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ROSENGÅRD - Investigating Outdoor Integration

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Master Project in Landscape Architecture, 30 hec
Självständigt arbete vid LTJ-fakulteten, SLU
Landscape Architecture Programme, Advanced level
Alnarp 2011



Title: Rosengård- Investigating Outdoor Integration
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Programme: Landscape Architecture Programme
Serie: Självständigt arbete vid LTJ- fakulteten, SLU
Course: Master Project in Landscape Architecture
Course Code: EX0545
Degree: Master
Level: A2E
Credist: 30 hec
Place of publication: Tartu
Year of publication: 2011
Electronic publication: <http://stud.epsilon.slu.se>

Keywords: outdoor integration, social integration, meeting places, public open space, Rosengård



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FOREWORD

Experiencing the place through visits and observations, listening to those in power and leading the changes and meeting those affected by the changes and hearing their stories. It is an investigation process of a place and its people, but foremost- a chance to think of the outdoor space in a new context.

I hope that whoever will read this thesis will be able to find something of an interest. Foremost, I hope to make my reader to think about the importance of outdoor space in terms of social integration.

Before starting with my thesis, I would like to thank all those who have been with me all these months of writing and discussing. I am especially grateful to my supervisor, Eva Kristensson, who had the patience and optimism for both of us; to planners from Malmö City; and to my Swedish family- Inga-Maj and Helge.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is foremost my own investigation process of Rosengård's outdoor space and the process of outdoor integration.

I started my research by forming a literature based theoretical background for my thesis where I tried to gain knowledge on the subject of social integration and its connection to the outdoor space. I also conducted interviews in the Malmö City Planning Office and the Streets and Parks Department in order to find out their perspective and approaches to the public space in Malmö city. It was followed by a case study in Rosengård where, in the process of interviewing different groups in the area and identifying and observing the most popular meeting places, I tried to come to conclusion how social integration supportive the selected meeting places are and what are the main obstacles in the way of outdoor integration in Rosengård.

The outcome of this thesis is a criteria of an integration supportive outdoor place; a list of goals (generated on the basis of the interviews with planners from Malmö City and official documents) for Rosengård's public space that affect social integration; location and analysis of the most popular meeting places in terms of social integration supportiveness; and a discussion on the outdoor space and its problems that were brought out by the professionals from Malmö City and the ordinary people interviewed in Rosengård.

Keywords: outdoor integration, social integration, meeting places, public open space, Rosengård

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	6
2. OBJECTIVES	7
3. METHODOLOGY	8
3.1 Approaching the Problem	8
3.2 Methodology	9
4. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	11
4.1 Immigrant Areas- Places of Exclusion	12
4. 2. Social Exclusion- Social Integration	13
4.3 Outdoor Integration	17
4.4 Criteria of an Outdoor Integration Supportive Place	22
5. INVESTIGATING INTEGRATION STRATEGIES FOR OUTDOOR SPACE	24
5.1 Documents Concerning Public Space and Integration	25
5.2 Outcome of the Interviews with Specialists from Malmö City	26
5.3 Conclusion	27
6. CASE STUDY IN ROSENGÅRD	28
6.1 Rosengård	29
6.2 Getting to Know the Area	33
6.3 Interviews with the Planners from Malmö City	37
6.4 Interviews with the People Living in and Visiting Rosengård	46
6.5 Interviews with the Students Living in Rosengård	51
6.6 Observation Study in the Selected Meeting Places	58
6.7 Final Evaluation of the Selected Places	72
7. OUTCOME- Answers to the Main Questions	73
8. GENERAL DISCUSSION	75
9. CRITICISM OF THE METHODS, APPROACHES AND PERSONAL COMMENTS	79
10. LITERATURE	80
11. ATTACHMENTS	82
Attachment 1. Main questions to Magdalena Alevra	82
Attachment 2. Main questions to Tobias Starck	83
Attachment 3. Questions to the People Living in or Visiting the Area	84
Attachment 4. Interviews with the People Living in or Visiting the Area	85
Attachment 5. Questions to the Students	91
Attachment 6. Interviews with the Students	92

All photos used in this thesis belong to the author of this work.

1. INTRODUCTION

I have grown up in Tartu, in Estonia, in a city district called Jaamamõisa, or as local people call it- Chinatown. This is a very special place and not only because it is the place where I have lived most of my life, but because of the people that make up this district. During Soviet Union the area was inhabited by military families. When Estonia gained independence, most of the families left to Russia, but some remained and until now this is the part of the city where one can hear more Russian language than in any other city part. The aura of former Soviet Union area is still remaining in the area and keeping away Estonian families who choose to live in other places. For me it is safe and home like place with friendly people, for outsiders- “do-not-go-there” place that is dominated by bad reputation.

When I first heard about Rosengård, I instantly thought back to my home in Chinatown. It seemed to me the areas have a lot in common, at least based on the attitudes towards the dwelling areas that the people not living in these places have. After I had got to know Malmö and its multicultural urban life, it led me to wonder how Malmö’s municipality manages to deal with all those different people and problems that come along- especially in Rosengård.

I believe that social integration is a very actual and important problem in nowadays society and successful integration policy is something that lies in the basis of well functioning, sustainable and healthy city. Inflow of immigrants and formation of immigrant areas in the European cities is not going to decrease. On the contrary, “softening of immigration and border policies will be unavoidable in the present EU member states as the absolute decline in the active workforce will continue into the next decades”(Scott, 2006). It means that integration of the incoming work force and refugees will become problem of many European countries in the nearest future. The Government Offices of Sweden states on its homepage that „all EU Member States must share the responsibility for offering protection for refugees” (Regeringskansliet, 2010). So, it means integration is and will continue to be very important sector in the city

policy. The question is- in which way could landscape architects help to reduce the problems that are accompanied by immigrant inflow.

I myself strongly believe that outdoor space plays important role in the process of integration of foreigners, that especially in the earliest period of adaptation. Mean and Tims write in their book, that ...

...public space acts like a self-organizing public service; just as hospitals and schools provide shared resource to improve people’s quality of life, public spaces form a shared special resource from which experiences and value are created, in ways that are not possible in our private lives alone. (2005, p. 9)

If well functioning public space has the potential to be able to give a person mental comfort by making one feel welcomed and give a chance to obtain information through casual interaction in the streets, that could lead to new social connections, then could public space be one of underestimated tools of integration? And if that is so, then what has been done in Malmö in order to merge integration into the outdoor space?

The reason why I thought Sweden and especially Malmö is the perfect place for me to deeper my knowledge on the issue of integration and the methods that the municipality has been using to deal with the immigrant area is- firstly, Malmö is known as a city of very many cultures, as “Sweden has today one of the largest proportions of immigrants in relation to total national population in the EU”(Schierup, Hansen, Castles, 2006, pg 195). Secondly, it has been stated that “Swedish immigration policy belongs to the social democratic regime of the Nordic welfare that in its turn has been cited as a possible future model for the EU. The main reason for that being successful inclusion of immigrants” (Schierup, Hansen, Castles, 2006). Based on the previous, Sweden seemed to be successful in welcoming new immigrants and I expected that the city planners in Malmö would be experienced in the field of dealing with immigrant areas and would have valuable information that I could use in my future work.

2. OBJECTIVES

The main goal of this project is to find the answers to the two main questions:

- 1. what are the main integration strategies for public open space used in Rosengård by Malmö City?**
- 2. do popular meeting places in Rosengård work as multicultural meeting places and how outdoor integration supportive they are?**

The additional questions I would like to answer during my investigation process are:

- what strategies for public open space used by Malmö's planning office have been successful and what could be improved?
- what do people living in Rosengård want their outdoor living environment to be like? Do they use it? What are their main activities there?
- what are the main problems of Rosengård's public open space in terms of outdoor integration (what is stopping outdoor integration)?

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Approaching the Problem

The starting point for my work was an article by Ali Madanipour (2005). He writes that in analyzing urban space “dynamic viewpoint” is important. According to it, one has to take into account not only perspectives of those who are at the power position but also those who will be affected by the changes but are powerless. In order to find answers to my questions I have decided to use mixed methods in order to be able to grasp the subject of outdoor integration from different aspects.

Second key approach for my work is that I tried to use everyday-life perspective according to which life is seen as a “network of social relationships through which one accomplishes human existence in time” (Gilroy and Speak, 2000, p. 95). It is an approach that does not try to categorise and put everything into, what Madanipour (1996) calls, “manageable collections”. Instead of abstract and theoretical analysis (that deals with “average” needs, and preferences of “average” people) everyday-life approach focuses on, what Vrychea and Golemis (2000, p. 166) call, a “fine-grained” analysis of the people and the space. He clarifies in his article that analysis should include not only numbers but also memories and stories. Madanipour (1996) refers to this approach as “view from inside-out”. By this approach uniqueness of every site is stressed...

“Every neighbourhood is an exceptional case and the same holds true for every inhabitant. Hence, all actions should respect the history of the place and the people” (Vrychea and Golemis, 2000, p. 166)

Vrychea and Golemis (2000) add that data collection during the analysis is of great importance. Foremost they stress the importance of new methodology that would be based on “cooperation and active involvement of the inhabitants” (2000, p. 166) but also on the ability to listen to people. That is why interviews make up a very essential part of my thesis, as they

gave me a chance to talk to those in power position and those affected by the changes.

So, instead of having just one method, I ended up with literature study, that forms a theoretical background for this thesis and a case study in Rosengård that is made up of many sub-analysis: an interview study and observation study.

3.2 Methodology

A. Literature study:

Academic literature- when selecting literature, I tried to select articles and books that would give me knowledge on the subjects of public space, (social) exclusion, (social) integration, immigrant area, meeting place. Most inspiring literature I found to be written by Ali Madanipour and the book *“People Make Places: growing the public life of cities”* (2005) by Melissa Mean and Charlie Tims from which I found a lot of interesting thoughts on public space.

Official documents- in selecting official documents I tried to focus foremost on the ones that I could find on Malmö homepage or were suggested by planners from Malmö city. All of these documents were also dealing with the issues of integration and/or public space.

B. Case study in Rosengård:

During the case study, I have selected two main sources of getting information: interviews and observations.

- **INTERVIEW STUDY:**

As everyday life approach stresses the importance of view from inside-out (Madanipour, 2005), I decided to use semi-structured interview study. This way I hoped to obtain direct information from those involved in the process of working with the area and also those living and visiting it.

When constructing the questions for the interviews, I relied foremost on the book *“Interviews”* by Steinar Kvale and Svend Brinkmann (2009). Accordingly, I decided to include indirect questions about the subject as well as direct questions. That was done in order to get as much information from the interviewee as possible. As Rätzel (2005) writes, advantage of indirect question lies in a chance to obtain information that the interviewee might not think of when asked directly. I had also prepared a set of questions in order to lead the talk and be able to analyze and

compare the outcome of the interviews in the end. All the interviews were recorded and then transcribed. That way I hoped to obtain more information, as I had a chance to re-listen to the interviews made on the meeting places in case I had trouble understanding the person’s pronunciation.

Interviews with specialists from Malmö City

My initial plan was to interview one planner from Malmö Planning Office. Though, after I had conducted the interview, I decided to have additional interview with a specialist from the Parks and Streets Department. Each interview lasted approximately 60- 90 minutes. Both set of questions can be found in the Appendix (p. 82 and 83).

Interviews with people living in and visiting Rosengård

My initial plan was to have 7-9 interviewees whom I planned to interview in the meeting places that I selected in order to be analysed in my thesis. Each interview was supposed to last for 25-45 minutes. However, when I started to interview people, I had to face the language barrier. Also, interviewees were not willing to spend more than 10 minutes on answering the questions I had pre-planned. Eventually, I re-structured my questions (Appendix 3., p. 84) in order to have only the most important topics left that I wanted to get their opinions on. This way I managed to cut the length of my interviews back to 10-15 minutes. Totally 10 people were interviewed in four most popular meeting places (selected on the basis of initial interviews with people and planners and my own personal judgement) that were of different age, background and nationality.

Finally, after I had finished these interviews I felt that I still lacked perspective of those who have been subject of municipality’s experimentation- the students living in Rosengård’s dormitory. So, I included four interviews with random students I met in dormitory. Each interview lasted approximately 30-40 minutes. The questions can be found in the Appendix (Appendix 5., p. 91).

- **OBSERVATION STUDY:**

Two observation studies were carried out in a natural setting. That way I tried to get more information on a real life behaviour in the Rosengård generally and in the selected places. Direct (marking down how many people were in a site) and indirect observations (recording usage marks on the street furniture) were carried out.

Unstructured observation study

Getting to know the area on my own: marking down first impressions, analysing my feelings/emotions in different sites, marking down on a map places that I thought could be potential popular meeting places in the area (places that I would probably go to). Each tour lasted for approximately 1,5-2 hours and the visits were performed on 9.09.2010 from 10am, 12.09.2010 from 1pm and 23.09.2010 from 3pm.

Structured observations study

Initially, based on the interviews in Malmö City and my own observations, four meeting places were selected: Bokaler, Rosengård Park, a Square and Rosengård's Centre. Soon, after I had made the first interviews, I decided to add fifth place- Water Park, as several interviewees told that it is a place of high popularity in the area.

Each site was observed during one hour between 11.02-14.02.2010 and 25.02.2010 on weekdays:

9.00-10.00: time when people have just waken up, some are going to school, shops are opened

13.00-14.00: time when people are finishing their work to have their lunch, smaller kids are coming from school

17.00-18.00: time when the working day is finished and I expected that there could be change of people in the selected places

Each site was also visited on Saturday 16.02.2010 and 23.02.2010 between 11.00-16.00. I made notes on the spot and marked down all the necessary information based on the criteria listed on page 22.

4. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Firstly, the aim of the literature study, reflected upon in the beginning of this chapter, was to get more knowledge on the subjects of (social) integration and public space. Foremost I searched for the literature that would give me material to rely on during my investigation process in Rosengård. In order to narrow down the literature search, I concentrated on the key words: public space, immigrant area, (social) integration, (social) exclusion and meeting place.

Secondly, in this chapter I have defined concepts of social exclusion, social integration and outdoor integration. And thirdly, at the end I bring out the criteria of an outdoor integration supportive place. The latter I have used during the observation study carried out in the selected meeting places in order to evaluate and compare their suitability as an outdoor integration places (see Chapter 6.6, p.58).

4.1 Immigrant Areas- Places of Exclusion

Nora Räthzel in her article describes what she believes is a picture of a typical Swedish suburb:

...isolated from Swedish society unemployed people from distant countries, living on social security, dwell in poorly serviced houses, passing their days in boring idleness. (2005, p. 17)

According to Räthzel (2005) studies show that concentration of immigrants, unlike concentration of native Swedes, constitutes a problem. Immigrant areas tend to be of poor quality, suffer from exclusion and moreover, these areas tend to lack sufficient funds for any improvements to happen. Munch (2004) adds that poor neighbourhoods, under which I believe in most cases can be classified immigrant areas, are the places in the city where one can observe social exclusion most clearly. The question is- why some areas become excluded while other do not?

Some of city parts are considered to be prestigious and people want to live there Whereas other areas can become avoided. Gilroy and Speak (2000) refer to these places as “no-go places”. According to Munch (2004) just like there are winners and losers among cities, there tend to be areas within the cities that are more prosper. However, there are also those areas that, as Munch puts it, “become a concentrated focus for multiple forms of deprivation and exclusion” (2004).

So it seems that places of better preconditions thrive while places of worse preconditions are bound to deprive. The preconditions in this case can be for example location, historical and cultural background of the area and the availability of natural resources. In case of immigrant areas some of these poor preconditions could be non-competitive location, rental property, unfavorable governmental policy and previously mentioned lack of resources. All these aspects can end up in promoting poor outdoor space and poor quality architecture and contribute to process of exclusion in an area.

In the next chapter I am going to concentrate on topics of (social) exclusion and (social) integration. I personally believe promoting and supporting integration is one way of relieving or even overcoming exclusion and that is why integration is such an important process that should be promoted in immigrant or in any other easily excluded areas.

4. 2. Social Exclusion- Social Integration

In order to narrow down my investigation, I have decided to concentrate not on all aspects of integration, but to focus on the social integration. In addition, I want to introduce concept of social exclusion along with social integration (both concepts defined down below), as I believe these two processes are interrelated and, if roughly simplified, even opposite each other. Here I would like to refer to Madanipour, who writes that „It is the absence of social integration, which causes social exclusion, as individuals do not find the possibility and channels of participating in the mainstream society” (2000, p. 80). Thus, social integration has an important part in overcoming social exclusion.

In order to explain these two concepts, I have used a model that is described by Judith Allen, Göran Cars and Ali Madanipour (2000). They divide different concepts that are used to describe urban social life into two categories- positive side and negative side (see Figure 1.). On the positive side with integration are usually used words like insertion, inclusion, solidarity and cohesion. On the negative side, along with (social) exclusion, are isolation, marginalisation, segregation, fracture and socially exposed.

Between extreme forms of social exclusion and social integration is, according to Madanipour (2000), “anxiety and uncertainty” while as Göran Cars and Maud Edgren-Schori (2000) refer in their article to Castells who names the in-between “zone of vulnerability”. Thus, it is possible to position each and every individual’s social life into category ranging from extreme form of social exclusion to absolute social integration.

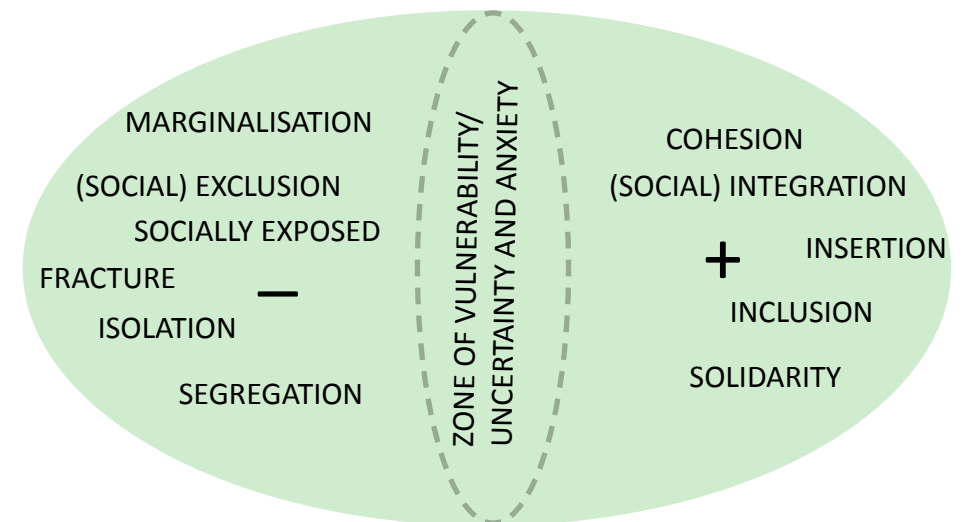


Figure 1. Different concepts of urban social life (based on Allen, Cars, Madanipour, 2000; Madanipour, 2000; Göran Cars and Maud Edgren-Schori, 2000)

Social Exclusion

Social exclusion has been referred to as a process that is “...painful for the excluded and harmful for society as a whole” (Madanipour, 2000, p. 76) and it is believed that it threatens social cohesion, economic performance and the democratic legitimacy of many cities (Andersson, 2009). Munck (2004) writes about social exclusion as a paradigm used to describe what he calls “new poverty” in a globalised society. Unlike convention poverty, social exclusion is “arguably a broader and more dynamic concept.” (Munck, 2004, p. 21). So, all together, social exclusion seems to be process that has a lot of negative impacts not only for an individual but for the society as a whole.

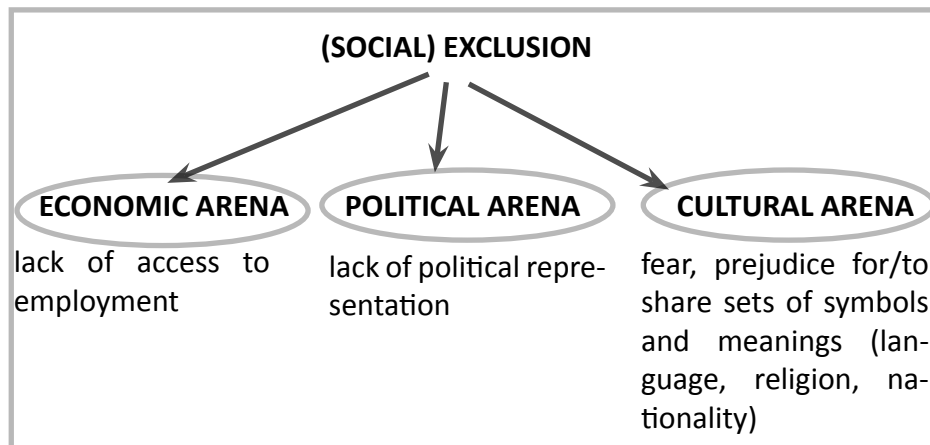


Figure 2. Three categories of social exclusion (based on Madanipour, 2000)

Madanipour (2000) writes about different forms of social exclusion and divides them into three categories: economic, political and cultural (see Figure 2. above). Though, it does not mean that there are no other forms of social exclusion, just that these three arenas according to Madanipour (2000) are the ones where social exclusion, and I believe also social integration, can be analysed and understood. Another important aspect is that all these three different categories tend to go hand in hand, or as Madanipour points out- “all forms of social exclusion are highly interre-

lated” (2000, p. 78). For example, one of the ways how social exclusion happens according to Madanipour (2000) is through physical exclusion-by defining private and public: “...division of social life into public and private spheres means drawing boundaries around some spatial and temporal domains and excluding others from these domains” (Madanipour, 2000, p. 76). Accordingly, when one wants to confront any forms of social exclusion, one has to be prepared to have a wide perspective on the subject, in order to grasp all the different aspects. The same, I believe, is true for social integration.

