indicators of growing investments. We have seen, as previously mentioned, both older residential housings increase in price and newly developed residential buildings of higher class. Moskowitz's statement of purposely decayed sites which are more profitable to reinvest in (Moskowitz, 2017:40) is difficult to speculate around since the underlying intention behind Norra Sorgenfri's structural decay is unclear. It does, however, inspire us to view new development within the area differently since housing quality and pricing on new development and reinvested structures differ dramatically from earlier pricing in the area. The restoration of older houses such as Skofabriken (The Shoe Factory), has remained quite silent, but gained a lot of interest by early investors, which already have pre-purchased and reserved 26 of the 54 apartments that will be available in the third quarter of 2019 (Skofabriken, 2017), leaving the cheapest available apartment on a price of 1.695000 SEK at a 41.852 SEK/m2 - substantially

higher than nearby older structures. As Smith states, the efforts put in place for structural improvements will be directly reflected on the housing price (Smith, 2007:545f). Along with the possibility to pre-reserve apartments, one could argue that the refurbished structure supports a certain group of people.

Regarding Moskowitz's five phases, the changes put in place will, of course, not only impact the situated industries and economy we have seen in Norra Sorgenfri the last years, but also affect the atmosphere - or the sense of place. New apartments and industries will, according to the plan programme, create new perceptions and investing opportunities (City of Malmö 2008:16). Buildings such as Skofabriken are interesting to include in an analysis of this kind. Despite the first phase being described as unsupported by institutions, it does fit well with its shy marketing, and we would argue that the outcome of Skofabriken is more clear. We can already see indicators of Moskowitz' phase two, as he defines it by early profit motivated purchasers of real estate which causes fewer available accommodations (Moskowitz, 2017:33). Since nearly half of the planned apartments have been sold or reserved to the highest bidder in the already changing Norra Sorgenfri, Skofabriken can be argued to be a building which supports wealthier people, causing housing costs in the neighborhood to see new levels. Moskowitz's indicators for a beginning displacement is difficult to analyze, but with both new developed and older apartment complexes seeing increased prices, we believe it certainly toughens working-class people to live within the area.

The approach by constructors in Norra Sorgenfri is also building on exclusive housing policies. JM, one of Scandinavia's largest developers, opened an interest report for upcoming apartments, where VIP customers were given an opportunity to pre-buy apartments one month ahead of non-VIP customers. Being a VIP-customer of JM is a yearly cost of 200 SEK (JM.se) where those who have been paying for the privilege longer will receive precedence over others if they are financially stable. MKB (owned by the City of Malmö) has a yearly cost of 300 SEK to even be able to seek accommodation. It is arguable that this privilege is a small cost for a chance to seek an apartment or get ahead of the line, but it does simultaneously show that those who are able pay for certain privileges will always be chosen before others and that money can buy you an advantage in housing policy. Being a VIP customer certainly sends a message of an individual's higher importance and continues to provide the changing neighborhood with an exclusive aura.

5.4 Crime Fighting Gentrification and Status Change

Our research has so far indicated that the changes in neighborhood structure has led to an increase of cost of already existing buildings (which also allow newly built structures to take advantage of those heightened residential values) but has not yet dealt with other important aspects of gentrification that might be changing the area, namely with regards to safety and well-being.

As one of this research focus points is to highlight urban planning's and design's ability to introduce and create new and inviting atmospheres, this does, of course, not include the encouragement of illegal activities. In the case of Norra Sorgenfri, it is arguable that increased police surveilance (which Moskovitz argue is an consequence of higher safety in gentrified areas, see chapter 3.1), would be beneficial for eliminating businesses prohibited by law. It is difficult to determine if the decaying atmosphere has been an entry for unwanted businesses or if the negative rumors have been generated due to it, regardless of this, it seems that the rumor and prohibited activities have been co-existing and grown together over time. Since the main problem has been with hidden and underground businesses, gentrification with an increase of safety regulations might from this perspective be an important tool to improve both the social atmosphere and to prevent the rumor to continue to decay. Improvements in terms of safety along with newly developed structures are likely to successively lower criminality on site.

As discussed in chapter 3.3, Atkinson argues that gentrification can increase both an areas status and its nearby neighborhoods as well. Gentrifying a site like Norra Sorgenfri thus has the potential to improve other nearby areas simultaneously. Increasing neighborhoods reputation, its sense of safety and creating attractive spaces through gentrification is one aspect for the overall well-being of city residents that are able to make use of these structural changes. Despite these improvements, the fundamental issue with gentrification remains. The harmful impacts on existing residents and long-term social sustainability is from this research perspective of most importance.

5.5 Gentrification Depends

Agreeing with Atkinson in many points, we have so far in this chapter largely discussed the negative effects of gentrification on Norra Sorgenfri. To give a nuanced and balanced assessment of the developments as envisaged in the plan programme for the area, we are now turning to discussing potential possible aspects of gentrification. As we previously have discussed Cameron and Coaffee's positive gentrification, which explained artists importance in gentrification (Cameron & Coaffe, 2005), the example of Gateshead shares similar qualities to those we see in Norra Sorgenfri. Both sites have a worn and rough history, but both have also served as a hub for creativity and culture. As Gateshead showed, it is possible to establish social values through a different kind of cultural gentrification, which is not depending on structural improvements (although Gateshead did see these improvements later on, it was not its initial purpose). As it developed into a greater

social- and cultural neighborhood with an evolving attractive market, the government's effort to contribute and help build this evolving neighborhood ultimately caused it to become too privatized and exclusive. Residents were finally forced out due to increased costs and Gateshead today struggles with segregation (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005:55).

The renewal of Gateshead becomes an important example when evaluating Norra Sorgenfri. The initial cultural movement established in Gateshead did see some unpredicted changes that affected its social sustainability over time. Norra Sorgenfri has, like Gateshead, had several studios and creative spaces operating without municipal support. Because the City of Malmö's plan programme suggests actions towards improving and establishing increased number of hubs for cultural agendas, it is insightful to analyze if the outcome will be similar to that of Gateshead. Despite it initially being referred to as positive gentrification, Cameron and Coaffee seem to share our view of gentrification as generally negative from a social perspective.

Through gentrification, some of the categories within social sustainability may be achievable. The sense of place, social participation, safety and activity are possible to reach through gentrifying neighborhoods. Although it could promote social values, it is not equal to social sustainability since an exclusion of lower class residents still occur. So what about social equity? This is a crucial part in city planning to enable a wider form of social sustainability (Dempsey et al. 2011:292).

5.6 Invisible Borders

The City of Malmö's desire for a broad diversity of inhabitants (City of Malmö, 2008:12) might be difficult to achieve from a residents' perspective, as our research has indicated a heightened standard which has been affecting housing cost rather dramatically. We would argue that it would obstruct its future potential of becoming a diverse space in terms of accommodation. From a public space perspective, where a diversity of people can participate in the activities a new neighborhood offers, we do see potentials and qualities in the plan programme, but still feel that Atkinson's theory of residential usability of newly added services within a gentrified area need to be reminded of (Atkison, 2010:119). Will the ground floors mentioned in the plan programme really be "for everyone"? Will these serve the diverse inhabitants of Malmö or will the new ground floor services put focus on smaller target groups which can afford the higher standards and services within the new Norra Sorgenfri? This seem to be difficult question to answer in regards for resident- versus inhabitant usability. Although the overall level of people using public spaces or activities around Norra Sorgenfri might increase, we see difficulties in establishing diversity in residents due to the upgraded living conditions and new services added on the ground floors - services which the City of Malmö visions as public and inviting spaces (City of Malmö: 2008:11). The territorial depth (Habraken, 1998:137f) which we addressed earlier, might be helpful to understand the situation. Since borders between public- or private, or semi-public or semi-private spaces might be easily

seen and felt, how will services located in a heightened standard neighborhood be perceived by residents who feel that they do not any longer belong? As ground floor shops improve, one could argue that the new residents and inhabitants from the city might make use of these new services. It is possible that these spaces become perceived as semi-public. They might even be perceived as completely public by new residents or city inhabitants visiting the area. What tends to be erased from this equation is nevertheless those citizens who no longer feel that they belong. Yes, the borders (or territorial depth) might be taken into consideration throughout the neighborhood and yes, this might be beneficial for the new Norra Sorgenfri. What needs to be addressed are the inhabitants from *old* Norra Sorgenfri.

Since gentrification is harmful from a social perspective, the problem it brings becomes more clear during its process. Through a gentrified zone's improved living conditions and overall heightened standards, the people being able to access these residential housings becomes more clear - thus visualizes the problem with social equity within the area.

6. Social Sustainability within Malmö

We have concluded that gentrification will most likely occur in Norra Sorgenfri, and although it could bring both positive and harmful effects to the site, it disables parts of social sustainability since it cannot enable social equity. This outcome points towards the likeliness of Norra Sorgenfri becoming less socially sustainable, but as this chapter will discuss, there is more than one definition of social equity. Against the backdrop of alternative definitions of social equity, we will in the following sections elaborate on how the vision for Norra Sorgenfri will be able to establish social sustainability through other means. This will end in a conclusion that ties back to our first main question of this thesis by answering; How will the plans for the regeneration of Norra Sorgenfri support social sustainability?

6.1 Malmö Municipality's Statements Regarding Social Sustainability

Gentrification - with all of its negative aspects - does not exclude social values, it does, however, disable social sustainability since gentrification brings social inequity. Social equity is according to Dempsey et al. divided into two separate categories; social equity as exclusion/inclusion and social equity as everyone's right to key facilities (Dempsey et al. 2011:292 ff.). If we were to focus on the second category, social equity as access to key facilities, our assumptions of the Malmö City's plan programme might differ. Suddenly, social equity becomes reachable by adding qualities. How would this view of social equity affect Norra Sorgenfris ability to enable social sustainability? In order to enable social sustainability, we need social activity, participation in local activities, a

stable mobility of residents, a sense of place, safety, and at last, social equity (Dempsey et al. 2011). Does the City of Malmö deal with any of these categories?

