



Stigmatization and its overshadow on urban green spaces in Gottsunda

The study of a segregated suburban area where
existing green spaces are fading away

Mashiat Raisa

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Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, SLU

Faculty of Natural Resources and Agricultural Sciences

Department of Urban and Rural Development

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Mashiat Raisa

Supervisor: Burcu Yigit Turan, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Department of Urban and Rural Development

Examiner: Stephanie Leder, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Department of Urban and Rural Development

Assistant examiner: Anna Lundvall, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Department of Urban and Rural Development

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Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences
Faculty of Natural Resources and Agricultural Sciences
Department of Urban and Rural Development
Division of Landscape Architecture

Abstract

In this modern era, when we are living in a society surrounded by advanced science and technology on the one hand, stigmatization as a form of social injustice is very much evident and still increasing in the social landscape on the other hand. In this thesis, I investigate the ongoing trend of redevelopment and densification projects in the Swedish context, explicitly targeting the marginalized neighborhoods in a Million Program housing areas built after the post-war period. Through this study, representations of place and the characterization of green spaces are examined to explore the practice of stigmatization in one of the segregated Million Program areas named Gottsunda. The overarching aim is to analyze the planning discourse to understand the influence of dominant white power which works behind the loss of existing urban green spaces - first by racializing them through negative portrayal, then dispossessing them through unmapping and finally justifying the redevelopment plan by claiming 'planning for all'. The majority of my analysis is based on in-depth interviews with the inhabitants living in Gottsunda to understand their feelings, experience, and attachment to the place as well as to the green spaces. For being indulged in the place and with the people, the method of storytelling has been used that aided me during the whole journey of this research. Theoretically, in addition to stigmatization and segregation, the analysis is supplemented with the knowledge gathered from recently published works of literature regarding placemaking, whiteness in landscape and planning, green gentrification, as well as the socio-spatial, cultural and historical identity. The case of Gottsunda illustrates how the existing green spaces are fading away because of the systematic reconstruction of spatial stigmatization and the devaluation of space. This thesis highlights the knowledge concerning 'the stigmatization of green spaces', which is a crucial topic in recent times, but still not explored adequately in the field of landscape planning in the Swedish context. The findings from this study can be used as a backdrop for improving knowledge about planning practices, and it also paves the way to continue further research concerning the issues uncovered through this thesis.

Keywords: Gottsunda, stigmatization, segregation, green space, marginalized, crime, whiteness, planning, redevelopment

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Abbreviations

MP	Million Program
PD	Planning Document
MO	Municipal Officer
GS	Green Spaces

1. Introduction

Every research must have a starting point or a background story that influences the researcher to work on that specific topic. For me, it all started when I first moved to Sweden and within a few months, I had to confront racial profiling!

Social injustice is one of the most burning issues in recent times, and even its impact can be observed in landscape planning. There exist a lot of different forms of social injustice, but if we focus on urban planning, segregation caused by negative representation with a combination of continuous stigmatization (Backvall, 2019) is the most typical form that appears as spatial injustice and affects the reshaping process of landscape in a certain place (Seifpour, Kauppi, Fitzmaurice, Strickland, & Pallard, 2022). With the rapid growth of urbanization, GS (green spaces) become smaller as the cities grow bigger. Moreover, when it is a particular stigmatized neighborhood, its green areas become more vulnerable to preserve, especially when the contemporary practice of planning epistemology adds fuel to the fire by mentioning some green areas as unattractive, unused, or even dangerous (Mack, 2021). This research aimed to explore the social values of those green areas that are targeted to dispossess and analyze the influence of social stigma in the planning practice that triggers this dispossession.

To cope with the rapid growth and intensive process of urbanization after world war II, many European countries started to build large housing estates, especially on the outskirts of the city area, where the neighborhoods constructed within those areas were generally filled with people from different ethnic backgrounds (Thapar-Björkert, Molina, & Raña Villacura, 2019). Sweden is also one of those countries where certain neighborhoods produced in the MP (Million Program) areas are always stigmatized (Backvall, 2019) and represented by the media as vulnerable—dominantly showing guilt focusing on a particular ethnicity, even though the planning discourse claims to ‘planning for all’ (Yigit Turan & Ågren, 2022).

In Sweden, there are many suburban areas where the government decided to build the “Million Housing Program” to fulfill the demand for the extreme housing shortage during the 1960s. When the MP construction was started, at that time the total population of Sweden was under eight million, and soon after the partial completion of this project, those areas were not only criticized but also designated

as ‘concrete suburbs’ by the critics, illustrated by the words as ‘unattractive, dry, monolithic and even dangerous’ (Ristilammi, 1994 see Mack, 2021). The initial idea of constructing the MP was to house the new modern Swedish citizens of the mid-20th century and practice modernism as part of the rapidly growing welfare state (Borgegård and Kemeny, 2004; Hall, 1991; Hall and Vidén, 2005 see Mack, 2021). But gradually, these areas were filled with immigrants (Thapar-Björkert, Molina, & Raña Villacura, 2019).

Gottsunda, Uppsala was one of the locations where mass housing was developed during the 70s when the famous MP housing started (Cederlund, 2021). As housing was surplus in Gottsunda, it opened up the possibility for the municipality to house people from psychiatric care in some of the apartments of Gottsunda (Kizito, 2021). Moreover, the first wave of immigrants in Uppsala during the 80s was managed with the vacant apartments of Gottsunda. The stigmatization revolving around an area based on ethnicity (Backvall, 2019), as well as social and economic condition, has become the new normal in different parts of the world and Sweden is no exception (Yigit Turan & Ågren, 2022). Classification of the vulnerability described by the Police and the municipal authority added fuel to the segregation in society (Salonen, 2023). In Uppsala, Gottsunda is described as the most vulnerable by the authority (Polisen, 2017 see Mack, 2021). Thus the re-planning of the locality came into action. Although crimes or illegal activities can take place anywhere, due to Gottsunda’s vulnerability and the lack of residents’ power to influence, the area became stigmatized mainly by the media (Backvall, 2019).

When the cities grow bigger, it is very usual that the green areas start to reduce eventually with the new developments. However, various types of green areas not only offer opportunities for people to feel good but also provide recovery of both mental and physical health. In an urban setting, this similar principle also applies to existing greeneries near housing (Backmann & Sohl, 2019). Although these green areas come up with easy access to nature, they are constantly exploited due to the cities’ rapid urbanization and densification projects, especially if those areas are not identified as having high ecological values to be saved or protected. Though these GS (green spaces) have certain social and cultural values, those are not properly considered while proposing a new development plan of densification. One of the most important reasons for neglecting the values is the systematic process of stigmatization of GS (green spaces).

Although municipalities in Sweden are vocal about prioritizing climate, nature, and the environment, the actions do not correspond to the development agendas. Though Sweden has a reputation concerning the protection and preservation of green areas and nature, when dealing with planning policy and practice, it is very common to overlook the issues causing stigmatization of GS by addressing abstract

concepts like ‘green space for all’ (Yigit Turan & Ågren, 2022). Modification of existing GS in the residential housing areas and the loss of GS, has become a common example in Uppsala because of densification, especially in the MP areas (Yigit Turan & Ågren, 2022). Through this research, I intend to contribute to the recent affair of social injustice in planning practice by highlighting how Swedish authorities deal with the issues while planning for a marginalized locality and by expanding the knowledge about critical whiteness studies as a backdrop. I would also investigate how whiteness can influence the dispossession of GS in my study area by using politics as well as white power and overlooking the experience of existing marginalized inhabitants.

1.1 Background (Why Gottsunda?)

When I first moved to Uppsala, I used to live in ‘*Lilla Sunnersta*’, which is close to Gottsunda. I frequently visited the place, sometimes more than once per week (see Figure: 1). So, I got many opportunities to observe the place personally. Gottsunda is already stigmatized for several reasons, including negative representation, lack of power and demonization of the minoritized (Backvall, 2019). When I decided to move to Uppsala, I heard many negative things about Gottsunda, which made me even more interested in visiting the place. Because of living nearby this place, I found a lot of dissimilarities between how this area is portrayed and how it is in reality. I found many attractive urban GS over there that perhaps have high value or strong, memorable connections with the individuals living there for a longer period. But as mentioned in the PD (planning document) of Gottsunda, some of them will disappear because of the new development (UppsalaKommun, 2019). In the literature on other municipal areas, it is suggested that GS are densified based on stigmatization rather than a full understanding of social values (Zalar & Pries, 2022). The contradiction between my observations and characterization of these spaces in PDs elaborating the pretexts to densify areas in Gottsunda motivates me to test those assumptions in the Gottsunda case.

I read the PD and carefully observed the place to understand the contradiction to conceptualize the issue. As the media has been representing the one-sided picture of incidents like burning cars, collisions with police, etc., occurring in the poor suburb for the last few decades, the Swedish population is now more or less familiar with it (Thörn & Thörn, 2017). As people are getting used to watching this type of news regularly, this condition is eventually getting the new normal where the exaggerated pieces of news are starting to be believed as all true. It creates a risk of further discrimination between different groups. Even if Sweden has been considered a country with comparatively lower socioeconomic disparities but ethnic segregation and social polarization among the poor and affluent communities

as well as the income dissimulation between families, have expanded over the past few decades (Andersson, BråmÅ, & Holmqvist, 2010). As Gottsunda has been suffering from this ethnic segregation for a long time, this condition also influenced me a lot to work with Gottsunda and to analyze the Impact of stigmatization on urban GS to find out how stigma can affect the landscape character of a certain place.

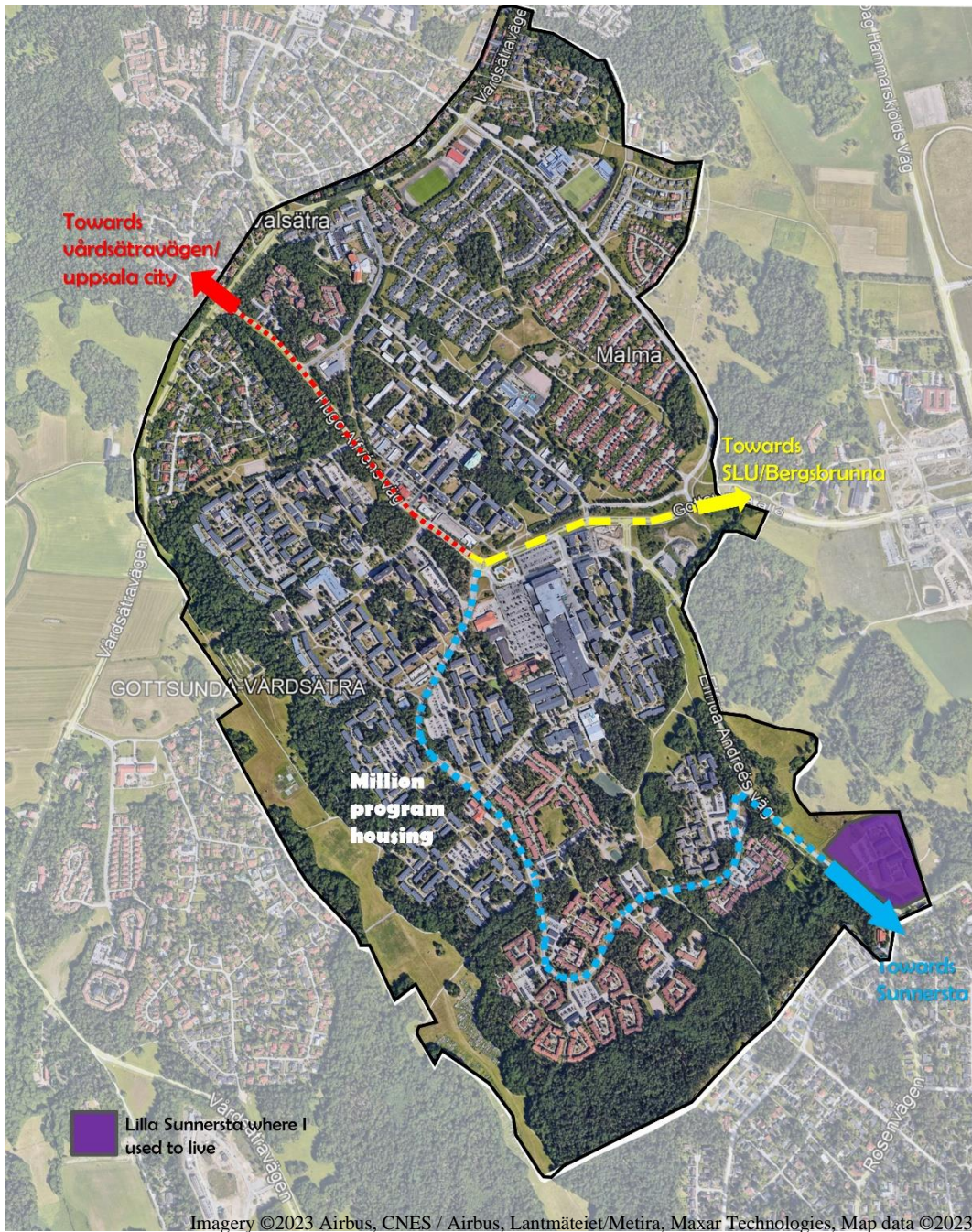


Figure 1: Illustration showing the existing condition of Gottsunda and the location of Lilla Sunnersta. Collaged by the author using (Google Maps, 2023).

Stigmatization of place and people are co-constitutive. Gottsunda is going through the process of stigmatization, and it is still being stigmatized. By saying ‘being stigmatized’, I mean that it can also be a part of the process of stigmatization that the area is dealing with. I am not denying or rejecting that it is a process or a performative act with consequences. Rather I am looking at this process through this research, where I consider the condition of ‘being stigmatized’ as a part of this process.

1.2 Problematization

Like many other suburban areas described in different literature [Rosengård (Zalar & Pries, 2022), Tensta and Akalla (Bradley, Gunnarsson-Östling, & Isaksson, 2008)], Gottsunda is already spatially stigmatized (Backvall, 2019) and segregated from the rest of the city. Reading other literature that mentioned similar problems inspires me to think about whether this ongoing stigma also works as a catalyst for the municipality and other responsible authorities to plan new development for this area. There are a lot of existing green areas where the inhabitants used to gather, hang out or pass their leisure time. According to my initial observation, all these GS are working as important elements for the uniqueness of their landscape character. Now the question that arose in my mind is- Does the densification of green areas in Gottsunda depend on stigmatization? Are GS designated to be densified really valueless, dangerous, unattractive, and unused?

In public debates in Sweden, there is an ongoing trend to problematize MP areas regularly where minoritized (Wingrove-Haugland & McLeod, 2021) are frequently mentioned in an othering and stigmatizing expression as an attempt to conceal the structural mechanisms that generate those inequalities (Yigit Turan and Ågren, 2022; Backvall, 2019). Regarding this type of critical social problem, Marris (1997 see Sandercock, 2003) described in the British context that although there exist different research works on critical social problems, they have very little impact on policy as the power of knowledge and actions are not simple and policy can never be determined only by knowledge itself. Though the actors from the municipal panel proposed different renewal solutions, including densification, transportation, and business district development projects, privatization of public spaces, increase in the number of police forces for neutralizing segregation, many scholars and neighborhood organizations claimed that it would end up causing further stigmatization, gentrification, and injustice (Yigit Turan & Ågren, 2022). Regarding the renewal projects proposed by the government, Dikeç (2007 see Zalar & Pries, 2022) explained the ‘construction of problems’ as ‘part of the policy-making problem’ and Li (2007 see Zalar & Pries, 2022) argues that the problems and solutions contribute to ‘co-emerge and shape each other’. Zalar and Pries

(2022) argue that density is being significantly reworked as a planning epistemology to construct problems that are now considered easier to solve by the compact city.



Figure 2: The vicious cycle of problem and stigma. (Created by Author)

From my preliminary understanding, Gottsunda has issues like other places. But here, the problems are stigmatized and the stigmas are problematized. That means rather than focusing on the actual problems and trying to solve the issues, the media and responsible authorities represent the problems in a way that recreates stigma; then highlight those stigmas as problems that need to be solved by any means. The combination of my primary knowledge gathered from the theories and my initial observation, as well as my understanding of this area, motivates me to examine my thoughts regarding the question- rather than problematizing the real

problems and solving the issues, does authority rather make it a vicious cycle?

1.3 Target Group and Reporting

The main target group for this report would be the professionals (planners, landscape architects, and policymakers). This study would provide more opportunities to explore this subject matter further and widen the route to rethink and reconsider while practicing the newly evolved trend of redevelopment projects in marginalized neighborhoods. Furthermore, this research would positively contribute to the planning practice to understand how stigmas can affect the planning of a marginalized locality, how whiteness can dominate overarching landscape planning, and influence the dispossession of GS. During the assortment of theoretical knowledge, I found several pieces of literature concerning stigmatization written in different contexts, especially in the American context. But from my knowledge, in the Swedish context, there have not been many studies regarding the epistemology of stigmatization in the field of landscape planning. Therefore, this research would pave the way to expand knowledge and continue further scholarship on this subject matter.

To achieve my goal, I gathered the theoretical knowledge of stigmatization, whiteness in landscape and planning, segregation, green gentrification, and place-making as fundamental studies. For my research outcome, I used qualitative research methods such as interviews, document analysis, site visits, and observation. I also used storytelling and mapping to represent the truth and injustice in the best possible way. Stories not only facilitate a better understanding of work but also support us to be better planners in three different ways -

by expanding our practical tools, by sharpening our critical judgment and by widening the circle of democratic discourse (Sandercock, 2003, p. 11).

And mapping helps highlight the existing GIS and residents' attachment to those. It would also allow me to organize and visualize my interviews, observations, ideas, and understanding.

After moving to Uppsala in 2019, I myself was subject to racial profiling. My husband and I went to a store to buy helmets for bikes. While we were trying out the helmets, a cop in the civil dress came to us, showed his badge, and told us to show our belongings to the counter. We were shocked as we were the only ones that were asked to do so. Reading about racial profiling in a book and being subject to it are completely different. That experience motivates me to learn, understand and explore racialization and injustice through the academic lens. Although right after moving to Uppsala, I had to face racial profiling from Government personnel, I tried to put my emotion aside and tried to be neutral to the maximum extent while doing the research on Gottsunda. So that it would be possible for me to combine the thoughts and sayings from both the municipality and inhabitants of Gottsunda. However, it may be practically impossible to be fully self-reflexive and aware of self-positioning since it is difficult to completely understand the self (Warf, 2010).

2. Aim and Research Questions

2.1 Aim and Purpose

The main aim of this study is to reveal the social value of GS in Gottsunda, which are destined to be disposed of in the planning. Also, disclose the impact of social stigmatization in planning, which causes the dispossession of GS. The purpose of this study is to identify how different valuable GS are affected by the stigmatization of a place and how these spaces are investigated and mentioned in the new PD.

2.2 Objective

This research focuses on the dialogues and contemplation of GS in the PD of the Gottsunda area, which is segregated and stigmatized for several reasons. The municipality aims the area to achieve social sustainability through the densification project, which led to the dispossession of urban GS. My ambition for this study is to scrutinize the recently emerged practice of redevelopment in marginalized areas and highlight the nitty-gritty behind grabbing the existing greens by obscuring its values.

2.3 Research Questions

The main research questions that I want to investigate are –

- What do the local people think about the existing GS and the new proposal where those spaces would be disappeared?
- What impacts does the new development have on the existing valuable GS?
- How crimes or internal violence are being utilized to manipulate planning for the dispossession of GS?
- How does the stigmatization of a place influence the planning of the existing green areas of a locality?

3. Theoretical Framework

My positionality outside of academia gave me hints about the importance of critical thinking regarding suburban areas. In the context of academia, I am taking the position of a professional (as a researcher), which drives me empirically and guide my research. To conduct the study, test my research questions, and understand the tension, I need to develop my thoughts with the help of different literature. For creating the theoretical base, the following hypotheses are required to relate my understanding to the practical problem.

3.1 Stigmatization

Stigmatization can be considered the primary and fundamental reason for keeping a neighborhood or an area separated from the rest of the city. Sometimes the residents of a stigmatized area get socially stigmatized just because of living in that area (Wassenberg, 2004). Naturally, when the residents of a stigmatized area continuously face this type of situation, at some point, they also start to believe in some of those stigmas, even if it is true or not. Among other factors, stigmatization is fundamental in the devaluation process of marginalized places. Besides, the general ontology of the marginalized population is characterized as the ‘wilderness which lives within the racial other and which the racial other carries with them’ (Williams, 2020). In addition to the ontological devaluation of the marginalized places, they are sometimes defined as “urban jungles,” “black ghettos,” “no-go zones,” and “pathological” communities, which are reflected by planning’s racialized moral cartography (Williams, 2020).

Pierre Bourdieu (1979 see Meade, 2021) perceived territorial stigmatization as a form of symbolic violence. In his words,

“it is as structured and structuring instruments of communication and knowledge that ‘symbolic systems’ fulfill their political function as instruments of domination (or, more precisely, of legitimation of domination); they help to ensure the domination of one class over another (symbolic violence)” (Bourdieu, 1979 see Meade, 2021, p. 192).

On the other hand, Horgan (2018) argues that there is no such thing as territorial stigmatization; it is an ongoing process of symbolic pollution that requires constant reviving and maintenance. Although initially, stigma was theorized firstly as a symbolic attribution attached to persons (Goffman 1963) and then to space (Takahashi, 1997; Smith, 2010) but analyzing the symbolic process of stigmatization discloses that both persons and places are perceived to be mutually

polluting over time (Horgan, 2018). However, as a form of symbolic violence, 'territorial stigmatization' is not only associated with class conflict and economic inequality but also underpins the spatialization of racism, sectarianism, colonialism, and environmental hazard, although those issues are not overtly recognized (Meade, 2021).