Madanipour argues that the concept of social exclusion still needs to be clarified, as for some “it is question of poverty”, for others “...social exclusion makes sense in the broader perspective of citizenship and integration into the social context” (2000, p. 76). So, the concept of social exclusion can be defined in many different ways. In context of this thesis social exclusion is referred to as foremost process that is the opposite of social integration that can be viewed in three main categories (economic, political and cultural).

Social Integration

The process of integration can take place on individual and on community level (Swedish Integration Policy for the 21st Century, 2002). It also means that the concept of integration can be defined in many different ways. According to Action Plan to Promote Integration in the City of Malmö (1999) “for the individual, integration means having the opportunity to participate actively in society and influence social development without having to surrender personal identity”. Accordingly, in Sweden the aim of integration is not to assimilate, but to give all people a chance to be part of the society and influence it while having the right to keep one’s own traditions, religion and cultural values.

Integration is also a process that has been referred to as “mutual” (Swedish Integration Policy for the 21st Century, 2002) process meaning that everybody is involved and have part of responsibility for the process to take place. According to the Action Plan to Promote Integration in the City of Malmö (1999) “integration is oriented towards everyone who has been excluded from society”. Thus, it means that all people, no matter of their cultural background, gender or age, that for some reason have been excluded from society, could be addressed with this concept. In terms of this thesis, social integration is a process through which one being socially excluded has the opportunity to become part of society in all three spheres- economic, political and cultural without having to surrender personal identity.

The reason why I believe social integration is such an important process in nowadays urban environment, is because of the globalisation of European cities. It means that more and more neighbouring people are going to have different mother tongues and cultural backgrounds. Madanipour refers in his article to cities as to „sites of difference“ (2000, p. 79) and „meeting places of different people“(2000, p. 79). He also quotes Sennet who has written, “A city is composed of different kinds of men; similar people cannot bring city into existence” (1996, p. 78) and Louis Wirth who believed that city is a “melting- pot of races” (1996, p. 78). Based on

pervious, city is a place of diversity and thus it should be a place of high tolerance and mutual respect. The latter does not always come naturally.

As written previously, social exclusion is a process that has been identified in European cities and shows no sign of ending. If not dealt with, it has drastic consequences not only for individual but for the whole society. In order to reduce exclusion and to achieve desired mutually respectful behavioural patterns in society, it is important to implement and work with integration strategies.

Though, there are several arguments why process of social integration is important, there are no applicable methods how one should be integrated. According to Action Plan to Promote Integration in the City of Malmö (1999) “It is up to the individual to determine the extent to which he or she wishes to accept and participate in the majority population’s way of life and values, provided that the Swedish legal system and democratic values are respected.” Thus, as it is up to the person to decide whether one wants to get in contact with local culture, politics and economy or not. Though, what I believe to be important, is to have supportive physical and social context (see Paragraph 4.3, p.21) that would help person through the integration process if one is willing to go through it.

Social integration can be influenced by two main spheres and strategies (see Figure 3. on next page). Firstly, social space- that is the typical channel through which integration is promoted. Social exclusion promoted through people based strategies means foremost that an excluded person is offered a set of social support (welfare) including job search support, local language courses, emotional support etc. Secondly, physical space, where social integration is triggered by physical space and through place-based strategies. In this sphere, I believe outdoor space and especially public open space have great importance.

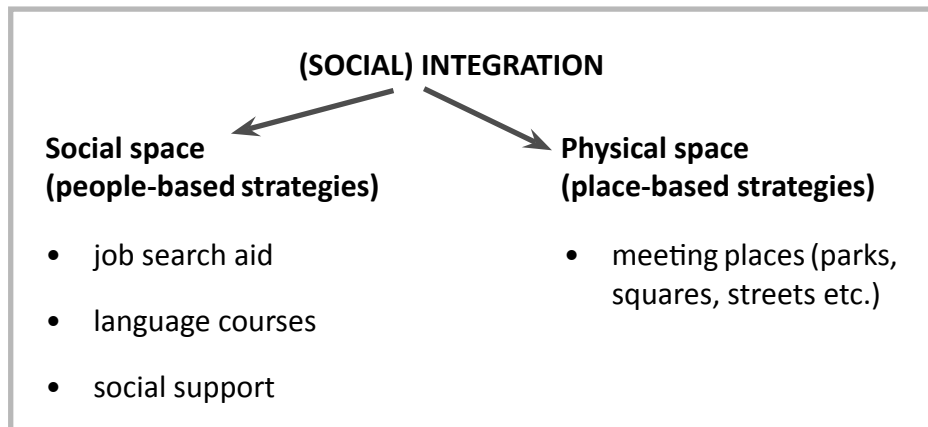


Figure 3. Two spheres and strategies of social integration (Cars, Madanipour, Allen, 2000)

Cars, Madanipour and Allen write about the necessity for balance between people-based and place-based strategies...

People-based strategies do not address those aspects of neighbourhoods which make them unsafe or unattractive, so that improving the situation of individuals is hampered by the state of their social and physical environment. At the same time, physical improvements to housing and living environments do not, in themselves, address the wider social problems experienced by residents. (2000, p. 285)

Though, both of these strategies are equally important, in order to limit my thesis, I am going to focus further on place-based strategies according to which it is possible to influence process of social integration through physical space. Andersson (2006) argues in his article that people and problems can move. Coming from that, the place itself should be under greater focus when combating social exclusion in immigrant areas. I am also going to try to bring out the importance of outdoor space and public open space in an immigrant area in terms of social integration. In order to do that, I have to introduce another concept- outdoor integration.

4.3 Outdoor Integration

When I wanted to investigate social integration that is happening in the outdoor environment, I could not find any specific word that I could use. That is why I came up with one of my own. Outdoor integration, in context of this thesis, means part of social integration process that is happening in the outdoor environment.

I see social integration foremost as a process that can take place not only indoors, but also outdoors. Both Munch (2004) and Madanipour (2000) state that exclusion is tightly connected to space, i.e. it is a “socio-spatial phenomenon” (Madanipour, 2000). Based on that, one can conclude that so is the process of social integration. Improving outdoor environment- making outdoor space more welcoming, approachable and making it into a place of versatile activities, so that it has the potentiality to promote social integration, can be one way of enriching and improving social life in an area and through that overcoming social exclusion.

I believe the process of social integration is foremost process of mixing and meeting of different people. It is process of intersection of different social networks, that could lead to information flow, mutual respect and understanding. Coming from that, public open space, as a place of highest potential accessibility, seems to be one of the most important spheres of the physical space in terms of social integration. That is why I believe it is important for me to focus on it in a more detailed way.

Public Open Space

Madanipour writes that “The common feature of a public space is that they are places outside individual or group control; the less restricted the place is the more public it becomes” (2005, p. 10). Mean and Tims (2005) in their turn stress the importance of “understanding public space from the perspective of the participant”. Depending on the activities that the public space provides it either becomes place that accumulates people or on the contrary, scares them away. So, “publicness” of a place depends upon its physical structure and the social life it forms. Truly public

spaces should be accessible to everybody- no matter of one’s age, race, economical or social status. One could thus look upon public space as a common ground or a neutral territory that has the potential ability to bring together different people.

The importance of public space in immigrant areas is crucially important. That mainly because immigrant areas have usually high number of people who are most vulnerable to exclusion due to their foreign background. Thus, they need all the help they can get, in order to get back to, what Gilroy and Speak (2000) refer to as, “normal life cycle process”. Meeting Swedish speaking people and seeing Swedish culture is of crucial importance for one to get acquainted to it. Typical case is however, that public space in immigrant areas tends to be of poor quality as these areas are considered to be of marginal importance. This all makes immigrant areas easy target for exclusion and depression.

Taking into account all the previous, public space forms a vital context where interactions between different people from different social, ethnical and age groups could possibly happen. Moreover, referring to Mean and Tims (2005) information flow that happens in the public space is the basis of the public life of cities. Thus, public spaces are one of the key places in terms of social outdoor life, or as wrote Madanipour (2005)- without public spaces city’s society cannot function. To sum up, functioning public space is vital link in terms of daily life and essential for the urban social life in general.

Changes in the role of Public Space Affecting Outdoor Integration

Here I try to outline the main changes that have been happening to the public space that are important to keep in mind when analysing the outdoor space.

Changed Square

When one looks upon public open space in nowadays European cities, one has to admit, that changes have occurred. Back in Middle Ages the core of the city life was centralized into the main multifunctional square- the marketplace, meeting place, stage for interactions (Skot-Hansen, 2008).

Jan Gehl (2003) writes how there used to be three main functions of public space: meeting place, market place and traffic/access place. If traditionally all these three functions were performed simultaneously and in mutual respect, then now some of the public spaces suffer from mono-functionality. Cities have become not only multicultural but also grown and with their size the central squares in some cities have lost their dominance. As Mishan (1993) writes in his book, the larger the city gets the more time and resources have to be spent within the city on the movement of people and goods. The city centre in terms of Malmö for example is way too distant for a person living in the outskirts of the city to get there on a daily basis without a purpose.

Deserted Public Space

Back in Middle Ages one needed to go to city centre, as it was inevitable part of their daily life and meeting people in the street was the only way to get the daily news. However, at the present time, one's life is less connected to the outdoor space due to evolution of traffic and economy. As writes Gehl (2003) "In a world being steadily privatized the public spaces are gaining an importance, but also being more demanding to design because life in the public domain is optional and not —as it used to be— a necessity". Average European city has typically more than one place where one can meet and interact. People have become more home centred and have the luxury to select the places they want to visit depend-

ing on, as Gehl (2003) refers to, the quality of the place. Mean and Tims (2005) write that people have less and less common things to share with each other and due to that, shared space in cities and towns is being lost. People are not brought together by any mutual activity as many of the public open places just do not offer it. All these tendencies have ended up in deserted public places- on one hand, one does not have a reason to go there; on another hand, they are not attractive enough.

People Do Not Walk

Another problem of nowadays outdoor space is that one does not need to move around the city by foot any more. Thus, the chance of spontaneous interaction has decreased and so has the social life that happens in the streets. However, the main reason for reduction in walking is usually lack of attractive streets or activities to be engaged in. According to Gehl (2003) the quality of public space is crucial when it comes to volume of walking and other activities done in the place. So, one way of enhancing walking in the streets would be to make the process attractive and interesting for a person.

Shopping Mall Culture

Another negative trend that was especially wide spread at the end of last century, was concentration of social life from streets into shopping malls. Gross wrote in his article:

...we collectively miss a public space organized on a pedestrian scale, that is, a setting for free personal expression and association, for collective cultural expression and transgression, and for unencumbered human interaction and material transaction. Such spaces no longer exist in the city, where open spaces are wind-swept tunnels between towering buildings, abandoned in fear to marginal populations; nor were they found after all in the suburb, which is subdivided and segregated, dominated by the automobile, and repressively predictable and safe. (1993, p. 25)

According to Gross (1993), nineteen years ago, cities no longer provided

places where social interaction could take place. All the people needed seemed to be in the shopping malls that were appealing, conveyed feeling of protection and had the ability to offer its customer happiness of shopping. It seemed that public space had gone through mutilation process and the result was something that Gross (1993) referred to as “hybrid place” that was not public, but also not completely private, but somewhere in-between.

Even though, the situation has changed for the better in recent decade, the problem of shopping-mall culture still has not vanished. Even though, the main tendency is in Europe towards strengthening and promoting street life (Gehl, 2003), there still are places that lack funds and attention for any improvements to happen. One could wonder what harm could it do besides emptying the streets between the buildings- social life still seems to go on, even though it has moved from the streets into building blocks.

The main and most serious threat of shopping mall culture is disappearance of truly public space. All those people without sufficient funds to be able to pay for goods are excluded from this mini-society. Zukin (1990) has referred to these people as to those who do not have a “credit-card citizenship”. I believe under the same category can be placed all those that “do not meet the criteria”, i.e. homeless people and finally those who do not act according to the rules imposed by the mall-owners. Mean and Tims refer to “shopping mall culture” as to “sanitized, frictionless consumer environments where architecture and technology are used to filter out undesirable people and groups” (2005). Thus, shopping malls, it seems, are not the best places for social integration due to their selective character.

One could ask, if people do spend most of their free time in shopping malls as suggested Jon Gross (1992) or in their cars driving from point A to point B, then maybe there is no need for the public spaces that would bring people together. Yet, according to Gehl (2003, b)...

The fact that people —in all parts of the world— respond enthusiastically to these new opportunities for partaking in public life in public spaces, underlines that public spaces where people can meet is an important asset in the present day society. And possibly more so than 20, 30 or 50 years ago.

Mean and Tims write also about “new wave of enthusiastic investment for public space under the tag line of urban renaissance” (2005, p. 9). So, if one wants to re-establish lively and sustainable social outdoor life, and by sustainable I mean city where people (no matter where they live or what kind of background they have) feel that they are part of the society and not left aside, what one needs to do is to invest into functioning and inclusive public open places.

Public Opens Space and Outdoor Integration

Further down I try to outline the main effects the public open space (depending on its quality) can have on the process of social integration:

- **Mix of different people, accessible for everybody**

Public places are important in terms of seeing different people as these areas are potentially most accessible from the whole outdoor space. So one, no matter of economical, political or social status, should be able to use the public space and thus contribute to social integration by adding to the diversity.

The process of social integration is very versatile and complex. On one hand it is a process that an individual has to go through by oneself- learn the language, find a job and place to live, but on the other hand it is also a social process- making friends in a local society, participate in the community life etc. As is written in the Action Plan to Promote Integration in the City of Malmö (1999): “Integration is impossible without communication and mutual understanding between people, accompanied by awareness and sensitivity towards one another’s cultures, perspectives, and communities.” In this case, successful public space gives people a platform for interactions and observations and through that a chance to

gain above mentioned awareness and understanding.

- **Loos ties**

Meeting in public space is, despite popularity of internet and virtual socialisation, still very attractive to people (Gehl, 2003). People enjoy being around other people and observe them. According to Hedvig Vestergaard (2005) outdoor space has an important part in formation of “loose ties”. In her article she refers to Liedholm and Lindberg according to whom “Without loose contacts, indifferent and negative behaviour is encouraged” (2005, p. 121). Public space thus gives person a chance to interact in many different social levels that are important for normal everyday life.

- **Information flow**

As mentioned earlier, public space is essential in promoting social outdoor life and thus generating information flow. Cars and Edgren-Schori argue in their article that for an immigrant work is very important in terms of “making social contacts, using the Swedish language, learning about social norms and cracking the codes of everyday life.” (2000, p. 269) At the same time person, who is excluded, faces the problems of having poor information on how to get the work (Cars and Edgren-Schori, 2000). Gilroy and Speak add...

Employers rely on their workers using word of mouth to recruit someone from their own circle. It follows that it is important to have friends who have jobs to gain a chance of getting one yourself. (2000, p. 97)

So it means that public open space, as theoretically a place of high tolerance and acceptance, can offer person a chance through interaction build up social network and through that obtain valuable information- thus, could promote social integration on economic and political level.

- **Overcoming fear of “others”- increase trust**

Fear of strangers or foreigners according to Action Plan to Promote Integration in the City of Malmö (1999) may be coming from lack of

knowledge about “the others”- i.e. ethnically, culturally, or linguistically different groups. Madanipour (2005) adds that social segregation and polarization are the main reason for fear of “other” leading to “fragmented and alienated population unable to tolerate others and even unaware of the problems the other individuals and groups are facing” (Madanipour, 2005, p. 12). So, in order to overcome this problem one needs to have places to get a chance to see different people on a daily basis in order to learn about them and their habits and thus get over the fear.

Mean and Tims (2005) write that there is no doubt that by improving the quality of public places it is possible to increase people’s trust of one another. Moreover, they see public space as a substance where people are obliged to relate and to learn about others:

It is within the physical space of our towns and cities that people encounter one another on a daily basis and share experiences with people beyond their immediate circle of friends, family and work colleagues. It is where people are obliged to relate to other’s behaviour, ideas and preferences as they go about meeting their own personal needs. Parks, streets and other public spaces provide the necessary bandwidth for the flow of information between people; they are where we learn who we live with, what they look like and what they do. (2005, p. 16)

Based on all the previous, public space could help to reduce alienation between people and help them to overcome fear of “others”. That all mainly by acting as a meeting place where spontaneous interaction and observation can take place leading to more tolerant and thus more integration supportive society.

- **Tackle social fragmentation through improving image of a place**

Bad image of an area does not only mean lower rents, but also can become a barrier for the residents living in the particular area, as they might not be accepted by people living in other city parts. Gilroy and Speak write in their article: “For those in excluded neighbourhoods, oth-

er people's perceptions of the places in which their live may serve to imprison residents" (2000, p. 98). By establishing public opens spaces that are attractive not only for local people, but also for those from other city parts, one can re-introduce the area to the outsiders. That way it is possible to improve the image of a place and break down the barrier in way of integration.

- **Learn about other cultures (local language, behaviour)**

Public open space is able to supports social integration in the cultural arena by giving a person a chance to get to know sets of symbols and meanings that belong to unknown local culture. Healey writes that "Living in a place exposes people to particular processes of constrains and opportunity which significantly shape their social worlds" (2000, p. 58). So if one has the access to public open space where one can hear local language and see local ways of behaving and interacting, one, I believe, can more easily integrate into new society than the one that lacks any contact with local people. Thus, the outdoor space has potentially the ability to promote social integration on the cultural level.

- **Explore unknown**

"It is the balance between the challenges of difference and the securities of a common ground, which enable humans to develop their curiosity and explore the unknown." (Rähtzel, 2005, p. 29) I believe that in order to make the society more tolerant, and thus more open to new people, there have to be places that allow one to get in contact with unexpected and new. Public open space that is universally accessible and welcoming, could be theoretically perfect place for that.

- **"Supportive context"**

Carr, Madanipour and Allen write in their article about importance of development of "supportive context within which people can accomplish their daily life and flourish" (2000, p. 288). For one to be able to "participate actively in society" (Action Plan to Promote Integration in the City of Malmö, 1999) one has to have a place where one could form social network, place where one could contribute to urban life and place where

one feels welcomed, safe and open towards other people. I believe that successful public open space can form that supportive platform that will help person to cope with ones daily life and enrich it on a daily basis.

To sum up, outdoor public space is important link in the process of social integration. By making the public open space accessible to everybody and attractive place to go to, it is possible to support spontaneous interaction and observation of people that can potentially lead to more tolerant society and help to reduce feeling of exclusion.

4.4 Criteria of an Outdoor Integration Supportive Place

Gehl (2006) divides activities happening in a public place into three main categories: necessary activities, optional activities and social activities. Social activities according to him, “depend on the presence of others in public space” (2006, p. 12). Accordingly, it is important that the place is used by people. At the same time he calls all social activities “resultant” activities, as they usually come naturally along with necessary and optional activities. Thus, the more the public space supports the two first categories of activities, the more there is a chance for social activities to happen. Accordingly, the better the quality of the public space, the more people will use the place and the more people will perform optional activities that contributes to increase in social activities. But what makes a public space of high quality or in other words- what makes a good public space?

Gehl (2003) has defined good public space as “almost universally loved and well used”. I believe outdoor integration is foremost process that can happen in a good public space (or a place that conveys that feeling) with a “supportive context” for the social interaction and observation. However, Gehl admits that the methods for securing good quality public space are very poorly developed. Nonetheless, one of the aims of this thesis is to analyse the most popular meeting places from the point of view of social integration. Accordingly, there is a need for a criteria that would allow comparison between different outdoor places. Based on the literature, nature of social integration and my own experience and judgement I have come up with criteria of an outdoor integration supportive place.

Outdoor integration supportive place has to be:

1. ATTRACTIVE: multifunctional, popular place to go to

Outdoor integration supportive place has to be attractive for its users in order to be used, as the latter is of crucial importance for social integration. Attractiveness of a place in its turn, I believe, is firstly, affected by the possible activities that can be undertaken

in a place- having “overlapping activities” (Kvarning, 2010) makes a place more attractive for a user; secondly, number of people using the place- i.e. popularity of the place. In terms of outdoor integration it is also important that the place would be used by different people. Thus, attractive place, I believe, tends to be multifunctional and it is popular place to go to.

2. ACCESSIBLE: mentally accessible (public place, safe), physically accessible (defined, close to people, easy to find, no physical barriers)

The place has to be accessible. Here physical accessibility is as important as mental accessibility. By mental accessibility I mean firstly, that the place has to feel public, so that one could have the courage to enter it. Secondly, it has to convey feeling of safety.