The City of Malmo's plan programme for Norra Sorgenfri does indeed indicate many activities that aim to attract a diverse group of users of the site's public spaces (City of Malmö 2008:5,6,12, 16). Our interviewee discussed this as well and pointed to one activity that was already in motion, the relocation of Malmö's art university to Båghallarna at Kvarteret Spårvägen (City of Malmö interview 2017). Although a university of any kind is a questionable organisation regarding social activity within a site (since a school/University is often only accessible to the students), an art university could host events that could create social activity, but also participation in local activities. We would argue that the City of Malmö is working towards establishing social activities and local participation. They describe the activities already existing there today (local art studios and small scale operations) as something that should be developed further, with additional recreational activities adding to the attractions (City of Malmö 2008:20). The City of Malmö expands this by discussing Industrigatan as an alley for meetings and activities since it is an well integrated road (City of Malmö 2008:22), which our own experience and analysis of Norra Sorgenfri seem to emphasize. Whether the vision becomes reality or not remains to be seen, but from a planning point of view they seem to strive for social activities and local participation based on a thorough analysis of how the site works.

A sense of place is also discussed in the plan programme, although they discuss it in terms of adding an attraction to the site (City of Malmö 2008:18). The City of Malmö states that they want to establish the "right" atmosphere and a sense of place that attracts visitors (City of Malmö 2008:18). The description of the new identity indicate what "type" of place it should become. According to the plan programme, Norra Sorgenfri will be characterized by its industrial and cultural heritage - which will define its atmosphere and sense of place (City of Malmö 2008:13).

The City of Malmö's ambition to establish a certain sense of place is well motivated, we argue that using the already existing elements of the site should be preferred, instead of transforming the general atmosphere into something completely new. On the other hand, as we noticed during our site visit, the sense of place in Norra Sorgenfri today is unwelcoming and rough. As Cresswell described, place is defined by the emotions we put into the site (Cresswell 2013:249), which resulted in us feeling out of place. Although we can argue that much of the worn characteristics will change, our interview revealed that many of the industries could potentially remain on the site (City of Malmö interviewee 02-11-2017). This could be troublesome since our experience was that many of the industries and their lack of territorial depth were a large part of the non-inviting atmosphere. This begs the question; If the operational industries remains, will their impact on the sense of place remain? The City of Malmö does state that the bottom floors of the buildings should be used for commercial use or other activities that could generate an attraction (City of Malmö 2008:12 and 16). This would solve our earlier critique since we saw the closed off facades as a main

contributor to the sense of privateness. But then again, if the industries were to remain, how inviting will their nearby spaces be? We argue that it is hard to predict whether there will be an inviting sense of place in Norra Sorgenfri. Today there is Kvarteret Spårvägen, which does not accommodate any industries, while the rest of Norra Sorgenfri does. If the other blocks will be developed as Kvarteret Spårvägen - with a high amount of residential housing - there is perhaps a potential to remove the negative characters in the existing sense of place. There are other influences that could change the sense of place as well. Our discussion about gentrification seems to point towards strengthening the sense of place to some degree, and we would argue that the characteristics of establishing social activities and local participation would make a sites sense of place stronger; if there are more people interacting with each other, there are more familiar feelings associated with Norra Sorgenfri as a place. The information we received from the plan programme and our interview indicate that the City of Malmö's plans seem to be able to establish a strong sense of place that would make the larger majority of the site more appreciated, although the industries could potentially harm it.

A sense of place could also contribute to a sense of safety. If people experience positive emotions on a site they also feel comfortable and safe. Although not discussed in great detail, the City of Malmö seems to have saftey in mind when establishing public space. Safety, as described by Dempsey et al. is, however, only about feeling safe, not about *being* safe as being able to be injured or in an accident. The City of Malmö speaks of both. They discuss safety as natural surveillance in the built environment by having visual connections in areas that otherwise could be experienced unsafe (City of Malmö 2008:22). Since there is soil contamination within Norra Sorgenfri, safety from a health perspective is also necessary to deal with. The City of Malmö states that action will be taken to sanitize the plots before establishing new buildings (City of Malmö 2008:86).

One could speculate that safety is a common concern in every new development, and the reason that the plan programme does not adress this in depth might be that it comes naturally in planning practice. Achieving sense of safety in the new neighborhood thus seems to be reachable. Aspects such as social activity and participation also contributes to safety. With all of gentrifications negative effects, the sense of safety is from this perspective a positive outcome in a gentrified zone. With all of its negative aspects, safety is something that actually could be improved when areas become gentrified. Although uncertain, the specific criminal activities within Norra Sorgenfri (prostitution and drug trafficking) seems unlikely to occur in the future.

As the second definition of social equity is the important access to key facilities (Dempsey et al. 2011:292), Norra Sorgenfri seems to be well integrated with Malmö, with qulities of both local-and global integration. These create opportunities to improve access from residents and visitors from other parts of the city, enabling improved accessability within the site. The City of Malmö wants to divide the bigger blocks into smaller structures in order to increase connections to and from the site (City of Malmö 2008:5 and 16). The municipality's smaller scale focus also seems

important in order to create possibilities for different actors. Planning for more accessible key facilities harmonize with Norra Sorgenfri's well integrated structure (City of Malmö 2008:16).

Social equity as access to public facilities seems to be achievable. In some cases, its already existing. Another view is to separate the aspects of residential equity and equity within public space. As we discussed before, there seems to be an invisible border that separates these two different aspects of social equity. By creating public spaces for everyone, there is technically inclusion within the site, hence it can be said to be socially equitable from a public perspective. It is, however, a dilemma considering that new, inviting spaces are meant to be for everyone, but not the new neighborhood's housing solutions. Is it justified to establish areas where a high income is required as long as people can still use the outdoor public space?

By comparing the characteristics of the renewal of Norra Sorgenfri with the categories of social sustainability, we see much that would point towards a sustainable neighborhood. Although social equity is based on perspective, the renewal of Norra Sorgenfri seems to be transformed into a diverse area, with activities and functions that support a broad set of people. We realize that analysing the mobility of residents is not yet doable, due to Norra Sorgenfri's currenlty unfinished state and it would become difficult to draw any conclusions from such an analyzis. The plan programme is not produced to discuss this either. We would, however, argue that determining whether or not a site becomes sustainable, depends on the individuals perception of space.

6.2 Social Sustainability Depends

Social sustainability is a fuzzy term that is diffucult to define (Dempsey et al. 2011:290). Consequently, it is hard to operationalize in an effective way in planning. Hence, while we would like to maintain social sustainability as an ideal to strive for in planning, we suggest to break it down into accessibility to key facilities, residential equity and equity within public space to turn it into a useful guiding concept in planning practice. In this way, it became more flexible, tangible to discuss and more appropriate for the real situation in Norra Sorgenfri.

This thesis has indicated that gentrification will raise the overall cost of living within the area, thus harming the residential equity. Although the site is slowly seeing residential inequity, we believe that by planning for equity within public space and accessibility to key facilities, the City of Malmö could achieve (at least parts of) social equity within Norra Sorgenfri. In this manner, the municipality could work with the categories of social sustainability by focusing on what is doable, considering the residential market is outside of their power.

Instead of *achieving* social sustainability, we see greater importance in successively work with the categories *within* the term. By breaking down social sustainability into categories, the situated needs for a specific context to improve, such as Norra Sorgenfri, can be easier to understand. As long as a site becomes *more* sustainable (e.g through improved public spaces or accessibility to

residential housings) than it previously was, we believe social sustainability can become less of a buzzword and be used in a more balanced way for understanding a sites specific needs.

6.3 How will the Plans for the Regeneration of Norra Sorgenfri Support Social Sustainability?

By using the categories of social sustainability, we see that a renewal of Norra Sorgenfri could potentially achieve many added social values. One concern is that Norra Sorgenfri is in risk of disabling social equity in form of an exclusion of lower class residents. By analysing the plan programme we have noticed that the other categories of social sustainability seem to be achievable, although mobility of residents is hard to speculate around.

In terms of our thesis question, we see that the plans for the regeneration of Norra Sorgenfri will support social sustainability through a well integrated structure, improving the sense of place, planning for safety and by adding mixed structures that allow different activities and uses that could contribute to social activity, local participation and social equity within public spaces. Arguing for social sustainability solely in the sense of Dempsey et al. (2011) makes it questionable if it is achieved at all, since there is no social equity in form of inclusion. Instead of stating that social equity can be achieved or not, we believe the more sustainability argument mentioned earlier, can improve the understanding of equity in spaces, whether it is public or private. With a plan programme aiming to create a welcoming neighborhood with accessible key facilities, we do believe social equity within the public spaces can be improved.

Although the plan programme indicates more social sustainability in Norra Sorgenfri, it is worth mentioning that for this to occur, the ideas and visions of the plan programme needs to be realized. Therefore, this thesis does not state that more social sustainability *will* occur, but that the plan programme by the City of Malmö seems to be aiming in this direction. The plan programme can only guide future developments, not control them. If future developments divert from the plan programme, we can not state that the categories of social sustainability would occur. Our focus was on understanding the intentions and ideals embedded in the City of Malmö's ideas for Norra Sorgenfri and in analyzing how the plan programme could be used to predict the outcome; therefore if the development changes the result would be different.

7. Designing for Mixed Social Use

From our discussion of how the plans for the regeneration of Norra Sorgenfri supports social sustainability, we argue that the site would gain from a site that is socially equitable, and space which promotes social activity and participation. This chapter will explain our underlying ideas for our design, what the site needs, how we adapt to the plan programme, our inspiration, and which theories we use to strenghten our idea. In the end, a short conclusion regarding our second question of this thesis is presented.

7.1 Site Specific Needs

In order for our proposal to be efficient in supporting a mixed use, we have analyzed the site specific needs for Norra Sorgenfri. The categories of social sustainability reveal that Norra Sorgenfri would need improvements in enabling social equity. We would like to emphasize that one design proposal would not enable social equity in Norra Sorgenfri, but it could change the site's ability to support it. We would argue that social equity, in the sense of an inclusion or exclusion of residents living there is out of grasp. A public space will most likley not make an area more affordable, but social equity as everyone's right to the site is more realistic. By designing a space for everyone, we can improve the right for people to use Norra Sorgenfri and therefore strive for social equity.

Another site specific need we noticed was the need for reworking the perception in territoriality between public and private. During our site visits we noticed that the neighborhood is largely private. Although the plan programme speaks for change, the City of Malmö expressed that industries will remain (City of Malmö interview 2017), which we noticed had a negative effect on the sense of place. We see importance in transforming the site into a more public space, because of the high level of private buildings and spaces. We would argue that to make the site more accessible with diverse activities, Norra Sorgenfri needs to generate an attraction to at least enable small fractions of social equity.