The following table (Table 1) is collected from Frank Wassenberg's (2004) article, where he showed the consequences of stigma in a certain neighborhood. The examples at the top are those that are most commonly experienced by the general public and continuing down the table, some examples express stigma in a more hidden way that is only visible to a selected group of people or individuals with detailed knowledge of the problem.

Table 1: Examples and consequences of stigma in certain neighborhoods. (Wassenberg, 2004, p. 226)

Programmes or articles about the area focussing on crime, drug abuse, pollution, etc.
Programmes or articles about crime, drug abuse, pollution, etc. using the area as a case
Visible pollution, graffiti, vandalism, drug addicts hanging around, etc.
Vacant houses, empty shops
Poor schools
Friends, relatives and colleagues are reluctant to visit
Services won't deliver, taxis won't come to the area
Shortages of doctors, teachers, etc.
Discrimination on labour market
Higher insurance premiums; credit and financial services are denied
Advertisements for easily available houses
Property values lag behind

By observing a neighborhood, it is possible to understand certain area characteristics, such as pollution, vacant houses, and vacant lots. However, it may take time for individuals to understand the intangible issues, such as being refused by a friend to visit, being rejected from financial services, or discrimination in the job market (Wassenberg, 2004). According to Wassenberg (2004), stigma is generated by all circumstances mentioned above (Wassenberg, 2004). Moreover, the stigmatization of territories reveals how persons are influenced by stigmatized territories to pollute or amplify their pollution (Horgan, 2018).

Local newspapers are one of the main channels producing stigma by covering repeated news of negative incidents in particular areas. Local people can also point out areas that carry a stigma, particularly those living in the other part of the city (Wassenberg, 2004). There may be differences in the perceptions of people who live and work within an area and outsiders. These perceptions and reputations are

referred to as internal and external images, respectively. Physical and social characteristics of the neighborhood determine the internal reputation, whereas the external reputation is mostly grounded on simple stereotypes, particularly if the image is negative and is shaped by outsiders (Wassenberg, 2004). Media is one of the most crucial grounds that work as a catalyst in image building.

To work against stigmatization in Sweden nowadays, many planners suggest the government to propose new densification projects for those areas as a part of their practice of compact city epistemology (Zalar & Pries, 2022). Furthermore, it is largely believed by some practitioners that ‘changing the area itself is sometimes easier than changing its image’ and getting rid of a stigma is difficult once it has been established for a long time (Wassenberg, 2004) In the American context, Davis (2018) explained that the spaces occupied by the socially and economically marginalized group are always considered vulnerable and ready for a takeover which is quite the same for the Swedish context as well. Thus this compact city epistemology not only forfeits the public GS of the marginalized community but also manifests the planners’ carefree attitude about dispossession through densification, which is related to the ‘territorial stigmatization of racialized poverty’ (Kärrholm and Wirdelöv 2019, see Zalar & Pries, 2022). In the end, the inhabitants of these stigmatized, working-class areas find themselves living in a radically altered landscape even if they can overcome the displacement due to the redevelopment project (Zalar & Pries, 2022).

3.2 Whiteness in Landscape and Planning

The concept of whiteness refers to the construction of the white race and culture, as well as the privileges and advantages experienced by white people around the world due to government policies, media portrayals, and decision-making power (Portland Community College, 2023). Rather than referring only to skin color, it implies an ideology that focuses on beliefs, values, behaviors, habits, and attitudes that contribute to an unequal distribution of power and privilege (Portland Community College, 2023). According to Baldwin (2012), collective practices of future-making mainly work behind the emergence of ‘white supremacy’ and planning is one of those which build the socio-spatial future of the cities (Yigit Turan & Ågren, 2022). Klonaris (2015) defines white supremacy as a three-dimensional story that expanded through urban planning and it is produced both culturally and materially with the logic of racism and privilege (Bonds and Inwood, 2016 see Brand, 2022). The overshadowing power of white planning over the poor, non-white neighborhood is visible in many US cities where the social problems are considered embedded in those neighborhoods and the inhabitants dwelling there, by abolishing the present values and histories (Goetz et al. 2020 see Yigit Turan &

Ågren, 2022). Nowadays, the practice of this same ideology can be observed in many European countries, and Sweden is not an exception (Yigit Turan & Ågren, 2022).

With the development of the urban planning discipline, design professionals initiate new lexicons to ratify practice within the built environment, whereas this type of intervention mostly reflects the values and identities of the most dominant and privileged classes within a physical landscape that is constantly changing (Abrams, 2017). In the planning of a multicultural context, it is usually seen that the implicit norms reflect the behaviors and practices of the dominant groups, as in most cases, the people engaged in the planning process belong to the dominant culture (Sandercock, 2003). Worldwide, there is a common dogma of valorizing the whiteness and white landscape more than their racialized counterpart (Bhandar, 2018 see Brand, 2022) and presuming that white places are always natural and stable (Harris, 2016; Woods, 2017; McKittrick, 2014 see Brand, 2022)

As both an empirical indicator and analysis tool, whiteness replaces racism with race and compares race with racial identity (Fields, 2001). There is a persistent belief in the United States where the American mindset generally considers racism as primarily a matter of defective personal attitudes instead of a social phenomenon (Coleman, Bonam, & Yantis, 2021). Several scholars of critical whiteness argue that there is a common tendency of whites to misperceive racism and refuse its existence while holding a sense of legitimacy of the status quo and positive self-identity which they defined as an 'epistemology of ignorance' (Applebaum, 2013; Bonam et al., 2018; Mills, 2007; Nelson, et al., 2012; Sullivan and Tuana, 2007 see Coleman, Bonam, & Yantis, 2021). This ignorance of the socially rooted nature of racism is a key characteristic of whiteness and lack of historical knowledge works as a major barrier to the development of the systematic interpretation of racism (Casey, 2016; Flynn, 2015; Salter and Adams, 2016 see Coleman, Bonam, & Yantis, 2021). Where racism remains, "being over race" does not mean that someone is anti-racist; rather, it obscures the reproduction of white power that further catalyzes the existence of racism (Ahmed, 2012 see Yigit Turan & Ågren, 2022).

Scholars draw various conclusions from different studies about the impact of whiteness on landscape and planning. However, all of them are quite similar and indicate the same inherent meaning that the powerful actors manipulate the landscape through dominance, oppression, and hegemony to take advantage. By using the process of racialized valuation, white supremacy smooths the way for racial planning legitimated by a moral, financial system through working as an autonomous organization in its own right, mainly providing illicit benefits for white groups (Mills 2017 see Williams, 2020). In the North American context, Brand

(2022) explained that by utilizing the regulating powers of planning practice, the ‘unbearable whiteness’ (Derickson, 2017 see Brand, 2022) creates its dominant spatial logic and imposes a regime of racialized property ranging from the individual plot to neighborhood boundaries as a whole.

When the white group wants to move back to the once-neglected suburb area, it is not because of the willingness to live in a more ethnically and culturally diverse neighborhood but because of taking advantage of affordable housing, proximity to work, and other amenities surrounding it (Abrams, 2017). All white people might neither embrace the white spatial imaginary consciously nor will they gain equally from being white, but all whites, in general, get advantages from the association of whiteness and the neighborhood effects of their ethnic demography (Lipsitz, 2007). That is why Lipsitz (2007) said that

“Opportunities in this society are both spatialized and racialized” (Lipsitz, 2007, p. 12).

Planning in Sweden is dominated by whiteness and green exceptionalism, which hinder our understanding of racialization that grounds in landscape and affects segregation (Yigit Turan & Ågren, 2022). In the planning and design process, the questions regarding racialization and whiteness are usually overlooked in research as well as education to comply with the existing state of the society as those questions are considered uncomfortable (Goetz et al. 2020 see Yigit Turan & Ågren, 2022). Sometimes, it is observed that there is a tendency for planners often hiding behind their formal role just to avoid these types of controversial issues.

The relevance of critical race theory is now an important question. After the civil rights movement in the USA, it was assumed that racism was gone (History, 2023) as the specific demands of the movement were met with laws. Within a very short period after the movement, racism in the paper went away as it got the attention of everyone. After the civil rights movement, similar or more exposure was given to the George Floyd incident, where he said, “I cannot breathe” while choked by the police and died (23 ABC News | KERO, 2020). This 2020 incident pointed at the invisible layer of racism and segregation, which is very much existent in every society. Racial profiling is real and it got exposed with the viral video evidence of the George Floyd incident, which eventually spread the ‘Black Lives Matter’ movement worldwide (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2023). According to Aysha Jones (founder of BLM Sweden), the denial of historical and current racism is prevalent in the context of Swedish society, which makes Sweden lag behind the rest of the world in the fight against racism (On Human Rights, 2021). Thus the BLM Movement and the study of critical race theory in the context of Sweden are particularly relevant.

The impermeable layer of segregation is very much existent in every society. Segregation can be based on race, ethnicity, background, or how a person looks. On paper, although the power of white planning is inexistent, in reality, marginalized places are affected by the process of devaluation and segregation in society. Devaluation is a function of white planning or whiteness in planning (Brand, 2022). This is how I see the connection of whiteness to landscape research. Devaluating non-white spaces or places is a sign of functional whiteness (Brand, 2022). By looking at this contradiction, my work reveals such a kind of white power that is invisible in the legislation.

3.3 Segregation

Social injustice is a global issue where the historically marginalized group must face segregation and suffer the most. A marginalized population can be defined as a group or community that experiences discrimination as well as prevention from full participation in social, economic, and political life (Alakhunova, et al. 2015, see Agba, 2020) and does not get equal access to power in comparison with a dominant group (LWTEch, 2019). Worldwide the most common attitude toward these people is to push them toward the outskirts of the city and keep them segregated (Kizito, 2021). Most of the Swedish suburbs are segregated and usually viewed by outsiders as dangerous, violent, socially excluded, and sometimes ugly (Mack, 2021). Furthermore, the Swedish police added fuel to the fire by creating an egregious list where some areas were defined under three headings - ‘vulnerable area’ (utsatt område), ‘risk area’ (riskområde), and ‘especially vulnerable area’ (särskilt utsatt område) (Polisen, 2017, see Mack, 2021, p. 559) where the dwellers of those neighborhoods are places as ‘active criminals’ or ‘passive victims’ (Peluso and Watts, 2001, see Mack, 2021). Swedish cities now belong to the most segregated in Europe (Thörn & Thörn, 2017).

When dealing with the segregation problem in a particular zone in Sweden, there is a common practice of representing both the people and the place as the main reason for causing the segregation and other social problems like crimes and pandemics (Tahvilzadeh 2021, see Yigit Turan & Ågren, 2022). Another strong reason that works behind this segregation is white NIMBYism (not in my backyard), where the dominant group restricts the individuals of a minoritized (Wingrove-Haugland & McLeod, 2021) group to move into the place where they live (Seamster & Purifoy, 2021). Minoritized refers to power and equity connecting racial oppression (not numbers), which enables us to promote racial justice by engaging in the common experience of being excluded (Wingrove-Haugland & McLeod, 2021). Research has made it clear that when 4% of a housing area is filled with individuals of foreign background, the ethnic-white-Swedes start to move out from that place to

somewhere else, which leads to extreme segregation (Neuman, 2015, see Kizito, 2021). This attitude of the dominant group to move from an area is called the ‘white flight’ (Wimark, 2018 see Kizito, 2021) and this extreme segregation has appeared to as a huge threat to the landscape character of that area. Another root cause for segregation is the combination of deregulated housing strategies and neoliberal reforms that increase spatialized social inequality (Thörn & Thörn, 2017).

Sustainable development has always been the top priority in Swedish policies and planning practice for the last 15 years (Bradley, Gunnarsson-Östling, & Isaksson, 2008). But the concept of sustainability in certified sustainable neighborhoods is conceived and assessed without critical engagement with local communities and local spaces, while historically and culturally valuable spaces are continued to be exploited for economic purposes within this framework. (Borges, Hammami, & Wangel, 2020). Those communities cannot resist or influence this planning practice if they do not hold enough power. Power is underlined as fundamental to discrimination (Selvarajah, et al., 2020) and unequal power distribution can also lead to segregation. The production/formulation of policies and planning are directly or indirectly related to conflict and power (Albrechts, 2003).

“If planners ignore those in power, they assure their own powerlessness. Alternatively, if planners understand how relations of power shape the planning process, they can improve the quality of their analysis and empower citizen and community action.” (Forester 1989, see Albrechts, 2003, p. 905).

Though segregation as a form of social injustice was emphasized in the Swedish strategy for sustainable development (2004), nothing concrete was mentioned in the formal strategy about potential conflicts, controversies, or power issues (Bradley, Gunnarsson-Östling, & Isaksson, 2008). Neither was it clarified how these issues would work in the planning practice (Bradley, Gunnarsson-Östling, & Isaksson, 2008).

It has been identified that poverty concentration, often associated with a congregation of minoritized, is one of the most critical segregation-related problems in Europe; and as an action to counteract such concentration, the government introduces the ‘housing mix policies’ or ‘area-based programs’ (Musterd and Kearns, 2002 see Andersson, Bråmås, & Holmqvist, 2010). Though Swedish politics have been concerned with the matter of residential segregation since the early 1970s, there has been no significant improvement in levels of segregation due to any of the anti-segregation policies because of unsuccessful execution, malfunction in the design, or for other reasons (Andersson, Bråmås, & Holmqvist, 2010). Landscape planning and design scholarship often get confined within a limited analytical framework by using speculative terms such as ‘people/all/everyone’ when defining notions of ‘social’, ‘democracy’, and ‘justice’.

which not only conceal the social analysis but also reproduce the inequality of racial, gender, and class difference (Yigit Turan & Ågren, 2022). According to Andersson, Bråmås, & Holmqvist (2010), if the main purpose of the anti-segregation policies is to support marginalized individuals/groups to integrate into society, then policies like Swedish Metropolitan Initiatives (*the housing and social mix policy, the refugee dispersal policy, and the area-based urban policy*) can be efficient but not for minimizing the dissimilarities in social as well as ethnical composition among different communities.

3.4 Green Gentrification

According to Thörn (2017), Sweden's major cities have transformed over the last few decades through entrepreneurial governance, a tactic to make the city economically more attractive to affluent citizens, visitors, and investors in the global market. For making the cities attractive, different development projects are going on not only in Sweden but also in Europe. Most of these development projects focus on densification and improving the quality of greens, which ultimately leads to gentrification, especially if the development is aimed at an MP area. Gentrification is implanted in the entrepreneurialism strategy, which also contributes to the development inequality between urban areas, where some are seen as financial assets and others as liabilities (Thörn & Thörn, 2017). Rather than doing better, this phenomenon increases discrimination among different groups. As a consequence of this entrepreneurialism, nowadays, the practice of remaking different parts of the cities for the utilization of upper- and middle-class people has become a new trend in Sweden which leads to increased social segregation (Thörn & Thörn, 2017).

In so-called urban sustainability, gentrification and green dispossession are the results of institutional conflicts between growth and preservation of the environment, which residents can experience through risks of displacement or eviction (Anguelovski, Irazábal-Zurita, & Connolly, 2019). It has been argued that gentrification was an overt strategy of city governments, often in collaboration with private investors, to revitalize traditionally marginalized neighborhoods until 1990 (Bridge, Butler and Lees, 2012; Lees and Ley, 2008; Smith, 2002 see Anguelovski, Connolly, Masip, & Pearsall, 2018). As governing bodies and developers promote urban living that promises improved quality of life and a much-needed climate solution, they struggle to meet the inequality gap and racial injustices (EARTH.ORG, 2022). The problem lies not only in the lack of response to local community needs but also in the fact that these large-scale green initiatives are typically associated with urban renewal projects that result in the physical and cultural displacement of minoritized communities (Ehrmann, 2018)

There are fundamentally the same challenges associated with all gentrification trends that result in the complete reshaping of neighborhoods, damaging not only the physical architecture but also the well-established social networks and cultural identity of that community (Cheng, 2022). Suddenly, the places that were once undesirable to affluent and middle-class buyers and investors have become attractive to them for several reasons, including global real estate pressures, reduction in crime, physical upgrades, proximity to cultural centers, or jobs, where they begin to see an investment opportunity (Anguelovski, Connolly, Masip, & Pearsall, 2018). As a result, high-income buyers show interest in purchasing or investing within these revitalized neighborhoods, consequently pricing out lower-income residents, which ultimately broadens the inequality gap (EARTH.ORG, 2022).

Sometimes planners and government officials abstain from politically challenging choices about the reallocation of resources and social vulnerability by considering the benefits as universal since they continuously use climate resilience and sustainability to rationalize new green (Connolly, 2018 see Anguelovski, Irazábal-Zurita, & Connolly, 2019). Sustainability activists and municipal officials who refuse to critically evaluate and call for more green space may be producing new sociospatial inequalities against their intentions (Pearsall and Pierce, 2010 see Anguelovski, Connolly, Masip, & Pearsall, 2018).

3.5 Place Making

Placemaking is described as a “complex and often ethereal, ambiguous and intangible concept” by the practitioners and leaders in a global symposium in Stockholm, where they agreed that “there is no real definition or consensus among the academic or practitioner’s community” (Stockholm, 2014, p. 1 see Fincher, Pardy, & Shaw, 2016). Yet there are several definitions of place-making referred to by different scholars. Placemaking is a process that involves community engagement, mainly focusing on people and their needs, vision, and aspiration (Moreira, 2021). The process of place-making goes beyond the material dimension and incorporates aspects such as sociability, inclusiveness, activities, access, belonging, attachments, comfort, and image to create bonds between people and places (ibid).

As the image of an area works as an important driver for economic growth, place-making is variously considered by practitioners as a physical strategy to improve the image of a place as well as a form of social mobilization and a tool for political action (Fincher, Pardy, & Shaw, 2016). However, according to Wortham-Galvin (2008), placemaking is more than just a physical creation and demolition related to

observation, history, and ritual. So planners and designers should keep in mind that the truth of a place depends on the facts believed to be true rather than just the evidence of its existence (Wortham-Galvin, 2008). Scholarly and professional literature on place-making usually acknowledges the political dimensions of place-making but avoids discussing them because professional place-makers presume that thinking or talking about the disadvantage of places is someone else's responsibility (Fincher, Pardy, & Shaw, 2016).

According to Abrams (2017), placemaking is a concept that works as an alliance between the city government and real estate interests to redevelop an undervalued space for profit. She defined this mission as "creating something out of nothing" which only disrupts the already established social and cultural values of that place (Bevan, 2016 see Abrams, 2017). Abrams (2017), added that the concept of placemaking is just a tool in the field of architecture, urban design, and real estate development which provides more prospects for outside forces rather than for existing inhabitants that have been classified as "white people commercial hijinks" in its most opportunistic forms. Essentially, Placemaking is both a process of creating spaces and a philosophy that capitalizes on a local community's assets, first removing and then recreating for the newcomers in the name of development (Abrams, 2017). The process of attracting new people and finance by commoditizing the cities is defined by Friedmann (2010) as a "frenzy of excess" where "the needs of ordinary people and the neighborhoods they inhabit have been forgotten" in the name of progress (Fincher, Pardy, & Shaw, 2016). Eventually, placemaking has become a standard concept that is mostly used as a support for redevelopment projects by overlooking the implicit pattern of local culture (Wortham-Galvin, 2008), which Bevan defines the 'desire to "built a utopia" on the ruins of another culture's past' (Bevan, 2016 see Abrams, 2017).

The role of social equity in redevelopment and gentrification strategies is decreasing worldwide as the goal remains to attract wealthier residents and consumers to drive economic growth (Fincher, Pardy, & Shaw, 2016). To achieve that goal, Ultimately, place-making works as an excuse for the displacement of marginalized people who are considered transgressive and desire to be replaced by someone better-resourced and well-behaved in the intended future (ibid). As the marginalized do not occupy power, the place associated with marginalized communities appears to be nothing more than an open space available for new occupants (Davis, 2018). Though the public and private sectors, as well as community organizations, have collaborated to implement more inclusive programs at different times and places, each context depends on its particular spatial politics (Fincher, Pardy, & Shaw, 2016). In addition to revisiting the histories of marginalized communities, local planning and development authorities must implement inclusive strategies that make marginalized residents key players in

neighborhood turnover during the revitalization of a place (Davis, 2018). As an initiative to ensure design justice in urban development, Abrams (2017) suggested that,

“One great way to start is to remove the word “placemaking” from the urban design lexicon.” (Abrams, 2017, p. 7).

3.6 Socio-spatial, Historical & Cultural Identity

Every locality has its own cultural identity, which makes it distinctive from others, whether underprivileged or affluent. According to Rishbeth & Finney (2006), “our landscapes are naturally multicultural” (p. 288) in a manner that the visual characteristics of woodland in a specific location can be acknowledged as reminiscent of home by people even if they are actually from a variety of countries. However, sometimes it is not only the visual character but also the memory recall associated with the social events and outdoor activities that used to take place in their homelands as well (Rishbeth & Finney, 2006). Each person has his or her own story, and their interpretation of the character of the place is largely based on their own experiences (ibid). Hence, landscape with cultural identity is the idea of something shared, including people’s existence, emotional attachment, experience, memory, and relationship, individually and collectively.

Places with multiple cultures are more vibrant as well as more sensitive to deal with, for having any alteration through development or renovation. For reshaping a future city with multi-culture, it is necessary to start with the history, including marginalized communities’ stories (Sandercock, 2003). And it is crucial to reconsider the craftsmanship of stories as well as the language of planners that can essentially help to translate this knowledge into action (ibid). Story mapping can interactively show the multiple culture and experiences of different groups within a city by developing critical thinking skills that help understand the connection between local and global levels (Ashtari, Huq, & Miraftab, 2022).