In terms of physical accessibility the place has to be universally readable- i.e. defined, so that a person would know how to use the place and also be able to identify the boundaries of the place. Lars Johansson (2010), during conference held in Lund, stressed the importance of defining the green spaces in the city in order to improve orientation and thus contribute to more approachable spaces in the city. Henry Shaftoe (2008) adds that “in terms of public space, it means knowing where you are, knowing how to get to where you want to be and feeling that the space has visual coherence.” He also points out that because signs, and different bits of street furniture (old equipment that has not been removed, clutter, misleading signs, lamp posts in the middle of the road) are added, many of our public spaces are becoming incoherent and confusing.

If looked upon from wider perspective, then in order to secure that the place is used by people from different parts of the city, it is essential that the place would be part of bigger network of well-used and attractive public places. According to Shaftoe (2008)

case studies show that the most successful urban areas have a network of different public open spaces, or as he puts it: “clusters, sequences and strings of spaces”. This secures that every individual will find a place to be and will allow variety of activities on the places not to mention the chance to linger through the city and contribute to more diverse street life.

And finally, there should be no physical obstacles in terms of accessing the place. According to Madanipour (2000, b) by promoting accessibility it is possible to promote social integration.

3. MAKE A PERSON WANT TO STOP OR SLOW DOWN AND BE ENGAGED

I believe that in terms of social integration the place has to create relaxed and open atmosphere. The more the person is open to engagements and the more one feels relaxed, the higher is the chance of having positive interaction with the co-users of the place. For a place to be able to motivate people gathering and interaction it has to make people to slow down or even stop. The possibilities to sit are thus really important. On one hand, the sitting places have to give a person a chance to observe, give good overview of what is happening around. On the other hand, psychologically people prefer to sit in sheltered places where they can be hidden if they feel like it (Gehl, 2006). Also, the shape of the place itself is important. It must not be too big, in order not to look deserted, or too small, so that it would have room for different people with respect to their personal space.

The most important criteria, in terms of outdoor integration supportiveness, I believe is the attractiveness of the place and to be more precise the aspect whether the place is used by many different people or not. Equally important is the accessibility of a place and especially its publicness. At the same time I think that all these criteria points are interconnected and usually go hand in hand.

And finally, in order to draw out an example of what I believe is a good

place that supports outdoor integration I would like to refer to Möllevången. It is place that is used by many different people. It offers its visitors lots of different activities depending on time, day and season. It is most of the time a place of high physical and mental accessibility. Finally, due to the market, people seem to be more open towards each other and are willing to take the time to observe other people and do not mind being observed themselves.

5. INVESTIGATING INTEGRATION STRATEGIES FOR OUTDOOR SPACE

When I first set my goal to find out what are the strategies of Malmö City Planning Office for public open space in order to promote integration in Rosengård, I assumed that such a big and multicultural city would have one or a set of documents that would give directions on how to deal with the public open space in the city and would have outlined the main strategic concepts. So, when I started to go through different literature, I tried to find also documents that would refer or would be dealing with the outdoor space and its connection to process of integration in Malmö, but it turned out to be much harder than I thought it to be.

First obstacle I had to face immediately was the language barrier; second, lack of material that would handle the issue of public open space or public open space and its connection to process of integration. Though, finally I managed to find some documents on integration policy in Malmö City and documents that were dealing with Rosengård area on the planning level.

Further down is the document study and the outcome of the interviews with Malmö City planners that I have used in order to find out about the integration strategies for public open space in Rosengård.

5.1 Documents Concerning Public Space and Integration

After looking through several documents concerning Malmö or Sweden in general, I have selected five most important documents that I believe are most relevant in finding the answer to my question. The documents are: Swedish Integration Policy for the 21-st Century (2002), Comprehensive Plan (2000), Green Plan for Malmö (2000), Strategy for Outdoor Space in Rosengård Connection to Malmö and Identity in Öresundsregion (Strategi för uterummen i Rosengård, förbindelser till Malmö och identitet i Öresundsregionen) (2007) and Sustainable City Development in Rosengård (Rosengård! Strategier för hållbar utveckling i en stadsdel) (2008).

The first document, Integration Policy for the 21st Century (2002) is regional integration related document that foremost stresses “better introduction of new arrivals” and “positive development in segregated housing areas”. Comprehensive Plan of Malmö City (2000) clarifies that in terms of social life in Malmö it is important to establish “all- round composite city districts that would in their own turn encourage integration”. Thus, on the basis of these two documents, it can be said that integration is seen as a process that can be affected by the physical space.

Green Plan for Malmö (2000), document that is focused foremost on the green areas in Malmö, brings out that there is a need for cohesive and highly accessible green network in the whole city. It also brings out that green environment is essential in social context in terms of being public meeting place.

The rest two documents are more recent and more detailed. Both of them focus on the changes that should be undertaken in Rosengård for it to become better city district. Further down is the summary of the main aims that these documents bring out in terms of public space and which I believe are also connected to the improvement of social integration in Rosengård.

Strategy for Outdoor Space in Rosengård Connection to Malmö and Identity in Öresundsregion (2007):

- connect the area to the inner city- improve conditions for people from inside and outside the area to meet and mix
- from mono-functional area into multifunctional area- make Rosengård more diverse, give people activities, improve the whole image of the area
- improve safety in the area
- improve orientation in the area
- make boundaries between different green rooms more distinct
- create green places for meetings

Sustainable City Development in Rosengård (2008):

- add attractions and places of excitement along the main street- give people reason to be in the area
- expand trade as typical meeting places are of commercial nature
- create more inclusive meeting places- helps to establish diverse community; create a square; new trains station as a new, attractive and important meeting place for many different people
- make parks attractive to the whole Malmö- bring in people from outside the area
- open up sport sites so that more people could be engaged
- support spontaneously emerged meeting places

So, in general all these changes in Rosengård should potentially improve the (social) life quality of those living in the area and at the same time make Rosengård more valuable place in a context of whole Malmö.

5.2 Outcome of the Interviews with Specialists from Malmö City

My second attempt to shed some light on my subject of investigation was to try to obtain knowledge from the professionals in this field. After background research I found out, that potentially the most knowledgeable person in this field is Magdalena Alevra. I was hoping that she, as a person who has been working with Rosengård for many years, would finally have the answer to my question- what are the integration strategies of the City Planning Office when they are dealing with public open space in Rosengård.

The interview with Magdalena Alevra can be found on page 38. What came out, after I had talked to her, was that she could not give me any legal document or an official list of strategies that would be targeted on enhancing social integration through physical space in Rosengård. Though, she suggested me to get in contact with the Parks and Streets Department, who had been also working with the outdoor space in Rosengård.

Tobias Starck from the Parks and Streets Department (interview can be found on p. 42), who at that moment was working on a project called Rosengård Straket, confirmed that the municipality of Malmö does not have the strategy I was looking for. Though, during the interview, I found out that there is a set of documents and research done in this field that work as a background documents (introduced previously on p. 25) for the projects that have been undertaken in Rosengård. Though, the planners do not use all existing projects the way they are (as some of them are too old to be used, some do not meet up with their goals). What they have been trying to achieve is a synthesis of the background material and their own thoughts and implement the outcome while working with the area and its outdoor space.

5.3 Conclusion

After having gone through the official documents that I managed to find and that were suggested by the specialists from the Malmö City and on the basis of the two interviews with the most knowledgeable persons in this field from the Malmö's municipality, I had to admit that there is no official document that would have the integration strategy for Rosengård's public open space. In fact, the Planning Office of Malmö City was at the moment of my investigation just starting the process of deeper analysis of the area and the outdoor space (including meeting places) in order to have additional guidelines and strategies for the area. The process they were undertaking involved synthesis of their own thoughts and the existing documents that I outlined previously (see p. 25).

Even though neither Magdalena Alevra nor Tobias Starck could not give me a structured strategy that they are using in their everyday work, I still think that I got a few important goals, among which definitely is social integration of Rosengård's residents, that they keep in mind when dealing with outdoor space in Rosengård. These undocumented thoughts that I managed to write down can be seen also in some of the documents I managed to find, thus it is synthesis of different previously made documents and the thoughts the municipality has at the present moment.

To sum up, here I try to list out the **main undocumented integration strategies for public open space in Rosengård that I constructed on the basis of the interviews with Magdalena Alevra and Tobias Starck:**

- **connect Rosengård to the inner city** that would allow people from outside to come more easily into the area and vice versa
- **establish diverse area by adding functions**- monofunctional area has to be transformed into multifunctional area that would be more appealing to everybody and thus would contribute to more dynamic social life in the area
- **improve orientation in the area**- connect different parts of the district; contributes to more accessible city
- **make streets more attractive and safe for those living inside and outside the area**- open up and thus connecting buildings facing the streets to the streets; contributes to more diverse and stable living environment
- **create more different kinds of meeting places** (develop further the existing ones) **that would be attractive and accessible to local people and to the outsiders**- mutually attractive and accessible meeting places help to reduce exclusion in the area and establish better image of the area
- **establish multifunctional meeting places**- connect meeting places to the surrounding structure and activities
- **establish a central public open meeting point- a square**- it will give people accessible place to go to and a place for mutual activities
- **establish a network of meeting places** that would help person to enter the area more easily and would serve as a guideline that could contribute to better orientation

6. CASE STUDY IN ROSENGÅRD

The case study is made up of short introduction to the area, unstructured observation study that is followed by interviews with Malmö City planners and people living in and visiting Rosengård. In the end I conduct structured observation study in the selected meeting places. Based on all this information I try to firstly, find out what people think of the outdoor space in the area, whether they use it and try to identify the main problems in the outdoor space. Secondly, evaluate the selection of the most popular meeting places in terms of outdoor integration supportiveness.

6.1 Rosengård

Rosengård (see p. 30, 31) is a place where one can find people from all over the world- refugees, people that have come from other countries hoping to find better work conditions, students and those of small income, waiting for their situation to improve. This is the place of 50 different language groups¹, though small amount of people living in Rosengård know Swedish.

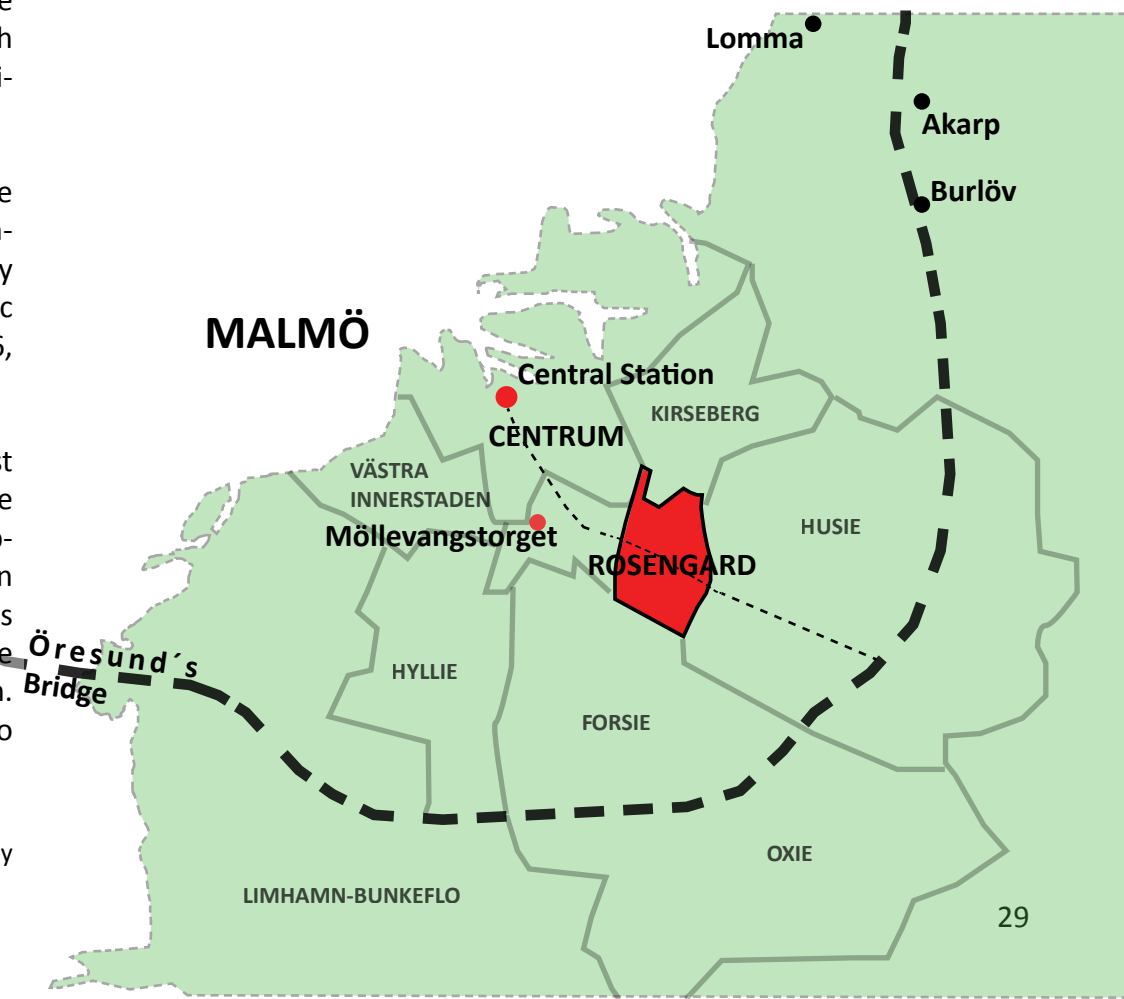
If until late 1970s immigrants from the other Nordic countries made up the majority of migrants in Sweden then starting from the early 1980s the situation changed. People from Asia, Africa, and Eastern Europe started to outweigh other immigrants. From the mid- 1970-s, along with family reunions, refugees became the main source of immigration (Schierup, Hansen, Castles, 2006, pg 195).

The reason for such a high number of immigrants in Sweden is because immigration has not been regulated until recent times (Cars and Edgren-Schori, 2000). Beginning from 1960s Sweden had a very liberal policy according to which foreign citizens got full rights to welfare and public services and easy access to citizenship. (Schierup, Hansen, Castles, 2006, pg 196).

At the present time Sweden and Malmö continues to be one of the most popular destinations for asylum seekers. This confirms data that can be found on Swedish Migration Board's (Migrationsverket, 2010) homepage according to which number of asylum seekers coming to Sweden in the early years of the 2000s has increased. One can assume that this tendency has been triggered by: firstly, the opening of Öresund bridge in year 2000 and secondly, Sweden joining the Schengen cooperation. Open borders mean that more and more EU citizens find their way to Sweden either to work or study.

¹All statistical data in this chapter is (if not referred otherwise) taken from Malmö City homepage.

Size: **3.3 km²**- one of the smallest city district in Malmö
22 262 residents from from **111 different countries**
(Population December 2008, Statistics Sweden).





Rosengård in pictures



Rosengård in pictures

Housing

The high-rising houses in Rosengård were mainly built during the 1960's and 1970's under the so called "Miljon-programmet". This was a program according to which million new residences were built in Sweden in order to reduce shortage of cheap housing. The southern part of Rosengård is mainly made up of rental houses. In the northern part lies the cemetery and in the north-west industrial area. The density of the dwelling area is in terms of Sweden quite high and many flats are overcrowded by immigrants. Recently a student housing has been built in the eastern part of Rosengård.

Dwellers

When the new residents were built, immigrant population was brought into the district, causing Swedish population gradually to move elsewhere. At the moment the population in Rosengård is relatively young. According to Malmö homepage 35 percent of the residents are under 20 and only six percent are over 70 years. The population in Rosengård is growing and that is happening mainly due to the growth of asylum seekers that are allowed to stay in Sweden.

High Mobility, Low Income and Lots of Greenery

According to the Malmö City homepage and the Sustainable City Development in Rosengård(2008) the mobility in Rosengård is extensive. Between 2002 and 2006 about 9800 new residents moved into Rosengård while nearly 10 500 people moved out of it- that is almost half of Rosengård's population. The income rates of those living in Rosengård, if compared to other parts of Malmö, are lower than those of who live in other city districts.

Despite high density inside the district, Rosengård is quite green area. Residents have access to 29 m² of green space per each person that is quite high if compared to average in Malmö that is 33 m² (Sustainable City Development in Rosengård, 2008).



6.2 Getting to Know the Area

Meeting Places

Starting point for me to get broader information about Rosengård and its outdoor space was the approach that I had selected- i.e. everyday-life approach. According to it, researcher should take the position of a participant and more importantly, one should take into account all the experiences and feelings that one registers in the process (Madanipour, 1996).

As written in the Theoretical Background chapter (p. 17), I believe that potentially the best places where social integration can happen are public (open) places. There is no golden rule how one should build an attractive and functioning public space (Gehl and Gemzoe, 1996) and that is why despite the number of public spaces in a city, it is a rare case when all of them are functioning as public spaces that are attractive, used and have established as a popular place for outdoor meetings. That is why I have decided to concentrate my investigation of outdoor integration in Rosengård first of all, on locating most popular meeting places in the area that are actually used by people on their daily basis and secondly, try to evaluate them from the aspect of social integration.

Meeting places in a city context can be either spontaneously emerged- people socialising in front of grocery store or in the streets; or meeting places that have been created intentionally by municipality, but at the same time are affected by history (everyday life). Under this category I

believe belong for example playgrounds, squares and market places.

The reason why I believe meeting places are the most important from all the other places that can be identified in the outdoor space is because meeting places, in its essence, are the places where people gather and socialise. Depending on the openness and attractiveness of a meeting place, I believe, the place can be either integration supportive or on the contrary, deepen the feeling of (social) exclusion of those being left out.

Meeting place, in context of this thesis is a spatially defined place where people tend to gather and meet in the outdoor space. That has also been the basis of the criteria for my meeting place selection (except one deserted square, see p. 35).

In order to get to know the site, I took several bike trips and short walks across most of the area (main path marked on the map, p. 35). My main interest during these excursions was to generate image of Rosengård on my own and locate most popular gathering places- whether it was group of middle-aged men in front of the shopping center discussing daily events or groups of teenagers hanging near the main street.

I decided to visit Rosengård on different weeks and weekdays, including Sunday. Each visit lasted approximately 1,5 hours (see Methodology,



p.10). I also tried to walk around the most interesting streets and tried to notice the areas that would make me want to stop the bike and have a closer look. Biking proved to be most efficient way to do this part of investigation as I moved not too fast in order to get the overall impression of the site and not too slow, meaning that I was able to cover the whole Rosengård in one visit. During these visits I marked down all the places where I could see people gathering or the places that I thought could potentially attract people to go to.

Getting Around the Area

When I first entered Rosengård, I straight away drove by Bokaler and it caught my eye, as it was very lively and vibrant place. All the other places along the bike line were quite hard to identify, as Rosengård is a typical residential area with lots and lots of building blocks. The problem that I had to face immediately was getting disoriented. I found that the two-level moving pattern, where pedestrians and cars are separated on two different levels, was very confusing and I managed to lose my track several times despite the map that I had with me.

Users of the Space

One of my main aims was to find out whether people that are living in this district use their outdoor space or not and if they do- what are their main activities. After these brief visits I had to admit, that streets in Rosengård are filled with people no matter what time or day of the week it was. Another observation that I recorded during site visits was that depending on the time of the day, the people that could be seen on the streets changed. If in the morning and at lunch time I saw a lot of children and women, then after 5pm the men started to dominate the area.

Chance of Interaction

If I have to give my opinion on how supportive was the environment in general in Rosengård during my first cycle tours, then I have to say that it all depended on the time and the place. During daytime the playgrounds and parks were quite nice, though slightly deserted. But I presume that if knowing the language, then it could be very easy to establish a con-

tact, as people in general were very friendly. The meeting places near the shops inside the area had typically groups of men standing here and there across the area but at the same time there were a lot of women with their trolleys. Overall- the atmosphere during daytime was quite safe and welcoming. But when the school ended and the parents came back from work, the scene changed. Somehow, especially areas near the main street (Bennets vägen) were suddenly filled with men. I cannot say that they were somehow hostile, but for me as for a woman and for a foreigner, the atmosphere felt a bit uncomfortable.

Feelings, Emotions

Even though I felt quite safe in the area, I still did not dare to visit Rosengård during the evening or at night-time. The main reasons for that were me being alone and not knowing much of Swedish and no Arabic. It made me feel a bit uneasy, as I could not understand what people were talking about around me. Also, it was sometimes hard for me to be in the area as in some parts I felt to be the only woman there- especially challenging for me personally was when I had to pass groups of men that gathered on the corners of the building blocks. During daytime Rosengård was, if left aside some parts of it, quite a friendly place, but I have to admit that I felt the attention from (presumably) local people throughout all of my visits. Especially uncomfortable were my first visits to the area, as I was definitely under the impression of the negative information I had obtained from internet, television and newspapers. At the same time, I can say that my image of Rosengård changed a lot and for the better after I had got to know the area more.