We realize that it is important to adapt to the existing plan programme and to design a space that will be coherent with the rest of Norra Sorgenfri. Our approach is therefore to create a space that supports social activity which helps to create an attraction. Since the plan programme promotes small scale businesses, we also work with enabling them by designing locales were they could be. Because of what we experienced during the site visits, we believe that for the site to support these actors, there needs to be space for these to exist - space which is inspiring it to become a place, rather than location, and spaces which establishes a switch in perceived territorial depth than those we encountered during our visits, which is of a more inviting public- than private character. Parts of the plan programme we see as crucial, is to design a space that could support the desirable sense of place and atmosphere. The City of Malmö wants to create a sense of place within Norra

Sorgenfri that both reflect a modern city but also its industrial heritage. Therefore, we would like to adapt the same characteristics to create a sense of place which is cohesive with the already existing space at the same time as we enable and establish possibilities for shared positive experiences.

7.2 Designing from Theory

In terms of designing public space to support a mixed use, social sustainability in Norra Sorgenfri is hard to strive for by changing just one site, but we look at important elements we believe will contribute and strengthen the new Norra Sorgenfri. To form a design proposal that fosters social sustainability, we see it as helpful to focus on the concept of "public domains" (Hajer & reijndorp, 2002). City planners and professors Maarten Hajer and Arnold Reijndorp describe a public domain as space that attracts different social groups, cultures and backgrounds within the same physical structure of space (Hajer & Reijndorp 2002:11f.). They distinguish public domains from public spaces arguing that a public space is a site within a city that everyone can access, as the public domain is often - but not exclusively - a public space that supports a wide variety of social activities and broad target groups which include inhabitants regardless of social-and cultural backgrounds. Hajer and Reijndorp argue that the public domain is a space for social interactions that goes beyond personal relations and that it is a space which has qualities that opens up for new experiences (Hajer & Reijndorp 2002:12f).

We argue that the experiences of a public domain would be beneficial for the type and level of activity in Norra Sorgenfri as a first step in achieving social sustainability. We would therefore like to build on the idea of an public domain for our design proposal because of its inviting- and social qualities. By establishing a public domain in Norra Sorgenfri which contributes to higher levels of activity, social equity within the site could be achieved. We recognize that this would not improve social equity in living conditions, but that it would make the inclusion of people at the site higher than the current planning process - thus making it more sustainable.

Another theory we find important is William Whyte's argument of people attracting people (Whyte 1988:10). This way of thinking could be beneficial in terms of placement for our proposal. Since accessibility is crucial when establishing new public spaces, we see it as ideal to place our proposal where it could be easily accessed, but also where the already natural flow of people exist. We have therefore chosen the area around Kvarteret Brännaren as the most optimal placement for our design. By placing it between Nobelvägen and Östra Farmvägen - which have higher levels of people - we can take advantage of the movement to guide them into Industrigatan, eliminating the void and improving the connection between the two emerging blocks.

7.3 Boxpark

Although site specific needs and theories are important, we also see reference projects as helpful. We have analyzed Boxpark in London to see how space can be activated into an attraction for a wider target group. The solution is a temporary styled mall which opened in 2011 in Shoreditch. The concept of Boxpark is that it is mainly made of shipping containers, making the rentable locales both affordable and flexible for many different uses (Boxpark.uk 2017). Due to the flexibility of the containers, the mall is both a food market and a shopping center. With its changeable modules, it allows Boxpark to change and adapt for new conditions (Boxpark.uk 2017).

We chose this project as a inspiration for our proposal since the flexibility of working with containers allow the design to fluctuate and adapt for contingencies along Norra Sorgenfri's renewal. The Boxpark solution share qualities with the situation in Norra Sorgenfri in that it resembles and matches the industrial setting. With its inviting and inclusive solution, we see a layout of containers as an interesting shape to work with. Although every container may be static in shape, the content within can change and meet new demands where different actors can activate the site in many different ways. The aesthetic of a container also follows the guideline of the plan programme with its industrial yet modern way of thinking. Boxpark seem to have generated an general attraction much like what we strive for, and although it is a site specific design, we believe that a similar concept in Norra Sorgenfri would be appreciated.



Figure 7.1 Boxpark, photo by: Hans Dinkelberg 2014



Figure 7.2 Boxpark, photo by: Matt Brown 2012

7.4 Our Proposal: Boxibility Norra Sorgenfri



Figure 7.3 Visualization of Boxibility Norra Sorgenfri

By using our findings in the discussion regarding the plans for the regeneration of Norra Sorgenfri, combined with the additional theories from Whyte, Hajer and Reijndorp, and the guidelines in the plan programme, we have produced the proposal Boxibility Norra Sorgenfri (see figure 7.3). It is placed at the corner of Kvarteret Brännaren, in the intersection of Industrigatan and Nobelvägen (see figure 7.4). The structure is shaped as a 90 degree (see figure 7.5) turn which encaptures the visitors walking by. Due to the tower (that also serves as an elevator) it is easily spotted (See figure 7.3 and 7.8), forming curiosity when seen from afar. The structure is consisting of two levels, the locales and the roof floor. The roof floor works as an open public space that during evenings could support nightlife within Norra Sorgenfri, while the locales on the bottom floor contributes with activities and attractions during the day. Our proposal is a flexible public domain, that due to its construction being made of containers and pallets could deal with future contingencies that have an impact on the site. The idea of working with these simple objects is that they are easy to move and adjust if necessary. The containers have predetermined dimensions (2400(w)x 6000(L)x 2600(H)) that could support many different small scale activities, anything from bicycle workshops to bars. The pallet is an easily moved object that could be arranged to support different uses, such as creating sitting areas or forming a stage.



Figure 7.4 The location of Boxibility Norra Sorgenfri 1:3000



Figure 7.5 Plan of Boxibility Norra Sorgenfri 1:400

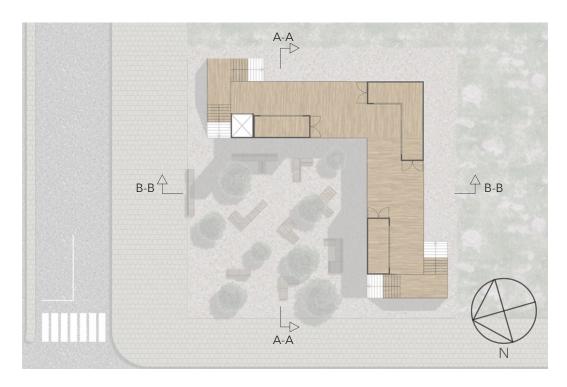


Figure 7.6 Plan of Boxibility Norra Sorgenfri roof floor1:400



Figure 7.7 Boxibility Norra Sorgenfri section A-A 1:200



Figure 7.8 Boxibility Norra Sorgenfri section B-B 1:200

Choice of Location

We chose to work with the intersection of Industrigatan and Nobelvägen at Kvarteret Brännaren (see figure 7.4 and 7.9), because of two reasons. Firstly, by choosing this site we align with the City of Malmö's ambition to transform Industrigatan into the main alley which should contain both attractions and social activities. Secondly, Nobelvägen and Industrigatan are two of the main roads in Norra Sorgenfri, and contains most traffic, both pedestrians and vehicles. By placing Boxibility in this intersection, it captures the people passing by (see figure 7.9).

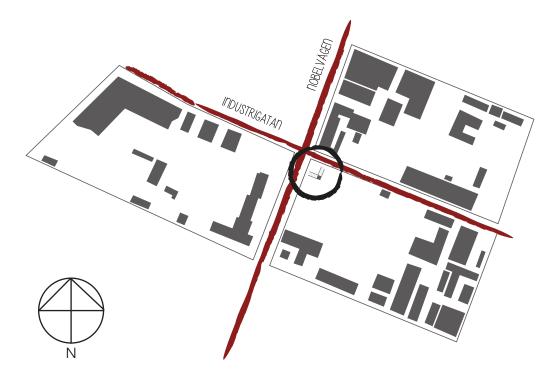


Figure 7.9 Diagram showing the dense traffic and Boxibility's placement in Norra Sorgenfri, close to the intersection 1:6000

Flexible Use and Dealing with Contingencies

The containers and the pallets are objects that are easy to adapt. The idea of creating locales within the containers is due to the plan programmes vision to create small scale businesses within Norra Sorgenfri. The established locales is created could support many different types of activities (see figure 7.10, 7.11, and 7.12) which could be used for site specific needs within the site. In this way, we establish a diverse space with many activities which also align with the plan programme's desire. Due the locales mainly (but not exclusively) being designed for stores and other consumtion purposes, the flexibility of the pallets help to enable activities and events which works without costs. Besides creating objects for sitting, they could be formed to support events such as free concerts, performances, and lectures. Figure 7.13, 7.14, and 7.15 illustrate a few examples of how the pallets can be arranged. By establishing a foundation of support for different uses and needs, the proposal can host several broad use cases that attract a broad use that attract different types of people regardless of background, culture or lifestyle.

With a flexible public space, Boxibility can adjust to contingencies along the renewal process, such as lower or higher demands of certain activities. One contingency that will occur is the transformation of Kvarteret Brännaren. Since there is no masterplan for this site, there is no way of predicting how the built environment will be formed. Due to its placement, Boxibility Norra Sorgenfri can exist on the same location if developers decide so (see figure 7.16), but since it is built of movable modules, it could be moved to a new location within Kvarteret Brännaren, further east on Industrigatan, or another location within Norra Sorgenfri that could benefit from this solution.