The role of architecture is crucial to organize the physical space as well as maintain its quality and reflect cultural identity (Abrams, 2017). In the planning field of architecture and landscape architecture, the newly emerged practice of redevelopment and densification projects is visible everywhere. Abrams (2017) has compared the recently evolved ‘urban development process’ with the ‘purposeful destruction of the enemy’s culture’ in a war. The purpose of destroying architecture during a war is not only to eliminate the physical site but also to eradicate the cultural and social significance together with the memory (Bevan, 2016 see Abrams, 2017). Anthropologist and poet C. Nadia Seremetakis (1993) argues that

this gradual process of making a place numb, along with the removal of memories, is the critical period of sociocultural transformation that symbolizes marginalization and discrimination in the modernist environment (Mack, 2021).

The quality of a place that makes it unique in comparison with other places can always be considered as the ‘genius loci’ which is easier to preserve thus, not only difficult to create but also complicated to identify its source of origin (Bell, 2008 see Backmann & Sohl, 2019). The powerholders (police, politicians, journalists, or Swedes racialized as white) who has never visited the MP neighborhoods typically represent those areas as ‘concrete suburb’, an obvious failure of design and society where preservation is perceived as inapplicable regarding the history and architectural value (Mack, 2021). Living in one of those communities not only leaves an emotional scar on the residents’ social and physical well-being (Pull and Richard, 2021 see Yigit Turan & Ågren, 2022) but also develops an “impossible nostalgia” (Mack, 2021).

4. Research Method and Material

4.1 Methodology

I have used interviews, mapping, storytelling, document analysis, site visit, and observation as research methods. Among these, the major portion of my study is based on the information I collected through the interview.

4.1.1 Interview

I visited the study area six times (see Table 2 for details) between February to October and conducted informal interviews with the residents of that area. In the qualitative interview, as the interest is always engaged toward the informant's position, it is also important to listen to the other party's opinion for a better result and a deeper understanding of the study. That is why I conducted a semi-structured interview with one MO who is involved in working on this project. Listening to the voice of both parties would provide a dimension of understanding if the residents' experience and expectations meet with the Uppsala municipality's concept and vision for the Gottsunda area.

I interviewed 21 residents during this time with six different sessions. Eleven of them are male, and ten of them are female. 33% of my interviewees are white, ethnic Swedes and the rest are non-white, non-ethnic Swedes. Among all the interviewees, 48% had heard about the new development plan and the rest had no idea about this. From that 48%, only two non-ethnic, non-white Swedes confirmed having an idea about the new plan. To explain the conversation, I used a coding method to replace the original names of the respondents, not to reveal their original identification. I replaced the names of the respondents with pseudonyms which helped me to craft the story. The list of interviewees, their particulars (see Appendix 1), and the chart of the detailed interview session are as follows.

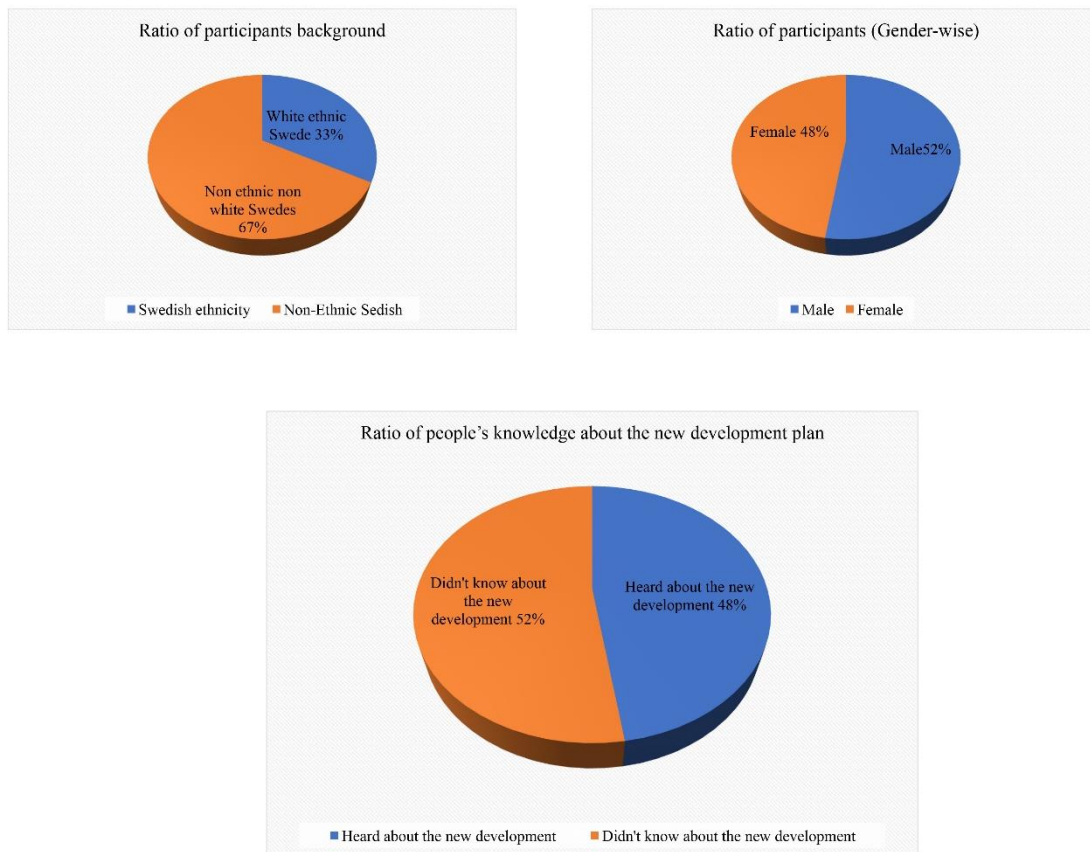


Figure 3: Pie charts showing different ratios of interviewees. Created by the Author.

Table 2. List of the Interview Sessions

Sessions	Date	Day	Time
Session 1	23.02.2022	Wednesday	3:00 pm
Session 2	06.03.2022	Sunday	12:00 pm
Session 3	25.08.2022	Thursday	4:00 pm
Session 4	10.09.2022	Saturday	3:30 pm
Session 5	21.09.2022	Wednesday	2:00 pm
The Gottsunda Day	15.10.2022	Saturday	11:00 am
With Municipality	10.11.2022	Thursday	1 hour

As I already had the experience of visiting Gottsunda, It helped me decide the appropriate time to go there to talk with people. I have chosen both the weekdays and weekends to observe the variations and to get the opportunity to talk with the individuals who are usually unavailable during the weekdays. And also as the inhabitants already have complaints against the municipality for arranging public hearing meetings only during the weekdays or during day time when maximum people are unavailable because of their work. So, I decided not to choose the morning time as I have seen that, during day time, people are always in a rush and usually do not have enough time to talk with a stranger. In every session, I spent 2-3 hours, which made it possible even to interview some people returning home. On ‘Gottsunda Day,’ I went there in the morning on purpose as I knew that the celebration would start from 10 am.

Table 3. List of the people I have interviewed (Pseudonyms)

Male (11)		Female (10)	
Name	Age	Name	Age
Mahmoud	27	Amira	63
Dawood	25	Sabirah	73
Johan*	44	Malin*	51
Shayan	84	Elina*	62
Berat*	24	Sadira, Tilda, Signe	15
Mikolaj	21	Martina*	47
Jacob*	42	Anneli*	36
Ahmed*	40	Stina*	68
Hamid	84		
Damir	52		
Hampus*	77		

* People who knew/heard about the new development plan.

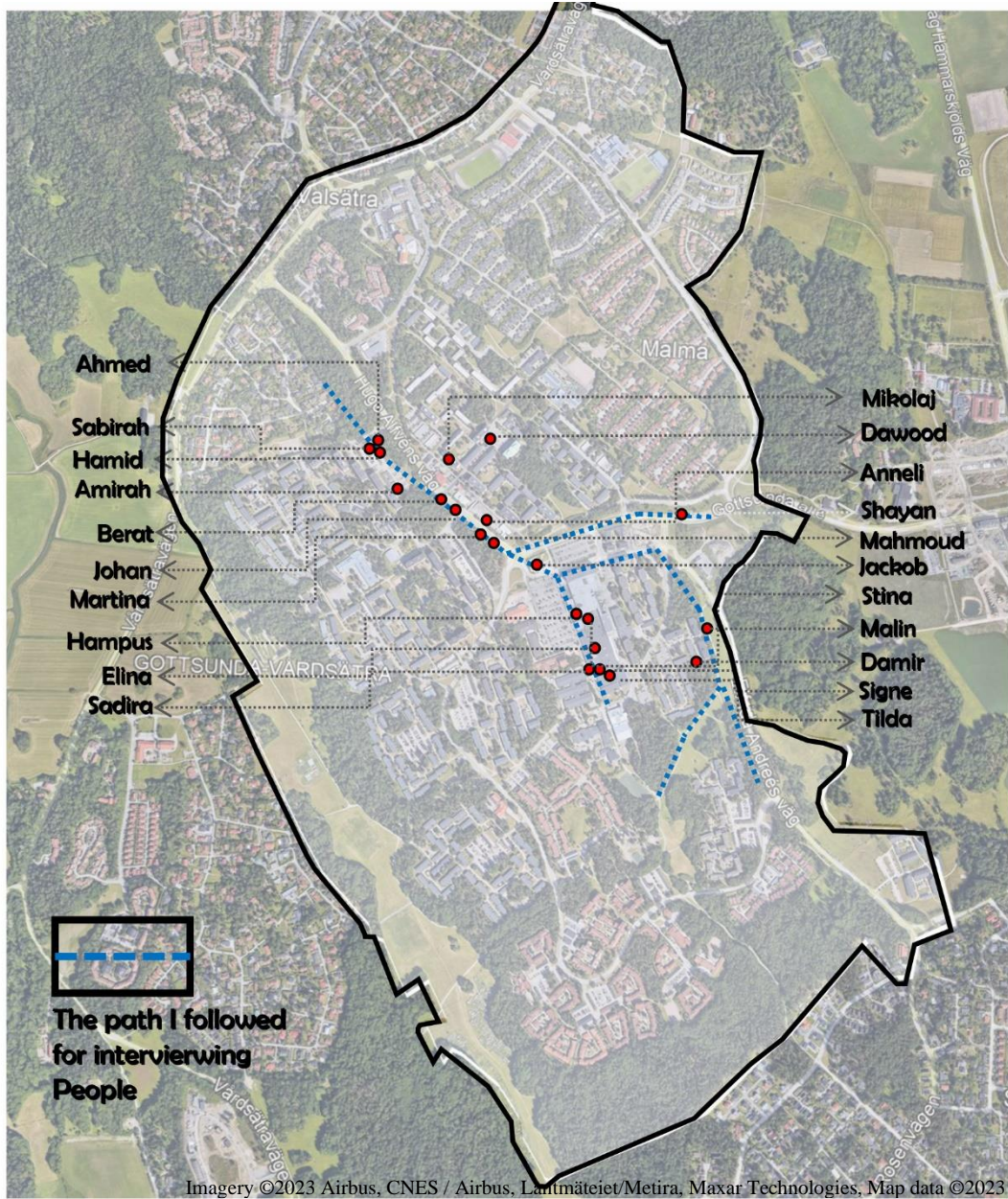


Figure 4: Map showing all the interviewees' positions and the route that is followed to conduct the in-depth interview. Collaged by the Author using (Google Maps, 2023).

4.1.2 Site visit & Observation

Visiting a place several times is always important to get the experience properly. By doing so, it is possible to get a clear idea about the character of the place through different means and perspectives. As I lived close to Gottsunda for more than a year, I already have experience visiting the place perhaps hundreds of times for different reasons. But after I started working on this project, I went there a couple of times devotedly for site studies to investigate and find the experiential value of the project area. For me, the experiential value means both the positive and negative qualities and characters experienced during the site visit. The work site visit and observation took place from March to October and it was done on different days of the week, different times of the day, and in different seasons. Each occasion was documented through photos and notes I took during the survey.

Being the victim of racial profiling made me realize the still existing boundaries between race, ethnicity, gender, and the way a person looks. My education and learnings to date thus put me in a position that made me raise my voice through pen and paper. And also, when I lived in the close vicinity of Gottsunda, my gender, ethnicity, color, or the way I looked was not a barrier to integration. During the fieldwork, when I tried to communicate with the people, the language was an obstacle to verbal communication as most interviewees speak Swedish or Arabic fluently. However, The interviewees who could not speak English properly put the maximum effort into describing their feelings in broken English or easy Swedish for me or with other people's assistance. I also find it fascinating that there had been a few incidents of typical white people being non-responsive and reluctant to interview while the people of color neither ignored me nor were intolerant during the interviews based on my gender, ethnicity, or how I look. Those people gave me more time than expected, as the interviews were voluntary. For example, I interviewed one couple of middle eastern descendants named Sabirah(73) and Hamid(84), who could speak Arabic and Swedish. Only Sabirah could speak broken English, and with that, they communicated with great enthusiasm and tried to convey their thoughts as much as they could and gave me more time than I expected.

4.1.3 Document Analysis

As a study material, I used the document of the new development plan of Gottsunda named 'Gottsundaområdet Plan program 2019'. As the document analysis method is suitable for analyzing any text, I used that qualitative method to get an in-depth insight into what the text considers relevant, how ideas are connected and which values work behind it. This method enables me to understand and make it visible if the text is subtly formulated or contains a clear message. It would not only give the

idea of how the municipality evaluates the existing greens and the social values but also how they consider the issues relating to stigmatization and social sustainability and how they are justified or rationalized.

This PD provides me with supplementary research data, such as background information and historical insights into Gottsunda. The information I found by analyzing this document helps me to understand the situation that needs to be observed and to generate new interview questions that need to be asked (Bowen, 2009) to both the residents and the municipality. And by doing so, this method also interactively complements the other method (interview) of this research (Bowen, 2009). I evaluated the PD and checked their appendices regarding their research material. I did not find any research regarding social values, emotions and attachments. Deriving from my empirical data, I found different social values not acknowledged in this document. I checked for their biases by examining the data during document analysis using the process of triangulation (Indeed, 2023), which helped me establish my research's credibility. Analyzing the PD of Gottsunda helps me to understand the lack of research regarding social values, emotions and attachments.

4.1.4 Mapping

Map-making is a powerful solution for exposing and exploring people's understandings and categorizations of an issue or a market (AQR, 2022). So I used mapping to support my analysis as the main concept of mapping as a method is to help the researcher formulate their projects and develop ideas, especially when researchers want to involve relevant stakeholders in their research (Conjointly, 2023). In my study of Gottsunda, as there is the direct involvement of different stakeholders, mapping is a suitable tactic to highlight the existing GS and residents' attachment to those. With the help of mapping, it became possible to organize and visualize my interviews, observations, ideas, and understanding. It enables me to work collaboratively with the participants to identify the values and to locate things that are meaningful to them within that neighborhood and community (Aspect, 2021).

A story map can effectively analyze these types of complex social issues like human rights and community integration (Qualitative Research Cafe, 2018). Story mapping involves finding and analyzing the links between human experience and place through the visual display of data regarding places, locations, or geography (Qualitative Research Cafe, 2018). By creating story maps, it is possible to blur the boundary between the conventional planning process and the collective experience of communities, as well as unfold the spatial justice struggle of marginalized urban life that would make the invisible visible (Ashtari, Huq, & Miraftab, 2022)

For the new development project of Gottsund, the municipality has created several maps to signify its vision. It is the most commonly used element representing the world and is highly dominant over what we see (Cosgrove, 1985). For gaining political purposes, the deliberate distortion of map contents is a common phenomenon and is evident in history, where there works a set of power relations behind the map maker (Harley, 1988). Hence, the municipality-produced maps of Gottsunda should be critically analyzed to understand how the municipality has represented and evaluated the existing GS and if they even depicted all the green areas in their maps. Because depending on their representation, those maps can be evidence of the ‘discursive dispossession’ of existing GS that results in the process of densification redevelopment (Zalar & Prices, 2022).

4.1.5 Storytelling

Last but not least, I used the method of storytelling, especially to understand and represent the experience of residents and their feelings. Storytelling is one of the most powerful methods of human expression that enables us to think about the past and envision the future simultaneously (WhatWorks, 2020). As a major portion of my research is based on fieldwork, like interviews and observations, this method helps me to engage with the fieldwork and structure the thesis. In addition to providing a holistic picture of participants' lived experiences, stories offer knowledge and insight into their cultures and locales (Methodspace, 2021). As Gottsunda is well-known for its inhabitants of mixed cultural backgrounds and the municipality also mentioned prioritizing multiculturalism, storytelling is the appropriate method to scrutinize this rationalization. The norms of a society that ensure active multiculturalism should be examined and challenged from time to time without being influenced by any particular group; and storytelling can act as the most efficient means to do this (Sandercock, 2003).

In Marris’s words, the best stories are those that are both original and authoritative, which means the language of storytelling should be natural and persuasive because stories have the quality to provide us with a sense of understanding the knowledge of ‘*what happened*’ and ‘*why it happened*’ (Marris, 1997 see Sandercock, 2003). In my study, I would also look for the same understanding of ‘what and why certain discrete issues are constantly happening in Gottsunda’. Throgmorton suggested that to be an effective policy advocate, first, one needs to become a good story-maker as well as a good story-teller because storytelling is a significant method to objectify the truth of planning action where planning symbolizes as performed story and participants are both characters and authors (Throgmorton, 1996 see Sandercock, 2003). For becoming a successful planner and researcher, this method of crafting stories as well as storytelling would be more relevant as story mapping can interactively show the multiple culture and experiences of different groups within

a city by developing critical thinking skills which help to understand the connection between local and global levels (Ashtari, Huq, & Miraftab, 2022)

To explain the connection of stories with the planning practice, Sandercock used the example of community destruction, where the developers and planners often play the role of villains. (Sandercock, 2003). The epistemology of crafting stories can move beyond the conventional method of planning practice, which cooperates to strengthen the understanding of the urbanizing world more clearly by connecting surrounding communities and engaging multiple senses (Ashtari, Huq, & Miraftab, 2022). Though the method is not appropriately valued in the planning practice, it has significant importance in research and in multicultural planning that can assist in having a deeper insight into human and urban conditions (Sandercock, 2003). Thus, utilizing this method with the same plot would help me to investigate the redevelopment work of my case study, Gottsunda.

In planning practice, conflict resolution seeks to resolve a conflict in ways that satisfy the objectives of all the participants to the maximum extent by negotiating with a cooperative, voluntary process (Rutgers, 2023). Regarding negotiation and conflict resolution in planning practice, Sandercock (2003) suggested that it is more important for the researchers and practitioners to hear the stories rather than to tell them and ensure a secure as well as comfortable space where people from different cultural backgrounds can come and speak confidently together without any hesitation or being product-driven (Solomon, quoted in Forester, 2000, p. 152 see Sandercock, 2003). So in this study, I would follow this pattern of storytelling that Sandercock mentioned, where my action would primarily be listening to people about what this place meant to them and then crafting it in the paperwork.

In this thesis, I used the storytelling method for both my research and presentation. In this research, storytelling helped me most during the fieldwork, especially while interviewing the inhabitants. The theoretical knowledge derived from different literature regarding storytelling guided me to get involved with non-professional, general people to understand their feelings, thoughts and experiences. Using this method made it easier for me to communicate better and stronger with the community living in Gottsunda and to know their side of the story. While presenting the research data, I tried to construct it as a whole story from the introduction to the conclusion. In this whole story, I perform as both character and author, depending on the situation. For example, in the introduction, I am not only an author but also a character in this story. In the analysis and discussion, my role is more of a story-maker, as well as a storyteller who crafts the residents' unheard-lived stories using original, natural and persuasive language. Communication is usually easier when a professional talks with another professional from the same field. But when professional talks with non-professionals, sometimes there needs to be a media in

between for better understanding. And the method of storytelling works as the media for me, which makes communication smooth for both parties.

4.2 Self Reflection

As I found a lack of research regarding social values, emotions and attachments in the PD, my work would tell a different story than the one told by the municipality. And sometimes, that may sound biased, as I have a strong sense of the place because of living close to Gottsunda. I choose to take this specific side of the story because the objective of this research work is not to eco or sugarcoat the already loud document of the planning program but to amplify the unheard, marginalized and stigmatized people of Gottsunda.

For producing maps, I used the same boundary as the municipality to avoid confusion and make it more meaningful. As I am also looking at how the municipality evaluates the existing GS, using the same border for visualization would make it clear and easily understandable to the reader to make a comparison. From my understanding, there is no point in using the other green areas outside of the demarcated boundary for this thesis, as those are not currently disturbed by the redevelopment.

Gottsunda is famous for its multicultural and mixture of population (UppsalaKommun, 2019). My interviewees are also reflecting such a mix. I randomly picked all my interviewees except those three teenage girls and Mikolaj. During the fieldwork, I tried to talk with most of the people who walked past me. Some of them replied some of them refused to talk. The interviewees are over-represented in the population mixture in that area even if I randomly approach them. On my fifth day of the interview session, I had a pre-determination to talk with younger girls to know their perspectives on safety about living in Gottsunda. That is why I intentionally picked them to have a conversation. And Mikolaj is one of my ex-colleagues who agreed to talk and invited me to his home for that purpose. As the blue dotted path, marked in Figure 4, is the most vibrant zones of Gottsunda, I encountered the interviewees along this path. Also, most of the redevelopment will be taking place along this path. That is why I could communicate and let the interviewees understand easily about future development. And their notion can be understood more easily.

I mostly followed the storytelling method to interview the residents to ensure they felt comfortable talking with me. I did not go there with having a fully structured set of questions written on paper. Rather I let the conversation flow in its direction. That is why people's positive feedback regarding the redevelopment is also

mentioned in the analysis section without attempting to hide or guide it in a different direction (see page 56, 64). Most of the time, I choose the next question depending on their previous answer. Still, there are certain questions that I asked almost everyone (see Appendix 2). I always started my conversation by introducing myself as a researcher and a student of SLU before asking them about themselves. For some interviewees, I introduced myself as an ex-resident in the middle of the conversation to alleviate their hesitation.