Locating Places of Interests

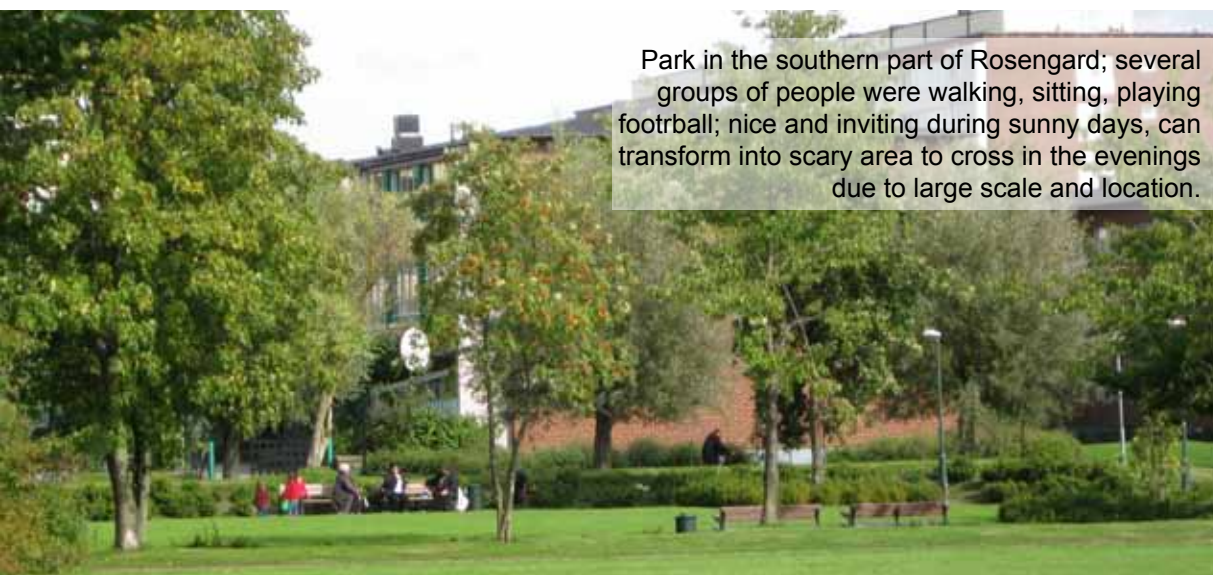
The most popular places that I located on my own can be seen on the maps shown on the following pages (see Figure 4, p 35). The selection was done based on the activity marks on the street furniture and number of people in the site. I also were interested in the sites that I, as a newcomer, would like to go to.



Cemetery in the northern part of Rosengard; nice, green and peaceful area.



Slatan's courtyard with a football field that seemed to be very popular place among kids and teenagers.



Park in the southern part of Rosengard; several groups of people were walking, sitting, playing football; nice and inviting during sunny days, can transform into scary area to cross in the evenings due to large scale and location.

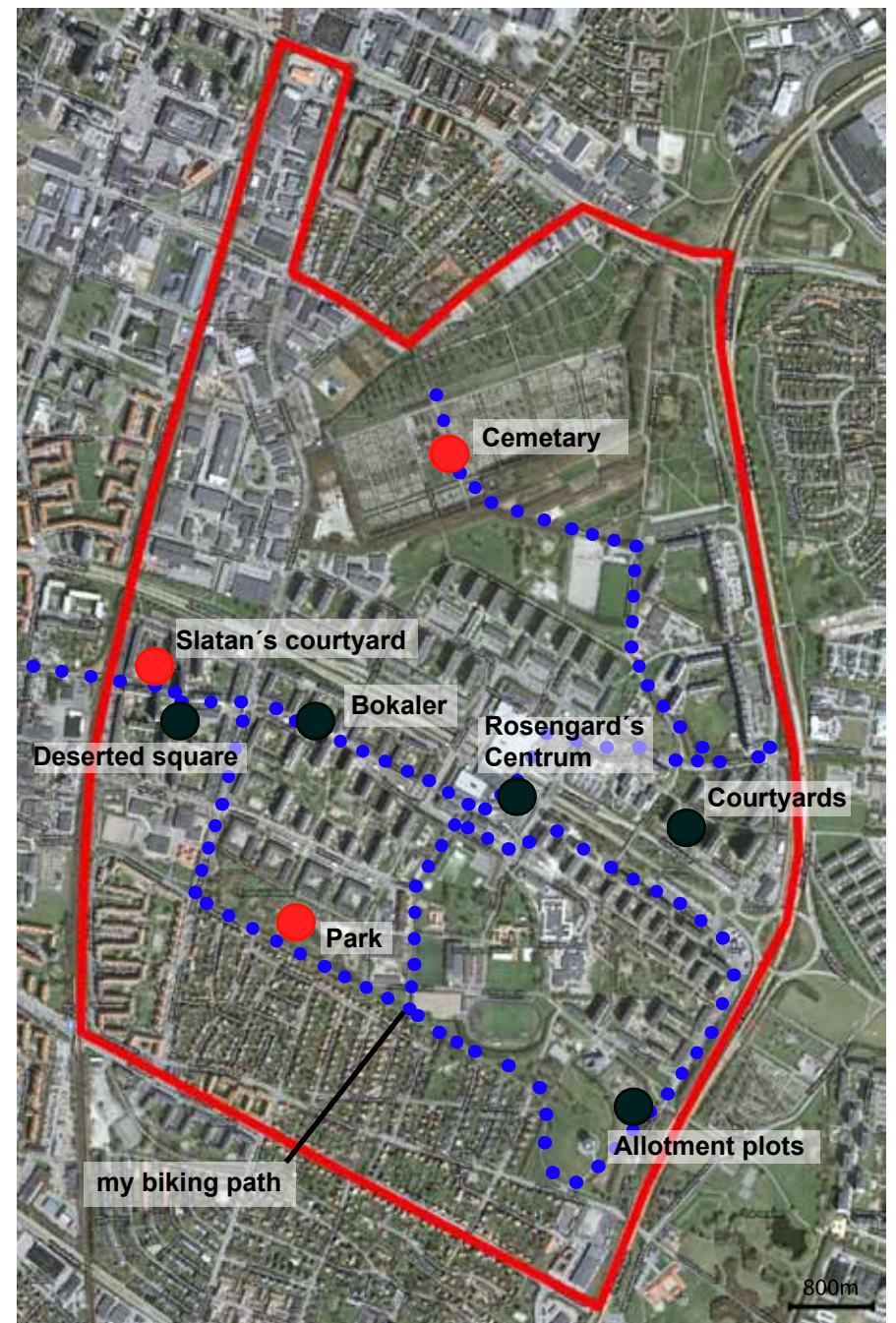
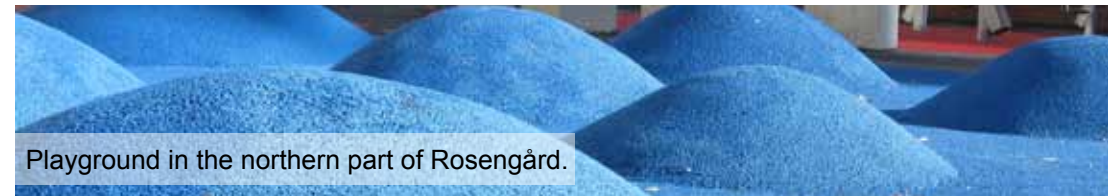
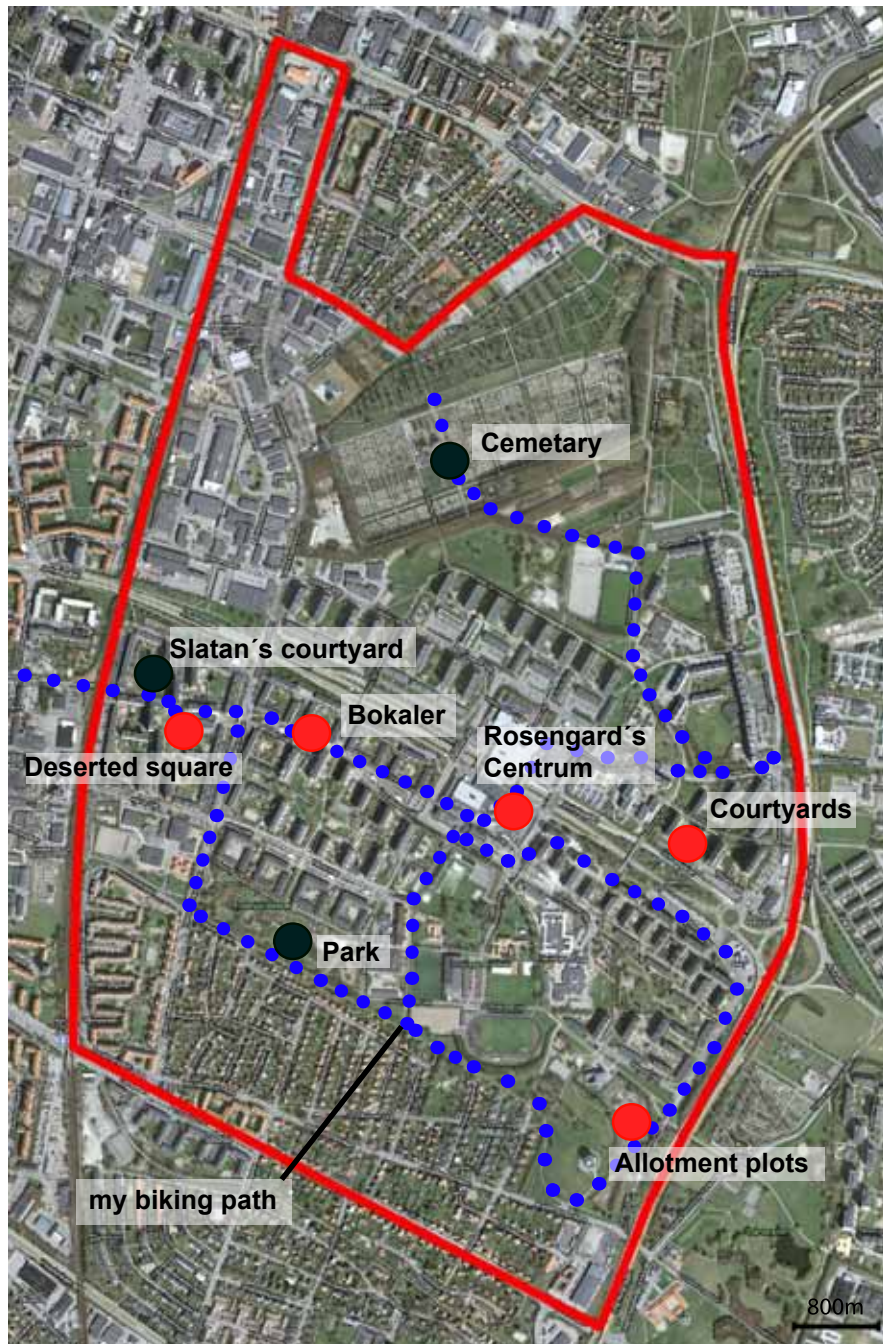


Figure 4. Popular meeting places located during cycle-tours



6.3 Interviews with the Planners from Malmö City

The aim of the interviews with planners from Malmö City was to find out their perspectives and thoughts on Rosengård. The main questions that I wanted their opinion on was what do they think are important meeting places in Rosengård, the (integration) strategies they are using for the outdoor space, main problems in the outdoor space in the area and also to find out what have they been doing in this area and what are their future plans.

Magdalena Alevra- City Planning Office (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, planavdelningen)

profession: architect

position in the Planning Office: city planner (has worked there for 8 years)

connection to Rosengård: her main work tasks are making strategic plans and working with different projects that are mainly in Rosengård; she started to work with small projects in Rosengård already in 2003

Meeting Places

Definition and Creation of a Meeting Place

In the document Sustainable City Development in Rosengård (2008) made by Magdalena Alevra meeting places are stressed as important places in socially sustainable neighbourhood. They are referred to as typically outdoor places (parks, squares, allotment gardens, playgrounds) where people can come together in a simple and easy manner and have significant impact on everyday life, homely feeling and peace of mind. In terms of Rosengård, the document stresses the need for safe and inspiring meeting places where interaction could take place and more places for different user groups, where all can meet.

Magdalena Alevra explained during her interview that when they are talking about the importance of meeting places in this document they have not yet defined what kind of meeting places there should be. "The meeting places can be inside and outside; there are meeting places that are meant for some activity, e.g. football... but then you have other kinds of meeting places that you do not have a name for especially." Magdalena explained that their main objective is to create many different kinds of meeting places throughout the area.

When I asked if it is easier to support and develop further already existing meeting places instead of creation new one on an empty spot, Magdalena agreed. She added: "Sometimes there are places that are used in

an informal way, so it is possible to make them stronger; define them, add opportunities to sit, add lighting".

She explained that they have still to define what is meant by strengthening or creation of one or another meeting place, adding that sometimes people design meeting places themselves. For example she mentioned place under the bridge- small falafel selling wagon that works as a meeting place in the evenings and after school. She added: "It is not nice, but people gather there." She stressed that in some cases meeting places are not public but act as public places (like meeting place in front of Rosengård's Centre).

She said that they have not yet identified the places where people in Rosengård usually meet and that is exactly what they are going to work on in the future. So far they have had discussions with people working in this area connected to their previous research work. The outcome of those talks was that they got some information on where people usually go after work or school, but now they have planned to do that in a more structured way. That, she finds, is especially important if they want to give suggestions for the future meeting places.

During the interview it came out that so far the main efforts have been on establishing meeting places inside the houses like in schools and other places that are owned by municipality or that are rented by it. Magdalena summed up the issue of meeting places in the area by saying that: "There are lot of meeting places inside, not so many outside".

Strategies for Public Open Space in Rosengård

When I asked her about integration strategy they have for public space in this area, she said that they do not have a strategy for public open space in Rosengård, but the municipality has other strategies for the whole living area. She explained that other guidelines for public space are more

on detail level- “it is more on how you build, take care of the places and how one uses them.”

When I asked what are their main objectives and goals when they are dealing with public open space in Rosengård, it seemed to her to be very hard to answer. Magdalena said that they have some program from 1995-strategy for the streets that includes bike lanes. Though, she admitted, that when she started to work with Rosengård, it was a bit too old to combine with their thoughts.

Magdalena explained that they (the municipality) have not worked with the physical structure of Rosengård as a whole. They have been dealing with physical aspects in context of some smaller projects, spots. She explained that the document Sustainable City Development in Rosengård (2008) tries to put it all together. She also stressed that this is just the beginning. It is kind of plan-programme and they want to make more studies in a more defined area; try to point out where the important and good places are today and how can one connect them and make even stronger. This is the first collective work that tries to define what should be focused on when the aim is to have changes in the area. “It does not exactly say what should be done; rather it describes the most important aspects of Rosengård district”. Magdalena explained that at the moment they are working on the next step of this document, as municipality has decided to work with Herrgården in a focused way.

Popular Meeting Places in Rosengård

Magdalena believes that the meeting places in front of Rosengård’s Centre are the most popular and attractive places because of the shops that draw people there. “But the problem is that it has no public space connected to the shopping centre.” She added that problematic is not only the lack of public open space, but also the structure itself (mainly access to and from the centre), that is confusing and hard to communicate. Moreover, even though it is the only place that is visited by people living outside the area, they reach the Centre by car. I could not resist arguing that then it means that those people do not actually visit Rosengård, just

the shopping centre, with what Magdalena agreed.

One of the recent projects/meeting places that Magdalena seemed to be very positive about was Bokaler. According to her, it has already established as a place to meet, bike through and take walks along. “Many people living in Rosengård bike to Möllevången and get their groceries there. It is also the road for bikers and pedestrians to go to and from work or city centre.” She explained that the people moved into the houses in the beginning of 2010. “The most unique thing is that the shops are connected to the housing. So, there is an opportunity for a person to have an apartment and work at the same place.” She added that at the moment the area is still being tested. “It is interesting to see what happens to the space if other functions are put into structure along this communication line.” What happens according to Magdalena is that the life of the area turns inside out. “Before all the entrances were turned away from the streets. Now the entrances are facing the street. This fact helps to make the street into a new meeting point. It gives a reason for bypasses to stop- whether to buy something or meet somebody.” She said that they are going to develop the space in front of the houses as well so eventually it will become a place to sit and observe people and have a cup of coffee along it.

She admitted that they have not had any statistical analysis to confirm or overrule the fact that with the establishment of the bike lane and Bokaler more people from outside Rosengård are coming into the district, as it is very hard to measure. Though, she said that it is possible for one who has seen the place before the changes that something has happened, because people are gathering there in another way than before.

Other popular meeting places that she could name in the area were the football fields. She believes that they are definitely attractive place to go to for those involved in that activity. But also other sports fields, football lawn, outdoor bath, park areas, ice skating ring. Especially important in terms of attracting people not only from inside Rosengård, but also from outside the area, she thought, is water playground.

Meeting Places- Integration

When I asked her about what is her opinion on the importance of outdoor space and particularly meeting places in terms of integration, Magdalena agreed that meeting places are important in terms of integration of people into society. Though, she strongly believes that they have to give something more to the area. The meeting places should be connected to other functions; connected to what happens on the sides.

She thought that one of the main problems in Rosengård is the structure of the area. "The buildings are turned away from the places where one meets people. There is a need to connect the places." She clarified that a place can be attractive if it is a nice place to be in, but one needs also something that would make one stop there, "it can be either to buy something or if one sees something interesting and wants to have a closer look".

One of the meeting points they have been working with is a Vänskapsparken park in Herrgården that was established in June 2010. This was one of the projects where local people were asked what they want their outdoor environment to look like. She believes that going outside is important part of integration- to be able to see other people.

Another interesting project according to Magdalena where they try to bring more different people into the area is student housing with 600 new apartments. She explained that "we do not have in this area many Swedish or foreign students, so we are interested in what will happen when lot of young people come into the area." She also mentioned that in November 2011 there is going to be a new police house in this district, next to the dormitory.

Network of Meeting Places?

When I asked about the connections between meeting places i.e. network, she explained that at the moment City Planning Office together with Parks and Streets Department are studying the connections in the southern part of Rosengård, but this work is in a starting phase. Though,

she mentioned a project, new railway station, that is going to be built in this area and that she believes could become important connection point. Magdalena explained that new railways station will give the opportunity to link different parts of Rosengård, it will provide different activities for this area and in the future it could become new multicultural meeting place.

When I asked if they have been working also with the northern area, as to me it seemed that all the places she mentioned were in the southern part, she explained that it is because all the biggest problems are in the area. "Northern part- the houses are owned by residents, but southern part is mainly made up of rental houses. The structure is the same. Northern part is more stable. Problems of the communication are the same."

Problems in the Outdoor Space in Rosengård

Magdalena believes that one of the main problems is that a lot of people have been previously working with Rosengård in different ways, yet no major improvements have been made. "People are moving in and out, the problems are the same (language problems, problems at schools, work problems) and it is not possible to see any difference in this area." She felt strongly that Rosengård needs to become more stable in the future.

Magdalena explained that during their investigation process in Rosengård they did a lot of different analysis and several workshops that proved inefficiency of public space in this area. "Sometimes they are very big- big parks, but without any clue of how to get there or how to use the space... they are not defined enough." She thought that, on one hand, it is very good to have the space so that one could experience feeling of freedom, but on the other hand, she feels that there are too many of these spaces (undefined parks). She added: "One of the major problems in this area is too many people. They need more green spaces inside the area," meaning that there is a shortage of usable green spaces within the living area, between the building blocks.

Another problem that she brought out were passive adults and lot of children who all need to be occupied while being outdoors. She said that very characteristic for all activities held in Rosengård is that there are a lot of children. "All the children come but the adults stay at home. Children are curious and there are very many of them."

Another problem she pointed out was lack of central public meeting point- a square inside Rosengård. "There is a need for a place where one could gather, have theatre performance or other social activities." Magdalena believes that a square is important space in an area with 22000 inhabitants that she compared to a small Swedish city. She clarified that in case of Rosengård people who live in very dense conditions, meet not in a square, but on huge parking lots in front of Rosengård Centre. "As well it is a problem to get people from outside Rosengård into the district, because Rosengård does not have any strong point, function," said Magdalena.

Plans for the Future

The main improvements Magdalena pointed out in Rosengård is to have more "city like" streets, thus make them narrower. Secondly, they want to establish the connection of the new houses to the streets and give area functions to make it richer. Finally, connect new meeting spaces to activities.

When I asked her about what is the municipality's opinion on how important it is to have meeting places inside Rosengård that would draw people into the area from other city parts and how much have they been working with it, she agreed that it has been one of their objectives. "We would like to do more things to better connect the inner city with Rosengård. The distances are not very long..." She explained that vast park on the way from city centre to Rosengård is beautiful, but "you do not move there very easily, you do not feel comfortable there at night".

Magdalena summed up that Rosengård is just a place where normal people work and study hard and live their day to day life. At the same time, there are a lot of those people who are in a crisis and have no work and children who need help. "And we have some criminal people too. Small children get tough and try to look up to „tough“guys. Maybe they have seen too many depressed adults. It is not ugly or scary place, but lot of people in Malmö think of it as a scary place. They do not know anybody from there. They have no reason to go there. It is just a living area. Too many houses! Too little of other things!" So, she believes that their task for the future is to try to improve the situation in Rosengård in general.

Magdalena believes that there is a need for something that would make this place special in some way and that has to be connected to the meeting points. "That would be fantastic if they would have some restaurants ...daycares, school, police office....restaurant for meetings...make opportunities to establish new functions that would attract people to Rosengård. Because, especially young people are very curious about Rosengård." She added that there are many people around 30es in Malmö who are interested in this area. So, one of their focus points has been improvement of public open spaces in order to stabilise the environment and make it attractive for outsiders.