Figure 7.10 Diagram showing how a container could be transformed into a temporary book store 1:20



Figure 7.11 Diagram showing how a container could be transformed into a café 1:20



Figure 7.12 Diagram showing how a container could be transformed into a bicycle workshop 1:20

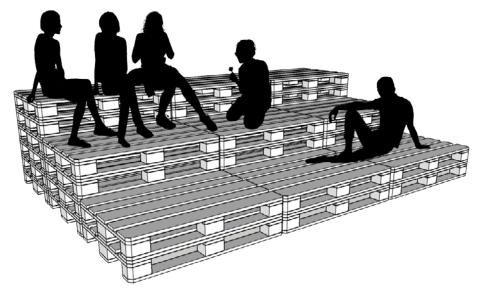


Figure 7.13 Diagram showing how pallets could be formed into a stand

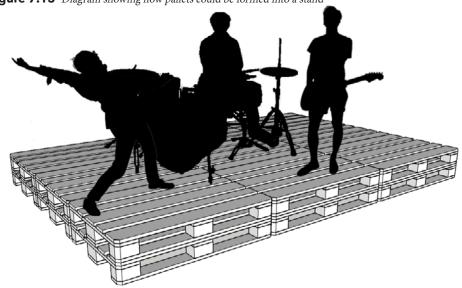


Figure 7.14 Diagram showing how pallets could be formed into a stage



Figure 7.15 Diagram showing how pallets could be formed into a bench

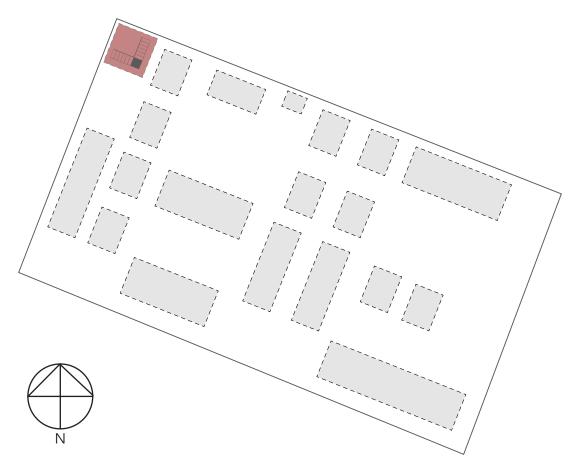


Figure 7.16 Diagram showing Kvarteret Brännaren with an example of a future built environment, with Boxibility Norra Sorgenfri still there 1:2500

Changing the Territoriality

Since there are many industries today without territorial depth the space must be of an inviting character. By designing for locales within the containers, we can already start to improve the preceived territorial depth in Norra Sorgenfri since it allows an increased diversity of people to be apart of a constantly changing space which aims to erase the preception of private borders. The territorial depth of the locales change depending on its opening hours, while the roof floor can be accessed during both day and night (see movment pathern in figure 7.17, and 7.18).

Designing to Foster Social Sustainability

With the concept of public domain in mind, Boxibility aims to be a space where private initiatives are encouraged and where different uses can be put in action, at any place and at any time. By doing so, the site can improve the conditions for social interactions, and strengthen the diversity of visitors. In this manner, Boxibility is able to establish a public domain with social equity, in a currently privatized zone. By designing with elements similar to the industrial character (containers and pallets), it can be coherent with the atmosphere of Norra Sorgenfri and by adding activities which contribute to positive emotions, it can generate the sense of place the City of Malmö whishes for in the future. With social interactions, social equity, and a sense of place, Boxibility Norra Sorgenfri will contribute to more social sustainability in Norra Sorgenfri.

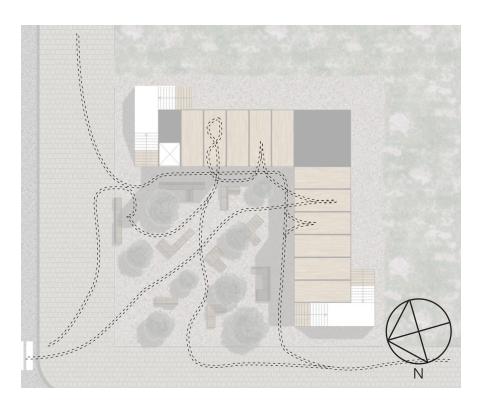


Figure 7.17 Diagram showing a possible movment pattern during the day which indicates that there is a territorial depth that allows visitors to move into the containers of Boxibility Norra Sorgenfri 1:400

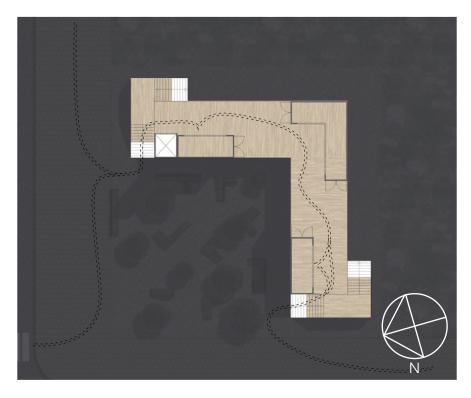


Figure 7.18 Diagram showing a possible movment pattern during the evening which indicates that even though the territorial depth have shifted, Boxibility Norra Sorgenfri will still be a public space since the roof floor is still accessible 1:400



Figure 7.19 Diagram showing how lights makes it possible to visit Boxibility in evenings/night



Figure 7.20 Visualization of Boxibility Norra Sorgenfri



Figure 7.21 *Visualization of Boxibility Norra Sorgenfri*

7.5 How Could a Public Space in Norra Sorgenfri be Designed to Support Mixed Social Use?

We would like to emphasize that our proposal is not the *only* solution for how a public space in Norra Sorgenfri can be designed, but would argue that it is an example, based on our theoretical- and analytical findings, of how a public space can support and establish a diverse usage. Our proposal focus on supporting a mixed social use by being a meetingplace were social activity can flourish and change through time by offering different activities. Our proposal thus becomes a platform for sharing experiences, which ultimately aims to establish a space that can improve inclusion, sense of place and its current reputation.

This design proposal displays how a theoretical discussion could be applied in practice. This design is based on our findings of how the regeneration of Norra Sorgenfri supports social sustainability and goes to show how studies regarding urban transformation and social inclusion can help to create situated knowledge that a design solution could benefit from.

8. Reflections

8.1 Regarding Our Approach And Execution

Looking back on our study we see that there are parts which could have been done differently. In hindsight, we acknowledge that working with both gentrification and social sustainability is a rather complicated task due to the complexity of them both. Perhaps a more detailed study on one of the subjects would be a better and more suitable approach in this thesis.

Our use of theories seemed logical during the study, but looking back there are some structural difficulties we could have avoided. We chose to work in two ways regarding theories. The theories regarding gentrification was mainly used to form an understanding of the subject, and how it affects people, both in negative and positive ways. Our choice of theories also acted as an introduction to an already known urban dilemma. Though we did have some knowledge about gentrifications impact on public and private space, we used Smith and Moskowitz theories to widen our understanding of its development. This gave us an insight into the general process, but since the problem is complex a more detailed study of gentrification could have resulted in a more accurate conclusion. We could also been more critical to these theories since they aim to explain impact of gentrification in a different context. The way gentrification evolves is likely to differ in cultures based on its government, its politics and laws. We could have used a Swedish reference to strengthen our arguments for Norra Sorgenfri's development, but also include a more detailed explanation of how the Swedish market works, which would have led to a more critical analysis our chosen theories. Doing so could have given us a more reliable result.

The other approach - which we had on social sustainability - was to present the theory as a analytical tool which we used to apply on our empirical material (the plan programme). We chose to present the theory without a detailed discussion regarding it. We could have chosen to work with more references to broaden the understanding of the concept, and thereafter combined or use the most trustworthy author.

The idea was to introduce our main theories in one chapter, but other less relevant theories to the main ones were introduced later when encountered. This worked when writing, since it gave us as researchers and authors another level of understanding which we also wanted to share, but consequently led to an unclear structure and an amount of theories that was confusing, left only briefly explained and less connected to our thesis initial agenda. By introducing all of them in the same chapter, we could have connected all of the theories better, and at the same time have an explanation to how and why these minor references were used and how they could help answer our research question. By doing so, we would be able to better judge whether or not some of the theories in the thesis were relevant or not. For example our introduction of theories such as territoriality by Habraken which might be difficult to digest in our structure. Our intention with it was

to give insight into the privatization large parts of Norra Sorgenfri holds, which have also steered its previous use as a mainly industrial space. This felt relevant due to the transformation the site is going through. Many plots are privately owned and this felt as an important aspect to understand in regards to a potential gentrification. We realize that introducing this theory rather late in our thesis was difficult to understand even if we gave effort in trying to link it to the main theories which weighed heavier in our thesis. In retrospect, it could have been either introduced and linked better and earlier, or left out completely.

Our approach towards the plan programme is also worth discussing and reflecting upon. To use the plan programme was relevant, because of its comprehensive and descriptive layout for Norra Sorgenfri's transformation. However, we should have argued more about the reliability of the information in it, since it is produced differently and more as a "selling" document which therefore could either exclude or enhance information to beautify the different projects planned for the site. It is worth mentioning that even though we saw it as critical to include an interview with the City of Malmö regarding this transformation, we could have reviewed our interviewees statements more carefully. Initially, since our source had been involved since the beginning of the planes that were laid for Norra Sorgenfri, we saw these statements as important, added value to our interpretation of their process described in the plan programme. We do however, realize that the amount of information we were able to collect was lacking when linked to a potential gentrification. To dig deeper into this problem, we should have put effort in additional interviews with other parties such as JM or MKB, since the municipality leaves the responsibility to the developers once the plan process is completed. JM and MBK would therefore be an important addition to our thesis since they develop and manage the buildings/blocks once it is finalized.

Another approach could have been to include more people from the municipality and compare their answers with each other, since it is likely that people involved in the early phase would have different visions and preferences in urban planning. With more people involved, we could have received more nuanced opinions of the changes happening in Norra Sorgenfri's.

During the process, a site visit was highly prioritized since it was needed to explain the site as it is. The idea was that it would help us explore and explain how the site is going to change, and although the visit helped us to better understand and estimate such changes, they are affected by our background. We read the landscape and its ongoing changes through "glasses" different than others. Our visit and story might therefore not be as relevant for our thesis considering the amount of relevant knowledge connected to gentrification or social sustainability. If the site visit would have been done more thoroughly and better planned the outcome might have been different. What we could have done is to complement it with more detailed drawings/illustrations/ maps that contained information regarding the site that was difficult to perceive at the site, such as ownership structures.

It would have been useful if our site visit was structured as an elaborated observation, such as Robert Stake's description in The Art of Case Study Research (1995). According to Stake's method, things such as doing interviews with people and making a checklist beforehand on what to look at could have helped us form a more structured approach. For example, if we had followed this guideline and described our anticipation for our first visit, we would be able to elaborate on things that differed or changed while on site. Another addition could have been to do a "tryout" beforehand on another area (Stake 1995:52). This could have been helpful in drawing conclusions regarding gentrification and the potential link to the current state Norra Sorgenfri is in.