To arrange an interview with a professional who worked on this project, I contacted Uppsala Kommun via email and got the contact details of the MO. I emailed that person, and she offered me an appointment for an hour. I conducted that semi-structured interview via Zoom. As I had a limited time frame and it was a meeting with a professional, I prepared a set of questions beforehand (see Appendix 3). Contrary to the interview with the residents, here I tried to strictly follow the already prepared structure of questions just to finish it within time. I arranged that interview later in my research because I needed to gather enough information to enrich my knowledge regarding the whole situation before talking to an expert.

4.3 Material and Data Collection

In order to achieve my goal with the help of the methods mentioned above, I was required to accumulate the essential material and data to explore my research questions. I needed to gather information regarding residents' experiences and the existing condition of my study area. It was also essential to collect the documents of the new development proposal and the opinion from the municipality to understand their future vision. I have done the fieldwork and the analysis simultaneously to bring together all these necessary data. At first, I fixed my study area, visited the place, then looked at the municipality's planning and proposal and tried to identify the problems by comparing it with the existing situation.

As a main study material, I have used the new development plan for Gottsunda collected from Uppsala municipality's website. Some other reports about this area published by the municipality (e.x *Upplevelser från Gottsunda och Valsätra, Kulturmiljöutredning gottsunda och valsätra*) are also used as supportive material to get more detailed information. I visited the place in person six times during the whole work to collect data from the field.

Other supportive data, maps, and information are collected from different websites through the internet. I have also used some previous studies and student thesis works about Gottsunda. To support the base of my work, different theories and hypotheses about stigmatization, segregation, whiteness, and green gentrification

are collected from several pieces of literature. I am currently living in Uppsala, and I have selected my case study area within Sweden so that it would be easier to collect all the available data.

4.4 Limitation

The total timeframe to carry out this research was limited. It was impossible to collect all data in this period and, further, to conduct a very detailed investigation for the study. Being a non-Swedish speaker language barrier works as an obstacle to some extent in collecting data during the survey. I found the main study material, the PD and quite a few other pieces of literature useful for my study in Swedish. So I had to use google translate to find out the necessary information. Perhaps it can create some gaps between the original and translated version. Also, for the interview, I only talked with people who could speak English, at least to some extent. To collect the housing authority's perspective on this new development, I tried to create a link with someone there but got no response.

4.5 Delimitation

To finish the work within 20 weeks of the time, I have to set some limitations for my work. For example, this work would not analyze any in-depth history before the construction of the million-program housing in Gottsunda. This research will not look for any concrete answer about the reasons behind stigmatization or segregation—for example, political or bureaucratic matters. Political gain can be one of the reasons behind this stereotype. But what kind of political gains? Is it financial or something related to power? Searching for answers related to this type of issue can be very complicated. I am not studying the construction of whiteness by looking at the planning as an institutional or political organization, the evidence of politics, and so forth. It can make the whole work more complex and unmanageable within this period. I only interviewed one MO with a semi-structured interview as the municipal's insights are already described in the PD. I decided to use the same border as the municipality to compare the existing condition and the future vision clearly. As Gottsunda- Valsätra is quite a big area, working with all the GS which are outside of the redevelopment border could make the work complicated within this time. This study will not look at any advanced detail works in this suburb, such as technological infrastructure, waste management, rainwater management systems, etc.

5. Case Study: Gottsunda

Gottsunda is a suburb located southwest of Uppsala municipality and north of Stockholm. It is a multicultural district built during the 1960s and 70s as a part of the “Million Housing Program” to fulfill the demand of extreme housing shortage in Sweden (UppsalaKommun, 2019). As Gottsunda has remained a point of interest among different scholars and professionals since long ago for different reasons (such as vast green areas, negative portrayal, majority of immigrant residents, segregation, and rich mixed culture), several studies have already been done and are still going on about it. Most of those studies concern large housing estates constructed during the MP and the vast GS in and around the area. My research work would be another piece of addition to this. As Gottsunda is being represented as a problematized suburb and is targeted to be densified to reduce segregation along with achieving social sustainability, it provides me with the most suitable context from where I can collect the necessary data regarding stigma, crime, residents’ feelings, and the influence of whiteness to explore my research questions.

5.1 History

Uppsala municipality has commissioned TyrénsAB to investigate Gottsunda and Valsätra's cultural environment. The majority of the information regarding the historical characterization of Gottsunda is collected from the consultancy report named “Kulturmiljöutredning Gottsunda Och Valsätra” produced by TyrénsAB.

Until the middle of the 19th century, Uppsala was a small rural town with few industrial elements and during the end of the 19th century, society gradually shifted from a peasant society to an industrial society (UppsalaKommun, 2019). The construction of the railway at the end of the 19th century meant new conditions for industrial establishment in the city, at the same time as immigration from the countryside increased and, with it, the supply of labor (TyrénsAB, 2019). As the new workers needed housing, Uppsala's expansion began. From the beginning of the 20th century, the city has successively grown out of the city center and new areas have been incorporated into the urban fabric. At this time, the landscape of this area was still characterized by agricultural operations that were linked to the farm environments and the sparsely populated area was still relatively far from the city (TyrénsAB, 2019).

According to the report of TyrénsAB (2019), the plan for Gottsunda and Valsätra was completely in line with the national housing policy, which in 1964 decided to

eliminate the country's housing shortage and low housing standards by a million new homes in ten years. In Gottsunda, there were already small houses in the form of detached houses and holiday homes to relate to in the planning (UppsalaKommun, 2019). The city plan for Norra Gottsunda from 1969 involved new large-scale volumes embedded in the forest south of the detached house area (TyrénsAB, 2019).

Though the area continued to grow steadily into the 1980s, 1967-74 was the most active period of expansion. According to UppsalaKommun (2019), Recent constructions in the Gottsunda area clearly show a backlash to the large-scale development of the million-program through the far more wide-ranging and close residential areas built in the late 1970s to the 1990s. In contrast to previous stages of development, the areas now developed are hilly and have a lot of natural greenery incorporated into the city plans (TyrénsAB, 2019).

5.2 Present Condition

The Gottsunda area was built as a satellite district to Uppsala city center, about 5 km from the center and surrounded by large nature and landscape. The proximity to nature is noticeable. Large parts of Gottsunda are located in a highland forest landscape with mountainous elements, while Valsätra is located on former arable land in a more lowland and flat landscape (UppsalaKommun, 2019). There are many saved natural areas with rock outcrops and forest-like greens. The houses are framed by GS, which brings down the scale of the taller houses and creates a green district. (Uppsala Municipality 2013, p. 14 see Backmann & Sohl, 2019). The building structure in the Gottsunda area is characterized by modernist ideals and the buildings are clearly divided according to function, with housing, commerce, and school separately. This is also noticeable regarding where different forms of tenure and housing types are geographically located.

Approximately 15,000 people live in the two districts together, with slightly more than twice as many in Gottsunda as in Valsätra (UppsalaKommun, 2019). Just like the other MP areas, Gottsunda is also regarded as a problematic zone confronting different segregation having a lower income and education level in comparison with other parts of Uppsala, and being marked as a vulnerable zone by the police in 2017 (Kizito, 2021).



Figure 5: Different GS in Gottsunda. A small green pocket in between the main road & 'MR. Fruit' shop [upper right image]. The green walkway on the east side of Hugo Alfvéns väg [upper left image]. The forest-like green walkway on the west side of Hugo Alfvéns väg [left middle image]. A small green chunk beside Lina Sandells Park [lower left image]. (Google Maps, 2023) collaged by the Author [lower right image]. All the photos are taken by the author.

Uppsala Municipality has received funding from the DELMOS (Delegation against Segregation) to conduct an in-depth interview study with residents and employees of Gottsunda-Valsätra to work against segregation. Though Delmos was established on January 2018 as an engaging initiative to counteract segregation and improve the condition in socio-economically vulnerable areas, its budget was cut by a vote in Parliament in December 2018 with the intention to shut this down completely (Backvall, 2019). 'Urban Utveckling' has carried out this study on behalf of the Uppsala Municipality to collect people's experiences of living here. The study was conveyed to add a more thorough local perspective and complement existing knowledge about residents' needs, challenges, and driving forces. The study has carried out in a four-step process, including workshops and In-depth interviews with residents in the area. One of the major goals was to "reach those who are not usually reached" (UrbanUtveckling, 2021, p. 9).

According to the report by Urban Utveckling (2021), The nearby nature area and the GS between the houses are the most important reason for the residents to live here. Another important reason for people willing to live in this area is the proximity to the Uppsala Centrum and the service in Gottsunda Center (UppsalaKommun, 2019). During leisure time, people use the GS and surrounding nature areas where there are opportunities to walk, hike, jog, play sports, pick berries and mushrooms, bike, and ski. In addition, the residents said they like to grill or have coffee with their neighbors in the nearby open space when they have time (UrbanUtveckling, 2021). This report mentions that, among other reasons for moving out, people also stated that the greenery is decreasing a lot in and around the area.



Figure 6: Illustration showing the present condition of Gottsunda. (Google Maps, 2023) collaged by the Author (upper left image). The cul-de-sac of Bandstolsvägen (upper right image). The green barrier that protects the lower housing zone from the busy road, Gottsunda allé (right middle image). The water fountain in centrum square, where children love to play in the Summer (lower right image). The parking zone in the centrum (lower left image). All photos are taken by the author.

There is a mixed reaction among the parents about the upbringing of their children in Gottsunda because some parents see it as an asset to raise their kids here rather

than a homogeneous area as there exists a mixture of different cultures and languages; on the other hand, some parents see it as a risk to let their children grow up here as they are also worried that this area can be a bad role model for their children (UrbanUtveckling, 2021).

Though a rich sporting and cultural life creates genuine pride in the area, according to the planning program, there is often a representation of the negative image of the district in the media, emphasizing social vulnerability, crime, and insecurity. (Cederlund, 2021). The municipality has identified crimes and violence as the main reason for people to move out of this area (UrbanUtveckling, 2021). The residents mentioned one thing that affects people's well-being in Gottsunda is the negative reputation of this area because residents notice that they have to justify themselves if they tell others about living in Gottsunda-Valsätra (ibid). Some young people also stated their concern that it could be challenging to apply for a job while having an address in Gottsunda (ibid).

Several people stated that this is the only area where they got an apartment and could afford it and some of them ended up here not by their own choice (UrbanUtveckling, 2021). Apparently, this is the consequence of the segregation issues that extended just after the construction of MP housing in this suburb when all the newly moved immigrants were forced to move into those empty apartments (Molina, 1997 see Kizito, 2021). It has also been said that the newly built apartments in some areas had become very difficult to rent out, so the municipality decided to fill those apartments with people discharged from psychiatric care (Kizito, 2021). This initiative also added fuel to the fire of the existing process of the ongoing stigmatization of this area- the stigmatization that influences the redevelopment. Many existing residents showed concern that the rent could be out of their affordability if major renovation takes place (UrbanUtveckling, 2021).

Regarding the security and safety of this area, most people stated that they do not perceive it as unsafe (UrbanUtveckling, 2021). There are many complaints about the harsh attitude of some police officers and guards, which contributes to the insecurity and harsh climate in this area (ibid). There are also several accusations about being randomly stopped by the police for body search and interrogation even though they have not done anything wrong (ibid). When a racialized body is stigmatized as being 'dark', it makes people inherently suspicious, and makes them legitimate targets for interrogation and surveillance, since the body imprints several 'encoded borders' where the narration of border is established in 'distinctions between citizens and non-citizens as well as in the 'boundaries of social and political otherness' (Balibar, 2005 see Thapar-Björkert, Molina, & Raña Villacura, 2019, p. 151).

5.3 Future Development Plan

According to the report of Uppsala Kommun (2019), Uppsala is planning for a city with 340,000 inhabitants and approximately 70,000 new workplaces by 2050. In May 2015, the municipal administration was tasked with carrying out planning work for the Gottsunda area and the development of Gottsunda-Valsätra, an intensive work plan has been started since 2018 (UppsalaKommun, 2019). In April 2019, the planning program was ready for reading. Then, in 2021, it entered the next phase with a goal towards 2030, and finally, the planning in the document extends to 2050 (ibid). The basis for the investment is explained as the rapidly increasing population and, according to the municipality, the area's good opportunities for densification and development (ibid).

Uppsala municipality's vision for Gottsunda –

Gottsunda is the heart of southern Uppsala - a pleasant and creative district full of life and movement. Diversity is a clear sign, there is room for everyone and something for everyone - residents as well as visitors. The area is characterized by proximity to work, service, and greenery. When Gottsunda changes, local forces and ideas from both current and future Gottsunda residents are utilized (UppsalaKommun, 2019, p. 8. translated)

Uppsala municipality justifies densification by building 5,000-7,000 new housing units in 30 years of time frame, approximately half of which must be built within the next ten years, with an argument that densification will bring revitalization to the area and counteract segregation (see UppsalaKommun, 2019, p. 8). In response to the question, “who is the target group for the housing development in Gottsunda? Who is going to stay in those new 5 to 7 thousand homes?”- the MO replied,

Uppsala is growing. Our main focus is to attract more people there. As you already know, this place is famous for its proximity to nature and affordable housing. We are targeting more new families to come and live here as well as some accommodation for the young people as there are no existing facilities for them now. We also prioritize the existing residents to live there and have better facilities and opportunities. As a whole 1st, it is for the people who already live there and then the other people from outside – as Uppsala is growing. The exact number of new homes is not fixed yet, But the initial idea is to build 200 new homes per year until 2050. There will be scope for everyone to live both from inside and outside. It would not be super expensive like Rosendal, where only wealthy people can afford and stay. (Municipal Officer, 2022)

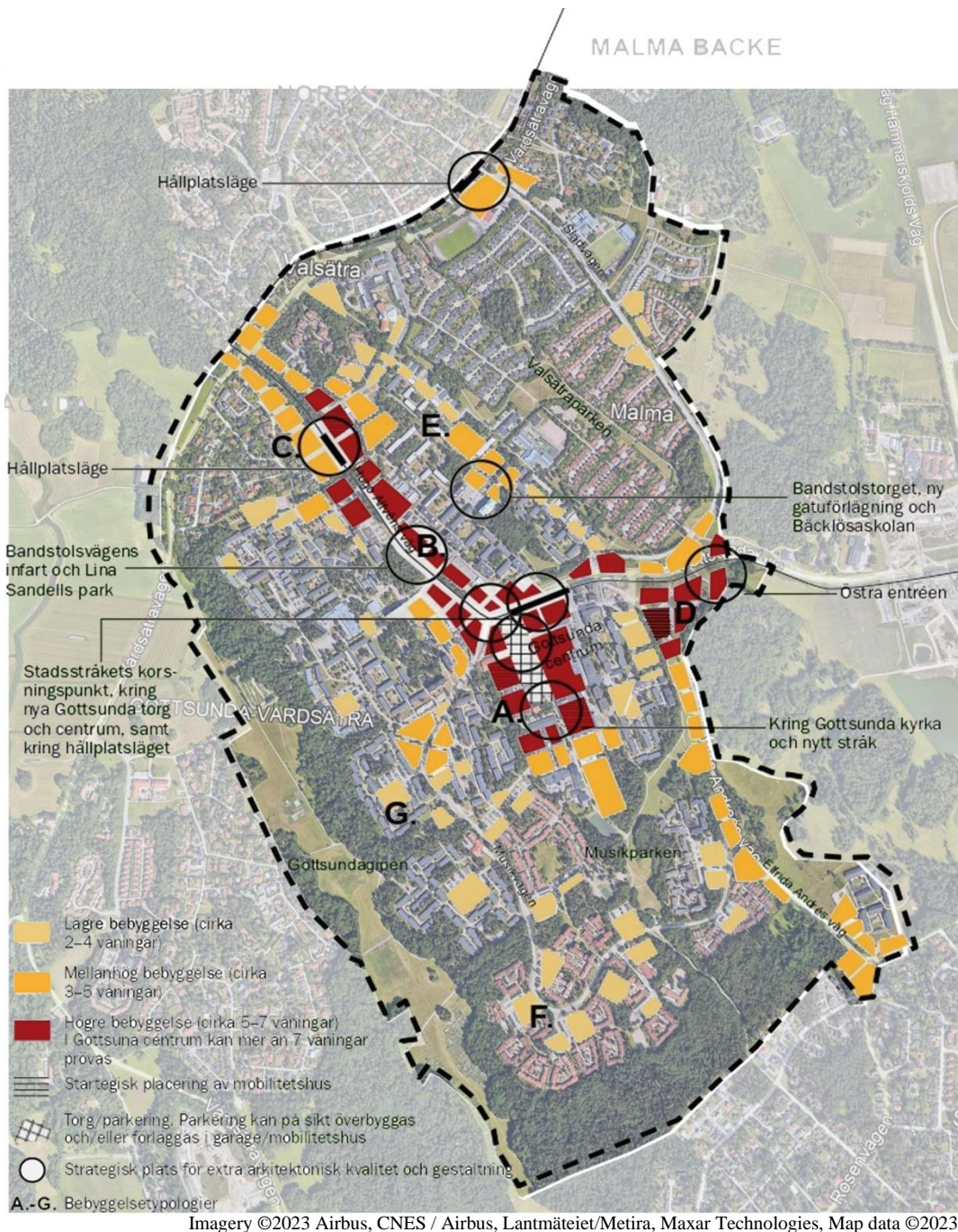


Figure 7: Proposed new development plan (UppsalaKommun, 2019, p. 39) superimposed on the existing Google Maps of Gottsunda (Google Maps, 2023). Illustration showing the positions of proposed new 3-7 storied buildings for densification. Collaged by the Author.

It is mentioned in the PD that even if new people move into the area, current residents and workers must be given good opportunities to stay (see UppsalaKommun, 2019, p. 9). With a target to find the solution and signify modernity, the municipality proposed that the center area will be developed with a focus on city life, the human scale, and a diversity of activities. They claim that in

the future, this city life will create closeness and promote sustainable lifestyles, security, and well-being (see UppsalaKommun, 2019, p. 24). In addition to housing, several workplaces, more parks, squares and the creation of more public transport routes will be built. As per the report of the Uppsala Kommun (2019), the new development would be integrated among the already existing through densification in parking lots and along specific streets and lanes. Other overarching goals are to create increased well-being and safety so that the district should become more coherent with an expanded urban life in more places than around the center and create more visible and accessible community functions (UppsalaKommun, 2019).

In the PD, the urban environment in the Gottsunda area is characterized in several important places by large scale and lack of relation to a human scale (see UppsalaKommun, 2019, p. 9). It is also proclaimed that the Gottsunda area's residential zones are separated by roads, parking decks, and green areas (ibid). They justified that in the future, with the new development, the residential areas will become more interconnected to create a more cohesive and orientable urban environment (ibid). According to their proposal- in the city district, priority is given to new buildings and city life, which means that large parts of existing green areas along the route disappear (see UppsalaKommun, 2019, p. 24).

5.3.1 Evaluation of the Green Spaces

Several scholars, academics, and activists have already shown concern about the dispossession working as a crucial form of urban as well as spatial injustice (Baeten et al. 2017; Yiftachel 2020; Pull and Richard 2021 see Zalar & Pries, 2022) that is being materialized with the help of a compact city epistemology which threatens the existing GS by introducing high-density, mixed-use, proximity as basic value for redevelopment (Zalar & Pries, 2022). A similar threat is also noticeable in Gottsunda, which can be observed by the maps in Figure 7, how many green areas would disappear when the new development proposal map is imposed on the existing condition map. Moreover, the map in Figure 8 also highlights the green areas that are not shown as green in the map of existing conditions produced by the municipality. Lack of proper attention to densification plans in large modernist residential zones and the lack of tools to map existing qualities as well as uses of their GS (Mack, 2021) cannot represent the conventional urban form or preserve the rural landscape (Pojani and Stead 2014; Qviström, Luka, and de Block 2019 see Zalar & Pries, 2022). The 'carelessness of compact city epistemologies' and the 'lack of bureaucratic knowledge' (Roy, 2009 see Zalar & Pries, 2022, p. 5) about certain places also work as an active process of unmapping the greens (Zalar & Pries, 2022).

All the GS inside the demarcated area on the map produced by the municipality for the new development of Gottsunda are divided into mainly three different categories (Park, Öppen gröna yta, Trädbevuxen gröna yta). But the green areas surrounding a neighborhood and adjacent to the buildings are not even marked as green. The smaller GS surrounding the housing blocks are not even considered to investigate the quality or value of those spaces. Rather those spaces are mentioned as the reason for lacking interconnection and cohesion between the built structures and are actively obscured by the use of cartography in the PD. Through this new knowledge of densification, several green areas in Gottsunda are represented as ‘something other than green’ (see Zalar & Pries, 2022, p. 16) that need not be protected. In the PD, some green areas are also described as unused and unattractive, inciting insecurity among people that needs to be thinned or altered as a solution. About explaining the politics that work behind this type of development project of the MP, Imra, who is a former resident of Norsborg and an interior designer by profession, said,

“These politics cast the original designs as unrepentant villains in a dramatic tragedy of failure and loss—villains who must be punished by obliteration.” (see Mack, 2021, p. 569)

It is stated in the PD that the new buildings are proposed to a large extent concentrated around a new city district along Hugo Alfvéns väg and Gottsunda allé (UppsalaKommun, 2019). The proposed map of new development shows that many 3-5 storied buildings are also placed beside the road Elfrida Andreés väg (See figure 7). This is neither mentioned in the PD nor the green space over there is marked as green in the existing map (see figure 8). As a consequence of this ignorance in the new proposal of Gottsunda, not only does the quantity of the greens decrease, but also the existing potential quality remains uninvestigated. As the main attraction of the Gottsunda area is the presence of ample GS and the proximity to nature in and around it, many of the residents are worried that these greeneries and the natural feelings would be affected by the development of the area (UrbanUtveckling, 2021). Through unmapping, the prospective encounter between densification and inhabitants' relation with the local landscape can be intentionally displaced by not tracing the structure of GS or its relationship to the newly proposed projects, which may appear as a solution to the impossible equation of city becoming green as well as compact at the same time (Zalar & Pries, 2022).