Tobias Starck- Malmö City Parks and Streets Department (Malmö Stad Gatukontoret, Stadsmiljöavdelningen)

profession: landscape architect

position in the Parks and Streets Department: landscape architect (from November 2009)

connection to Rosengård: working on a project in Rosengård called "Rosengårdsstråket"

Meeting Places

Popular Meeting Places in Rosengård

Tobias confirmed what Magdalena had said previously, that all the meeting places that have been established so far have been inside the buildings. He also believes that Bokaler is one of the newest and most successful projects that has been able to liven up the outdoor city life. He concluded that both, the municipality and MKB, believe that this is very successful and interesting place to work on and develop even further.

Second success project according to him is outdoor coffee- Jalla Trappa- that has become into a very popular meeting place. When I asked if he knew any place inside Rosengård that could serve as meeting place for people living in the area and outsiders, he named Rosengård's Centre.

Creating Attractive Meeting Places in Immigrant Area

To my question, how can one make places that would be attractive, Tobias commented that most important thing is that there has to be a meaning to go to the place. He explained that creating more physical activities is one way of adding meaning. He drew parallel to football fields that work as people magnets. Tobias called these places "on stage" places where one can be in the centre of attention.

When I asked if there is then a need also for offstage meeting places, he agreed and said there are actually a lot of offstage meeting places.

Though, he could not answer what is the municipality's policy towards offstage meeting places as they have not come so far in their work yet.

When having the interview I was curious if the fact that they have to work with immigrant area means that they have to deal with the area in a specific way in other words- does it matter if one works with typical residential area or with immigrant area. Tobias said that the main issue that they have to focus on when working with Rosengård is, on one hand, the needs of those who live inside the area and to create places for them but, on the other hand, deal with meeting places and activity areas which must be attractive for all inhabitants in Malmö.

Tobias explained that safety in this area is important, but what they have been concentrating on, is the feeling of safety. He added that there are more things that can be done to enhance that feeling- one way of doing it would be to concentrate the activities in the streets so one feels secure. At the moment the houses are turned inwards and what they have been trying to achieve is to make buildings face the streets.

Another aspect he mentioned was maintenance of the area- "When the area is dirty, not maintained and is covered in graffiti- it all affects how one feels". He added that after they had "Zlatan's smile" on the wall, no graffiti has been added to the walls as people in this area are very proud of the man.

Problems in the Outdoor Space in Rosengård

Tobias believes that the main problem in the area is that no one is visiting Rosengård, "...only those who live in the district use the space inside the district". He also explained that the media has created a very bad image of this area so that people from outside do not eagerly come into

the district. That is why he found that it is their (Malmö municipality) task to find ways to get people from outside Rosengård into the area. He believes that it can be achieved by making attractive places inside Rosengård.

According to Tobias, one of the biggest attractions at the moment in this area is football, “and football fields are everywhere- in the courtyards, between parks...”. He mentioned also an important discussion that the municipality has been having with people living in Malmö about BMX biking. Apparently young residents have asked the city to build one, as so far there is no place for that activity. Tobias explained that one idea under discussion has been to put the BMX track into Rosengård, but it is a complicated situation as, on one hand, it would definitely bring a lot of people from the rest of Malmö into the area, but on the other hand, it is activity that lot of the local inhabitants could not participate in because of the high cost of the hobby.

Another problem that he brought forward was cultural differences that come from the high number of resident who all have very different and culture specific needs. He explained that the current situation in Rosengård is very male dominant and all the outdoor activities are male targeted which impacts the whole area. “Girls are not allowed to go on the streets during night- in the evening one can see only male in the streets”. Another characteristic feature he pointed out was high number of people in small apartments who are basically forced to live outside during daytime. Even though the area is filled with dwellers during daytime, he admitted they have no place to meet or to go to.

Tobias, like Magdalena also believes that the public open space is not defined enough- the line between public and private space is blurred. He said that “one can wander around the area and all of a sudden find oneself in a courtyard”. Tobias believes that there is a need to create sharper borders for public space; make lines between private and public more distinct. I asked him whether he is not afraid that by defining the borders between public and private space they risk to lose some of the private

spaces that at the moment are used as public spaces. However, he disagreed and explained that, he does not believe that it could happen.

Finally, he brought up the issue of orientation inside Rosengård, “...especially important is east–west connection. But inside the area it can be very confusing where to go and where one ends up, especially because of the different heights (traffic and bikers/pedestrians on separate levels) inside the area. Problematic is also the main entrance to the district from the inner city that needs to be strengthened as the connection to the north, to Norra Sorgenfri”.

Plans for the Future

The Rosengårdsstråket is a project in Rosengård that Tobias Starck was working at the time when the interview was taken. Through this project municipality tries to establish a connection between Rosengård and Möllevången. Tobias explained that “Basically this is one of the projects that is aiming at connecting Rosengård to the inner city,” meaning that at the moment there is a physical barrier between Rosengård and the rest of the city. The aim of this project is to eliminate this barrier by creating network of different activities along the “stråket” (Eng. line).

Another goal of this project is to make the line that goes through the whole Rosengård visible in the surrounding townscape. As most of the project’s money is going to be put into Rosengård, then Tobias is expecting that the area is going to improve. He also stressed that one of the most important aspects of this project is close cooperation between municipality and the housing company MKB “...that is especially important as the housing company owns most of the land in connection to the bike and pedestrian line.”

Currently they were starting a dialogue between people living in Rosengård and those coming from outside the area. During big light event that was held on the 29.02.2010- 7.03.2010 they were preparing to have a dialogue with people in the streets and also try to map how people are using the space. Tobias clarified that this way they will try to obtain infor-

mation on the main meeting places in the area and the needs of people.

One of the main goals for them, according to Tobias, is to make difference with the Rosengårdsstråket project and to make substantial changes in the region that could be felt and seen. "Adding functions to the district is definitely one of the greatest changes in the area," he said. He clarified that at the moment bikers are just biking through Rosengård and they do not have the reason to stop. That is why he believes that creating small meeting places and adding experiences along the line is so important.

Another big goal for them is to bring people into the district from the rest of Malmö. This is hopefully achieved by creation of attractive places inside the area. Tobias also stressed the need to create good meeting places for the local people. "There are a lot of children in this area, in the whole Rosengård 35% and they are one of the main target groups that the municipality has to focus on...another focus groups are teenagers and girls."

Summary

On one hand, as I am not from Sweden, it was essential for me to get the overall picture on Rosengård that I got from Magdalena Alevra who could be one of the most knowledgeable persons in Malmö in this field as she has been working with this area for a very long time. On the other hand, I got more detailed view on the area from Tobias Starck, who was currently working with potentially one of the most essential projects in Rosengård. After having these two thorough interviews I did not get all answers to my questions, but they could give me valuable information that formed the background for my future investigation process.

What came out of the interviews with Magdalena Alevra and Tobias Starck was that at the time when I was gathering information on Rosengård and trying to locate the popular meeting places in the area- the municipality was preparing to go through the same process.

According to the undertaken interviews the main problems of outdoor space are tightly connected to overall problems of the area. **Main problems in Rosengård's public space according to Magdalena Alevra and Tobias Starck:**

- lack of public open space- especially near the streets, public space in concentrated into one big park massive
- the area is badly connected to the inner city
- bad connections between different parts of Rosengård
- lack of attraction points inside the area- people living in other parts of Malmö do not have any reason to come to Rosengård-
- bad image of the area- contributes to in-and-out flow of people in the southern part of the district, stops people from outside entering Rosengård
- existing parks are not efficient- they are either too big or too small (especially between the houses), confusing, transform into barriers during dark times
- lack of multicultural meeting places

- no central important meeting place for local people (a square)
- lack of outdoor activities for children and women

Main changes they the planners are trying to focus on in their work with Rosengård:

- bring people from outside into Rosengård- getting students into the area, create attractive places for local people and for those living in other parts of Malmö
- making activity places for girls, teenagers, kids, women- adding experiences to the area; finding out what people want, what are their main activities in different areas
- adding functions to the area
- making meeting places along the main street- Bennets vägen- opening up the building to the streets; making new buildings face the streets
- enhancing safety- concentrating activities on the streets
- working with the whole Rosengård instead of only a part of it
- locating popular meeting places
- defining public open space (clearer borders)
- making the area more stable- reduce the out-flow of those economically secured by improving the outdoor space

Interesting Places to Investigate

One of my aims in having the interviews was find out the most important and interesting meeting places for me to analyse from the social integration perspective. Magdalena Alevra pointed out some of the most important meeting places that she had come up with on the basis of her previous investigation in the area. She named places like Rosengård Centrum, Bokaler, Vänskapspark, Rosengård Park and Water Park. Besides popular meeting places she suggested that if I have any interest in looking closer to the deserted square along the Bennets vägen, then it can be quite interesting place to investigate. Her words describing this place were: "Something is wrong with it, but I do not know what..."

6.4 Interviews with the People Living in and Visiting Rosengård

In order to get the opinions on the subject under investigation from those living or visiting Rosengård, I conducted 10 interviews in Rosengård's most popular meeting places. Four different locations (see p. 47) were selected on the basis of the interviews and my own observations. The interviews varied in their length and dept. The variations among the interviews were caused by the time the interviewee was willing to spend on answering to the questions and on their English language proficiency. Despite the fact that most of the interviewed people were very friendly, I had to go through a lot of effort by rephrasing my questions in order to get the information I was aiming to get.

The main questions that I wanted to get their answers to were: do they think the place where they were at is an important meeting place in terms of Rosengård, do they use it often; where do they usually go themselves in Rosengård (meet with friends), what other places they think are important (meeting) places in Rosengård. But also what they think are the main problems in the outdoor space in the area and what would they change or what does their ideal outdoor place should look like.

The interviews can be found in the Appendix on page 85.

Interview Places (see also p. 71)

A. Bokaler

Bokaler is a name for the buildings that combine dwelling and business (small shops). Though, in context of this thesis by the name Bokaler I have referred not only to the residential-shopping buildings, but also to the area in front of them.



B. Rosengård's Centre

Rosengård's Centre is the biggest shopping centre in Rosengård.

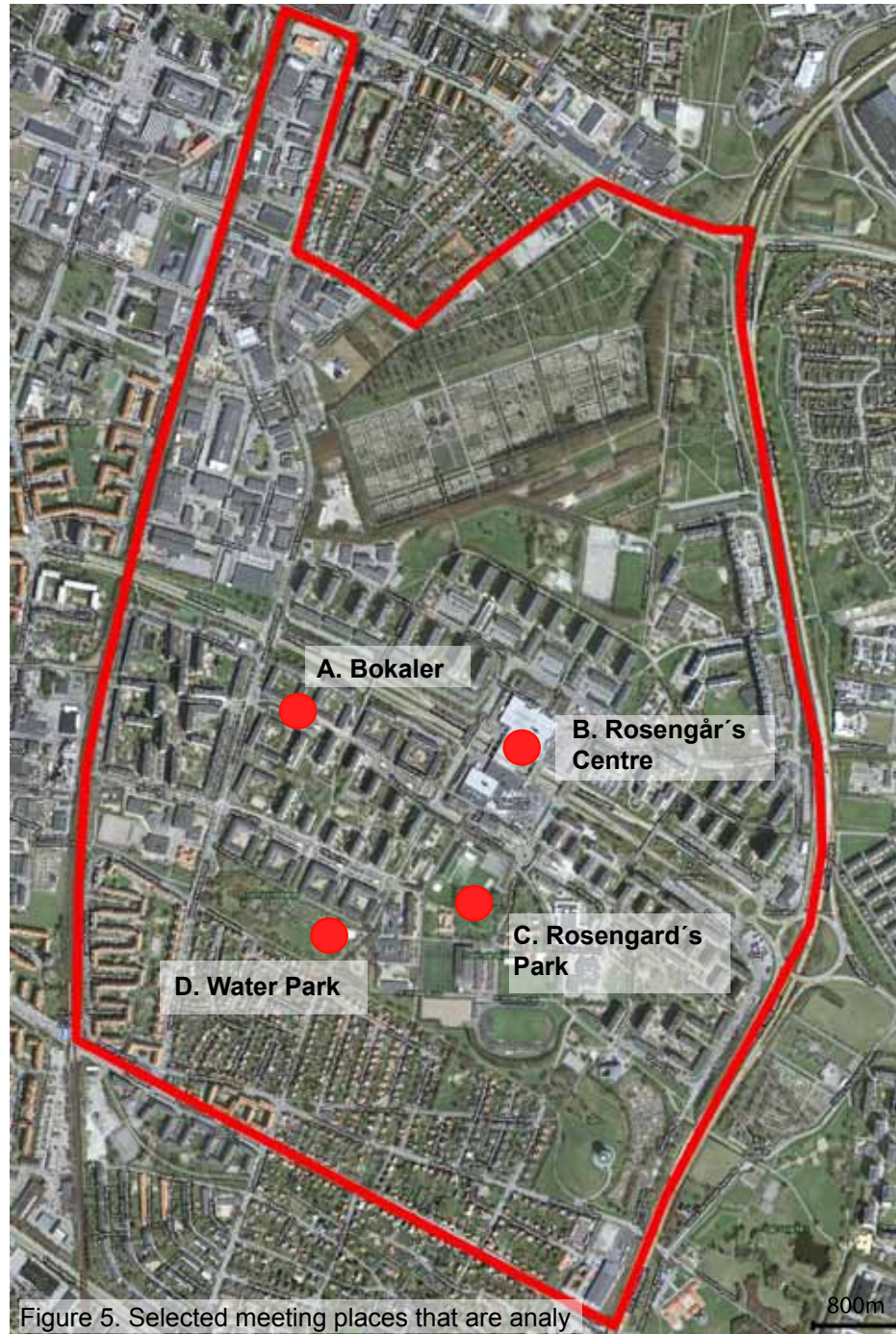


Figure 5. Selected meeting places that are analysed

C. Rosengård's Park

Rosengård's Park is a small recreation park. It is situated close to the vast park areas in the southern part of Rosengård.



D. Water Park

Water Park is recently established playground with dominating water related features. It is also belongs to the park massive in the southern part of Rosengård.



Analysis of the Interviews

Thoughts on the Current Place

Rosengård's Park

The Rosengård's Park, based on the interviews that I made on the place itself, seemed to be popular place in the area. However, based on the other interviews, it turned out that the park is actually used mostly by those living in the neighbouring houses (residential houses and kindergarten). The park was not mentioned as a popular place to go to by the interviewees from other interview sites. It seems, that the place lacks attractiveness in order to function as a district park.

Bokaler

Even though Bokaler itself is filled with people coming and going, none of the interviewees in other parts of Rosengård pointed it out themselves as a popular place to go to in the area. The local sales-man also confirmed that his average customers are those people living nearby. Bikers, most of whom are also from other parts of Malmö, according to him, never stop here. Thus, despite the lively atmosphere of the place, based on the conducted interviews, Bokaler has foremost local importance. Of course, there is always a chance that if I had the opportunity to get a perspective of an average teenage boy from the area, it could prove me wrong, but as I did not have the courage to approach any of them, I am bound to base my judgments on the information I managed to obtain.

During the interviews done on the place itself it came out that one of the reasons why this place is so full of people is partially due to the stores. This was also the place that seemed to be very popular among young boys who like to "hang around" the area as it is "cool" thing to do. At the same time, because it is such a popular place among teenage boys who like to group up near the shops, it is a place that is rather avoided by those coming from outside the area. So, the main reason why this area has not become popular meeting place for everybody, could be because of the mental inaccessibility. The latter, I believe, is caused by lack of activities

this place has to offer for women, children, elderly people and outsiders, so it ends up excluding them.

Rosengård's Centrum

Almost all of the interviewees mentioned instantly Rosengård's Centre when I asked them to name the place they usually go to in the area or a place they think people meet their friends at. Salesman from Bokaler thought it is the most popular place for adults and also unemployed. He mentioned the site in a context of a place where people from inside and outside the area get mixed. At the same time young man from Croatia thought that it is important meeting place for foreigners, but not for Swedes. One could speculate why he said that. He could have foremost meant that if people from Rosengård and those of foreign background could go to Rosengård's Centre with aim to socialize, then Swedes go to the Centre to shop and that is their only consciously set goal.

Water Park

Water Park was one of the two popular places among the interviewees that people liked to visit or was valued as an important meeting place in the area. On one hand, it is attractive place for kids, but on other hand, it seems to be important meeting place for teenagers as said teacher from the nearby daycare facility. Moreover, as the playground has several school facilities next to it, one among which is for children with different impairments, it serves as a place where not only people from different cultural background share the same space, but also with different physical and mental abilities.

Water Park was also the place where I met people not only from inside the area but also those living outside Rosengård. Thus, they valued this area to be among the most attractive places in Rosengård.

Most Popular Meeting Places

Based on conducted short interviews, it turned out that most frequently people named Rosengård's Centre and Water Park to be the places they usually visit and considered to be the most important meeting places in the area. Besides these two and the place the interview was conducted at, it was hard for most of the interviewees to name any other particularly important place that they go to or that they could point out as a popular meeting place in Rosengård. One reason for that can be lack of places inside the area. Another reason could be that there are very few defined places in the area that the interviewees could point out. For example, many interviewed teenagers claimed to walk around the whole Rosengård, stopping from time to time here and there. So, in their case, there could be several spontaneous meeting points along their way throughout the whole area.

Other Thoughts/Suggestions

Main Problems in the Outdoor Space:

- **no attractive places to go to**- there are no clubs, cinemas or restaurants, no particular place to go to with friends
- **lack of activities in the area**- there are lot of teenagers and children that are forced outside without having enough activities to keep them occupied all year round, also lack of activities for women
- **lack of greenery between building blocks**- even though there is vast green area in the southern part of Rosengård, some of the interviewees still mentioned that they would like to have more greenery between the building blocks.
- **security problems in the area**- firstly, groups of young man and teenagers frighten people, especially people that come from outside could feel particularly insecure, when they have to face several groups of male teenagers hanging around the streets and grouping up near the house corners. Secondly, the area is insecure during dark times
- **bad image of the area**- some interviewees believed that bad image is something that is stopping people from outside entering the area.
- **lack of information on the existing attractive places inside Rosengård**- people that were not from Rosengård did not know any other

places but the ones they were at (Rosengård Centre/ Water Park).

- **lack of people from other city parts (Swedes)** - several of the interviewees expressed hope to have more Swedes in the area, as they saw it as a way to improve the quality of social life that is happening outdoors.

Good Aspects of the Outdoor Space:

- **parks and greenery**- the area is beautiful during the summer
- **chance to hear many different languages**
- **people in Rosengård are helpful**- interviewee said that because of that she feels secure going outside during the evening
- **Rosengård is a safe place to live in**

Controversial Opinions

Very positive feedback on living in Rosengård I got from woman from Iran whose main reason was knowledge that in Rosengård she is safe while being outdoors as people living in area are very helpful (through, at the same time she wished there were more Swedes in the area). It was interesting, because another girl from Iran, whom I interviewed near Water Park, thought Rosengård is a dreadful place with no future. She described it as a place where one cannot go out because of the fear of shooting in the streets. One reason for such different perspectives could be different areas where interviewees are or have been living. As the woman from Gullviksborg said- there are more criminal areas next to safer areas in Rosengård.

Ideal Place- Suggestions for Changes

The question of what should be changed in the outdoor space or what does their ideal outdoor space look like seemed to be the hardest question for most of the interviewees to answer. While many of the interviewees seemed to want to have some kind of changes (like the kindergarten teacher in the park), they had no idea what exactly should be done.

The main changes or the ideas for an improvement that were brought out:

- **have an attractive place where Swedish people and people living in Rosengård could meet and mutually gain from the experience-** non-Swedes could have language practice and see the culture and Swedes could get to know other cultures; contributes to improvement of the image of the area
- **have more activities for children, teenagers, women**
- **improvement of the existing parks-** invest more money in them so that they all could be as good as Water Park or other parks in Malmö
- **have more trees and nature between the housing blocks**

Conclusion

The main popular meeting places that were named during street interviews were firstly, Rosengård's Centre, the biggest shopping place in the area; secondly, new and attractive playground-Water Park. Besides these two places it was hard for people to name any other places they usually visit or know that other people go to.

According to 10 conducted interviews, it seems that, at least majority of the interviewees that lived in Rosengård, were forced to use other places in Malmö during their free time, as there is just lack of possible activities and places where one can go to in Rosengård. Thus, it is possible to say that in general Rosengård's outdoor space is excluding many population groups- women, teenagers in general and those living outside the area. Young children, in this case are in the worst situation, as they cannot just go to other parts of Malmö without a parent. Thus, there is a high chance of them being enclosed into the area and suffer the most from insufficient outdoor environment that has ended up in lacking social outdoor life.

Yet, there were also those people who valued Rosengård for its outdoor space, especially its greenery. The main changes that the interviewees mentioned was to have more activities inside the area. Foremost outdoor activities for young residents and teenagers, but also indoor activi-

ties like cinemas, clubs and restaurants. Due to the fact that there are no indoor activities in Rosengård people are forced to go to other parts of Malmö that draws out the social life from the area. Another outcome that I found important was the fact that several interviewees brought out themselves that there is a need for places that would bring people together from different city parts and thus would support integration between unlike people. Thus, they believed that there is lack of outdoor integration supportive places in Rosengård.