8.2 Regarding Our Design Proposal

We would like to acknowledge that the potential problems which might occur in situations where gentrification and/or other transformations take place needs more than a design proposal of our caliber. Our inspiration from which our proposal came is similar in aesthetics, (both in its nearby landscape and its use) but is situated in a context different from our site. Even though the original solution in London has received positive feedback and our solution has been reworked to fit into the context of Norra Sorgenfri, it is possible that the most important things, such as people's mentality and perception of public spaces differ. This may cause our proposal to see other effects than initially desired. This may, for example, be shops only of a certain quality, not allowing the all-including space we intended. It could also suffer in that it would attract citizens only of a certain class, contradicting our own initial approach and desire to add values we see as important in a democratic and flexible space. If so, this kind of solution could act as a catalyst for the gentrification we hoped to avoid. Our intention is that those who would use Boxibility would share these values, but realize that urban landscapes is often impacted by powers and other things we - as landscape architects - cannot fully steer.

The essence in our design proposal is its temporal construction, which makes it flexible to the diverse urban demands. To counteract gentrification on a municipal level, it would be useful to allow temporal sites in city planning during its lengthy processes. In this manner, city districts can be more adjustable for the current needs and demands along the way and could counteract problems that occur with gentrification. A direct solution could be for the municipality to keep control over the future rents, such as the Social Housing project in Gothenburg. This could, however, lead to other financial problems where the construction would be less profitable for developers, which could lead to increased construction cost or no construction at all if the latter sees less gains through this approach. More studies on the housing markets and the contracts between municipality and constructors would be necessary to find a solution to this problem.

Since we have been working frequently with Norra Sorgenfri with various solutions during our education, it is important to state that our approach is likely influenced by previous site specific

proposals and how our perception of the site has evolved. This may have caused us to take a step back from our thesis main topic where we have unintentionally focused on smaller scaled solutions we found beneficial to a certain space within Norra Sorgenfri instead of the space as a whole. A site is interpreted and constructed through an exchange of what we as landscape architects see in front of us and what we wish to be or see there. Our ambition has always been to strive for social inclusion in an area we have recognized as being threatened by gentrification, but realize that our interpretation and solution for it might be different than how other people experience and use the site. There will always be those who oppose city change, and we realize that proposals struggle to satisfy every citizen. This is the case with every project, but by understanding the site, the current problems and the existing demands, landscape architects can provide more suitable solutions for the vast majority of the sites current users. For our proposal to be perceived as more suitable, a dialogue with citizens using, working, and living around Norra Sorgenfri could have helped us design a proposal that was not only theoretical but also practical and more fitting into the context.

8.3 Regarding our Conclusion

Since we are somewhat critical to our use of the plan programme and the execution of the site visit, we are to some degree also critical towards our conclusion. Our concern is that since the plan programme is produced as a selling document, the result of how the plans for Norra Sorgenfri supports social sustainability may lack in reliability. We believe that our conclusion is a fair result based on our means and empirical material. If we, as stated before, would have used more sources of information regarding the transformation, the result might have been different, but from our analysis we see few ways to conclude anything else in the current state Norra Sorgenfri is. With this thesis, it has also been difficult to draw any certain conclusions regarding gentrification because the site is far from being completed. We can only analyse the theories we used and what we are able to observe today, which lead to our hypothesis that it is becoming gentrified if no other measures are taken/ offered in the given development.

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Figures:

Figure 4.1: Made by authors 2017

Figure 4.2: Made by authors 2017

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Figure 4.7: Made by authors 2017

Figure 4.8: Made by authors 2017

Figure 4.9: Made by authors 2017

Figure 7.1: Photo by Hans Dinkelberg, 2014

(https://www.flickr.com/photos/uitdragerij/15588827853/in/photolist-pKwPq2-aNi-Q5B-oTrk1V-axhvGU-oUbFsa-aDYMFc-ncEVHE-b2KRsX-aNiQR8-fgdq3v-i99ZQA-dVEx-ni-MXKC38-aNiQQe-A7eRxX-oYQ8rL-oTrnsP-9LctKa-brXzoK-oBe56k-fMkXaF-pyr9zc-21BurDG-aNiMQg-aNM8BK-bm6WuM-aQoE1p-aYCGV2-bY9o4W-eGAr8o-gfnBi3-RYaLTX-bY9o83-9evzve-aUSbXg-aQoDsM-9eyEr7-9eyDKY-9eyDSq-PWnqyt-byCpPn-aQoFAB-oU-cynX-oUsiCa-9evxMe-oUtbqH-dX4CeT-R67Zxd-SWVtK2-b19B7X)

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Figure 7.2: Photo by Matt Brown, 2014

(https://www.flickr.com/photos/londonmatt/7327780372/in/photolist-dSoLvz-cawMNU-aTHKnK-aTHK2r-BgPgSB-eewPXd-aTHLEn-nPXJkH-nxLP9K-nxL7D7-aTHLjg-nxLQmz-ycENod-eewQ9S-eer7ax-eer73Z-nS3fYD-nxLi6m-nQfJjF-nxL7go-nNddcJ-nxL7yh-nQf-KXa-nxL6Nv-nQc8Zy-nS3hqX-nxLPYR-nxL8gj-b4cHkg-b4cH7r-b4cHcg-b4cHpp-ax-eSNM-axhuMh-axeQAH-pKwPq2-aNiQ5B-aDYMFc-nxLNYK-nxQ4yb-nNdcgA-nxL7VR-aY-SSQr-e7TzLR-b4cHtB-axhxR7-axeMyT-axeLtV-aE3DEd-UfMRUy

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- Figure 7.3: Made by authors 2018
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Table 5.1: Made by authors 2018, information reference:

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Apendix

Malmö Municipality interview 2017-02-11:

Marcus & Sebastian: Det är viktigt med anonymitet i alla typer av studier, så vill du förbli anonym så är det självklart, är det okej att vi använder ditt namn, så gör vi det. Det är helt upp till dig.

Det beror på vad ni skriver (skratt)

Marcus & Sebastian: Det är som sagt helt upp till dig.

Det beror på hur kritiska ni är (skratt)

Marcus & Sebastian: Vi kommer kunna definiera vårt mål under intervjun så du kan ta ställning till den frågan i slutet i så fall om du önskar.

Det låter bra, jag har en presentation, vill ni jag ska dra den snabbt eller? Eller vill ni ställa frågor?

Marcus & Sebastian: Det vore väldigt bra, vi kan börja med det

Ja

Marcus & Sebastian: Vi har lite frågor sen också

Nu har inte jag så modern dator som ni. Det ser väldigt gammalt ut när man ser de bredvid varandra så här

Marcus & Sebastian: Amen det är robust!

Men ni, känner väl till området väl?

Marcus & Sebastian: Ja det skulle vi vilja påstå

Bor ni i Malmö?

Marcus & Sebastian: Ja det gör vi

Då vet ni var det ligger. Men det här är väl lite känslan av området så som det är idag. Men det är

liksom, det är en blandning verkligen, så. Det är en del ödetomter och en del befintlig industri.

Och det är liksom pågår aktiviteter i de här, och har gjort, i de här överblivna platser. I nuläget så är

där en stor blandning av, en del industri, en del kultur och kulturella verksamheter. Det känner ni

säkert till. Tanken är att det ska bli en del av, Malmö... av innerstaden kan man säg, med blandad

stadsbebyggelse. Det hänger ju ihop, liksom, med att, det är ju Malmös äldsta industriområde och

är över 100 år gammalt. I och med att staden växer så ligger det ju fortfarande i Malmö. Det är rätt

häftigt med de här gamla kulturella byggnaderna i det gamla åkerlandskapet.

Marcus & Sebastian: Innerstaden äter ju sig sakta men säkert ut mot Norra Sorgenfri och förbi.

Precis, så att på något vis så har det ju blivit kvar litegrann. Att det är lite utanför staden... Och

Addo som låg här innan och gjorde räknemaskiner.

Marcus & Sebastian: Jaha, ok!

Så innan miniräknaren kom, så de blev ju ganska... det var Malmös näststörsta företag, med 1500

anställda. De blev ju nästan över en natt utkonkurrerade av Texas instrument. Så de hade lite mis-

sat omvärldsbevakningen. Så det sägs att de kom till någon mässa, de här... Och då förstod de att

räknemaskiner var liksom... helt ute.

Men det är häftiga miljöer som finns kvar. Den här kulturhistorien. Och invändigt så är det ju den

tiden som man gjorde...

Marcus & Sebastian: Var är det någonstans?

Ferrosan, Celciusgatan. Här är en bild, bara utvändigt, men det var såhär man marknadsförde sig

tidigare. Det finns ju mycket fint, tegelbebyggelse kvar.

Marcus & Sebastian: Brännaren hade vi, eller jag en kurs, där vi skulle omvandla den här äldre

byggnaden till något nytt. Men det här med de kulturella värdefulla byggnaderna, ingår de i pla-

nerna för Nya Norra SOrgenfri? Men vi har föstått att det är rätt så spridd ägandestruktur i de

här olika byggnaderna. Hur går man tillväga med detta i en eventuell planering för hela Norra

Sorgenfri?

Ja men det är ju... Alltså det är ju (visar bild)... här är hela Norra Sorgenfri, med olika klasser, så

det är ju.. Ah, det är inte helt lätt att bevara dem, för ofta finns det ju inga ekonomiska incitament

i det här. Men alltså än sålänge har det gått rätt så bra. Och på ett sätt så är det ju alltid en viss avvägning... det översiktliga målet tittar vi på, vad kan funka att omvandlas och vad finns idag kvar, som skolor och förskolor, så som djupa byggnader som är svåra att göra om till bostäder. Så det har varit ett sätt att bevara, nu menas inte att allt bevaras men det mesta kommer försöka bevaras... i de gällande planerna som antagits i alla fall.

Marcus & Sebastian: Det är ett rejält område

Det är väldigt stora kvarter. Planprogrammet togs fram 2008, där vi bröt ner de här stora kvarteren till en... alltså hela det här (visar bild) skapar ju flera kvarter, som skapar allmänna gator parker och torg. Det är ett stort nätverk i det här. Sen är där ju Industrigatan som är en viktig länk i området.

Marcus & Sebastian: Är där någon strategi för olika etapper? Att man bygger ex den delen först sen hoppar till den? Att man hoppar sig igenom Norra Sorgenfri på ett särskilt sätt och i såfall varför?

Det har väl varit, jag vet inte hur uttalat det var. Men tanken är väl att man växer ifrån de centrala delarna och utåt. Sen har det varit mycket upp till de olika fastighetsägarna. Staden äger ju egentligen bara kvarteret Spårvägen och det har ju satt igång först förutom en del här i Kvarteret Grytan.