Figure 8: The Municipality-produced existing map of Gottsunda (UppsalaKommun, 2019, p. 75) is superimposed on the existing Google Maps to show the GS adjacent to the buildings that are not marked as green (Google Maps, 2023). Collaged by the Author.

6. Analysis

Based on all the collected information, I have divided the analysis into four different themes. Under each theme, I gathered residents' thoughts, feelings, experiences, and the municipalities perspective. After every interview session, I wrote down all the information in detail in a separate file. When both parts (with residents and municipality) of the interview were completed, I used a color-coding method to select and highlight the same sorts of data under the same category. Then I organized them into four different sections and backed up all the evidence with the supportive knowledge collected from the theory. Deriving from my empirical material, I come across a lot of different social values, sentiments and attachments which are not recognized and represented in the planning process for Gottsunda. So the main focus of the analysis is to represent the argument of social values, emotions and attachments. Though the municipality has the power to decide whose opinion is to be valued - "What is justice?" is the question to be argued in this regard.

The first theme includes residents' attachment, their thoughts regarding maintenance, concern about the affordability of the housing and the very existence of cultural diversity. The second theme includes people's knowledge and thoughts about the public participation meetings arranged by the municipality, their frustration as well as some positive feedback. Under the third theme, I gathered residents' childhood memories and affection, which revolve around the greens here. And also how the attractiveness of the green areas is judged, and the values are ignored by the authority. Finally, the last theme is formulated depending on the perception and preconception of safety, the one-sided negative image of media, different harsh actions taken by the police, and the influence of politics.

6.1 Memorylane Gottsunda – A Place Called Home

According to Riksantikvarieämbetet (2012),

Landscapes are associated with people and, therefore, with feelings. It can be about where people feel most 'at home' or what they think is nice, important, and beautiful, but also about negative feelings - landscapes that evoke discomfort and painful memories or are considered ugly. It can be about fear of losing landscapes that feel important or about wanting to make those that exist better (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2012, p.2 see Backmann & Sohl, 2019, p. 9 translated).

6.1.1 Reminiscing The Place Where People Belong

Mahmoud, Sadira, Amira, and Mikolaj are a few examples of my interviewees who expressed their feelings and emotional attachment to this area. As a reason for choosing Gottsunda to live in, Mahmoud said it is a nice place, and the rent is cheaper than many other places in Uppsala. But he also said that he liked it more when he used to live in Malmö. According to him, Malmö was more vibrant, and many people spoke his mother tongue, Arabic, with whom he could always speak in their language.

Malmö was really good. You know, there were a lot of Arabs over there..... Here Gottsunda is the only place in Uppsala where I get similar feelings. Not many Swedish people live here, and I like it. Because when they walk past you if you say 'hey,' they only say 'hey' back. Nothing else! But when other people meet someone even on the road, they always ask, 'How are you? How is everything going?'...They ask about each other's family, not just 'hey'. It feels more homely. I like it. (Mahmoud, 2022)

An exactly similar type of response is also noted down by Mack where one of her interviewees, who used to live in Fornhöjden, Södertälje (MP suburb), mentioned that it is nice to live and grow up there among other Assyrians because white ethnic Swedes just go by ignoring and without greeting each other (see Mack, 2021, p. 567). It is also noted in the report of Urban Utveckling that several of those who express positive thoughts about Gottsunda testify that there is a strong bonding here which they defined as "we in Gottsunda" (UrbanUtveckling, 2021, p. 12).

According to the study of social psychology, we all have a core story that we do not tell but create with our lives by drawing upon our past behavior, experience, and emotion, which, as a community, give the meaning of collective life (Houston, 1982, 1987 see Sandercock, 2003). Sadira, who is only 15 years old, expressed her feelings with an innocent acknowledgment of her attachment to Gottsunda. To explain the question 'why do they choose to live here', she stated that many of her relatives live here. She also has many cousins here, and it feels good to live close together with them. They are growing up together and going to the same school.

Most young people do not see any obstacle to living here and have a positive outlook on their future. According to the report of Urban Utveckling (2021), the residents of Gottsunda have a patriotic attitude of staying and fighting for their territory instead of relocating elsewhere. My interviewee, Mikolaj, is one of them who shared some of his experiences about growing up here. Even the stigmatization, rumor, and crime - all these issues are inextricably related to his childhood memory. He explained it with excitement,

I grew up here. I like it; it is fun. Even when I am talking about crime, it is like I am talking about my little baby! You know what I mean? I mean, when it was the first time, maybe you

are shocked, but then you will see people gathering on their balcony, yelling at the street..... At first, it was shocking, and then completely desensitized. (Mikolaj, 2022)

After that, Mikolaj started sharing his experience living here for so long. He also explained his memories of the Centrum area before the redevelopment in 2014.

I think it is a nice place to live. I used to walk a lot, especially in the summer. I liked it more before the development of the Centrum area. But I do not know..... it feels tighter now. There were fewer stores. It was more homely. The previous version was more comforting. I do not like the new look. (Mikolaj, 2022)

The majority of people feel that the area offers many activities because of the centrum and nature areas in and around it (UrbanUtveckling, 2021). Jacob, who used to live in Gottsunda 14 years ago, said that he still has a lot of friends here and loves to hang out with them in this place. Regarding his feeling about living in Gottsunda, he said he likes it a lot because there are always numerous things happening here.

You can just pass a whole day by sitting here and watching different activities. (Jacob, 2022)

He also added that he has a lot of good memories with this place because he used to live with his daughter, who was also born here.

Though Anneli is a newcomer in Gottsunda, I was still very interested in talking with her as she mentioned that she used to live here with her parents around 30 years ago. As a reason for selecting this area to live in again, she said she is a very nostalgic person. She had lived in Valsätra for two years and used to go to the Valsätra school. She said that the area had changed a lot from what she could remember. It was a lot more green and open when she was a child. She referred to a small tree house in front of their house where she used to play a lot. But, unfortunately, it is gone now. According to Anneli, there is a new road constructed in that place. Her eyes were filled with sorrow when she explained how much she still misses that tree house. About living in this area, she thinks that it is very peaceful here. She said,

I used to love it and love it now as well. It is very quiet here. Even though I live near a daycare center, still, it is quiet during the day and night. (Anneli, 2022)

It always takes time to get to know a place and identify its characteristics and values. Unfortunately, in MP suburbs, the continual portrayal of catastrophe makes those neighborhoods a 'political scapegoat' where not only fundamental changes are required, but also emotional attachments are out of the question to the current environment (Mack, 2021, p. 561). Here, one example from Urban Utveckling can be mentioned where one female parent said that she used to swim in the bathhouse of Gottsunda when she got free time, but she stopped doing it as the separate girl

swimming option had been removed (UrbanUtveckling, 2021). Now she misses it a lot as it was such a comfortable and relaxed environment with only women and children (ibid). In this case, the emotional attachment is ignored and social necessity is neglected that arouses discomfort for a certain group of people.

When dealing with a place that has a clearly coherent, unique character, it is not only required to be extra careful with the design (Carmona, 2010 see Backmann & Sohl, 2019) but also crucial to preserve the elements that reinforce the ‘genius loci’ of that place (Bell, 2008 see Backmann & Sohl, 2019). In Gottsunda, the ‘genius loci’ is very obvious and should not be interrupted by the name of gaining so-called social sustainability. When I asked the MO, “One of the visions of the municipality is to make the area socially sustainable. But how can it be possible when residents have different thoughts?” – she replied,

Social sustainability will increase when different people would move here. Of course, there is a risk that some people may not be able to stay there. When there is a new development, many things would change, and the weakest groups are, unfortunately, always the ones who have the hardest time. It does not mean the way they are now is good for them either. Even if we do not do anything, it will not make things better for them. The new development is for making the future better for all - for the people living there, those who would come from outside and even for the weaker group. Everyone can take some benefits from there. As I mentioned before, we are trying to attract more families from outside who can take benefit from the greens as there are already a lot of green areas around, and the new housing would benefit the existing people who want to have their own house. Maybe the weaker group can take benefit from other things, not from the housing. After all, it is difficult to satisfy everyone! (Municipal Officer, 2022)

In today’s society, politicians put a lot of pressure on planners and MOs to find solutions to the suburban neighborhoods they perceive as ugly (Mack, 2021). And also, designers are instructed to signify modernity in those neighborhoods where a large portion of the marginalized population is left obscure in the process of attaining modernity (ibid). In the planning field of architecture and landscape architecture in Sweden, there is a common tendency to avoid controversial or sensitive topics like ‘race’, ‘whiteness’ and ‘racialization’ as well as the local people’s memories, affection, attachment, and longing for the landscapes of those areas (Yigit Turan & Ågren, 2022). This type of stolid response from the authority reminds us of Anguelovski, Irazábal-Zurita, & Connolly’s script about the survival of the subalterns –

In this context, the question is no longer: Can the subaltern speak? (Spivak, [1988] 2010), but rather: Where can the subaltern go in the next wave of displacement and dispossession? Where can the subaltern live? Can the subaltern live? (Anguelovski, Irazábal-Zurita, & Connolly, 2019, p. 154).

6.1.2 Maintaining Old Ones vs. Building New

In most of the MP areas, residents argue that when they ask for some minor maintenance or routine repairs, they receive either complete negligence or a massive renovation which generates the ‘erasure of sensory realities’ and fabricate those areas as ‘abandoned skeleton’ having no future, as they have neither past nor present (Mack, 2021, p. 560). Among my interviewees, Berat emphasized improving the maintenance routine for the housings of Gottsunda rather than complete renewal. According to Berat, the new development can be good in that if the municipality builds new buildings, more people would be able to live here, but it is bad that the green areas would disappear. However, he is personally against it, and doubts that this area would become so expensive to live. He said,

Gottsunda needs more investment for improvement and maintenance. For example, the elevators in most buildings are needed to be changed. They should focus more on improving maintenance rather than building new things. (Berat, 2022)

Shortness of proper maintenance and a lower standard of management of the outdoor environment in comparison with other places leads to a lack of faith that no one cares about this area (UrbanUtveckling, 2021). Dawood’s feelings represent that ‘lack of faith’ because he mentioned that he does not like to live there as the area is dirty, and the housing authority does not care about maintenance. The garbage management system is insufficient, and the buildings need more maintenance. He lives here because the rent is cheap, but he plans to move from here within two to three years.

Though Dawood was unhappy with the cleanliness, some people were satisfied with the regular cleaning routine. Mikolaj’s opinion about the cleanliness of his housing area is quite positive. According to him, the responsible people for garbage are good, and they take care of it properly. He said,

We have routine cleaning around. I mean, if I accidentally drop one cigarette or something, I will not find it there in the next week. Pretty good, huh! (Mikolaj, 2022)

6.1.3 A Place Where Everyone Could Afford A Space

Many people stated that this is the only area where they got an apartment and could afford it (UrbanUtveckling, 2021). Several of my interviewees expressed concern about the rent rise when the redevelopment would be done. Just like Berat, Dawood and Mahmoud, some other people also mentioned the affordability of housing rent in this area. For example, Martina is a single mother who lives here with her nine years old daughter. As a reason for deciding to stay here, she explained that the housings are affordable. Mikolaj, who moved here from Poland with his family and

has lived here for ten years in the same apartment, also thinks the area would become expensive after the redevelopment. There are five rooms and a kitchen in the apartment where he lives; the rent is only 8000 SEK. As a reason for living here for so long, Mikolaj stated that moving is annoying and the rent is cheap here compared to other places. There is a concern among people about not being able to stay if rents are raised, or renovations take place (UrbanUtveckling, 2021). Regarding this, the MO explained a different concept. According to her,

We are not building any rental houses. So there is nothing to say about the rent rise. The new buildings would be constructed to sell, not to rent out. People who would like to have their self-owned home and now live in a rental apartment can buy it from there. But no one can rent it. But if you want to know the price of those homes, it would be difficult to tell because it is not fixed yet. (Municipal Officer, 2022)

The PD's implementation section mentions that different approaches should be used in the area about the municipality's land holdings to ensure the desired rate, and the area requires both rental apartments and condominiums (UppsalaKommun, 2019, p. 60). However, it was not clarified anywhere how the affordability or the desired rate could be maintained. Though this is one of the significant negative consequences that the residents might bear, no attention is paid to this issue in the PD. In the practice of compact city epistemology, when the experts designate a site for densification and redevelopment without considering the negative consequences of the residents' living there, Zalar & Pries compared this type of geographic vagueness with Bénit-Gbaffou's (2018) description of 'deliberate opacification' or in Ferreri's (2020) language, 'wilful production of ignorance' (Zalar & Pries, 2022). The PD and The MO's response regarding the people's concern about the rent exemplified that ignorance. In response to my question, "Many people are scared that they will face gentrification because of this extreme development work and rent rise. How do you see this?" - she said,

Well, this is something not in our hands. Actually, we do not have any control over it. It is a completely system-based procedure that is controlled by the state, not by the municipality. The country has legislation about rents and rental housing directly controlled by the government. It is a contract between the state and housing companies; it does not depend on us. (Municipal Officer, 2022)

6.1.4 The Gottsunda Day – Where Cultural Diversity Meets

The diversity and mix of different cultures are one of the positive values noted by Urban Utveckling (2021), for what people want to live here and feel more socially inclusive compared to other parts of the city. Several of my interviewees also mentioned the cultural diversity of this area. Berat has a lot of memories, good

friends, and cousins here. But among them, only 2/3 of white ethnic Swedish friends live here. In his words, Gottsunda is the place of the biggest cultural difference. Elina, who does not live here, still enjoys working in this area (in the library) because of the combination of multi-cultures. According to her, people from different cultural backgrounds regularly visit the library. She thinks that it is a very nice place to be here.

Some parents see it as an asset to raise their kids here rather than a homogeneous area as there exists a mixture of different cultures and languages (UrbanUtveckling, 2021). Martina and Damir mentioned the multi-culture in Gottsunda, which they think is a suitable environment for raising kids. According to young people's perspective, Gottsunda-Valsätra is a good place to grow up and live. They said that people who live here are very social and open-minded, which makes it easy to get to know new people as well (UrbanUtveckling, 2021).

Every year the residents of Gottsunda celebrate 'Gottsunda Day' to represent and share different cultures. The Gottsunda cultural center organizes various cultural activities to celebrate this day. The practice of celebrating 'Gottsunda Day' was started long ago. One participant informed that the festival is becoming smaller day by day. It was much bigger and more glorious in the past. They used to have different activities in the outside area as well.

There were several temporary food stalls (see Figure 9) operated by people from different cultural backgrounds who were selling homemade foods (from the countries they emigrated from) at a very low price which symbolizes that their main purpose of participating in the festival is not to earn money but to represent their culture. Another stall was set up just beside the food stall area with different colored paints, and many kids were gathering around it. Those kids had their faces painted with different colors and patterns from that stall (see Figure 10).



Figure 9: The food stalls. Photo by author.



Figure 10: The painting station. Photo by author.

There was also a small popcorn station and a stall with children's gaming cards in front of the food court where kids were gathering (see Figure 11). Some teenagers were performing dances to different music at the corner of the shoe store named 'Deichmann', where they got a little bit of free open space (see Figure 12).



Figure 11: Mini Popcorn station. Photo by author.



Figure 12: Dance performance. Photo by author.

Some temporary clothing stalls (see Figure 13) were also set up by the local people at the end of the Centrum building just outside the second-hand clothing store. In addition, there was an arrangement for a music festival inside the cultural center (see Figure 14). As a whole, the whole Centrum building was bustling with people's different activities as well as children's joyous tweets.



Figure 13: Clothing Stalls. Photo by author.



Figure 14: The Music festival. Photo by author.

I met Hampus & Stina in the food stalls zone. They were roaming around and exploring different arrangements of the celebration. None of them have any previous idea about 'Gottsunda Day'. It was their first time in this celebration. Regarding the cultural and ethnic variation of Gottsunda, both Stina and Hampus think that a multicultural society is always more sustainable than others. Stina said,

It is always nice to hear the same language around you that you speak. But that does not mean multi-culture is not important. The thing is, we all are the same. In the long run, I belong to you; you belong to him – just like this, we all depend on each other for some reason. But unfortunately, there is always an ‘us’ and ‘them’ binary between us. (Stina, 2022)

Hampus also added his experience working as a child psychiatrist in Gaza, where he saw the extreme division among people. He said,

We have to break some walls between people. A good school and good education can always do good. Here in Gottsunda, they are improving the Gottsundaskolan. They are making it better. This is a good initiative. (Hampus, 2022)

The celebration of ‘Gottsunda Day’ with the collective participation of people from diversified cultural backgrounds represents their history, emotional attachment, stories, and memories that make this space not only just a place to live but also a place called home.

6.2 Staged Dialogue – A Mockery to Public Opinion

More than 50% of my interviewees claimed they did not know about the new development plan. Even the people who heard about it have never participated in any public hearing meetings arranged by the municipality. When dealing with a community participation process, the most important factor of storytelling is to ensure that everybody gets an opportunity to speak and have their stories heard (Sandercock, 2003). But, in Gottsubda’s case, the majority of people believe that they have very little or no equality in influencing the municipal’s decision and, in most cases, the municipality has already decided what should be done before the civil dialogue is held (see UrbanUtveckling, 2021, p. 22). For example, Mahmoud, Johan, Dawood, Sabirah, Mikolaj, or Shayan had no clue about the redevelopment project until I informed them about it. Mahmoud seemed quite blank about it.

Neither Mikolaj nor his family members have heard anything about the new proposal. They have never attended any municipal meetings as well. After having a look at the new plan, he was surprised.

That is a lot of buildings! How are they going to do it? I mean, why do they put so high buildings in the centrum? That is weird! The center needs a bit more breathing room, right?..... The small play area is fun. I think it is an important part of the centrum. In the summer, you can see kids playing with the water (Mikolaj, 2022).

Sabirah and Hamid were also on the same page. Neither they heard about the redevelopment nor the public hearing meetings. They were incredibly shocked when I showed them the new plan and explained where the new buildings and railway would be constructed. Sabirah said,

They already made many buildings over there (she pointed to Centrum), and it looks ugly. It is already a lot (Sabirah, 2022).

Regarding the public hearing meetings, even the MO could not tell exactly how many of them were arranged or what the ratio of participants coming from white ethnic Swedish backgrounds and non-white non-ethnic Swedish backgrounds was. She replied with a very generalized answer that they had arranged many dialogues in different open spaces in Gottsunda for meeting with all.

There are also a certain number of people who knows about the new proposal but never participate in any dialogues. Though the interview invitations were sent directly to the mailboxes and via email in four different languages- Swedish, English, Arabic, and Somali, some people also mentioned the language barrier in the public participation meeting (UrbanUtveckling, 2021, p. 9). Even if they want to give feedback, they feel like they do not have the same opportunity to influence as those fluent in Swedish (UrbanUtveckling, 2021, p. 23). It is the planners who play a significant role in acknowledging minority groups' voices, arranging and designing meetings that empower them to speak, and encouraging them to do so without any reluctance (Sandercock, 2003). Some residents also added that citizen dialogue should not be arranged during the daytime or weekdays when most people are usually at work (UrbanUtveckling, 2021, p. 23). My interviewee, Ahmed's perspective can be set here at its best.

Ahmed is aware of the new development planning of this area but never attended any public hearing meeting. But he filled up a form online which was sent by the municipality, asking about the feedback from the residents. He said that he asked to build a mosque in this area; if it is not possible, then at least reserve a slot in the cultural center, especially for 'Friday salat', as many Muslims live here. As a reason for not participating in meetings arranged by the municipality, he explained with frustration that most of the time, the meetings are arranged on weekdays while people are at work. He also added that he heard from other people (who participated in the meeting) that in the meeting, the people from the municipality mostly explain their ideas and show what they have done rather than listening to the participant. That is why he lost interest in joining those meetings. According to his thoughts, the language barrier is the most crucial factor behind why those meetings do not work and people do not attend. Those meetings are only held in Swedish, and many people who live here cannot speak Swedish. He said,

If you want more people to come to your meeting, you should do it in other languages also - like English, Arabic...(Ahmed, 2022)

As there is an accusation from people with an immigrant background about not getting the same opportunity as people with a white ethnic Swedish background in

the public hearings, I asked the MO, “Most people complain that they are unaware of the meetings. Those who know cannot join because it is done on weekdays or during work time or in the Swedish language. What is your opinion about it?”

Not really! We tried to use the simplest and easiest Swedish so that everyone would understand it. In the public hearing meeting, the language was Swedish. But the information was delivered to the general people in 4 different languages as a leaflet. If someone is still left who can not understand any of those four languages or can not attend weekday meetings, that is a bit difficult to solve. But as I said before, we had different open-space meetings with different groups in different languages, like some cultural or religious groups, and for women, a group named ‘Gottsunda Mammorna’ (Municipal Officer, 2022).

When Swedish municipalities work on a participatory planning process, instead of incorporating resident’s opinions, most of the time, they try to neutralize them (Tahvilzadeh and Kings, 2015, 2018 see Mack, 2021), which is described by policy analyst Sherry Arnstein as a ‘frustrating process for the powerless’ where the powerful actors consider only their beneficial sides for maintaining the ‘status quo’ while claiming to envisage all (Arnstein, 1969 see Mack, 2021, p. 562). Mikolaj’s reaction reflects that frustration ironically. After looking at all the rendered images from the PD of the municipality, especially the expected ‘vision picture of Hugo Alfvéns väg’, he started laughing sarcastically.