6.5 Interviews with the Students Living in Rosengård

There were several reasons why I believe it was important for me to interview the students living in Rosengård. Firstly, Magdalena Alevra mentioned that one of the aims of the municipality was to bring more people with different background into Rosengård. The student apartment project was still very new and she did not know what has actually been happening- whether students had became part of Rosengård community, what relationship they had established with local people and how their moving into the area had affected the overall social atmosphere in Rosengård. Here I would like to refer to Hedvig Vestergaard (2000) who writes in her article about importance of analyzing “intersection of social networks, and the extension to which such intersections draw people together into common social worlds and relations or, in contrast, force divisions and exclusions”. Thus, in order to investigate outdoor integration, I needed to find out how much people living in the same area actually meet outdoors and what were the places where these meetings occur. So, I wanted to know what are the places the students usually go to and what do they think are popular meeting places in the area.

Secondly, I was curious to find out what do the students think are the main problems or advantages of the outdoor space in the area. I was curious to get their perspective on the changes they think could be done in the public spaces in Rosengård, but also hear the ways in which they, as newcomers value the importance of outdoor space in the process of social integration.

The interviews can be found in the Appendix on page 92.



Analysis of the Interviews

Moving Around

The reason why I analysed the ways in which students move around the area was to find out if they ever get in contact with Rosengård's outdoor space- if they find it attractive enough to walk through. Depending on the speed of the movement, one perceives the area differently (Gehl, 2006). When a person is walking through the space, one has more time to observe and has a higher chance of being engaged in social interaction. If one decides to bike one, due to higher speed, is able to grasp less information from the surroundings. In the latter case one has also smaller chance of having a spontaneous interaction with people in the streets.

And of course, if one tends to use public transport or car, (though, could contribute to social life inside the vehicle) is basically cut away from outdoor social life.

What came out of the interviews is that most of the interviewees hardly ever walk in Rosengård (see Table 1.) and the main way of moving from point A to point B is by public transport. Nonetheless, bus-stops are nodes of social interaction (Gehl, 2006) and could support interaction of different people by providing them with close contact to each other. Though,

	Student from Iran	Student from Nigeria	Student from Sweden	Students from Germany
Duration of living in Rosengård	1 year and 2 months	2 months	2 months	2 months
Ways of moving around Rosengård	mainly bus, sometimes bike, walking	bus	bus, bike	bus
Places they visit in Rosengård	Rosengård's Centre	Rosengård's Centre	Rosengård's Centre, cemetery	Rosengård's Centre
Main meeting places in Rosengård	Rosengård's Centre, Bokaler	Rosengård's Centre	Rosengård's Centre	Rosengård's Centre, Bokaler
Contact with people living outside the dormitory in Rosengård	no (no place to meet them, no mutual interests)	no (has not been invited to any places where he would have a chance)	no (no place to meet them)	no (no place to meet them)
What they like about Rosengård	greenery, separation of pedestrians and car traffic	lot of different people	greenery, graveyard nearby	lots of young families and kids, greenery, area with a special character, nobody complains about loud parties
Main problems in the area	nothing is happening in the parks, they are just green and unsafe during the evening; there are no meeting places; she feels uncomfortable being outside	does not know the area yet, nobody invites him anywhere	bad image of the place; there is no place to go with friends	there is no place to meet up with friends ('let's meet there' place); unclear what places can be used; orientation problems as all buildings look the same in the area
Ideal outdoor place	different places (places to be alone and with people); place with water element	place where he feels safe and can do the thing that makes him happy	old places (cemetery), park that is attractive and full of people	place where she could feel comfortable to just sit and drink beer with her friends; different activities

Table 1. Summary of the interviews with the students

when the bus stop is used only by the students from the dormitory, one can argue that no social integration between students and local people is taking place.

Two girls, who admitted biking to university or to the centre of the city and back home, said that their biking rout was very linear and without any sidetracks or additional stops. Iranian girl explained that there is just no reason to stop in between. Thus, the outdoor space in between the dormitory and the centre of Malmö does not offer enough possibilities or reasons to slow down. There is possibility that if there was an attraction point along the bike line inside Rosengård, many people could potentially be engaged in a social life of the area.

For interviewee from Iran the main problem was going to the centre and back. She found the bike paths to be of good quality, but the distance for cycling too far- especially if one does not feel like going out. Later on she also mentioned that the bike path is too close to the buildings and that is also why he does not like to take that path alone in the evenings. The reason why she might have perceived the bike path to be too long could be not because of the actual distance, but because of the fear she had while passing the area. The fear again seems to be triggered by the physical character of the path that affected the way in which the lane is perceived during dark times.

Another interesting fact is that all four students have never been to the green areas in the southern part of Rosengård and only two of them had heard of the Bokaler or also known as “bazaar”. Of course, the reason for that can be that most of them have been living in this area only for two months, but at the same time it is another evidence that the environment they are living in is not very inviting to explore and there is lack of information that gets to the students about different opportunities Rosengård has to offer. As the student from Sweden said that she used to cycle around at first, but as she found no places that she liked, she stopped. Completely different is the man from Nigeria who complained that he does not move around the area because he has nowhere to go as

nobody has invited him anywhere. In this case the enclosure into buildings can lie in his cultural background. However, I believe that in time and in an integration supportive outdoor environment, i.e. in a “supportive context”(see paragraph 4.3, p. 21), he could get used to the local way of acting more easily.

On the basis of the interviews it can be said that the interviewed four students were rather unmotivated to take part in the social life in Rosengård as the outdoor space fails to attract people. The latter in its turn means that the students are not motivated to go out, explore and use the outdoor space which could lead to resultant social activities (see Chapter 4.4, p. 22).

Living in Rosengård/Image of Rosengård

Though, the area is through media widely known as not the safest environment to live in, the interviews with the students confirmed the fact that those who at first had a prejudice about this area, after they had been living in Rosengård, tended to see it in a different light. All girls thought that Rosengård is not as bad as people think it is. As said interviewee from Sweden, living in an immigrant area is quite interesting, as she can live among different people and in a mix of different cultures.

Something that most of the interviewees brought out as a positive aspect in Rosengård was the greenery. Though, at the same time they mentioned that it is the kind of greenery that they are afraid to enter during the evenings when it becomes into a moving barrier. The interviewees complained that the green areas also lack social life and there are no events that could encourage the previous. On one hand, none of the students mentioned the parks as places they would go to in Rosengård. On the other hand, they told that there is no places they can go to in the area. Thus, to these students the green space in Rosengård does not serve its purpose. The main reasons for that lie firstly, in the physical character of the green areas: bad location (too far from the dormitory), poor lighting, hard to find (does not belong to any logical network); secondly, in the social character: lack of social events that would attract people.

Interviewee from Iran and Germany explained that the negative image of this area is very strong. At the same time both of the interviewees admitted that nothing bad has ever happened to them so far. Thus, the way in which Rosengård is perceived depends a lot upon the degree of personal contact with the area. The perception of the places could be also affected by the fact that the place is no longer just a place, but home. As has written Gifford (1996), people tend to idealise their home and thus, give it a higher evaluation.

Important Meeting Places, Places They Like to go to

All of the interviewees thought that the only place that attracts people in Rosengård and that they could name as a popular meeting place was Rosengård's Centre. The interviewee from Nigeria thought that this is the place where one could see people of very different background and he goes there to see and to be around others. The student from Sweden thought the same, though, she said that it is not a place for everyone, meaning that not everybody goes there. What she might have meant is that the Centre is foremost commercial place and those lacking money are to certain extent restricted to use it (see shopping malls as places of exclusion paragraph 4.3, p. 21).

Another place that was brought up was Bokaler. The fact that the students had heard of the place or even been there has to mean that this is a special area in Rosengård and it has a potentiality to become even bigger attraction point in the future. Though, as only one of the students had been to the place, it means that at the present time Bokaler lacks the qualities to attract the students and accordingly possibly many others who live in other parts of Rosengård.

The Swedish interviewee was the only person who could name the place she visits in Rosengård from time to time- the cemetery. Other interviewees were more skeptic about the space outside their student housing and felt it to be quite unwelcoming and sometimes even hostile, especially during the evenings. They said that there are no places to go to in this area and that is why they prefer other parts of Malmö to the outdoor

space in Rosengård. The main reason for them to feel in that way were poor lighting, lack of activities and male dominance in the evenings and criminal image of the area.

In the beginning of the interview, when I asked the student from Iran about her favourite outdoor places she likes to visit in Rosengård, she could not think of any and said that there are no places inside Rosengård where one could go. In spite of that, later on she said that there are all conditions in Rosengård for outdoor activities, but because she does not feel safe outside she decides not to use them. She also pointed out that as far as she knows students from her dormitory prefer to use the space near the student housing. The same came out from the interview with a German girl. At first she admitted that when she came to Rosengård in September she used to sit outside near the house but in October it was just too cold for that. Later on she clarified the true reason why she uses the outdoor space in Rosengård so little- she does not feel comfortable enough in the environment, as she feels Rosengård is not the place where it is "OK" for one to go out and sit and have a beer with one's friends. She admitted also just being afraid to sit somewhere where she could occupy the place that is already popular place for locals. Here I would like to refer back to Rähntzel (2005) who stresses the importance of differences and securities of common grounds. If one does not feel secure enough, one will not be encouraged to explore.

So, it seems that the students do not have any places besides the Rosengård's Centre where they could have an interaction with local people as it is the only place they have identified in the area as "neutral ground". The rest of Rosengård, judging on the basis of these four interviews, is not attractive enough or just feels too private so that the newly arrived students do not dare to "step on locals' territory". It is known that people tend to mark their living space (Gehl, 2006), but the situation in Rosengård is that there seems to be lack of defined public space that could be used by everyone.

The fact that they all could not think of any other meeting places, be-

sides these two mentioned above, could be because some of them were relatively new to the area. Another reason could lie in their preference to spend their free time outside of Rosengård. The latter seems to be triggered by poor outdoor space in Rosengård that fails to provide places that would be equally attractive to students and to the rest of the residents in the area.

Interaction with People Living in Rosengård

What came out of the interview is that all of the interviewed students felt excluded in Rosengård and saw themselves one way or another as a completely different group in the area. Woman from Iran claimed that she has nothing in common with “them” (see p.20), by latter meaning immigrants in this area, as they have different views on life. What was interesting is that the interviewee from Germany felt that it is nice to live in an immigrant area as she felt she is an immigrant too. Peculiarly, at the same time she admitted that she does not feel like one of “them”, because her cultural background is so different- “I am immigrant too, but a little bit something else,” she said. So, on one hand she categorises herself to the same group as the rest of the immigrants in the area, but on the other hand she referred to immigrants as “they”, because of different cultural backgrounds.

All four interviewees admitted that they have not had any contact with people who live in Rosengård. Most of the interviewed students said that they are scared to go out in the evenings, thus they do not feel confident enough to be around local people. The main reason for the students not been engaged with other dwellers also seemed to be due to lack of places where such interaction could possibly take place. Thus, there is no place to “explore unknown”(see paragraph 4.3, p 21). Mean and Tims (2005) write in their book that one way to increase people’s trust of one another can be achieved through improving public space. One could suppose that by creating accessible and attractive places for meeting and

common activities, that this area is lacking, it would be possible to bring people close to each other and eliminate this division of “I and them”.

Importance of Outdoor Space

When I asked them about what do they think about the importance of outdoor space in terms of getting to know people and different cultures, they all agreed that public open space plays important role in it.

A chance to be around people is one of the assets that the outdoor space offers. Interviewee from Iran believed that the outdoor space is important part of integration. She explained that when she first arrived to Sweden she liked to just sit in public places in the centre of Malmö and observe people. The same admitted interviewee from Nigeria who liked to go to the Central Station and City Gross. Thus, the places where social integration in these cases is happening is dictated by the quality of physical space (Gehl, 2006). As the students do not find suitable places where they could observe people, they are forced to go outside of Rosengård.

The interviewee from Sweden said that she believes it is important to interact with people from other countries. She also thought that there is a need for a place where people could meet and have international parties. The interviewee from Nigeria believes that outdoor recreational spaces could help people to interact through common activities (Mean and Tims, 2005; Gehl, 2006).

I asked them about what do they think of how important it is for a newly arrived foreigner, who is starting their life in Rosengård, to get acquainted to the Swedish way of life. The Iranian girl thought that Rosengård is not the easiest place to start life in Sweden for a foreign person, because of so many foreign people. Girl from Sweden also agreed that for immigrants seeing the Swedish culture and hearing the language is important.

Main Rosengård's Problems in the Outdoor Space:

- **bad image of the area**- one of the first main problems the interviewees named was the bad reputation of the area; according to students, many people do not dare to enter Rosengård because of that
- **no places to meet people/ go to with friends**- the interviewees claimed that there are no meeting places where one could spontaneously meet local people in Rosengård or just a place to go to with their friends
- **safety issues**- three out of four interviewees admitted that they do not feel safe or comfortable in Rosengård and that especially during evenings
- **male dominance in the area**
- **lack of activities in the area**- nothing happening, nowhere to go, lack of common activities that could be undertaken by different people
- **not functioning and dull green areas**- green areas are too far away from the dormitory, the parks near the dormitory are without lights and there are no benches; bike paths feel unsafe
- **unclear boundaries between public space and private space**- students are afraid to step on the "private territory"

Ideal Outdoor Environment

The reason why I wanted the students to describe the place they would like to be in was to find out what are their outdoor place related wishes and needs. This way I could find out what the outdoors space has to be like in order they would go out and use it. The places that were brought out by students were:

- **many different places**- places to be alone and places to see people, activity places and places where one could spontaneously meet people
- **a place (a park) where one could feel comfortable sitting and drinking beer with one's friends**
- **place of many different activities**
- **a public green space that would be universally attractive and close to the dormitory**

- **a place where all people can feel safe and do things that make them happy**
- **places with rustic feeling**- old places
- **a public place full of people**

From all the questions I asked, this seemed to be the hardest one to answer. For each person the "perfect outdoor place" meant different things. Nonetheless, all the interviewees brought out some of the key elements of a well functioning public space: attractiveness, used by people, place that would convey feeling of safety, place that would offer different activities. Moreover, I believe all these components are also important key elements of an outdoor integration supportive place.

Changes

The main changes that the interviews brought out that could be done in the outdoor environment in Rosengård where:

- **places for co-activities with locals**
- **change Rosengård's Centre**- have a meeting place next to it, make the centre more versatile (not just food shopping)
- **more culture and social life**
- **establish a common place**- have a place where students could feel comfortable to sit outside and enjoy the outdoor space next to other local people, place for everybody to be able to exchanging views, share experiences
- **water feature in the outdoors**

Conclusion

To sum up all the previous, it seems that the main outcomes of the interviews are:

- interviewed students from the dormitory are not using the outdoor space in Rosengård
- feeling not safe outside the dormitory is one of the issues that stops them from using the outdoor space

- students feel that there is a lack of attractive and clearly public outdoor meeting places inside the area
- lack of outdoor activities inside the area that would be attractive for students (as well as for local people)
- students find the area nice and green, but at the same time dull and full of useless greenery that is too far away and unsafe
- the outdoor space is not defined enough as the students admitted not knowing whether they are allowed to be
- most of interviewed students prefer using public transport to walking or cycling through the area, thus ending up having no contact with local people
- no interaction occurs between interviewed students and people living outside the dormitory in Rosengård

6.6 Observation Study in the Selected Meeting Places

The reason why I wanted to make a structured observation study in the selected meeting places (see p. 33 for definition of a meeting place) is to find out what is actually happening in those places. Also, it gave me an interesting chance to be able to compare the outcome of the observation study to the previously made observations and information collected during the interviews.

As there are many different kinds of meeting places in Rosengård I have selected (based on the interviews and my own experience) a selection of most interesting meeting places (see Figure 5, p. 59) to be analysed in a deeper way in terms of outdoor integration. The main aim of this study was to find out how applicable are the selected places to the previously conducted criteria of an outdoor integration supportive place. Thus, this study helped me to judge how good or bad are the selected outdoor places in terms of social integration.

I observed and assessed several aspects of the selected place:

1. ATTRACTIVENESS

- **functionality of a place**- judgement based on what activities were undertaken during observation
- **popular place to go to**- judgement based on how many people were using the place during observation, but also on the usage-marks on the street furniture that could indicate that this place has been used previously

2. ACCESSIBLE

- **mental accessibility (publicness of the place, safety)**
- **physical accessibility (is the place universally readable- i.e. defined, is it close to people, easy to find, availability of physical barriers)**

3. MAKES A PERSON WANT TO STOP OR SLOW DOWN AND BE ENGAGED-

availability of sitting places and overall atmosphere of the place

The analysed aspects are based on the criteria listed out on page 22. Additionally, I also assessed the chance of interaction in each place (depended on the activities people were engaged in and on the overall atmosphere of the place- if it was used by many people, if people seemed to be relaxed, in a good mood, friendly) and marked down climate conditions. All these aspects were judged based on my own experience and the outcome of the observations in the selected place.

PICTOGRAMS:



lively atmosphere



deserted



sitting places



shopping



green recreation area



car traffic



bike traffic

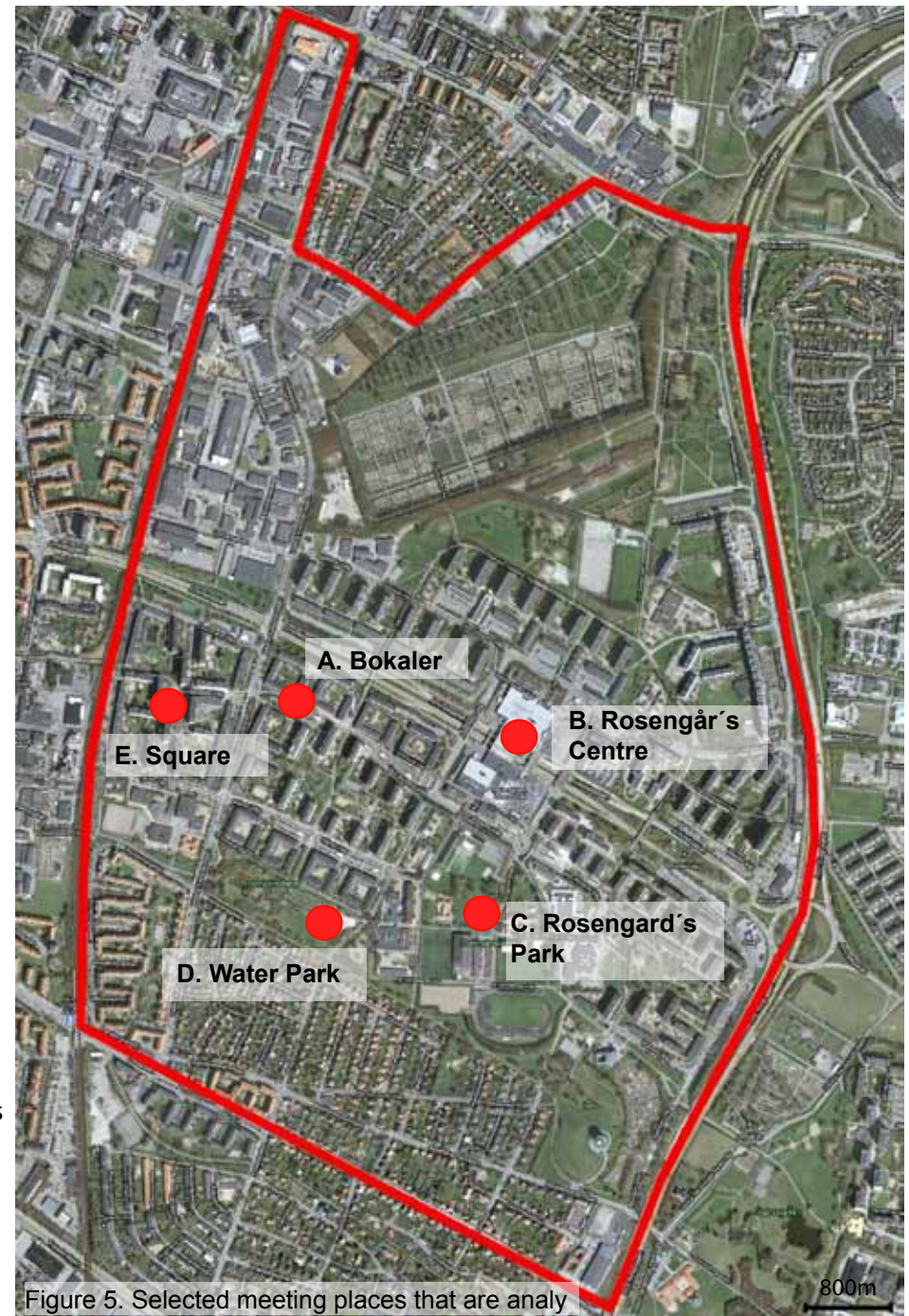
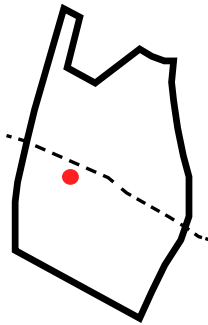
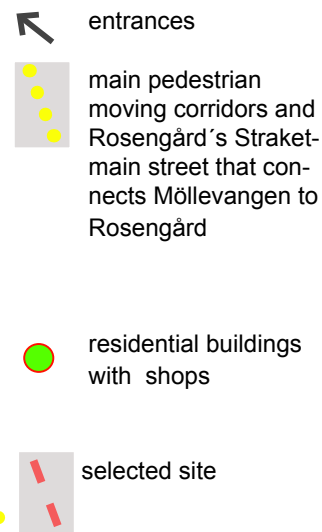
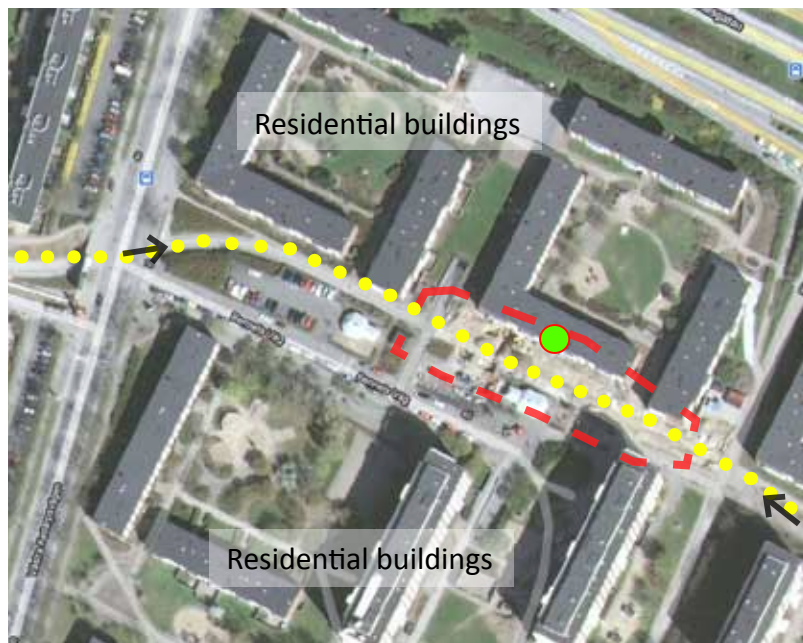


Figure 5. Selected meeting places that are analysed

Site A- Bokaler



climate conditions: nicely sheltered by buildings
average visitor: families, children, groups of teenagers, elderly people, in the evenings lot of men
feeling of a place: feels semi-private for a newcomer
chance of interaction: very high
main activities: walking, biking, sitting, shopping, window shopping, meeting up with friends, spontaneous talks on the streets between potential customers and shop keepers



OBSERVATIONS

Workday: 9.00-10.00

Some shops already were opened at 9 o'clock; people were strolling and biking along the main street; shop keepers stood in the street and observed by-passers; cleaning company was cleaning the streets; police was patrolling the area.