Marcus & Sebastian: Det är där vi var lite nyfikna på, i och med att planerna sträcker sig över hela området med blandad ägandestruktur. Den biten som är blå, är det den som Malmö stad äger och resten är med en annan ägandestruktur?

Ja, det är privata fastighetsägare förutom någon mindre del av området. Här är en liten del som staden äger. Sen så går faktiskt staden in och köper en del av de här kvarteren. Och en del bostäder kommer också att bli uppköpta.

Marcus & Sebastian: Hur gör man annars för att planera en vision med aktörer, alltså mark som inte ägs av Malmö stad? Kan de gå in och säg "så här vill vi inte göra", gå emot visionen på något sätt?

Alltså det bygger ju på... det bygger på att de är intresserade. Så att, de kan ju ha kvar sin verksamhet, och de kan vara kvar som industriområde. Men om de vill utvecklas så är det enligt visionen. Det är ungefär så. På sätt och vis är det ju också enligt visionen, att några industrier blir kvar i området. Det är ingenting vi vill, vi vill ju inte tvinga bort någon fungerande industri. Det har vi

inte någon vilja eller anledning att göra. Men vi ser ju liksom, om många fastighetsägare ser po-

tentialen att göra något annat med de delarna som inte används. Men det finns mycket fungerande

industri som vi gärna vill ha kvar. Det är en del av blandningen.

Marcus & Sebastian: Ok

Det här visar lite på, så ser ju området ut idag (visar bild) med denna strukturen. Vi har lite refe-

renser ifrån Barcelona, New York och Venedig, med olika skalor där man kan bryta ner struktu-

ren. Småskalighet och variation har varit ett ledord för området. Så det är jämförbart med Bo01

som kanske är ännu mer småskaligt.

Marcus & Sebastian: Har västra hamnen varit en inspiration till Norra Sorgenfri? Det har ju an-

setts som ett internationellt lyckat projekt i och med att det är i samma stad och att Västra Ham-

nen har varit en gammal industri också. Det finns mycket aspekter, som gör at Norra sorgenfri är

ganska likt

Ja men absolut, jag vet inte exakt hur man tittade på Västra hamnen men jag kan tänka mig att

Bo01 var någonting man tittade på.

Marcus & Sebastian: Vi tänkte att vi skulle inlett med att, vad är egentligen din roll?

Ja just det det kunde jag berättat

Marcus & Sebastian: Ja eller vi kunde ha frågat! (skratt)

Jag har jobbat med Norra Sorgenfri sedan 2008.

Marcus & Sebastian: Ok

Lite till och från sådär, men jag har varit med i detaljplaner och jobbat som projektsamordnare.

Så har egentligen övergått från att vara ett projekt till at bli någonting annat. Nu har vi kommit så

långt i planeringen att det inte är ett regelrätt projekt längre på det sättet. Men det finns mycket

samarbete kvar i området. Här är lite de kvaliteter vi vill åt (visar bild) med attraktiva aktiva bot-

tenvåningar.

Det har man börjat se redan nu på de första fastigheter som börjat få sin färdiga form. Bottenpla-

nen är öppna utåt mot gatan och så.

En lokal i bottenvåningar, det är inte helt lätt det där. Det är väldigt hög ambition i planprogrammet, men det är viktigt att det händer något ut mot gatan. Det finns många sätt att skapa det, med attraktiva boendemiljöer och så, med en blandning av aktivitet ut mot gatan. Vi har tagit fram massvis med, liksom, delprojekt som går in lite mer på djupet, olika tematiska delprojekt och så. Och också geografiska delprojekt.

Marcus & Sebastian: Är där någonting som tvingats tänkas om eller förändras under tiden, sedan planprogrammet gjordes 2008?

Jo men ganska mycket har ju ändrats. Alltså dels är där vissa frågor som, där man ändrat synen liksom, där Malmö stad generellt ändrat syn på planering och så. Men jag tycker planprogrammet håller en rätt så bra form än, trots att det snart är 10 år gammalt. Så det är fortfarande relevant men det är ju rätt så mycket genomförande saker som man inte fick med eller som ja, ändrats. Till exempel så planerade man in parker och sådär på privata fastighetsägares mark. De större läkemedelsbolagen liksom som vill utveckla på den marken, det var aldrig någon realistisk möjlighet att komma åt den marken. Det är ju alltid ett dilemma, men det är extra svårt i ett sånt här område. Det är på sätt och vis lättare om kommunen äger all mark själv så kan man lättare kontrollera hela processen, men samtidigt är det ju mycket som blir mer intressant i ett sånt här område när det är många aktörer med en stor variation.

Det är ju bara ungefär 20% som kommunen äger av Norra Sorgenfri.

Ja det stämmer nog. Så som det ser ut idag kan man säg, planmässigt, så är där planer som antagits för olika ägandestrukturer, med skolor och bostäder och annat som håller på att byggas. Sen är det ju plan för smedjan och vi tittade här på de här kvarteren

Marcus & Sebastian: Är det en del av Norra Sorgenfri, alltså Rönnen exempelvis, för projektet Norra Sorgenfri?

Ja alltså för några år sedan utvidgade vi området.

Marcus & Sebastian: Innebär det att det kommer ske stora förändringar på Rönnen som plats? För just nu är Rönnen, alltså studentkomplexet, ansett som ett av Sveriges bästa studentboende.

Nej alltså, anledningen till att vi tog med Rönnen, det var för att det fanns ju liksom studier, en fördjupad översiktsplan för Kirseberg som sträcker sig egentligen till Sallerupsvägen, sen har ju

planprogrammet, sen var det ju egentligen de här kvarteren Katrinelund och Rönnen som man

inte hade tittat på, så därför kom vi att titta Katrinelund också för att se om det finns någon möj-

lighet att, man kan säg ja hur man ska utveckla de kvarteren och slutsatsen för kvarteret rönnen

och syftet med att titta på den var för att se om man kunde få in framför allt skola och förskola för

det är en stor brist på det i området och det finns stor efterfrågan redan liksom i området. De vill

gärna expandera också så det var det stora syftet. Sen var det också om man kunde bebygga eller

använda av den markparkering som används och ändra till lite mer "vanlig" bostad i området.

Och att man tar tillvara den grönska som finns i kvarteret. Jag vet inte om jag har någon bild för

att se om det kommer längre fram, men kvarteret Spårvägen med bussgaraget känner ni säkert till. Det som var lite speciellt var att man gjorde vindstudior när man tog fram den strukturen och det

är en anledning till med varierad struktur och bryta området.

Marcus & Sebastian: Vad är det tänkt att det ska innehålla för typ av aktivitet?

Bussgaraget?

Det blir konsthögskola som flyttar dit, så det är det som är på gång nu.

Har Malmö Stad varit involverade i processen, med marken och vilka som får vara där?

Jag har inte varit så involverad i det, men man önskar att på sikt, alltså det har varit önskat att det

ska vara kulturell verksamhet, Det har varit bestämt sen länge. Men man hoppas på att också, en

mer småskalig användning. Eller mer liksom mer allmänt tillgängligt. Och det är väl tanken att

på sikt eller att det blir både konsthögskola och liksom mer... kulturell verksamhet som alla kan

ta del av.

Marcus & Sebastian: Ok

Men det kan ju konsthögskolan själva ha, en sådan verksamhet.

Marcus & Sebastian: Jag har hört att när de skulle flytta dit, så var det för att det finns stor potential

att ha någon sån här, alltså att där finns ett "centrum" och så, för planerna tyder ju på kultur och på

så sätt passar ju det bra men då kanske man förlorar lite av de här, vad ska man säg, de offentliga

aktiviteterna där alla är inkluderade?

Jo absolut... Kvarteret Spårvägen har man ju jobbat ihop med Konsthögskolan så ja... Det är ett

litet speciellt sätt att jobba. Alltså för det är både landskapsarkitekter och konstnärer som tagit

fram det här förslaget.

Marcus & Sebastian: Jag tänkte på det här, när man tänker hållbart, som till exempel Augus-

tenborg, då har man tänkt mycket på miljömässigt hållbart. Är det något även något för Norra

Sorgenfri?

Jag kan inte det där riktigt, man har säkert tittat på det. Där har man satt upp kriterier, och jag

tror nog att man har med de vanliga hållbarhetskritererna för Norra Sorgenfri men jag är inte helt

säker. Jag kan tänka mig att det är något som ska följas trots att planerna är så gamla.

Marcus & Sebastian: Där finns en hel del nya "standards" när man bygger nytt, och Malmö är ju

känt för att vara i framkant för det.

Ja jag har inte riktigt det i huvudet, men jag tror att man har haft med det liksom. Men annars kan

man inte säg att det är så uttalat på det viset som Augustenborg, att det finns, ja vad gäller ekologisk

hållbarhet. Det vi har tittat på är kvarteret Brännaren som vi har gjort en skyfallsberäkning. Som

dagvattenhantering och 100-årsregnet. Hela området ska klara ett 100-årsregn och de handlar ju

mycket om att klara, egentligen att klara områden längre ner för det är ju lite höjdskillnader, så det

rnner ner mot Värnhem, det lutar ner dit, så då, målet är att dessa områdena inte ska förvärra det.

Marcus & Sebastian: Pausa det?

Ja precis, då har man jobbat med höjdsättning av området och så, till exempel med parker och

skolor och förskolor och torg och sådär med att hitta ytor och även på innergårdar där vattnet då

kan "vänta". Annars i vanliga fall är där inte vattenfyllt då klart, det kan ju vara en gång vart 5-år,

eller ett 100-årsregn är ju egentligen vart hundrade år men de kommer allt oftare (skratt) så det

stämmer ju inte längre den beskrivningen. Så det var ju ett test, för att se hur man kan arbeta med

såna här frågor egentligen. Men det var nog vad jag hade i presentationen.

Marcus & Sebastian: Tack! Vi har bara lite frågor som vi hade tänkt på under tiden som till exem-

pel.. Det har ju varit övergivet under rätt så lång tid, med brist på underhåll av diverse byggnader

och det har känts allmänt nergånget och det känns som det har behövts hända någonting. Men

även andra saker som har hänt under vägen, som kommit efter planprogrammet, som migrant-

lägret...

Där på Brännaren?

Marcus & Sebastian: Ja, och alla andra problem man läst om prostitution och droghandel som

varit på området. Hur påverkar denna typen av aktivitet möjligheten att uppnå en önskad vision?