What an eyesore! You know, I live in one, but I do not want to look at one. You know what I mean?..... hahaha, Selfish of me! (Mikolaj, 2022)

Mikolaj’s frustration justifies Sandercock’s argument about the administrative plans that academic and bureaucratic stories are equally “dry as dust” from where all the emotions have been squeezed out (Sandercock, 2003, p. 21). Interviewees, such as Mikolaj, do not approve of the development brought by the plans, but at the same time, they are hopeless that their opinions and values are never heard and taken into account by the municipality. This is also the reason that they express why they do not attend the meetings. Stina and Hampus would be the best example in this regard. They are aware of the new development plan but never participated in any of the meetings. As a reason, they laughingly said,

Maybe we were too lazy to go there! (Stina, 2022)

There are some people who do not live here, but they know about the new development plan. Surprisingly, one of their’s family members even attended a meeting in Gottsunda. Malin, who lives in Sunnersta with her father, is aware of the new development plan of the municipality. She said that she heard about it from her father. Her father has participated in one of the public hearing meetings. Though Elina lives in Eriksberg, she heard about the redevelopment plan. But she never participated in any dialogues as she does not live here.

Neither the PD nor the MO could provide any satisfactory or logical explanation about the inclusiveness of ‘everyone’ in the public participation meetings organized by the municipality. Moreover, another responsible person who works for *Uppsalahem* with this new development project of Gottsunda said something more extreme when I coincidentally met him in my workplace. Let us call him Anders (as I do not have his consent about revealing his identification). After learning about my education and the topic of my thesis, he introduced himself and said,

I am exactly working on this same project for Uppsalahem but with the part of new housing development... Such a small world! (Anders, 2022)

At one stage of our discussion, when we talked about the participants in the public hearing meetings, Anders just laughed and stated,

Do you know who mainly participated in those meetings? Can you see me? Most of the people who go there are exactly like me...The white, middle-aged men! (Anders, 2022)

But when I informed him about my findings of the residents’ feelings and experience of not being included in those meetings and their frustration regarding this, Anders’s response was quite shocking. He claimed,

Of course, they did not participate. They are not from here. They know nothing about the culture or the language. What would they understand by participating there? (Anders, 2022)

After that, he provided his contact details and promised to connect me with people who know more details. Unfortunately, I didn’t get any response later. However, this type of brutal truth exposes the extreme orthodoxy attitude of the responsible authorities.

I also received mixed reactions from some of the residents that they somehow managed to accept the upcoming change because they think people need more places to live or change is a continuous thing that they have to accept. Damir had no idea about the new development plan or the dialogue before I informed him. When I asked for his opinion about the municipality’s plan and the disappearing GS, Damir looked back with confusion in his eyes. Rather than replying to my question, he asked me back, ‘why am I asking him these questions? If he is the first one, who is being asked? Have I asked anyone else before him? Do I work for the municipality?’ (Though I have explained everything once at the beginning of our conversation). It seemed like he wanted to double-check and make sure that if he says something negative or against the municipality, he will not have to face any unwanted consequences in the future. However, after thinking a while, he ended up delivering a diplomatic answer with a smile,

Well, it would be bad if the green areas disappeared, but I am not against it. I would like to know what the municipality is going to offer us for this. (Damir, 2022)

Anneli heard about the new development plan as she received mail from the municipality asking for her opinion but does not know the details. She has never joined meetings or replied to any mail as she is always too busy with her studies. Anneli kind of has mixed feelings about this. She said,

After all, people need places to live. There are still a lot of greens remaining here. So if the municipality builds a few more buildings... maybe it will be okay. (Anneli, 2022)

Among the Hampus-Stina couple, Hampus says he likes the changes because it has been happening all the time. He explained,

When some renovation works start, people always act against it, but later they accept it. If you look at the graph, the curve is not very sharp. It is growing gradually from long ago, not all of a sudden. If it is not expensive after the renovation, you can plan according to that.... I think the tram lines are also a good solution, at least rather than the subways, if you think from the environmental perspective. (Hampus, 2022)

6.3 Grieving the Greens – A loud silence

Initially, the aim of constructing the MP was to house the new modern Swedish citizens of the mid-20th century and to practice modernism as part of the rapidly growing welfare state (Borgegård and Kemeny, 2004; Hall, 1991; Hall and Vidén, 2005 see Mack, 2021) which ended up filled with immigrants because of the harsh criticism and failure of its design concept. However, Mack argues that nowadays, the renovations of parks and playgrounds are sometimes used as an instrument for bringing white, middle-class Swedish residents back to these MP areas as well as an attempt to erase sensory realities (Mack, 2021). The reflection of this concept is visible in both the municipal document and in the dialogue of the MO whom I interviewed. Destroying the existing GS and replacing them with rooftop greens (which is mentioned in the document) – how efficient and useful would that be? In its reply, the MO said,

We are trying to make the quality of the greens better. For example, right now, there is no system for stormwater management. With green roofs and other new design solutions, we are trying to control the stormwater, which would make the area better than now. But as I mentioned, the solutions for the greens are not yet finalized. We are still working on it in the detailed plan (Municipal Officer, 2022).

Not only this statement but also her previously mentioned justification regarding social sustainability (see page 53) reflects the tendency to lure wealthier white middle-class Swedes back to this area by using the redevelopment as an instrument.

Among the interviewees, there was a person, Dawood, who claimed that he truly does not like to live in this area, but the GS in the surrounding area is the only thing he really likes. He pointed at the green area behind his building and said he uses the trail between the rows of trees to walk or jog, especially in the summer. But after hearing about the new development and more buildings, he said-

It would be sad if they took the green areas for new building development. Because for me it is the only thing I enjoy here. (Dawood, 2022)

There are quite a few numbers of respondents who expressed their emotional attachment to these green areas as they grew up here. Some of them became nostalgic while explaining their experience. Berat, who previously referred to both the positive and negative sides of the redevelopment, thinks it will be especially bad for the children if the GS is destroyed. Sometimes he also hung out in those areas with his friends and cousins. His eyes were shining with excitement while he started explaining his experience about Summertime in Gottsunda,

For me, playing in Gottsunda was always something different. In the summer, Oh my God! You should come here and see with your own eyes; how vibrant it becomes.... You know what? Gottsunda is still now producing musicians and artists. (Berat. 2022)

When Mikolaj and I were discussing the GS in Gottsunda, at that point, Mikolaj became a bit emotional while explaining his attachment to this area and the GS. He was lost in memory for a while,

I mean, you can make cities look better by just placing vegetation, but it is more about like uninterrupted spots. I do really like the present layout. It does something to your brain... I swear! I think if I walk for a couple of minutes and, like.... Ohh.... Nature. That is cool! It is too synthetic. I mean, it is planned (Mikolaj, 2022).

Some interviewees who used to live here or currently live here with their families and kids mourn for the greens. Jacob is one of them who used to live here 14 years ago with her daughter. According to Jacob, this openness and the green areas are the main attraction of Gottsunda. He was saying abstractedly while looking at the greens around him,

If the greens are gone, then it will not be the same. (Jacob, 2022)

Amira still lives here with her family; all her kids are grown-ups. When I asked Amira about the green areas, she said that her children used to play in those areas, and she used to hang out and do barbecue parties here with the family. The reminiscence of old memories blurred her vision while she explained to me. She also mentioned that she hates how these amazing green areas are being reduced eventually because of continuous development works.

Martina is truly sad about the greens, which are going to be disappeared. Her daughter used to play around here a lot, and she thinks these greens are also good for human health. She said,

Ohh!... I really wish that they (the municipality) do not do it here. (Martina, 2022)

Worldwide the process of intervening in GS and instrumentalizing those by introducing new development projects has become a common practice that creates the 'landscape of Utopia' for specific groups while neglecting the social necessity and recognition of the marginalized individuals of the community (Anguelovski, Irazábal-Zurita, & Connolly, 2019). Besides reducing people's access to GS, the dissemination of densification projects remains a highly unstudied question for the residents who manage to survive in that area (Zalar & Pries, 2022).

A green space that may seem unattractive from the outside can offer a different view from the inside. For example, the long green area beside Hugo Alfvéns väg is defined as unused, valueless, and unsafe in both the PD and by the municipal office during the interview. Apparently, this space appears dark, mysterious, compact, and monotonous from the outside but offers a different experience of brighter, exciting green space with more variations and details from the inside (Backmann & Sohl, 2019). Some interviewees also mentioned this space as a good place to walk peacefully. Sabirah is one of them who mentioned that she and her husband love these green areas. Walking in the middle of these trees feels very calm and peaceful. They do not have any kids. So, they always enjoy walking around together, and they do it regularly. After getting the information that new buildings would also replace these greens (where we were standing), she seemed very resentful,

It is enough! If they take these greens also, it will be a catastrophe. (Sabirah, 2022)

Regarding this specific space, the MO's opinion is,

We had many in-depth discussions, and we received people's opinions before selecting the GS that needed to be thinned or that could be replaced. For example, the green walkway beside Hugo Alfvéns väg is rarely used by people for jogging, walking, or playing around, and some also mentioned that it is not safe, especially during the night. So, we found out that this green area has no special value and can be used for building new housing. It will make the place more vibrant and provide a sense of security. Other than that, we have planned to install new lights and play zones in the large green parks, such as the 'Musikparken', which is very valuable for that area (Municipal Officer, 2022).



Figure 15: Targeted sites (a & b) for densed residential building development in the 'unused' & 'unattractive' existing GS. Collaged by the Author on (Google Maps, 2023).

the municipality-produced existing map (see figures 15 & 16). Elina also expressed the same thought. Her opinion about the greens is that it is better to preserve them here, especially for the elderly who feel better spending their lonely time within the greens and cannot go for a long way to get to a park or forest. I found this logic evident from Shayan's dialogue, who is 84 years old and has been living here for 35 years. He explained,

I love walking around these open spaces. Every day I go out for a walk two times... I enjoy it, and I feel refreshed. (Shayan, 2022)

According to Berg's (2009) classification, there are four scales of greeneries, and the green space beside Hugo Alfvéns väg (see figures 15 & 16) is under the type of 'medium scale district greenery' (see Backmann & Sohl, 2019, p. 12) which gives a sense of the wilder and more expansive nature for the residents who do not or cannot take longer distances from home. For some inhabitants (elderly or immobile), these GS are their only regular exposure to wild greenery in their everyday life, which provides an easy way to experience nature recreationally (Berg, 2009 see Backmann & Sohl, 2019). The open green field beside the Elfrida Andreés väg also functions similarly, though it was not even marked as green in the



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Figure 16: The green walkway parallel to Hugo Alfvéns väg (a). The walkway towards Gottsunda centrum, parallel to Elfrida Andreés väg (b). Photos by author. Top views of those spaces (Google Maps, 2023).

This type of greenery can be very difficult to define but functions as both 'close enough' for someone to move inside of it in an environmentally friendly way as well as 'far enough' for someone to get feelings of being somewhere else beyond the city life. Though it seems like a leftover of the green shadow structure, it delivers a feeling of connection with more untouched nature (Berg, 2009 see Backmann & Sohl, 2019). Mikolaj's perspective about green areas illustrates the perfect instance to fit here. According to his reasoning,

You know, it is not about the trees. It is more like the spacing, the amount of space in between the buildings. Because if you just build them next to each other, it looks like garbage. But it is not about the look. The look is the least of a problem. And if you just walk somewhere and you have one building here and the other over there and you are standing here, you cannot breathe. (At that moment, he drew that small sketch to express his thoughts and showed it to me. See Figure 17). I am not against high-storied buildings. They are efficient; let's build-up! Whatever..... You can have high-storied buildings as long as you have enough space in between them. (Mikolaj, 2022)

We were sitting in the dining room of his apartment the whole time while having this conversation. The apartment is on the 6th floor of the building, and it has a very nice view from the window of that room. The Lina Sandells Park, the long green areas with trees on both sides of the park, and even the Bandstolsvägen bus stop on the main road were clearly visible from there (see Figure 18). After looking at the municipality-produced map with newly proposed high-storied buildings, he seemed quite worried,

I mean, they do not fit here. Because when I am thinking about that way, I am like... Oh, recreational. Let's have a picnic. I do not think... Oh, apartment buildings! I do want this green strip. If I am living here (he pointed at the small housing area in Källbovägen behind the longer green strip which has been standing here from the beginning, besides the main road of Hugo Alfvéns väg), I wanted this piece of forest. It is like a 5 to 10 minutes walk. This is really fun. It will be horrible for the people who live in those smaller houses. (Mikolaj, 2022)



Figure 17: Sketch, drawn by Mikolaj.



Figure 18: View from Mikolaj's dining room.
Photo by Mikolaj.

When dealing with the issues of counter-segregation, Swedish policies have always been emphasizing more on reducing the spatial difference in the public debate, which has perhaps led to overly much attention on neighborhood polarization at the expense of other fundamental issues like social inclusion and equality (Andersson, Bråmås, & Holmqvist, 2010). This is also true for the proposed development plan of Gottsunda, where the existing GS in between buildings are mentioned as the reason for the lack of interconnectedness and cohesive urban environment, which they claimed needs to be solved by adding new buildings. This type of medium-scale green space in a neighborhood is titled by Berg as 'the little wilderness within walking distance' that is neither discussed nor valued properly in its quality (Berg, 2009 see Backmann & Sohl, 2019, p. 12). Due to the ongoing urbanization and development along with the densification projects, these 'hard-to-define' GS have become the city's most threatened type of greeneries (ibid). Though these existing GS in between the buildings have certain values and work actively as a public

meeting space for the residents living there, those are seen as the possible room to build more at the first opportunity. Regarding this -

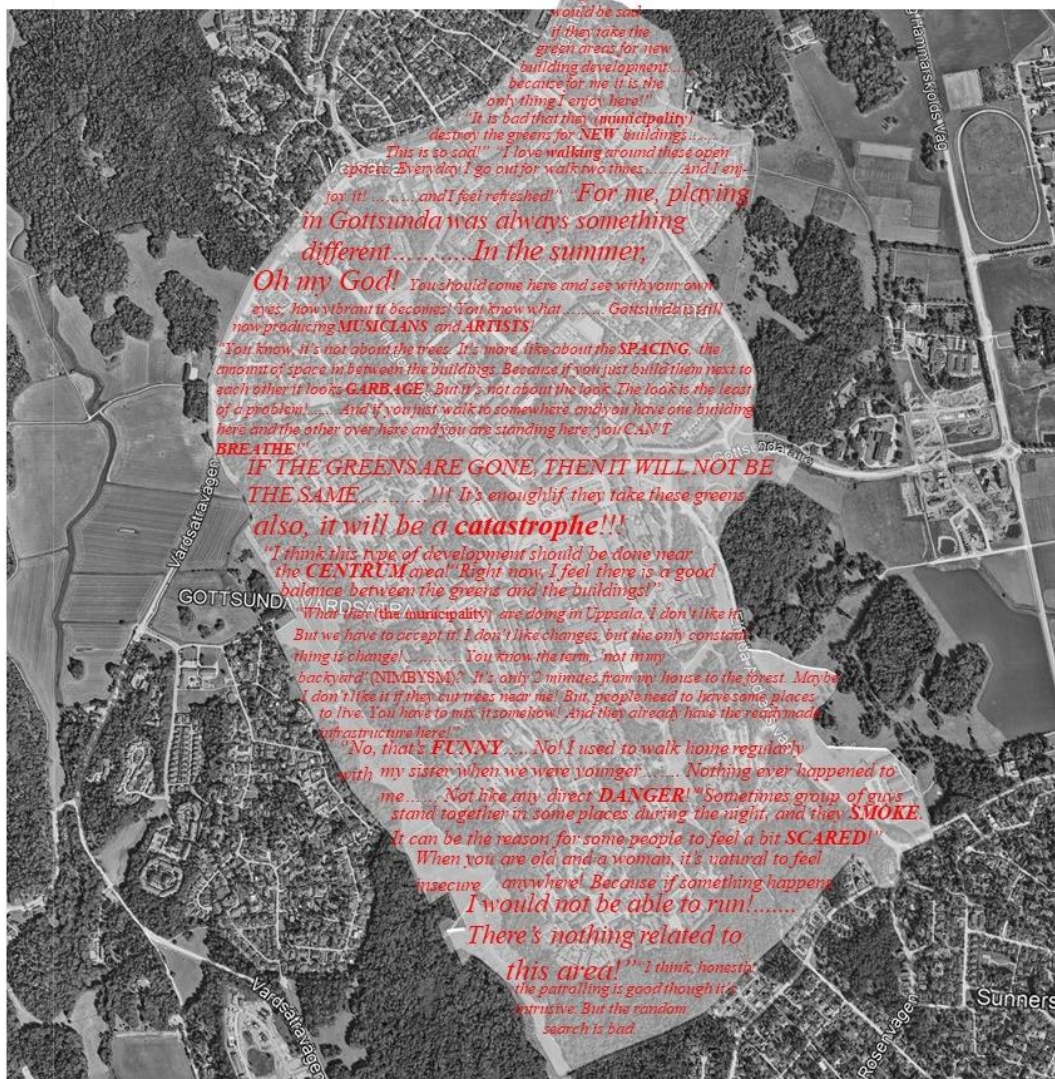
Skärbäck et al. (2014) stress that public spaces adjacent to buildings often are characterized as 'not yet built land' (Zalar & Pries, 2022, p. 18).

Even if ecological values are most often considered for preserving GS, social values are frequently at risk of being overlooked. The housing authority also highlights its struggle to protect GS from exploitation because of lacking proper planning status and claims that biological values are prioritized the highest, whereas social and cultural values are often neglected (Boverket, 2007 see Backmann & Sohl, 2019). The MO's response regarding the disappearing greens is evidence of Berg, Zalar & Pries's notion of public GS adjacent to or in between the buildings. As a reply to my question, "These greens are the heart of Gottsunda which makes it unique. So, if the greens disappear, then the landscape character would change. What do you think about it?" - she said,

We are making an effort to renew the parks and other greens. And also, we are only planning to remove the unused or unattractive GS. Initially, we only targeted the small green areas that lay beside the roads or back of the buildings without any proper use. We are not touching any valuable parks or larger nature areas. But yeah, losing greens is a problem, and we are still working on that. We are trying to solve this. We have already started working on the detailed plan. Maybe the issues with green areas would be more clarified there (Municipal Officer, 2022).

There is also a group of people among the residents who do not like this type of redevelopment project but agree to accept it somehow because they believe that there are no other options. Stina is one of them who lives in a row house in Gottsunda. From Stina's perspective,

What they (the municipality) are doing in Uppsala, I do not like it. But we have to accept it. I do not like changes, but the only constant thing is change..... You know the term, 'not in my backyard' (NIMBYSM)? It is only 2 minutes from my house to the forest. Maybe I won't like it if they cut trees near me. But people need to have some places to live. You have to mix it somehow. And they already have the readymade infrastructure here. (Stina, 2022)



Imagery ©2023 Airbus, CNES / Airbus, Lantmäteriet/Metira, Maxar Technologies, Map data ©2023

Figure 19: The representation of injustice that reflects the loud silence through a map. The abstract composition of residents' dialogue on Google Maps (Google Maps, 2023). Collaged by the Author.

6.4 Crimes & Media – A Vicious Battle to Win Safety

Regarding the crimes, internal violence, and security issues of living in Gottsunda, most interviewees expressed similar thoughts. A general experience from the inhabitants is that media always represents a negative and one-sided image of the area. They have seldom considered the residents' perspectives and always show an “we against them” attitude (UrbanUtveckling, 2021, p. 24). In Sweden, there is a monopoly of media where most of the newsrooms mainly depend on the central news bureau for their content (Djalaie, 2016), which alludes the deviant journalism such as recognizing only the statement of the police as truth without any question or skepticism that shortfall the perspective of the inhabitants in a stereotyped

neighborhood (Thapar-Björkert, Molina, & Raña Villacura, 2019). According to the residents, both police and security guards contribute to increasing security and insecurity at the same time. There are a lot of complaints about the harsh attitude of some police officers and guards, which contributes to the insecurity and harsh climate in this area (UrbanUtveckling, 2021, p. 14). Sometimes the excessive presence of police drives the feeling that ‘an onslaught is in progress’ or ‘as there are police, then there are crimes’ (ibid).

While I was conversing with Dawood standing in front of his apartment in Bandstolsvägen, a police car was patrolling the cul-de-sac. Dawood mentioned that now it is a very common scene here. He also pointed out that quite a few cc cameras are installed at the facades of the buildings. He said that he had never seen any crime here though he had heard about the bad reputation of Gottsunda before moving here. In his opinion, the people who used to do the crime now moved from here to somewhere else, especially after installing the cc cameras. As a result, crime also moved from here.

According to Urban Utveckling (2021), Bandstolsvägen is perceived as unsafe because there are many gangs in the area and there is open drug trafficking. Mikolaj, who has been living in Bandstolsvägen for the last ten years, informed me that cc cameras were also installed outside their building in 2016 or 2017. He thinks that it might be a false expression. However, some people consider the installation of cc cameras as a positive initiative. Damir is one of them who said that sometimes they used to hear gunfire or the sound of flames. But now it has reduced, especially he thinks after the installation of cc cameras around the centrum area. Though many people have mentioned hearing gunfire in the area, some also explained it as the sound of a tire puncture; not all are the sound of shooting (UrbanUtveckling, 2021).

In Sweden, it is very difficult to investigate state violence to uncover the ethical crisis, especially in the suburban areas, because the racialized people and the places where they live always denote violence (da Silva, 2009, p. 213; Listerborn, Molina and Mulinari 2011 see Thapar-Björkert, Molina, & Raña Villacura, 2019), and the catalytic acts of police work behind every unwanted incident in the stigmatized residential areas that are emerged during the last eight years (Hallin et al. 2010; Molina 2013; de Los Reyes 2016; Sernhede, Thörn and Thörn 2016; Dikeç 2017; Boréus and Flyghed, 2016 see Thapar-Björkert, Molina, & Raña Villacura, 2019). In the report of Urban Utveckling, they cited one woman saying that she saw young people throwing stones at guards, and she heard the guard says, "fucking kids with drug parents" (UrbanUtveckling, 2021, p. 14). There are also several accusations about being randomly stopped by the police for body search and interrogation (UrbanUtveckling, 2021). Regarding the issues with the police, Mikolaj said that he had been questioned by the police a couple of times,

I think, honestly, the patrolling is good though it is intrusive. But the random search is bad and intruding on my right etc. (Mikolaj, 2022)

Some residents propose the arrangement of a police station in this area to develop police relationships with children and young people (UrbanUtveckling, 2021). In million-program suburbs like Gottsunda, state violence is very much evident in Sweden, especially from the actions of the police. In Thapar-Björkert, Molina, & Raña Villacura's word,

Stigmatized places become natural for locating state violence (Thapar-Björkert, Molina, & Raña Villacura, 2019, p. 147).