Workday: 14.00-15.00

There were lot of people in the street- walking, biking, some customers entered the shops; shop keepers occasionally came out into the street and had a chat with a customer; a group of people sat for 20 minutes in front of the shops and drank coffee; groups of young people gathered in front of the shops and near house corners.

Workday: 17.00-18.00

Lot of people walking along the street, lot of bikers; if in the morning and during lunch time it was possible to see lot of women as well as men, then at about 17.00 more and more men came to this area. Male teenagers were gathering up near the building corners and in front of shops. Though, I still saw some kids running around and young families with trolleys.

Saturday at 12.00

Some shops opened from 11am and closed at 2pm; overall atmosphere was more peaceful, but still, it was possible to see people moving back and forth. There were families with children, small children playing on the benches nearby, shop keepers were again standing in the street, group of young people were having their meal outside the shop, some shops were closed, but some still open; groups of 7- 3 gathering on the corners of the buildings, lot of teenagers hanging around the area.

1. ATTRACTIVENESS

• functionality

I believe Bokaler is multifunctional place as it is the place that combines bike and pedestrian traffic, shopping facilities and sitting place in front of the shops. It was used for socialising (spontaneous talks with the shop owners, people meeting up in front of shops), for walking, biking, for small gatherings and of course shopping.

• popularity of the place

It seemed to be a very lively place, thus, it must be popular place to go to at least for some group of people. Even though Bokaler is situated in a typical residential area, it felt very vibrant and full of life compared to the rest of Rosengård. The narrow street was filled with people; shop keepers were standing in the street and chatting with those passing through the area.

2. ACCESSIBILITY

• mental accessibility

When I entered Bokaler for the first time, for me as for a newcomer it felt as a semi-private area due to the higher attention that was aimed at me. In terms of safety, then the place felt safe during the daytime, but in the evening, when the area started to be dominated by men, I felt a bit uncomfortable.

• physical accessibility

It is a place that could be named physically accessible, as it is close to residents who can use

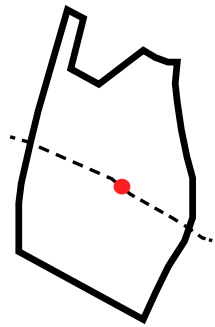
this place. There are also no physical borders stopping one from entering the area and it is a part of the main road going from city centre into Rosengård. Thus, this place is easy to find. Somewhat confusing for me personally was the readability of the place as I was not quite sure, especially in the beginning, what this place is about- is it residential area or a beginning of a bigger shopping mall. Though, it was even good as it made me curious to visit the place once more and have a closer look.

3. MAKES A PERSON WANT TO STOP OR SLOW DOWN AND BE ENGAGED

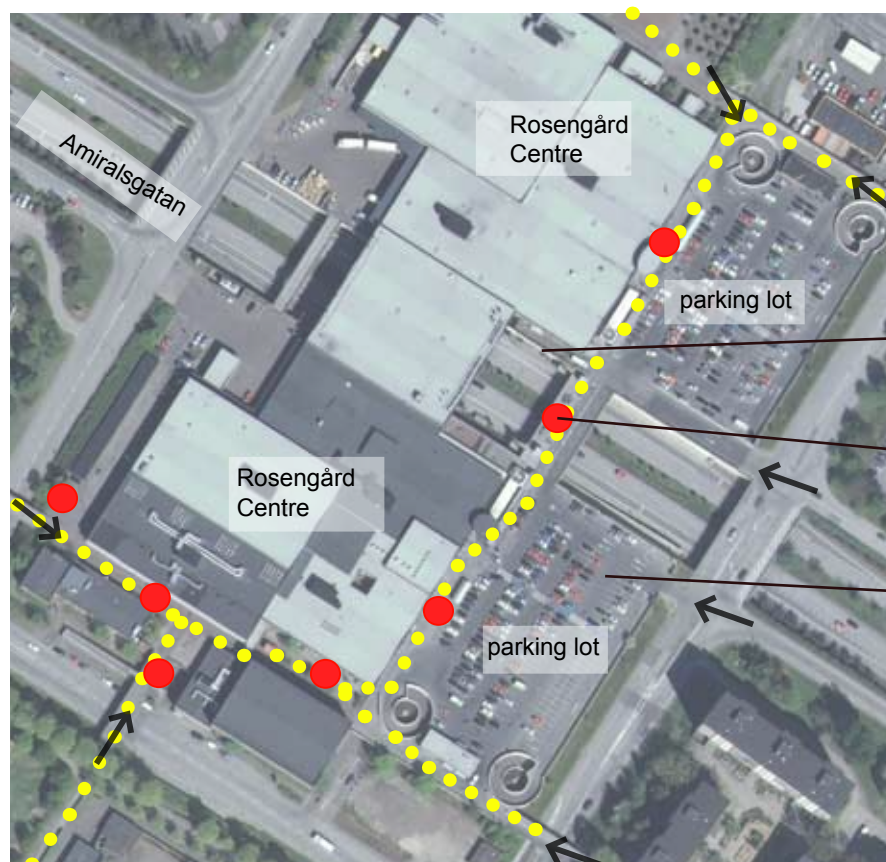
The linear shape of the street seemed to emphasise that this is a place to go straight through the area. I can suppose, that if one is walking instead of biking, it is easier to notice the shops that might make one to slow down or even stop at this place. At the same time, I did not feel like stopping my bike, as I was observed all the time by those occupying the street and it made me feel a bit uncomfortable. There were also sitting places. Though, as they were a bit too exposed (one is all the time being observed by the shop owners and groups of young people gathering in front of the shops), I did not feel like sitting there for too long.



Site B- Rosengård's Centre



climate conditions: sheltered by the buildings
average visitor: families, children, groups of teenagers, elderly people; local people and people from outside Rosengård
feeling of a place: feels public
chance of interaction: medium
main activities: walking/biking/taking car to the shopping centre, sitting, waiting for a fellow to come back from the shop, shopping



● main places where people tend to gather up

↖ entrances to the RoCent

●●● main pedestrian moving corridors

— bus stop- potentially place where different people meet

— the only place with a couple of benches that serves as a meeting point

— parking lots are used as meeting places- people tend to park their car and have a chat directly between the cars

OBSERVATIONS

Workday: 9.00-10.00

Some people were sitting and talking on the benches near the Centre; many people went into the Centre and came out after they had done their shopping; lot of male, groups of young people stood near the Centre; cars came and drove off, some of the customers stopped in the car park in order to have a chat with a person in a car.

Workday: 14.00-15.00

The overall impression was very crowded. People sat on the benches; group of women was meeting up in front of the Centre; people were mainly heading to do their shopping. During the observation three police cars came and isolated an area near the mall that seemed to attract lot of people.

Workday: 17.00-18.00

Very crowded, lots of people were going to shopping Centre; some people were socialising near parked cars, some were sitting and chatting on the benches. Compared to the previous times, there were lot of children who were wandering around the area and groups of teenagers. An elderly woman approached me to ask for money.

Saturday at 13.00

People were shopping as usual. Couple of beggars were sitting on the benches and talking. Small groups of teenagers wandered around the area.

1. ATTRACTIVENESS

- **functionality**

As Rosengård's Centre is the biggest shopping place in the area, then the main aim for people to go there was mainly to do their shopping. Though, as there is a small sitting area, many people used it in order to wait for those gone into the shop. It was also the place where people seemed to meet up with their acquaintances.

- **popularity of the place**

The outdoor space around the Centre was all the time very crowded- mainly by those doing their shopping. It was the place where I could see people from very different origin and a lot of different languages among which Swedish was also very common.

2. ACCESSIBILITY

- **mental accessibility**

Rosengård's Centre felt public, but at the same time I believe it can be a place of exclusion as it is in fact privately owned area. The Centre felt safe. On one hand, I saw several times police cars and people patrolling the area. On the other hand, I felt secure due to the lively atmosphere of the place as there were so many different people.

- **physical accessibility**

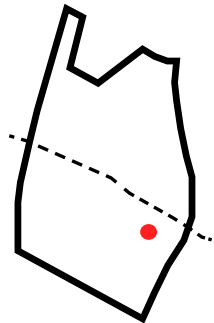
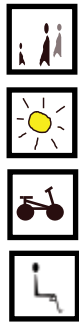
Even though building of the Rosengård's Centre is one of the biggest in area, it is quite hard for a person, who is not familiar with the area, to locate it and find the right path to the building. Communication to and from the Centre is complex due to car and pedestrian/bike traffic separation on two levels. At the same time due to Centre's central location in the area (close to most of the people living in Rosengård), it is definitely very easily reachable.

3. MAKES A PERSON WANT TO STOP OR SLOW DOWN AND BE ENGAGED

As the main aim of those going to the Centre seemed to be shopping, then they were rather focused on their goal. Even though people were forced to come out of their vehicles in order to go into the Centre, they did not like to be disturbed (for an interview). At the same time, it was possible to see people stopping in order to chat with somebody they knew.



Site C- Rosengård's Park



climate conditions: it is possible to find sheltered place to sit
average visitor: families, children elderly people, people in wheelchair; local people
feeling of a place: feels public
chance of interaction: low
main activities: walking/biking through the park, having a picnic, playing (running around the area, playing with leaves and branches), stopping to have a rest

OBSERVATIONS

9.00-10.00

Some people were just passing through the park; children from nearby kindergarten were brought to play. Overall atmosphere was very peaceful.

14.00-15.00

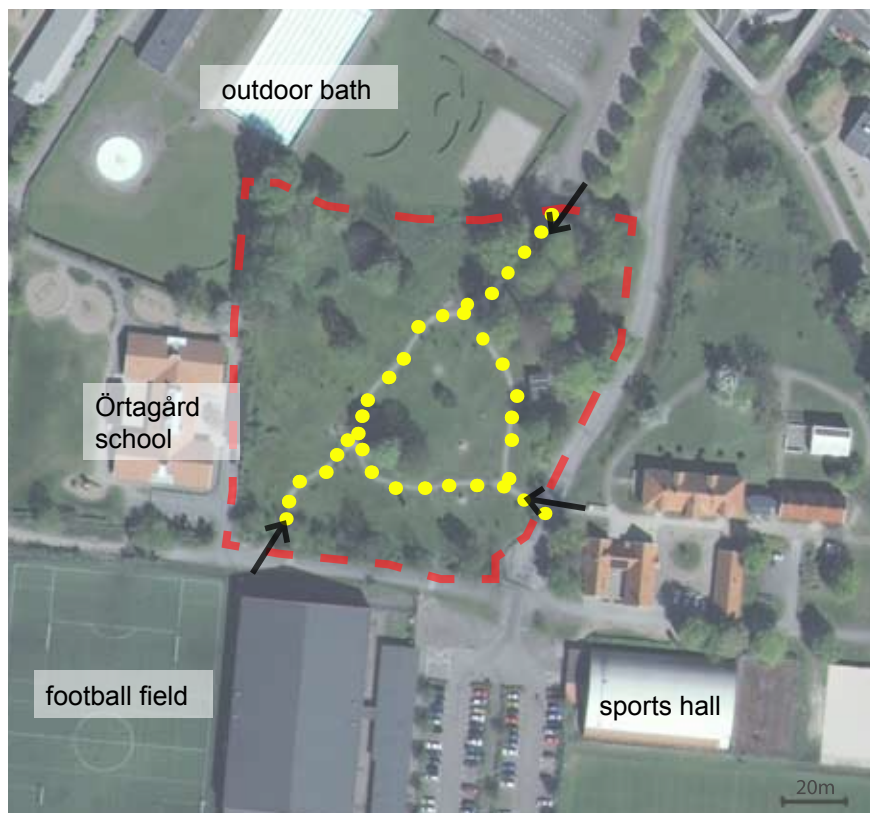
Two women sat behind picnic benches with small children and had a long talk: several families passed through the park. Very relaxed and sunny atmosphere, here and there was possible to see litter that had been left by previous visitors.

17.00-18.00

The park was quite empty. At first three small children came to play in the park. Woman in a wheelchair came to have her dinner in the park; several bikers biked through the area without stopping. The trash had been already cleaned away.

Saturday at 14.00

Man with two small children sat behind the picnic table for 10 minutes; several bikers drove through the area without stopping; several children played between the trees. It was possible to see that the area had recently been used by kids- children drawings and a tent, some garbage on the ground.



1. ATTRACTIVENESS

• functionality

The main activities that I was able to record were children playing with the natural materials they were able to find on the ground, some people came just to sit in the sun or have a picnic. It was also a place that some people seemed to use as a shortcut.

• popularity of the place

Though, I did not see very many people using the place, based on the activity marks on the site (children drawings, grilling marks on the ground), it seemed to be quite popular place in this area especially for the kindergarten children from nearby.

2. ACCESSIBILITY

• mental accessibility

The park itself was very cosy and nice, especially on the sunny days. It was also one of those areas where I, as a foreigner, felt very secure and calm and I think that was because of the public nature of the park and a good overview that a person has over the area while being in it- visual connection to the buildings nearby, good overview of the main entrances to the park.

• physical accessibility

It is a place that is easy to access, as I saw a person on a wheelchair using the area. The park is situated close to children facilities that seem to be the main users of this park. At the same time it cannot be easily found (by a newcomer) as it is in

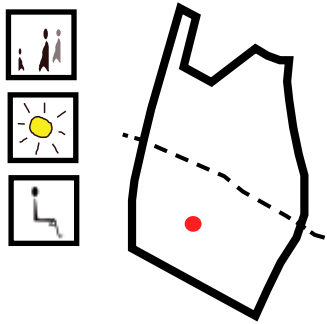
a way hidden- there is no visual connection from Rosengård's Centre to the park.

3. MAKES A PERSON WANT TO STOP OR SLOW DOWN AND BE ENGAGED

There were different sitting possibilities that made this place appealing- one could sit while being sheltered by the vegetation, but at the same time have a nice overview of the area. This was definitely the place that made people slow down or even stop and have a rest (depending on the weather conditions).



Site D- Water Park



climate conditions: sheltered by vegetation
average visitor: families, children, teenagers, children with disabilities; local people, but also some from other city districts
feeling of a place: feels public
chance of interaction: low (during summer can be quite high)
main activities: walking through the area, playing, sitting and observing kids play, meeting up with friends

OBSERVATIONS

Workday: 9.00-10.00

The playground looked a bit deserted, only some people were passing it but without stopping.

Workday: 14.00-15.00

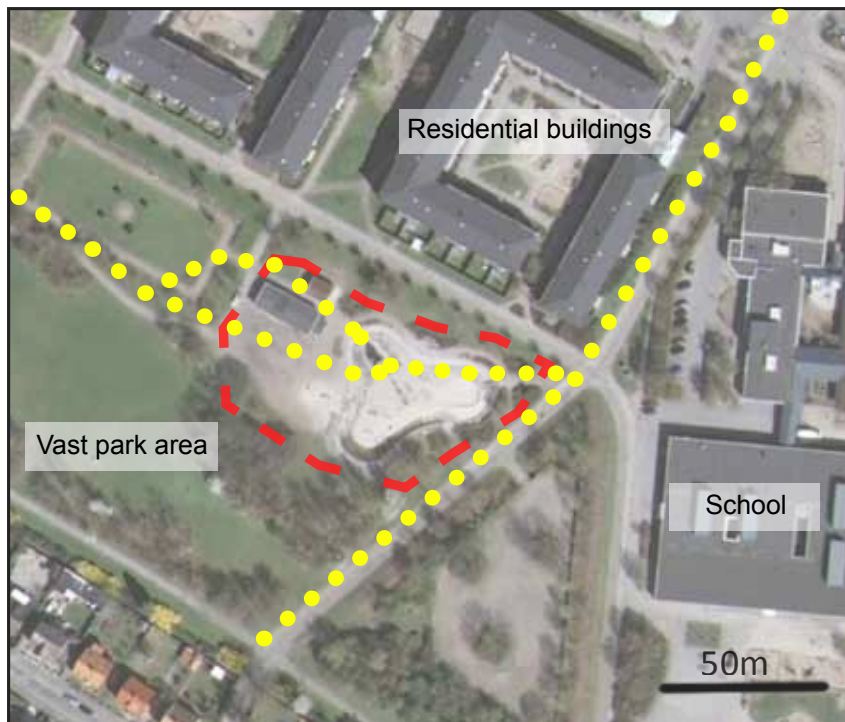
Group of children were playing in the playground (some of whom were with impairments). Some people walked through the area.

Workday: 17.00-18.00

Some people walking through the playground, groups of teenagers hanging around.

Saturday at 15.00

Mother and a child with their dog came to play; after a while two teenage girls wandered around the area to take some pictures. Some people were just passing through the area.



1. ATTRACTIVENESS

- **functionality**

The park offered a large variety of activities ranging from regular children's play equipment (also the ones that can be used by disabled kids) to just sitting and observing from comfortable distance. Especially attractive can be the water activities during summer that I believe can entertain all age groups.

- **popularity of the place**

During my observation it was mainly used by families with children, but also by teenagers who found it interesting place to take photos at.

2. ACCESSIBILITY

- **mental accessibility**

It felt very welcoming place and open for everybody. During daytime it felt safe, as one has good overview of the area and visual connection to the dwelling house nearby. However, during the dark times it can change due to the different user groups (vandalism marks on the benches).

- **physical accessibility**

The Water Park is well located, as it is close to kinder-

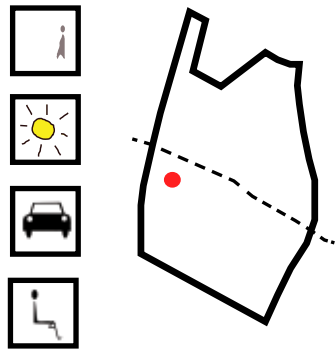
garten and residential buildings. It could be named as a defined place and physically accessible place. The problem is that the Water Park can be hard to find, as it is connected to big park area located in the southern part of Rosengård and there are no clear directions to the site. The visual connection is poor, as the park is surrounded by bushes. Though, at the same time due to its connection to the bigger green area, it seemed to attract people going to and from the big park.

3. MAKES A PERSON WANT TO STOP OR SLOW DOWN AND BE ENGAGED

There were several sitting possibilities that let person observe those in the playground from a small distance. It was possible to see that several people slowed down while going through the playground partially due to windy path, but partially because they were looking at different structures in the playground.