Ses det som en barriär man kan ta sig förbi? Hur påverkar det själva planen?

Ja, alltså...

Om man tänker på ryktet som platsen idag har.

Ja jag tror ju att när det väl förändras och när man väl börjar bygga som man gjort i Kvarteret Spårvägen, då blir det någonting annat. Så på sätt och vis så redan då så försvinner ju dels, mycket av de här verksamheterna och då ändras ju ryktet i och med det. Men till viss del är det kanske kvar, framför allt för de som har bott i Malmö länge.

Marcus & Sebastian: Kan man dra nytta av att ryktet faktiskt varit så pass dåligt som det varit? Att man på något sätt skapar en ännu större "wow-faktor" med att komma till Nya Norra Sorgenfri? Att man nästan jobbar med att, i och med att det har ett nergånget rykte, att man drar nytta av det på det sättet istället?

Ja, men jag tror inte att Norra Sorgenfri inte bara har ett dåligt rykte, jag tror det är lite blandat så. Att många tycker det är intressant område. Det finns ju mycket av de här konstnärsverksamheterna och så. Och verksamhet av olika slag, alltså lagliga verksamheter. Den brokighet skapar på något sätt ändå ett intressant område. Men det är klart, sen gäller det ju att ha faser för att föra fram, alltså vad är tanken att det ska bli framöver. Det är väl lite det som har varit grejen med Norra Sorgenfri, för här har man ju inte vattnet och givna förutsättningar som man haft i till exempel Västra Hamnen som nästan säljer sig själv. Här måste man jobba med andra saker för att det verkligen ska bli attraktivt. Att genom stadsbyggnad driva stadsrum och intressant bebyggelse och kulturella aktiviteter och parker och det handlar mycket också om att koppla samman befintlig struktur liksom. Och det kulturhistoriska miljöerna är en kvalitet, verkligen.

Marcus & Sebastian: Det har ju ett lite ambivalent rykte, det har ju också det här kreativa, att det är som en "konstnärshub". Är det på något sätt nånting man kan ta användning av i planerna? För det är väl en av Malmös störtsa och har varit en av de största under en lång tid. Kommer dessa få ta plats i Norra Sorgenfri? Tidigare har vissa av dessa lokaler fått stänga ner och det är förståeligt när man ska bygga om platsen, men hur kommer det utspela sig sen? Kan man på något sätt återanvända den kreativa aktören som finns där redan?

Ja, de har ju varit med delvis i framtagandet av de offentliga platserna i området till exempel. Där kommer ju en konsthögskola. Sen har det funnits, att man försökt hitta platser för konstnärer. Att försöka hitta hyresgäster och så. Det är ju ett dilemma med det att fastigheter som utvecklas och privata fastighetsägare vill göra någonting annat. Det leder ju till högre hyror och klassisk gentrifieringsproblematik. Det är ju ett dilemma.

Marcus & Sebastian: Det är det vi själva varit nyfikna på, just gentrifiering. Om man ser någon risk med att den nuvarande processen drar lite åt det hållet? Att den typen av utveckling nästan tar över på så sätt.

Det kan vara att det flyttar också liksom... ah. Så det, ja det behöver ju inte bara vara negativt med gentrifiering. Det är det som är det svåra i det hela. Vi har ingen riktig lösning på det egentligen.

Marcus & Sebastian: Menar du att det finns en positiv effekt av gentrifiering?

Positiv?

Marcus & Sebastian: Ja, en positiv utveckling av en möjlig gentrifiering. Om vi utgår från den aspekten, att Norra Sorgenfri blir gentrifierat. På vilket sätt kan det isåfall vara positivt?

Egentligen, gentrifiering är väl egentligen varken negativt eller positivt, tycker jag... egentligen. Det handlar ju mer om att ett område blir mer attraktivt och det är ju inget negativt i sig. Det negativa kan ju vara allt det här, intressanta som gjorde det attraktivt flyttar till någon annan del. Det kanske beror på i vilken grad det gentrifieras.

Marcus & Sebastian: Vi har diskuterat det en tid innan med gentrifiering. Om vi tänker att det blir gentrifierat på det typiska sättet att statushöjningen av hela området trycker ut de som idag bor där och trycks ut mot kanterna... Hur skulle det kunna samarbeta med den sociala hållbarheten? Hur kan man jobba med båda de två typerna av möjligheter eller vad man ska säg? En gentrifieringsmöjlighet men att man ändå behåller det sociala. Det är där vi tycker det är spännande. Vi blev väldigt nyfikna på just den typen av stadsutveckling.

Det är ju något man kan undersöka, så kan ni ge oss ett bra svar på det senare (skratt). Men jag tror inte, de här delarna av Malmö, på sätt och vis sträcker det här området sig från Rörsjöstaden som är ju attraktivt. Det är rätt så stor skillnad, kan jag tänka mig, som inkomster och annat i dessa delarna. Och egentligen är det de här delarna Malmö, de är inte de starka delarna. Så på det viset att det kommer in ny bebyggelse i de här delarna ger ju i sig en blandning så att på det viset kan jag tycka att det ger en blandning i området vilket är positivt.

Marcus & Sebastian: Det framkom i planprogrammet att det fanns fokus på olika typer av byggnads eller bostadsstrukturer. Vi fastnade rätt mycket för "loft-living" som nämndes. Som vi förstår det är det en form av lite oklar eller råare typ av bostad som låter köpare modifiera sina egna lägenheter efter ekonomi och behov. Är det här en lösning för att kanske just få den här blandningen att trycka ner ev. hyror?

Största möjligheten är väl att använda befintliga byggnader, för det kan ju ge lägre hyror framförallt där. Men det är egentligen inget Malmö stad, Malmö stad sätter ju inte de priserna. Så vi har inte så stor påverkan på det. Det man kan ange är kvarteret spårvägen att man har satt att det ska vara en blandning av upplåtelseformer och även att vi har en blandning av både radhus och ganska liten användning av radhus, men det är viktigt att få in såna delar också för att det inte ska bli rena radhusområden och rena flerbostadshusområden. Det bidrar ju också till en blandning. Sen finns det ju mycket, på senare tid, har man ju börjat tänka mycket kring social hållbarhet som i Göteborg där man går in och subventionerar vissa, alltså att man har lägre hyror för vissa lägenheter. Att man anger att för att man ska få bygga här så ska det vara lägre hyror och det är ju något som kommit på senare år. Det är en stor diskussion så, och det har vi liksom inte tagit in så i Malmö överhuvudtaget än så. Men det är en intressant och knepig fråga.

Marcus & Sebastian: Är det sånt Malmö stad kan gå in och "guidelinea"?

Det är ju väldigt komplext. Man hade tidigare ett projekt som hette "rimliga hyror" som Boverket hade, där man bygger lite enklare men också med lägre hyror. Det gjordes i Västra Hamnen men det som det ledde till var ju att det var så resursstarka människor som fick de här lägenheterna så att de fick lägre hyra. Ah, det är inte helt lätt hur man styr det där. Vi har ju inte haft "Social Housing" i Sverige tidigare, vi har mer haft bostadsbidrag. Det där är en komplex fråga. Bostadsmarknaden generellt.

Marcus & Sebastian: Det blir kanske knepigare när området inte är färdigt. Det är svårt att förutse

Ja verkligen.

Marcus & Sebastian: Vi tänkte på "loft-living"-konceptet om det är något som ligger utanför Malmö stads händer, om där i så fall finns någon annan risk som fastighetsinvesterare som köper och säljer dyrare. Vi hoppar lite upp och ner mellan våra frågor här för mycket av det vi diskuterar egentligen går in i varandra.

Marcus & Sebastian: En del i planprogrammet från 2002, som vi fastnade för, det stod om inn-

ergårdarna, att de ska vara visuellt tillgängliga. Vad menas med det egentligen? Ska man bara ha

någon form av möjlighet att se in eller ska det bli som publika rum där man faktiskt får lov att vara

och där man kan utföra diverse aktiviteter?

Nej tanken är att innergårdarna ska vara för de boende i kvarteret. Det är privat yta, men såklart

kan dessa funka för, att man kan bjuda in allmänheten om man har... men då är det liksom, på de

boendes initiativ. Men det har väl varit, som exempelvis Möllevången med många gamla kvarter,

att man har porter eller öppningar in så man kan se in på innergårdar och att detta är en kvalitet.

Att man kan få glimtar in i innergården. Men det är viktigt att det finns de här gränserna mellan

privat och offentliga.

Marcus & Sebastian: Angående markföroreningarna i området. Har dessa påverkat planerana? Vi

läste om Norra Sorgenfri Gymnasiet som fick lägga ner eller flytta hela sin verksamhet bara något

år efter färdigställande på grund av hälsorisker. Då var vår fråga hur gick det till när man kände till

föroreningarna sedan tidigare? Det fanns vissa riktlinjer för hur man skulle sanera.

Ja, alltså det är miljöförvaltningen som kollar. Och det var därför de fick stänga för att de inte

gjorde de saneringarna som man skulle göra. Och det är extra problematiskt när det är äldre bygg-

nader. Då blir det mycket svårare att sanera än om det varit obebyggt. Komplext.

Marcus & Sebastian: Men den nya byggnaden som byggdes bredvid som tillhörde gymnasiet pre-

cis intill.

Vid skolan?

Marcus & Sebastian: Ja

Ja marken i sig är ju också förorenad. Så det är väl det som är... ah, eller ja gamla byggnader och

mark kan ju vara förorenad. Framförallt så la man ju mycket miljöfarliga gifter och allt möjligt,

man grävde ner i marken. Där var ju kemtvätt och färgfabriker. Så man har ju inte varit så nog-

grann med det lång tillbaka i tiden. Och det kan ju sprida sig och så, genom grundvatten och

liknande. Så det är ju något man måste sanera innan man bygger.

Marcus & Sebastian: Är det Malmö stad som får sköta saneringsjobbet eller måste alla aktörerna

på platsen ta ansvar?

Det är fastighetsägaren, men man gör ju det, till exempel när vi la plan för hela området Bränna-

ren med olika fastighetsägare då gör man en gemensam plan. Malmö stad har också gått in och

hjälpt till med undersökningar av marken. Men det är en viktig fråga och det gör ju också att det

blir något dyrare att bygga ett sånt här område, men det bidrar också till att det blir mark som är

mindre förorenad.