Many people who live well in their neighborhood often have to deal with negative judgments because of outsiders. But there are many cases where the problems mostly arise from outsiders' perspectives rather than from the experiences of residents (Wassenberg, 2004). Most of the people who moved to Gottsunda had good knowledge about the problems that exist in this area, but they said that it does not justify the reason for not living here because, in general, insecurity or crime is concentrated in certain places. The other parts are peaceful, and most people feel safe. Most of my interviewees stated that the crimes and violence are internal and that general people are not related to this. Mikolaj said that they (he and his family members) had seen incidents here, but none of them had to face any. According to his opinion,

You know, the violence here is between groups. The groups in fighting. Outsiders are not related to it. It is not random people. (Mikolaj, 2022)

He also added his conception of the overall crime scenario here,

I think the crime is more localized..... It is really weird! You could see how crime rises up in real-time. It feels like the culture is amplified itself. The crime ramps itself up artificially. I am not a conspiracy theorist. But maybe the drug came from somewhere else, and then a different sale started here. I do not know..... Because it doesn't feel organic. I do not know if crime feels organic, but usually, it does. (Mikolaj, 2022)

The old Swedish couple I talked to on the 'Gottsunda Day' named Hampus and Stina expressed similar thoughts. Stina said,

Everywhere there are problems. Crime is a very small portion of it. But the police are not the solution. This is the solution (she pointed at the people's gathering in the festival area)..... The integration. (Stina, 2022)

Hampus thinks violence is an internal issue between different groups that has nothing to do with the general people. He stated,

This violence is inside. In every society, you have it. It is very small. The people who do business of drugs, it is the fight between them. General people are not get harmed by this. The gunshots are also stopped now. But the problem is when the situation is getting better, media does not write about it..... Many small things can make things better. There is a festival going on here. Where is the media today? (Hampus, 2022)

It has been said by most that the media only represents a one-sided image and never shows the positive things that exist in this area. The identity of this area can easily be bolstered by supplementing information about positive values besides the one-sided media image (UrbanUtveckling, 2021). Martina's opinion about the crime, safety, and the other bad reputation in this area is that,

The stuff that media represents; unfortunately, it is not all true. It is not like crimes are not happening in other places. But the media only highlights this part of the city. (Martina, 2022)

Sadira, who is only 15 years old and has been living here with her family since she moved to Sweden 5 years ago from Syria, said that,

I do not think this area is bad. The reason for this is that the media only talks about the bad stuff; they do not show the good thing happening here. (Sadira, 2022)

There is an accusation that Valsätra has a better image than Gottsunda because the media always portray Gottsunda while reporting. If something negative happens in Valsätra, they still describe it in such a way as it has happened in Gottsunda (UrbanUtveckling, 2021). The landscape of the Swedish suburban areas, especially where the MP housings were built, is shaped by the turn in political discourse, which slowly generates mistranslation and provokes racialization by using the media where those neighborhoods are framed as non-Swedish, vulnerable, less civilized, and risky than other parts of the city (Ericsson et al. 2000 see Thapar-Björkert, Molina, & Raña Villacura, 2019). This problem is identified in Gottsunda about the media representation where the misapplication of the name Gottsunda in the headlines with the disproportionately large size for portraying only the negative news.

A concrete example is that when there has been a shooting here, the newspaper prints Gottsunda, while if it happens in another district, they write Uppsala. Since the police gave Gottsunda a label, it became more difficult to defend that they lived here (UrbanUtveckling, 2021, p. 25 translated).

Regarding the crimes and violence, Berat said that Swedish people move out from here first of all because of their 'vision' and also because they are scared of crime. In his words,

It is true that some sort of criminal activity happens here. But the media tells one thing, and the people say another thing here. Not all the stuff they represent is true. It is so sad to see just one side of the picture. (Berat, 2022)

During the corona pandemic, the media image has further aggravated that the residents here are represented as irresponsible rather than showing the other side, whereas many people from here are engaged in the socially important profession, such as – homemaker, public transport, taxi operation, where they have to come into contact with others more often (UrbanUtveckling, 2021). So overall, this one-sided negative media image eventually leads to stigma. Berat said that he could still now remember some of his favorite places that are gone for the stigma and new construction. He talked about a football ground, a kindergarten school, and a small place adjacent to the school filled with stones where kids used to play. He also pointed towards the Bandstolsvägen and said there was a pizzeria and a frukthallen replaced by some communal offices in 2014. People used to hang out here with their friends, but now all these are gone. He also mentioned a mosque near the centrum, which had been moved from here about 5/6 years ago because of the continuous negative portrayal.

Even the people who do not live here but regularly visit the place for either work or study have heard a lot about the stereotype of this area. Both Elina and Signe belong to that group. About the crimes and other bad reputations of this area, Elina replied that she also heard about those kinds of stuff but has not faced anything ever within these three years. About the stigma, crimes, and the feeling of being in Gottsunda, Signe (who lives in Rosendal) added,

Though I do not live here, I come to this area regularly for school. I never felt that it was so different from Rosendal. It is just normal here..... like in the other places. (Signe, 2022)

Some people think the environment was more peaceful before, are not very satisfied with how crime-related issues are dealt with now, or do not even want to discuss this issue. Sabirah and Hamid have been living in Gottsunda for the last 30 years. To explain their feelings about living in Gottsunda, Sabirah said,

It was very peaceful to live here, but now it is not as good as before. Because now there are crimes..... many young people..... they do it. (Sabirah, 2022)

Ahmed did not seem very happy about living here (the reason was unclear to me). So, I asked him about the crimes. He stated that many illegal activities are happening here. Trading drugs is vital, among all other things. He believed that the people buying drugs are mostly Swedish though the people selling them are from different backgrounds. To explain how the police are dealing with this situation, he said that the police could not do anything properly because they did not get enough witnesses.

People do not want to be a witness to the police because maybe the criminal is their neighbor's son. So, if he says something to the police, he may fall into an uneasy condition with the

neighbor..... You understand what I mean? No one wants to be in this situation. (Ahmed, 2022)

He also added that some people do not feel confident enough to complain to the police even if they face some unwanted situation because they cannot speak Swedish. A lack of cultural equality can undermine and invalidate the "communicative tendencies" of marginalized groups, especially if political, economic, and institutional power creates social affliction in the racialized neighborhoods of the MP by establishing and normalizing state violence (Thapar-Björkert, Molina, & Raña Villacura, 2019, p. 154).

Regarding this area's security and safety, most people said they do not perceive the area as unsafe. There are certain places where crimes usually happen (UrbanUtveckling, 2021). Among my 21 interviewees, none of them mentioned that they felt insecure about living in Gottsunda. Neither did the male respondents nor the female ones. Though some of them talk about knowing the crimes; concerning the safety of this area, they all agree that they do not feel insecure here. As a reason for why the area is represented as unsafe, Sadira explained her thoughts,

Sometimes groups of guys stand together in some places during the night, and they smoke. It can be the reason for some people to feel a bit scared. (Sadira, 2022)

When I asked Anneli, as a woman, if she ever felt insecure in this area, she replied that she had never felt anything like this. But in addition to this, she also mentioned that she usually does not go out after 7 or 8 in the evening. It is not because she feels unsafe or something like that. It is because of her usual lifestyle routine. As a response to my question, if Mikolaj ever felt unsafe, he confidently replied,

No, that's funny..... No! I used to walk home regularly with my sister when we were younger. Nothing ever happened to us..... Not like any direct danger. (Mikolaj, 2022)

I also asked the same question to Elina. She said she works here until 7:00 in the evening and sometimes stays until 9 pm or 10 pm if any events run in the cultural center. But she has never felt unsafe or worried, even in the dark. Martina's only safety concern is the high speed of vehicles. She said that many cars are driven at a higher speed during the night, and sometimes, it happens during the day as well. As her daughter plays around this area a lot, she gets tensed about these high speedy cars. Stina is an old woman, and her thought about safety concerns is not exclusively specific to this area. She replied with a smile,

When you are old and a woman, it is natural to feel insecure anywhere. Because if something happens, I will not be able to run. There's nothing related to this area. (Stina, 2022)

As I did not find anyone who feels insecure living in Gottsunda, and according to the report prepared by Urban Utveckling (2021), most of the residents stated about

not perceive the place unsafe in general; I asked the MO - “One of the vital reasons for this development is to increase social sustainability as ‘Gottsunda is always represented as vulnerable’ by the media. But the residents strongly disagree with this. How do you see this?” Unfortunately, her reply was nothing but the repetition of the statement of the PD. She explained,

I think both groups are right. Maybe you or I have not seen anything, or the people who have been interviewed that you read in the document (Upplevelser från Gottsunda och Valsätra) did not see or face anything. But we have a lot of reports about crime there. Especially many young boys are involved in different gangs. But there are other important reasons for developing Gottsunda. It is not only about crime or vulnerability. As I mentioned before that Uppsala is growing, and Gottsunda is a part of the whole development in Uppsala. The municipality has plans to develop all the surrounding areas around the city, not only Gottsunda, to make a better connection with other parts of the country. Regarding this, we are also developing the railway tracks between Uppsala and Stockholm, connecting Bergsbrunna with Gottsunda (Municipal Officer, 2022).

There are a certain number of politicians and government officials who perceive and describe the physical infrastructure of MP areas as ‘cold, impersonal housing blocks’ which do not have any history and are mentioned as a place that is only used for gang violence and drug sales (Mack, 2021). As a million-program area, Gottsunda is also treated with a similar thought which is evident from the description of the PD where the housing blocks are mentioned as out of human scale, unattached, and separated by parks, roads, and green areas in between (see UppsalaKommun, 2019, p. 9). And some of those green areas are also stated as unused, unattractive, and unsafe (see UppsalaKommun, 2019, p. 28). Though most of the residents from my interview stated that they neither perceived this place as unsafe nor were exposed to any direct violence regardless of white ethnic or non-white non-ethnic Swedish, the PD deliberately focused on the crimes and violence as a rooted problem that can be solved by redeveloping the area for achieving so-called social sustainability. According to Ananya Roy (2005), the construction of governmental problems in spatial planning is fabricated by the technocratic expertise where there emerges a tendency of recreating both the problem and solution to supplement each other, which she defined as ‘epistemologies of planning’ (Zalar & Pries, 2022). In the case of Gottsunda, the mention of problems and their acknowledged solution of redevelopment proposed by the municipality epitomizes Roy’s argument.

6.4.1 Political Manifesto Spreading Stigma

During the election campaign of 2022, I visited Gottsunda and roamed around. The posters used in Gottsunda were particular in character, which took my attention (see Figure 20). The then ruling party Social Democrats promised to ensure safety and security, which was advertised in those posters. Interestingly, the posters used in

Gottsunda were different and not used at all in central Uppsala. As I live in Kungsgatan, I did not see this specific poster anywhere around this area.



Figure 20: The poster of Social Democrats in Gottunda. Photo by author.

The posters where it said “*ingen ung ska bli kriminell*” were designed in a way that depicts only the dark side of an area and symbolizes the systematic racism of the government. Regarding the systematic racism of government in the USA, one of the participants from Coleman, Bonam, & Yantis’s (2021, p. 12) study said that “We try to treat the symptoms without treating the disease,” which becomes true for Gottsunda’s case as well. In the poster, it is evident that stigmatization is shown as an existent problem, and they are trying to solve it.

7. Discussion

The planning program of Gottsunda begins and goes on in the name of achieving social Sustainability and security. The PD has repeated the statement ‘counteracting segregation and promoting social sustainability’ a couple of times (see UppsalaKommun, 2019, pp. 5,8), but the details were never mentioned on how exactly it can be achieved. This type of generous statement about achieving so-called social sustainability represents nothing but a cheap selling point to justify the redevelopment proposal. Though the Swedish government has introduced various counter-segregation policies (housing and social mix policy, the refugee dispersal policy, the area-based urban policy), the success rate after the application of these policies is very low (Andersson, Bråmån, & Holmqvist, 2010) because of the unsuccessful execution, malfunction in the design, lack of critical thinking, and shortfall of systematic studies. In Gottsunda’s case, there is a risk of failure as nothing detailed or specific was stated regarding counteract segregation. Only the green areas become the scapegoats, which are mentioned as a barrier to the interconnection of different residential zones (see UppsalaKommun, 2019, p. 9).

The PD's income section mentions that the Median income in the Gottsunda area is below the national average and quite low compared with the surrounding area (UppsalaKommun, 2019, p. 70). It is also mentioned that the new development would also be for the existing residents of the Gottsunda area. If the income average is not as high as in central or other parts of Uppsala, how can the existing residents afford the new development, which is as standardized as central Uppsala? As a form of action against this urban conflict, a new urban social movement recently came to light with two major demands. One is the refurbishment of the poor suburbs under the shed of systematic disinvestment, and the other is the necessity for affordable housing, which would result in a dramatic rent boost (Thörn & Thörn, 2017).

In the interview with the MO, when I asked about the present inhabitants, the interviewee seemed reluctant, responding that the municipality would sell the lands to private companies, and then those companies would develop and resell apartments to individuals. So they have no responsibility or control to the end user groups. Her response represents the planner's ‘carefree attitude’ (Zalar & Pries, 2022) and the tendency to hide behind the formal role just to avoid the controversial topic. The response also echoed the old saying “Survival of the fittest”. Here I would like to argue: Is this what social sustainability looks like?

After analyzing the empirical data collected from the interview, it is clearly visible what the local people think about the existing GS. All of my interviewees explained

feeling terrible about the continuous loss of GS. Each person told his own story, depending on his own experience. All these stories collectively indicate that the socio-spatial, historical & cultural identity of this community was missing in the planning process of Gottsunda. Their statements also show that this marginalized community's history remains unconsidered while translating the professional's knowledge into action (Sandercock, 2003). The eradication of culture and memories by devaluating this place symbolizes further marginalization and discrimination in Gottsunda.

Though most of the residents from my interview expressed negative impressions regarding the new proposal, there is also some positive feedback. For example, a few people believe that new development would create more places for people to live in. But everyone mourned for the disappearing green areas, which would remain as an emotional scar on the residents' social and physical well-being.

Because of the new development, a major portion of the existing GS would be disappeared, which is mentioned in the PD (UppsalaKommun, 2019, p. 5) and can also be observed looking at Figure 7. The terminologies used in the PD to grab those existing green areas not only make it more stigmatized but also accelerate the devaluation process of this marginalized place. Densification in Gottsunda is the consequence of entrepreneurialism that affects GS and increases the risk of gentrification, which further leads to social segregation. The statement of 'improving the quality of the greens' or 'making the future better for all' now represents the limited analytical framework (Yigit Turan & Ågren, 2022) of landscape planning and design scholarship that can damage that community's well-established social networks and cultural identity. But it should also be mentioned that, according to the MO, the issues regarding the loss of existing GS would hopefully be more clarified in the detailed plan.

Looking at the planning of Gottsunda, Rosengård (Zalar & Pries, 2022), or Tensta (Bradley, Gunnarsson-Östling, & Isaksson, 2008), what similar design ideas can we see? The continuation of the resembling process of stigmatization and the rubber stamping of similar densification ends with gentrification and loss of existing urban GS. Stigmatization of an area, especially green areas, has become the classic power tool to invade the natural environment with new constructions, especially in the minoritized areas. And after all the stigmatization and giving a bad name to the GS of an area, nothing is addressed to improve those specific spaces for the redevelopment of the area. Either thinning or constructing more buildings in those GS is proposed as a solution. After the successful completion of this model in Rosengård, Malmö (Zalar & Pries, 2022), this model is being replicated in other parts of Sweden. Gottsunda is next in the row. These development plans are going through a clear pattern. According to Zalar & Pries, both the quantitative and

qualitative loss of existing GS because of the densification projects of the redevelopment plans are manufactured by the 'knowledge-making technique' of the compact city epistemology, which works actively for unmapping the greens (Zalar & Pries, 2022).

The name of the PD is “Gottsundaområdet Planprogram 2019” which also represents controversial information. Although the intended development is both Gottsunda and Valsätra based and would take place both in Gottsunda and Valsätra, it is named after only Gottsunda. Valsätra has a better reputation than Gottsunda as the media always use ‘Gottsunda’ in general to cover incidents (UrbanUtveckling, 2021). Residents notice that they have to justify themselves if they tell others about living in Gottsunda-Valsätra because they are being questioned or met with prejudices, especially if they tell others they live in Gottsunda (ibid). My interviewee Mikolaj also shared having the same experience, especially when he goes for a new job or meets new people at work.

In Gottsunda, I interviewed 21 people if they felt safe in Gottsunda. No one felt unsafe, and personally, I, who lived close to Gottsunda and had to go there regularly, had never felt any security concern. People from different backgrounds' common response was the crimes that took place in Gottsunda were among the gangs only; no one had to encounter any unsafe situation. Even the old white middle-class Swedish couple (Stina & Hampus) said they do not feel unsafe roaming around. Their compromised feelings of safety are not due to “its Gottsunda”. Rather, they would feel the same insecurity in any part of the city or country due to their vulnerability caused by aging. Though it is mentioned in the report of ‘Urban Utveckling (2021)’ that Bandstolsvägen is perceived as unsafe and ‘Mr. Fruits’ store is pointed out as an unsafe place, especially for the girls but, as a regular customer and woman, I can strongly disagree with this accusation from my personal experience. This statement may sound biased as a researcher depending on my background, race, ethnicity, and values, but one of my interviewees named Anneli also expressed the same thoughts who lives in a rental apartment located behind ‘Mr. Fruit’ in Bandstolsvägen. She has a background of pure white ethnic Swedish and was born and brought up in Sweden.

Regarding the stigmatization of Gottsunda, the MO responded that she had not seen something, the researchers from Urban Utveckling did not find someone from the residents of this area who had been directly exposed to the crime (UrbanUtveckling, 2021), I, through my one-to-one interview did not find someone who felt unsafe in Gottsunda, but there are reports which state crime. Unfortunately, neither the MO nor the PD gave any thought to the legitimacy of the so-called news reports. It has been evident that using police lists for other purposes outside of police work is problematic, and this type of information should be confined within their

department as it was originally produced for their work (Salonen, 2023). Regarding this, my thoughts align with Salonen's (2023) opinion, where he argues that too much focus is given to the police's report of vulnerable areas, which hinders addressing the underlying causes of segregation and stigmatization when dealing with the marginalized suburbs. According to Boverket (2010), an individual's sense of security can always differ depending on their experience based on gender, ethnicity, age, functional ability, level of education, and so on, which is exemplified as "a person who has not grown up with Swedish nature and its content may experience discomfort for what is foreign to them" (Boverket, 2010, p. 42 see Backmann & Sohl, 2019). I would like to argue that this example is true for the Swedes as well, just from the opposite direction or point of view. White ethnic Swedish people who were born and brought up here and are not familiar with 'other's' culture, activities, and language feel uncomfortable and insecure around that type of environment or neighborhood which does not necessarily mean that the area is problematic or dangerous.

After analyzing my empirical data and expending the knowledge collected from Wassenberg's (2004) theory (see Table 1) regarding stigma, it is evident that media plays a crucial role in spreading the negative news about Gottsunda, where both the place and the people living there are highlighted as the main reason behind this. The way media represents only the crimes, violence, and drug sales and how the municipality perceives the insecurity differs greatly from the residents' experience. Mentioning the existing GS as unused, unsafe and valueless (which are targeted to be densified) in a formal document also ignites the devaluation process and reflects the overshadow of the dominant group. Densification is seen as a solution to increasing security which ultimately ends up by dispossessing GS.

The space problematization is ignited by the Extreme right wing, which has the most explicit view towards the suburban areas like the Gottsunda area (Svenska Dagbladet, 2017 see Mack, 2021). Jimmie Åkesson, whose party had the second highest mandate, previously demanded the demolition of MP multifamily modernist housing areas such as Gottsunda (Sjögren, 2018; Sveriges Radio, 2018 see Mack, 2021). As the Right-wing political parties are now in power, it is difficult to predict whether the planning would be limited to just densifying the area or extended to demolishing old apartments for redevelopment, which they previously demanded.

The analysis made it clear that territorial stigmatization is fundamental to the devaluation of Gottsunda, which works as the function of critical whiteness in the planning process. After analyzing residents' opinions and the municipality's perspective, it can be said that in Gottsunda, stigmatization is also seen as a rooted problem. And this ongoing stigma is part of the systematic process of devaluation

that influence the reformation or alteration of the existing GS. Here place making is considered as a tool for political action (Fincher, Pardy, & Shaw, 2016) to support the redevelopment project by overlooking and disrupting the social and cultural values of that place.

The municipality's vision for achieving sustainability from where 'everyone can take some benefits' reminds us of Bevan's speech 'desire to "built a utopia" on the ruins of another culture's past' (Bevan, 2016 see Abrams, 2017). As stigmatization is related to image building, some practitioners consider redevelopment planning as a means to create a positive image by attracting more people from the outside. The repetitive response of the MO about attracting more families in Gottsunda shows the influence of stigmatization on the planning, which ultimately affects the existing green areas of the locality. There is also a risk that it could contribute to further stigmatization, especially in a minoritized area like Gottsunda, where there exists an impermeable layer of segregation. It is the consequence of the lack of proper historical knowledge and the limited analytical research of the planning process.

As a reader, I felt the plan program document is a good read and easily understandable, but not informative enough. And the repetitive information makes it monotonous. In Sandercock's words, it can be defined as "cut from the same cliché'd cloth" where the document is sometimes misleading and represents nothing but the technical knowledge of planners (Sandercock, 2003, p. 21). It is mentioned that extensive dialogue took place in the area to get the inhabitants' opinions. But who were these inhabitants? Where are they from? What were their recommendations about the new planning? These did not clear up to me as a reader. It is not uncommon for public participation to remain merely symbolic and/or be manipulated in order to achieve political motives (Hammami, 2012 see Borges, Hammami, & Wangel, 2020).

The report from Urban Utveckling was done on behalf of the Uppsala municipality as a background study to understand the present condition and inhabitants' experience of living in Gottsunda. The issues regarding stigmatization, the one-sided portrayal of media, and residents' feelings about living in this area were clearly mentioned in this study, but the values and characterization of the existing GS were not analyzed, nor were the consequences of stigma. Though this report brought out several insightful pieces of information, in the implementation stage, no significant reflection can be found in the PD. A better quality of analysis is required for community action and to empower citizens. The use of storytelling could make the PD more authentic and reliable, as the engagement of the local community is crucial to ensure justice in the planning process.

8. Conclusion

It is not easy a task to describe Gottsunda. But which place is? Gottsunda has its flaws and charms. What stigmatization does to the place is show one side of the coin. This research has presented how GS are exploited through different means. Filling up green areas with fancy apartment buildings with replicated designs to achieve sustainability is the new normal in Sweden. It is the demand for 'more', which is working behind the expansion of suburban areas of the city. Historically, future visions have played a crucial role in urban studies and planning practice where the concept of new urbanism underscore densification as a standard depending on public transport, higher density, and social mix (Colin McFarlane, 2016 see Zalar & Pries, 2022). Gottsunda has shown the reflection of a similar concept where the municipality considers densification a standard for reducing segregation and gaining social sustainability. Stigmatization of the place is only used to legitimize the actions taken by the bureaucracy and political leadership. Corporate greed is also a key player in the redevelopment proposal.

Suburban redevelopment of Gottsunda is neither the first case nor the last. After the successful execution of a similar process in Rosengård (Zalar & Pries, 2022) the municipalities are just gearing up the redevelopment proposals. This thesis not only paves the way to rethink the recently evolved practice of densification in the marginalized residential zone but also looks forward to the question- Where will this stop? The expansion of suburban areas is just to satisfy the greed of certain people from bureaucracy, politics, and business corporations, and Just like the Ponzee Scheme (Not Just Bikes, 2021), there is no sign of stopping until it reaches the breaking point.

It is completely understandable that with the increasing population, people need living spaces, and more apartments or houses are needed in a locality. When it comes to the expansion of the existing city, the green areas are the first on the line to be sacrificed. Especially the apartment building areas get more similar developments due to the ease of access to the infrastructure. And also, due to the vulnerability of residents in the apartment blocks, the green areas become the scapegoat first. Gottsunda is an example of that trend. Unfortunately, the GS that are going to be demolished are not going to be compensated with any other measures. Although the municipality believes they are not investing any money, as the land is sold to private developers (Municipal Officer, 2022), the real cost of sacrificing GS is solely ignored. In Zalar & Pries's words, the uncritically adopted knowledge of the compact city can never be a sustainable solution for modernist urbanism, especially when it ignores to acknowledge residents' experiences as well

as the dispossession of the existing valuable GS in the marginalized and socially stigmatized areas (Zalar & Pries, 2022). Residents' emotional attachment and nostalgia for outdoor GS generate questions about the concept of inclusion continuously used in the newly proposed development plans and calls for a new avenue of thinking about inclusion where the 'inclusion of feelings and memory' (either individual or collective) should be incorporated as a legitimate component of the planning process (Mack, 2021, p. 560).

When it comes to the question of maintaining the existing buildings, there's always a budget deficit. When it comes to responsibility and accountability, the municipality becomes a profit-making company, and when it comes to acquiring public land, it becomes a public authority. Then what could be the solution to expand the neighborhood? Community-engaging planning can add positive value, not because it is a requirement of the rules but because the necessity can be helpful for the strong planning of a locality. Exploring new ways to engage with the local community will help sustain the planning in the long term.

From my research and interview, it is clear that the municipality's future vision does not match the expectation of the local residents, nor can it fulfill their requirements. For reshaping a future city with multi-culture, it is necessary to start with the history, including marginalized communities' stories (Sandercock, 2003). Thus, to create a sustainable and multicultural society where people from all walks of life can socially be integrated is truly needed. A society where people from different backgrounds can sustain their idiosyncratic entity as well as their social entity. As we are now going through a time when division and segregation are becoming the new normal, we need to confront and enact social stigmatization more than ever before. So that as a society, Gottsunda, as well as other suburbs, can sustain their diversity and natural harmony.

Another important aspect of planning should be follow-up research. For example, the Uppsala municipality had DELMOS, which would do follow-up research on the preliminary design. The follow-up research contribution will reinforce the preliminary planning. Thus going back and forth would make the planning more sustainable. Therefore, follow-up research should be reinstated in the case of Gottsunda and other places. But unfortunately, Delmos has also been shut down by the government at the beginning of this year, showing a cause of the budget shortage (Salonen, 2023).

This thesis has dealt with one of the oldest but burning issues in recent times- the stigmatization problem of marginalized localities. In this paper, I have explored the impact of stigmatization on GS in an MP area and its consequences in the planning knowledge of future redevelopment where the GS are grasped eventually with the

devaluation process. This qualitative study shows not only the gap between local needs and the authority's vision but also the difference between the representation of media and the planning authority from the existing reality. The arguments that developed through this study would contribute to urban studies on stigmatization and spatial segregation where existing GS of a marginalized locality are fading away with the purpose of densification and redevelopment. To conclude, it can be said that the finding of this research would support planners and decision-makers to understand how to deal with the injustice in landscape planning and pave the way to rethink and explore further concerning the following topics. In the Swedish context - how to overcome the dominance of whiteness in the study of landscape planning? How to avoid contributing more in minoritizing a specific group/community during the planning practice? Which methods and tools should be used and developed to capture the complexity of discourses regarding the existing GS of an already established neighborhood?

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Popular science summary

Social Injustice is one of the most burning issues in recent times and segregation caused by negative representation with a combination of continuous stigmatization is the most typical form of social injustice that affect landscape planning. Through this research, I intend to contribute to the recent affair of social injustice in the course of planning practice by highlighting how Swedish authorities deal with the issues while planning for a marginalized locality and by expanding the knowledge about critical whiteness studies as a backdrop. Through this study, representations of place and the characterization of GS are examined to explore the practice of stigmatization in one of the segregated MP areas named Gottsunda. The purpose of this study is to identify how different valuable GS are affected by the stigmatization of a place and how these spaces are investigated and mentioned in the new PD. This research focuses on the dialogues and contemplation of GS in the PD of the Gottsunda area. In order to capture the feelings and experiences of the residents living in a so-called vulnerable area and to collect their opinion regarding the new development plan, I used interviews in the practical field to uncover the most instinctive and relatable information. In the Swedish context, as there haven't been many studies regarding the epistemology of stigmatization in the field of landscape planning; thus, this research would pave the way to expand knowledge and continue further scholarship on this subject matter. This thesis includes a total of eight chapters. A brief description of all the chapters is provided below –

- Chapter one gives an idea of the background and the formulated problematization of why I am doing this research. It also includes an explanation of why I chose Gottsunda as my case study, who is the target group, and who can be benefited from this study.
- Chapter two provides information regarding the aim and purpose of this study. It also illustrates the objectives and the research questions that are going to be examined to justify the research.
- In chapter three, there is a detailed description of the theoretical base of my thesis that enables me to understand how the devaluation process can work as a function of whiteness to make a place desensitized and minoritize a certain group of individuals weaponizing stigma and mentioning segregation. It also shows how these theories created the route

for me to select the appropriate methods that benefit me to analyze the issues concerning my case study.

- Chapter four explains the methods, material, limitations, and delimitations of this study, followed by a brief self-reflection. It gives a clear description of which methodological lenses have been followed, why these have been selected, and exactly how these were used to find the answers to my research questions. This chapter also describes how and from where I collected all the necessary data and materials for this study and the difficulties that I had to face during the course of my fieldwork.
- Chapter five contains a detailed description of the case study ‘Gottsunda’, where it provides an overall observation of history, present condition, and desired future vision of the municipality according to the new PD of this area. This chapter also includes an explanation of how the municipality has evaluated the green spaces in this area.
- In chapter six, the analysis of this study is discussed and illustrated under four different themes. This chapter is formulated based on the thoughts and opinions of the residents gathered from the in-depth interview. It mostly contains the dialogue of the inhabitants concerning the GS, views regarding crimes and safety, public hearings arranged by the authority, and last but not least, their attachment as well as belonging to this place.
- Chapter seven includes a discussion based on the interpretation of the analysis. This section mainly elaborates on the findings of this study and demonstrates the discrepancy between the authority’s justification from the factual scenario by explaining each research question with data and theory combined.
- Chapter eight includes the conclusion drawn by summarizing all the content of the study together with some brief recommendations. At the end of the conclusion, there are some other questions that emerged from the course of this study, which provide opportunities to explore more in the future.

Acknowledgments

I started my Master's degree back in 2020, and as I am writing it now, it reminds me that I am approaching the finish line of the Course. In this time span, I lived more than one and a half years close to the area that this thesis is investigating. During this period, there were three different Prime Ministers in Sweden with completely different political views. I have witnessed socialist to extreme right wings rise in this period. The happenings in the social and political landscape deeply touched me, which is reflected in this thesis.

Firstly, I have to thank my supervisor, *Burcu Yigit Turan*, who inspired me from the very beginning of this thesis and guided me all along the way. I got valuable feedback and advice from her more than my expectation, which enormously helped me. Her recommended materials gave me a perspective from local as well as global points of view.

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During my studies, I had to work side by side to support my livelihood. It would be unfair if I do not thank *John Ayad*, my manager at the workplace, who tried to be as much supportive as possible.

Last but not least, I want to acknowledge the police officer who racially profiled and harassed my husband and me. It is true that one bad apple does not correspond to the whole of the system. But it is also true without that incident, I would not have the realization to explore the other side of the coin.

To all the people who are marginalized!

20th February 2023

Uppsala

Appendix 1: Interviewee's Details

Mahmoud – Mahmoud is 27 years old and has been living in Gottsunda for three years. Before that, he used to live in Malmö, but originally, he was from Palestine.

Dawood – Dawood is a taxi driver and lives in one of the buildings beside the cul-de-sac of Bandstolsvägen. Originally he is from Somalia. He is 25 years old and has been living here for one and a half years.

Amira – Amira is approximately 60 years old and lives in one of the rental apartment buildings behind Lina Sandells Park. She has been living here for 20 years with her family.

Johan – Johan is 44 years old and has been living here for four years. He lives here with his family and has two kids. He is from Sweden.

Shayan – Shayan is 84 years old and has been living here for 35 years. He is originally from Iran and lives here in an apartment in one of the low-rise buildings in Linrepevägen with his wife.

Berat – Originally, Berat is from Turkey, but he has born and brought up here in Gottsunda. His family moved here from Turkey during the '90s and he is now 24 years old.

Mikolaj – Mikolaj is 21 years old and lives in Bandstolsvägen. He moved here from Poland with his family and has been living here for ten years in the same apartment. There are five rooms and a kitchen in that apartment, and the rent is only 8000 Sek.

Jacob – Jacob is from Sweden and he is 42 years old. He used to live in Gottsunda long ago, and he moved from there 14 years ago. He has a lot of good memories with this place because he used to live with his daughter, who was born here as well.

Ahmed – Ahmed is from Ethiopia and moved to Sweden 22 years ago. Now he is 40 years old, and he has been living alone in Gottsunda for the last two years.

Sabirah and Hamid – Sabirah is 73 years old, and Hamid is 84. They have been living in Gottsunda for 30 years, but originally, they were from Iran. It was a bit tough to communicate with them as they couldn't speak English properly. But they showed a willingness to talk with me.

Malin – Malin is 51 years old, and she lives in Sunnersta with her father. She is from Sweden.

Damir – Damir lives with his family in one of the housings near Elfrida Andreés väg. Damir is 52 years old, and he has two kids. Originally, he is from Kyrgyzstan, but he has been living here since 2015.

Elina – Elina is 62 years old, and she has been working in the Gottsunda library for three years. She is from Sweden and lives in Eriksberg.

Sadira, Tilda & Signe – All of them are 15 years old. Sadira lives here with her parents, and she has two siblings. She moved here from Syria 5 years ago and has been living in Gottsunda the whole time. Tilda was born and brought up here. She lives in one of the apartments in Valthornsvägen and has parents of mixed backgrounds. Signe lives in Rosendal, but all of them are studying together in the Gottsunda school.

Martina – Martina lives in one of the apartments behind Lina Sandells Park. She is from Southern Sweden and has been living here for three years. Martina is 47 years old and has a daughter of 9 years of age who is studying in the Gottsunda school.

Anneli – Anneli has been living in Bandstolsvägen for two months. She is 36 years old and currently studying at the Folkuniversitet. Anneli is from Sweden and has lived in different parts of the country at different ages. Though Anneli is a newcomer in Gottsunda, I was still very interested in talking with her as she mentioned that she used to live here with her parents around 30 years ago.

Stina & Hampus – They are an old Swedish couple who have been living in a row house in Gottsunda for 24 years. Stina is 68, and Hampus is 77 years old. Stina was a general psychiatrist and Hampus used to work as a child psychiatrist. Now both of them are retired.

The municipal officer – I also talked with a person for about an hour who works in the municipality. She holds an important position in the Gottsunda project. But she didn't want her name or position to be revealed or published anywhere.

Appendix 2: Commonly asked interview questions to the residents

- Do you live here in Gottsunda?
- How long have you been living here?
- Do you live here alone or with your family?
- Where are you from originally?
- Why do you choose to live in this area?
- Do you like this area / do you like to live here?
- What do you think about the GS here?
- How frequently do you use the green areas & for which purpose?
- Do you know about the new development plan for Gottsunda?
- What do you think about this new plan?
- Have you heard about the public hearing meetings?
- Have you ever joined any public participation meeting arranged by the municipality? If not, then why? If yes, then what is your experience?
- What is your opinion about the media's representation of this area?
- What is your opinion about the crimes & vulnerability here?
- Have you ever directly faced any crimes / unwanted incidents here?
- Have you ever felt insecure about living or working in this area?
- Can you tell me about your experience of living/growing up here?
- What do you think about the small GS adjacent / nearby the building you live?
- How many phases of development or changes have you seen for living here so long?
- How do you see this green space beside Hugo Alfvéns väg?
- Can you share some memories of your childhood or early life as you grew up / lived here for so long?
- May I ask for your name & age?

These are a few general questions that I asked almost everyone. But there are several different types of questions that I asked people depending on the individual's activity and response at that moment.

Appendix 3: Interview with the Municipality

1. Who is funding the redevelopment planning? How much percentage or (the amount of money) of the whole project is carried by the kommun?

“Kommun will sell the lands to private companies and then those companies would develop them and resell them to the people. However, the public places - The roads, paving and parks are municipality’s responsibility to redevelop.”

2. Is the kommun expecting any profit in return? If so, then which form is expected as a return? Taxes on the inhabitants or through other means?

“No! Not at the moment.”

3. I guess you already know about ‘Gottsunda Day’. Exactly in which year did the celebration of ‘Gottsunda Day’ start?

She does not know the exact date either. She mailed to her colleague, who also does not know but guessed approximately 20 years ago. She added that in Sweden, there are many other places where people celebrate this type of ‘Day’ named after the area. It is not only happening in Gottsunda.

4. Who is the target group for the housing development in Gottsunda? Is there any comprehensive planning for industrial development in Uppsala for the intended inhabitants of Gottsunda? Otherwise, who is going to stay in those new 5 to 7 thousand homes?

“Uppsala is growing. Our main focus is to attract more people there. As you already know, this place is famous for its proximity to nature and affordable housing. We are targeting more new families to come and live here as well as some accommodation for the young people as there are no existing facilities for them here now. We also prioritize the existing residents to live there and have better facilities and opportunities. As a whole 1st, it is for the people who already live there and then the other people from outside – as Uppsala is growing! The exact number of new homes is not fixed yet, But the initial idea is to build 200 new homes per year until 2050. There will be scope for everyone to live both from inside and outside. It would not be super expensive like Rosendal, where only wealthy people can afford and stay!”

5. How many public hearings meeting was organized by the authority?

No idea! Emailed her colleague again. She replied that a lot of meetings were arranged with different groups!

6. What was the ratio of participants coming from white ethnic Swedish backgrounds and non-white non-ethnic Swedish backgrounds?

Not sure! Her colleague said that they had arranged many dialogues in different open spaces in Gottsunda for meeting with all (people from different backgrounds)!

7. Most people complain that they are unaware of it. Those who know can't join because it's done on weekdays or during work time or in the Swedish language. What's your opinion about it? (No resident feels that they have been involved or had influence during the course of the change and development process.)

"Not really! We tried to use the simplest and easiest Swedish so that everyone would understand it. In the public hearing meeting, the language was Swedish. But the information was delivered to the general people in 4 different languages in the form of a leaflet. If there is still someone left who can not understand any of those four languages or can not attend the meetings on weekdays, that is a bit difficult to solve. But as I said before, we had different open-space meetings with different groups in different languages, like some cultural or religious groups and for women - a group named 'Gottsunda Mammorna'."

8. These greens are the heart of Gottsunda which makes it unique. So, if the greens disappear, then the landscape character would change. What do you think about it?

"We are making an effort to renew the parks and other greens. And also, we are only planning to remove the unused or unattractive GS. Initially, we only targeted the small green areas that lay beside the roads or back of the buildings without any proper use. We are not touching any valuable parks or larger natural areas. But yeah, losing greens is a problem and we are still working on that. We are trying to solve this. We have already started working on the detailed plan. Maybe the issues with green areas would be more clarified there."

9. Because of redevelopment, the house rent would increase. How are you going to control this?

"We are not building any rental houses! So there is nothing to say about the rent rise! The new buildings would be constructed to sell, not to rent out! People who would like to have their self-owned home and now live in a rental apartment can buy it from there. But no one can rent it! But if you want to know the price of those homes, it would be difficult to tell because it's not fixed yet!"

10. A lot of people are scared that they are going to face gentrification because of this extreme development work. How do you see this?

"Well, this is something not in our hands! Actually, we don't have any control over it. It is a completely system-based procedure that is controlled by the state, not by the municipality. The country has legislation about rents and rental housing, directly controlled by the government! It is a contract between the state and housing companies. It does not depend on us!"

11. One of the visions is to make the area socially sustainable. But how can it be possible when residents have different thoughts – no details were mentioned there?

(The planning program states that urban development in the Gottsunda area must focus on social sustainability and that it is important to plan for a city for everyone. They want residents to be able to stay in the future as well, but at the same time, it is described that the development can have consequences such as rapidly increased rents and increased living costs, which mean that socio-economically weaker groups will not be able to afford to stay.) This is contradictory!!

“Social sustainability will increase when different people would move here. Of course, there is a risk that some people may not be able to stay there! When there is a new development, a lot of things would change and the weakest groups are, unfortunately, always the ones who have the hardest time! It does not mean the way they are now is good for them either! Even if we don’t do anything, it will not make things better for them! The new development is for making the future better for all - for the people living there, for the people who would come from outside and, even for the weaker group! Everyone can take some benefits from there! As I mentioned before, we are trying to attract more families from outside who can take benefit from the greens as there are already a lot of green areas around, and the new housing would benefit the existing people who want to have their own house. Maybe the weaker group can take benefit from other things, not from housing! After all, it’s difficult to satisfy everyone!”

12. In the document, it’s mentioned that some greens need to be thinned because of safety purposes. I have talked with several women of different ages. But none of them said that they feel insecure here, especially because of the greens. What is your opinion about it?

“We had many in-depth discussions and we received people’s opinions before selecting the greens that need to be thinned or that can be replaced. For example, the green walkway beside Hugo Alfvéns väg is rarely used by people for jogging, walking, or playing around and some also mentioned that it’s not safe, especially during the night. So, we found out that this green area does not have any certain special value and can be used for building new housing. It will make the place more vibrant and provide a sense of security. Other than that, we have planned to install new lights and new playing areas in the large green parks, for example, the ‘Musikparken’, which is very valuable for that area.”

13. One of the vital reasons for this development is that “Gottsunda is always represented as vulnerable” by the media. But the residents strongly disagree with this. How do you see this?

“I think both groups are right! Maybe you or I have not seen anything, or the people who have been interviewed that you read in the document (Upplevelser från Gottsunda och Valsätra) did not see or face anything! But we have a lot of reports about crime there. Especially many young boys are involved in different gangs! But there are other important reasons for developing Gottsunda, and it’s not only about crime or vulnerability. As I mentioned before that Uppsala is growing and

Gottsunda is a part of the whole development in Uppsala. The municipality has plans to develop all the surrounding areas around the city, not only Gottsunda, to make a better connection with other parts of the country. Regarding this, we are also developing the railway tracks between Uppsala and Stockholm, connecting Bergsbrunna with Gottsunda.”

14. Destroying the existing greens and replacing them with rooftop greens (which is mentioned in the document) – how efficient and useful would that be? What do you think?

“We are trying to make the quality of the greens better. For example, right now, there is no system for stormwater management. With green roofs and other new design solutions, we are trying to control the stormwater, which would make the area better than now. But as I told you before, the solutions for the greens are not yet finalized. We are still working on it in the detailed plan.”

15. CAN I MENTION YOUR NAME?

“It would be better if you do not mention my name!”

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