Marcus & Sebastian: Men gymnasiet som byggdes, var det byggt på privat eller kommunal mark?

Privat mark, även om det var kommunal skola som flyttade in.

Marcus & Sebastian: Vi fick kanske svar på det innan men då det finns så mixad ägandestruktur

i området, vilket typ av dialog förs mellan de olika aktörerna? Är där några risker eller problem

med den här varierande ägandestrukturen för planprogrammet? Skapar det en typ av obalans i

planeringen och en typ av förvirring för framtida användning om säg, att markägaren inte vill göra

det men den vill göra det och Malmö stad vill göra det, att dessa olika inte harmoniserar ihop och

att det inte blir som tänkt. Vad kan man i såfall göra istället?

Ja... man får ju titta på liksom, vad finns det för förutsättningar och det är ju just det med en

dialog. Som nu, nu har vi ju rätt så bra koll på vilka fastighetsägare som vill utveckla och de som

vill utveckla sin industriverksamhet. Sen får man ju undersöka vad den här industriverksamheten

innebär, men mycket, nästan all industriverksamhet i området har ingen större påverkan på om-

givningen när det gäller risker och så, och då går det ju bra att blanda den. Då får man ju låta den

industriverksamheten vara kvar så får man titta hur man kan utveckla de andra delarna runtom-

kring istället.

Marcus & Sebastian: Malmö stad kan inte köpa ut den tomtägaren från platsen?

I teorin kan man ju göra det. Det är väldigt svårt och man måste ju ha väldigt starka skäl för att

tvinga någon att sälja. Det gör man ju egentligen bara om man ska bygga, som Öresundsbron eller

något annat större betydande. Jag tror inte att det är aktuellt i det här området.

Marcus & Sebastian: Eon, har vi varit lite inne på.

Marcus & Sebastian: Ja just det.

Fastigheten?

Marcus & Sebastian: Ja, den är ju enorm.

Ja de äger ju hela det kvarteret.

Marcus & Sebastian: Som jag förstått det så har de väl flyttat redan, eller håller på?

Jag vet faktiskt inte om de flyttat.

Marcus & Sebastian: Ok.

Men de har ju, nä de använder ju inte... de sitter väl kvar i kontorshuset, men i övrigt så använder

de inte de andra delarna speciellt mycket. Gasklockorna, de stora runda, dessa används inte heller.

. Så den är ju jättepotential i området. Sen kanske det är de kvarteret som ligger bäst till, mot kyr-

kogården. Där man kanske kan få till en större grönyta.

Där har det vart just med markföroreningar, del så är det mycket föroreningar i marken, så därför

är det egentligen därför det inte har hänt något där än.

Marcus & Sebastian: Vad är tanken... eller är det oklart vad man kan göra med den?

Jaa.. nää men asså... nä men all mark går att sanera. Så atte... i det läget, nu när kvarteret spårvä-

gen är på gång så kommer man ju... tror jag.. gissning... så kommer man nog vilja utveckla den.

Men sen är det ju ett sådant där område där man inte bygger allt på samma gång. Det finns inte en

marknad för det riktig. På det sättet är det ganska naturligt, och bra att allt inte byggs på en gång

Det låter väl Malmöbor få in området i sinnet och vad som händer, istället för allt bara byggs... det

har man vart med om tidigare att någonting bara har smällts upp när man har vart utomlands... så

förstår man inte det riktigt när man kommer tillbaka. Det här etappbygget är bra för man hinner

vänja sig med det.

Marcus & Sebastian: Vi har en rolig fråga... om man skulle prioritera eller rangordna visionerna,

vad anser du är viktigast för att Norra Sorgenfri ska anses som "lyckat"?

Har vi liksom en vision att välja på? Nää egentligen är det här liksom visionerna, nycklarna för

området. Utveckling. Eeeeeeh.... Asså vad som är viktigast... (Asså enligt Malmö stad) det kanske

nästan är enklast att säga vad som är viktigast för... men alltså en Om man kan säga att det

står sig i att på något vis bygga samman staden. Att det här området kanske lite av en glapp eller

tomrum i staden, att man får en integrerad struktur och att det hänger samman. Man bryter ner kvarteren och skapar parker, kvarter och gator. Sen är det också den här variationen både... att det är olika fastighetsägare och variation på bebyggelsen som också... alltså mer av Rörsjöstadens kvaliteter än den här storskaliga områdena som ligger runt omkring. Att man tar innerstadens kvaliteter och flyttar ut. Aa... ja det är mycket man kan säga, det är ganska flummigt...

Marcus & Sebastian: Och sen att vårt arbete har en utgångspunkt i social hållbarhet, och att man bygger mot det så bra som möjligt. Vad skulle du säga är Norra sorgenfris metod för att uppnå det. Vad skulle du säga är viktigt för att uppnå det?

Nu ligger planprogrammet... som sagt är 10 år gammalt. Det som angetts där var bra då. Nu finns det så mycket nya tankar som egentligen inte Malmö stad kanske inte riktigt har fått med i vårt arbete riktigt än. Men det är mycket som bubblar så där. Man kan få med sociala frågor i markanvisningar, så man bygger och anställer folk på platsen. Så den typen av frågor börjar ju bli aktuellt. Men det som vi jobbat med hittills är mer att det rent fysiska. Och då handlar det mycket om dels alltså att integrera i staden, och att det kan bidra med att bygga samman Malmö och bygga ut stråk mot exempelvis Rosengård och också att det blir en plats för alla som exempelvis bussgaraget så det på sikt kan bli en plats som en mötesplats för alla. Att alla känner sig välkomna. Sen kan man önska att det blir en plats för alla på det viset att det blir bostäder där alla har råd att bo där. Som vi pratade om innan, det är svårare att styra. På detta område är det kanske tvärt om... att det liksom kanske är ganska liksom... om man jämför med västra hamnen så kanske det finns ett större behov av billigare lägenheter där liksom... här finns det redan... om man ska säga billiga bostäder, här är det redan där. Här kanske det er finns ett behov an nybyggnation, det finnes inte så mycket nytt så det kanske bidrar till blandning.

Marcus & Sebastian: Det föreslås att man engagerar platsen i ett tidigt skede, och skapar evenemang och aktiviteter som lockar integration och mix av människor redan i ett tidigt skede för att då i framtiden gynna den här mångfalden. Vilken typ av aktiviteter är det det kan syfta på. Är det temporära lösningar under vägen parallellt med planprogrammet eller är det något specifikt.. för i planprogrammet står det någonting om att det är galleri, vägverket och migrationslägret ligger där... och det är bara det som nämns där egentligen som lockar det här livet... eller är det en annan aktivitet som lockar människor som faktiskt lockar människor att stanna upp på platsen än att ta sig där ifrån? Vad är det för aktivitet det kan syfta på?

Alltså det är kanske mer de här aktivisterna... skatebordparkerna Steppen.. ja alltså och finns på lite mer ställen... lite övergivna platser som ändå tas i bruk. Sen tror jag också man syftar på att staden kan aktivt gå in och ha arrangemang och ah, men odling till exempel. Det brukar vara

en sådan sak man kan diskutera här, det har man inte riktigt kommit till skott med riktigt. Har funnits idéer med planteringar och sådant som kan ta upp föroreningar i marken, så det har funnits mycket idéer och det har gjorts en del arrangemang och filmvisningar och olika utställningar i bussgaraget. Men det har vart relativt lite av det där. Så man skulle kunna gjort egentligen mer. Om man jämför med Göteborg, som har ett helt bolag som jobbar med det där frågorna. Som Frihamnen där det är massor med aktiviteter, byggd bastu och hur mycket som helst. Så atte... aa... det har egentligen inte gjorts så mycket av det här

Marcus & Sebastian: Däremot steppen skaterampen där... det är själv?...

Ja alltså det har inte malmö stad såhär.. det är på privat mark. Men på ett vis är det intressant med det här ytorna där det har tillåtits användas och såhär det har vart konstnärer och sådant... men så men eu migranterna så stängslade man in området... men det är ju på nått vis intressant med det här områdena som är lite tillåtande på det viset att man får utveckla och använda dem. Vi vill inte stoppa så... utom när eu migranterna kom. Det blev lite för mycket då... det ansågs inte som tillåtet att använda platsen på det viset.

Det finns ju en mix... intressanta, till och med temporära lösningar... som exempelvis boxpark som egentligen är en uppradning av temporära medel för att locka människor till en plats. Kontainerlösningar som innehåller olika aktiviteter, klädaffärer hyr in sig här och lockar in människor till platsen, sen efter 2 veckor bytts det ut och andra aktiviteter kommer in till platsen. Eller att man har en topp men en bar så på kvällen är det här en aktivitet. Så det hela tiden håller i liv under dygnets alla timmar. Det ä en spännande lösning också.

Det finns verkligen möjligheter för sådana på platsen, och det är verkligen inte för sent.

Marcus & Sebastian: När är det beräknat att allt ska vara klart? Det här med etapparbetet är som sagt väldigt effektivt, eller är det någon deadline egentligen?

Egentligen finns det en sådan här 2030 vy liksom, att man hoppas att det ska vara klart då. Skulle väl gissa... men egentligen går inte det att säga. Det är så mycket det beror på.

Sen är det väll rätt så kontinuerligt så när det väl är färdig så kanske det behövs något intilliggande som behöver byggas om, så det är väl ett ständigt projekt egentligen.

Asså det är ju 2030 egentligen, men skulle inte satsa pengar på att det är färdigt till dess, vi har ju en bra marknad nu, men det kommer säkert gå ner, gå ner och gå upp innan 2030. Asså jag kan

ju tycka att det är positivt att det utvecklas men... asså som sagt. Allt behöver inte komma på en

gång.

Marcus & Sebastian: Nä det är en jätteintressant plats, vi har själv åkt förbi där flera gånger. Jag

bodde i en liten by som heter klågerup tidigare som ligger lite utanför, då brukade man ibland när

man kör hem köra förbi Norra Sorgenfri. Då såg det väldigt mörkt och det hände inte så mycket

där. Att bara se att ja nu kommer hela platsen förmodligen byta karaktär och få ett nytt lyft. Det är

väldigt spännande och speciellt när man är inom vår linje.

Marcus & Sebastian: Jag tror inte vi har några mer frågor va...?

Marcus & Sebastian: Eeeeeeh...

Ni får återkomma i så fall.

Marcus & Sebastian: Tack så mycket.