Site E- Square



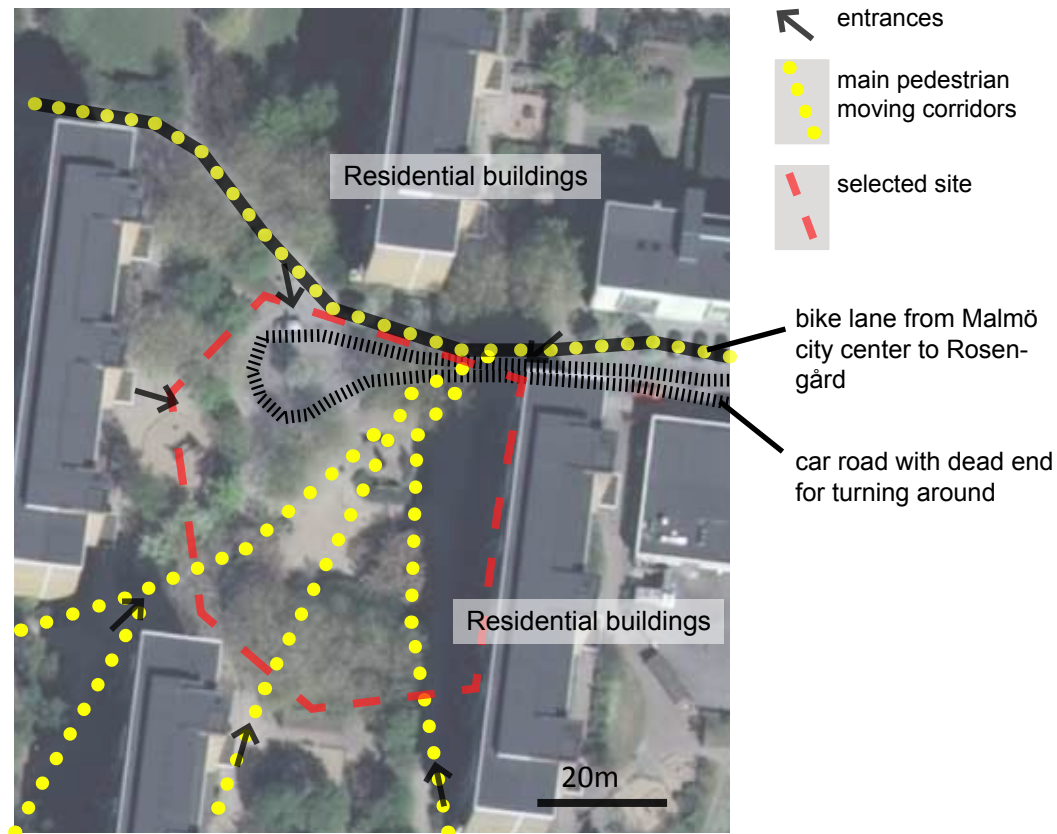
climate conditions: even though sheltered by buildings, it was hard to find seating place that would have been sheltered

average visitor: people from nearby buildings

feeling of a place: feels private due to the overlooking buildings

chance of interaction: low

main activities: walking through the area, waiting for a car



OBSERVATIONS

Workday: 9.00-10.00

The square was empty, just occasional people passing through, nobody stopped.

Workday: 14.00-15.00

Some people were passing through the square; group of young people were meeting up to move on towards Bokaler; street cleaning stuff was working for some time on the square. In the background there was sound of cars coming and leaving- some of them just used this place to turn around some of them stopped in order to pick up a passenger. During the hour several people were waiting for about 10 minutes near the road to be picked up.

Workday: 17.00-18.00

Looked deserted and felt empty; some children came and played for some minutes near the sculpture. Main activity took place on the car road where cars occasionally stopped and waited to pick up people. All people in this area were gathering just a bit away (on the other side of the Bennets vägen and near shop further away) from the area under investigation.

Saturday at 11.00

The area was quite empty, some people were moving through the square to other destinations; group of kids stopped for a moment, but very quickly moved on.

1. ATTRACTIVENESS

- **functionality**

There were several picnic table sets on the square, so there is a possibility to sit and have different sorts of activities. Though, during the whole observation period and later on when I passed the site, I did not once see anybody actually using them.

- **popularity of the place**

The overall impression of the square was deserted. The street furniture though, looked used, as there were several marks of wear and tear. When I stayed in the area in order to perform observations, I was usually the only person there. However, I saw several young people having a quick gathering on the square in order to move on. It was also a place where several people waited to be picked up by a car.

2. ACCESSIBILITY

- **mental accessibility (publicness of the place, safety)**


I did not feel very comfortable, as the area is very open- there are many different entrances to this place, so it is hard to have an overview of the whole area. Another reason for me to feel uneasy in there, were the overlooking building blocks that framed the area and had complete overview of the square.

- **physical accessibility**

It was hard to understand to whom this area belongs to and if I am allowed to be there. At the same time it is a very centrally located place as it is near the main street going from city centre to the Rosengård. Also, it is close to Zlatan's courtyard. Thus, it is a place that is easy to find.

3. MAKES A PERSON WANT TO STOP OR SLOW DOWN AND BE ENGAGED

It was the worst place to be in as some of the street furniture was turned the way that one's back was facing the Bennets vägen- i.e. the main street. It definitely was not the place where people felt like slowing down or stopping.

A wide-angle photograph of a city square. In the foreground, a red bicycle is parked on the left. A yellow sign with a red circle and a slash is mounted on a pole. The square is paved and has several trees, some with green leaves and some with yellow autumn foliage. In the background, there are modern buildings and a clear sky.

roundabout- cars coming,
stopping and going away



roundabout; people waiting for car to pick them up



grey and deserted square



bordered by residential buildings



seating places with their back to the main street

Bennets vägen



messy sculpture



view to the square from the main bicycle/pedestrian road



shop a bit further away from the square that serves as a popular meeting place for local people

Outcome of the Observation Study

ATTRACTIVENESS

Based on the observation study, it turned out that the best place in terms of offering different activities to its visitor was the Bokaler. All the other meeting places, besides the Square, could be also named as places of many different possible activities. The most popular place however in terms of its users was Rosengård's Centre. Second place based on its popularity was Bokaler.

ACCESSIBILITY

The most accessible places turned out to be Rosengård's Centre, Rosengård's Park and Water Park. The reason why I believe Bokaler is not very accessible place based on the observation study is due to its lack of emotional accessibility. The square seemed to be the least accessible. Main reason was that it felt private, as it is bordered by high residential buildings overlooking the whole area. Thus, it was hard to understand to whom the area belongs to and if it is allowed to be there.

For Bokaler mental accessibility seemed to be the biggest barrier. When Rosengård's Centre seemed to be "neutral" area where a lot of different people were doing their shopping and spent time outdoors (conveyed feeling of publicness), then the area near Bokaler I perceived as a place for local people. It seemed to be also highly affected by the male dominance, especially in the evenings, that acts as a tool for exclusion of women and outsiders. Accordingly, the most inaccessible (foremost emotionally) turned out to be the Square.

MAKES A PERSON WANT TO STOP OR SLOW DOWN AND BE ENGAGED

If compare all five sites in terms of what impact they have on person in terms of speed of movement then Rosengård's Park and Water Park managed to make people slow down the most.

Bokaler was also place that seemed to make people slow down. That was happening mainly if one was walking through the area and not biking. Even though the area near Bokaler is interesting due to its multifunctionality, the linear structure of this place and feeling of entering private territory, contributes to passing quickly through the area instead of slowing down. Of course, that is I believe true mostly for outsiders and those unfamiliar with the area.

The Rosengård's Centre also gives a person opportunity to sit outside the shop and makes people turn down the speed of movement. However, the latter usually happens right before one is entering the shop. Also as it is primarily commercial building, then accordingly people tend to be more reserved (did not like to be bothered for any other engagements) and focused on their goal unlike in the previous places.

The Square, again, proved to be the weakest place, as it did not affected people walking through it in any way. The reason why I believe the selected square does not act as a stopping place is because of previously mentioned privatness that excludes people from this area, and lack of attractiveness.

Conclusion

Overall, it is possible to conclude that the most outdoor integration supportive places, based on the observation study, are Bokaler and Rosengård's Centre. These two places seemed to attract the most people that I believe is essential in terms of social integration. Though, Bokaler seems to be slightly less better place for social integration as, despite its liveliness, it did not felt clearly public for me as for an outsider (especially in the beginning).

6.7 Final Evaluation of the Selected Places

Based on the observations study and information that I managed to obtain during interviews with people living and visiting Rosengård and students from Rosengård's dormitory, I am going to outline the final evaluation of these meeting places in terms of outdoor integration.

In terms of attractiveness and accessibility the best place turned out to be Rosengård's Centre, as it is the biggest shopping facility in the region. Secondly most popular meeting places among interviewees seemed to be Water Park, but due to its seasonal character it is not used very often during cold seasons. Overall, Rosengård's Centre was the only place that was equally popular among those interviewed in the streets and the students from the dormitory. In case of Bokaler, even though it seemed as a popular place during observations, after I had done the interviews it turned out that it is not as universally used place as the previous ones.

Taking into account information that I manage to obtain from people living in or visiting the area it turned out that the least attractive meeting places besides the Square is Rosengård's Park. The reason for that seems to be that they fail to attract people as they do not offer activities that could compete with those offered by the city centre. Also, the park seemed to be dislocated for it to function as district park. In case of the Square, the position of the street furniture near Bennets vägen does not allow observing people passing by, which make the sitting places and eventually the Square itself unattractive.

To sum up, I believe that most important from all aspects of a meeting place to be outdoor integration supportive is whether it is used by many different people and the level of its publicness. Taking into account all the previous information, I have come to conclusion that of four selected popular meeting places and one poor meeting place, surprisingly the most outdoor integration supportive place is Rosengård's Centre. Secondly, where social integration could be happening mainly among lo-

cal people, I believe are Water Park and Bokaler and thirdly Rosengård's Park. The selected Square, I believe, as it is not used by people most of the time and has accessibility problems, is not at the present time a place that could be categorised under outdoor integration supportive places at all.

7. OUTCOME- Answers to the Main Questions

1. What are the main integration strategies for public open space used in Rosengård by Malmö City?

During thorough investigation process that involved, firstly, finding and going through different documents that would refer to the process of integration and public open space in Malmö city and the way in which these two concepts should be addressed in Malmö. Secondly, interviews with the specialists from Malmö Planning Office and Parks and Streets Department, I have to conclude that there is no independent document or written down integration strategy for public space in Rosengård.

In fact, at the time of my research, municipality of Malmö was in the process of synthesis of the strategy for the area including deeper analysis of the outdoor space. However, on the basis of conducted interviews and the documents I managed to find, I can conclude that the municipality of Malmö has been dealing with the issues of outdoor space in Rosengård and they have been trying to come up with a framework for integration supportive outdoor space. In the concluding section of chapter 5.3 (p. 27) I also bring out these integration related goals for the outdoor space in Rosengård that the municipality has at the moment.

2. What strategies for public open space used by Malmö's planning office have been successful and what could be improved?

If quote Magdalena Alevra and Tobias Starck, then there has been lot of projects trying to improve Rosengård and its public open space, but none of those projects have succeeded in a way for a person to see any drastic changes in the area. Hopefully, the new plan that the municipality is working on now, will manage to come up with the main strategies for the whole area and also for the public open space. And if it will be realised, hopefully the municipality will finally succeed in influencing the area and social integration that is happening in the outdoor space in a positive way.

3. What do people living in Rosengård want their outdoor living environment to be like? Do they use it?

During visits to the area and after I had talked to the planners from Malmö City and to people living in and visiting Rosengård, I realised that people in Rosengård use the outdoor space. Moreover, they are forced to use it due to the shortage of the space in their apartments that are overcrowded. What needs to be stressed is that not all those who live in Rosengård have the same opportunities to use the outdoor space. Some sub-groups, like students from the student housing, due to lack of information and lack of efficient public places, prefer inner city outdoor space to the one offered by Rosengård. Thus, they are not being part of Rosengård's social life. Another excluded group seem to be women. The latter group is excluded from the outdoor space in the evenings and nights due to the male dominance in the streets that does not make them feel safe outdoors.

What came out of the interviews was that the municipality has not conducted yet any structuralised analysis of what people want. Though, on the basis on the interviews that I managed to make, the main ideas that interviewees came out with was to have at least one common place that would be: universally attractive, clearly public and activity rich place where different people could meet and socialise.

What are the main activities?

On the basis of my own experience, what I heard from the municipality and from interviews in the streets- people in Rosengård mostly just walk aimlessly around the area, as they have no specific (meeting) places to go to besides Rosengård's Centre and the playgrounds. So, Rosengård is typical mono-functional dwelling area with not much happening outdoors and with not many activities being offered by the outdoor space besides football.

4. What are the main problems of Rosengård's public open space in terms of outdoor integration (what is stopping outdoor integration)?

Here is a summary of the main problems of the Rosengård's outdoor space based on the interviews and my own observations that also act as barriers for outdoor integration in the area:

- lack of universally attractive public space (common places)
- unclear and confusing boundaries of public open space
- lack of activities- especially for woman/children/teenagers; lack of mutual activities
- some parts of the outdoor space do not feel safe- the space is dominated by men (especially during evening)
- lack of logical network of public places
- complicated structure of the streets that is confusing and disorientating
- lack of information on different outdoor activities in the area
- public open space is not efficient- green areas are either too big, far away from potential users and act as movement barriers during the evenings
- bad image of the area- people are afraid to enter Rosengård (fear of the unknown)

5. Do popular meeting places in Rosengård work as multicultural meeting places and how outdoor integration supportive they are?

(Judgement based on my experience and observations, on literature study, interviews with planners from Malmö City and people living in and visiting Rosengård)

Most popular meeting places that I located during this thesis, are multicultural meeting places, as Rosengård is a place of very many different cultures. Yet, it is possible to say that not all selected meeting places support process of social integration as there are very few Swedish people who are using the identified popular meeting places. The main reasons have been listed out as the main problems of Rosengård's public open space in the answer to the question nr 4. above.

Nonetheless, among the selected meeting places Rosengård's Centre was the place that I believe is at the moment the most outdoor integra-

tion supportive, as it manages to attract people not only from all over Rosengård, but also from outside the area. Another two places, Water Park and Bokaler, I believe have a high potentiality to become good integration supportive places. Though, at the moment they could promote social relationships mainly between people living in the area- i.e. between immigrants.

8. GENERAL DISCUSSION

Lack of Defined Public Space

I believe, outdoor space, as any other supportive framework, has a very important role in terms of whether a person will go out or decides to encapsulate into ones apartment. What came out of the interviews was that the students are not using the outdoor space. Moreover, the man from Nigeria felt that he could not go anywhere as “not all places are open and not all places are forbidden”. Also another interviewee from Germany told that she does not know where she can go, as she is afraid accidentally to occupy places of the local people. Basically, as they could not identify any truly public space in the area, they both have decided not to use outdoor space in Rosengård. So in order to make the outdoor space in this area more inclusive, there is a need to improve the readability of the space. It should be clear what and where one can and cannot do. By defining the borders and by making the public open space visible to everybody- there is a chance that more people will feel comfortable to use it and that the space will form the supportive context for daily social interactions (see p. 21).

Lack of Public Places- People Forced out of Rosengård

On the basis of the undertaken investigation I have come to conclusion that most of people that were interviewed spend their free time outside of Rosengård, as in the area itself there is a lack of attractive places to go to. On one hand, it is possible to conclude that poor outdoor space in Rosengård supports social integration in a way that it forces people to go to other parts of Malmö, where they have a chance to socially integrate. Yet, on the other hand, while young people tend to go out and investigate other city parts, grownups, according to Magdalena Alevra and interviewee from Rosengård's park, are more passive and tend to lock themselves up in their apartments- thus suffering the most from the poor outdoor space. Likewise could suffer from this problem small children and female groups who are dependent on their family members and their habits and permissions. So, I believe lack of attractive public open places is a serious problem that affects negatively social integration

and promotes exclusion in Rosengård.

Lot of People- Lack of Activities

What is interesting is how people use their outdoor space in Rosengård. As said Tobias Starck and the kindergarten teacher in the Water Park, people are literally forced to be outside during daytime as the living conditions they are having are of a very poor quality and there just is not enough space to be at home. When one walks around the area, it is possible to see lots of men groups gathering near the main shopping areas or falafel kiosks. The youngsters, as one of the interviewees described, are most of the time aimlessly wandering around the whole district as they have no place to go to. On one hand, Rosengård's outdoor space has a lot of people who contribute to lively and vibrant atmosphere outdoors, but on the other hand, all these people are unorganised and have no purpose to be outside. Thus, by adding activities for people and reorganising the outdoor space (the way in which one could benefit from the active social life happening in the outdoor space) Rosengård could not only become better place for the residents living in the area, but it could become important place in terms of the whole Malmö.

One structural change that could be undertaken is to form a network of public places that would allow people from different parts of Malmö and also residents inside Rosengård logically move from one public place to another. At the same time, I believe, it is important to keep in mind all smaller, already existing popular meeting places (green patches, kiosks, playgrounds) that should be part of this network.

In terms of adding activities, especially common activities should be supported, as a way through which social integration of different people could be promoted. Mean and Tims (2005) write that if the space is organised the way in which co-production is supported, people tend to be more open towards each other and feel more safe. The same thought had a student from Nigeria, who believed that outdoor recreational

places like football fields, parks and other places where one could be engaged in common activities help people to socialise more easily. Moreover, I believe adding common activities could be one way of supporting the formation of loose ties between residents, information flow in the area and increasing the trust between different people (see p. 20) that Rosengård seems to lack at the moment.

Male Dominance in the Outdoor Space

What came out of the interviews was that male dominance in the area is a serious issue that stops some of the students from using the outdoor space especially during the evenings. The question is- how to deal with this situation and what role plays in this case outdoor space?

I believe, the outdoor space and especially public space should be furthestmost safe place for everybody, including women. By creating safe feeling, I mean the public outdoor space has to feel public and welcoming to everybody, no matter of their gender or age. During my investigation process I could see a lot of football fields where young boys were playing, but no activities for girls. The fact that there is a male dominance in the area and no activities targeted for women, could make the latter feel uncomfortable in the streets and promote their exclusion. As said Tobias Starck, there are not so many activities for women in the whole Malmö and that is the problem the city has been trying to deal with, but so far unsuccessfully. So, in terms of outdoor space, it is important to find out and define what are the activities that could attract women and girls to come outside and become part of outdoor social life.

Project- Let's Bring Students to the Area- FAILED?!

Magdalena Alevra mentioned that one of the reasons why the dormitory has been placed inside Rosengård, is for it to bring more people into the area that would have different background. If the municipality's aim was to make social life in the area more versatile, then on the basis of the interviews conducted with four students it can be said that the project has not succeeded. The students are not using the outdoor space in Rosengård and do not feel as a part of it. Moreover, the students seemed

to be encapsulated into the dormitory as they feel they do not have the right to the outdoor space in Rosengård. It is regretful, as it is one of the reasons why the idea to add vibrancy to the social life in this area is not working.

Gilroy and Speak (2000) write in their article that in some cases students are trapped into "what may be suitable properties in unsuitable locations". The same seems to have happen in Rosengård. One of the reasons is that there is no framework of public spaces near the dormitory that could allow people from the dormitory and those living outside the student housing to get in touch with through sharing mutual outdoor space.

Use Rosengårds Uniqueness in a Good Way

At the moment of me writing this thesis it seemed that Rosengård is known as a "do not enter" place dominated by Arabic culture. Just a monocultural dwelling area with small amount of other functions. The question seems to be- how to use uniqueness of this area in a positive way?

Referring back to interviews I managed to conduct, I believe that the dominating Arabic culture is seen at the moment as something that has to be changed. But what if this area could become, as the interviewee from Iran pointed out, a very unique place in Malmö that would be known for its Arabic culture. During the interview with the student from Iran, we talked about what if the shops in Rosengård could be opened at the time they are open in Arabic countries from 10am- 12am and then from 5pm- 12pm. On one hand, it could be seen as an inhumane act towards the employees, but at the same time, there are lot of people who are used to this rhythm of life in this area. By changing the shop opening hours the district could gain more lively and more versatile social life.

Moreover, as most of the shops in Malmö are closed at 7pm, then the area could attract people from all over the city and become known as attractive nightlife shopping place. It would mean that not only people

of Malmö would benefit from having another “hot place”, but hopefully the locals would have more chance of earning, would benefit from the improvement of the image of Rosengård and could have places inside the area where to interact with people all over the city.

The Deserted Square

“Something is wrong with it, but I do not know what...”
/Magdalena Alevra/

The Square, during undertaken investigation, was mainly used for passing or meeting up, but never for sitting for a longer time. On one hand, one can argue, that this place does not function as universally popular meeting place, as most of the time it is empty. On the other hand, if taken into account that Rosengård as a small city, needs to have a network of public open places, then this square is important link. It serves as a meeting up point from where people living nearby have the chance to move on to the other public meeting places- i.e. linger through the cityscape (Shaftoe, 2008). To sum up, the Square is definitely not integration supportive meeting place, but I believe it can still be an important meeting point in terms of the whole Rosengård’s outdoor space.

Role of Landscape Architect

One of the aims for me personally was to find out how much can I, as a landscape architect, do when it comes to dealing with problem of social integration or social exclusion. During my work process I have come to conclusion, that social exclusion is a very complex problem and it cannot be solved just by one specialist or only through improvement of physical space. But, at the same time, I truly believe that as social exclusion and social integration are very broad scale issues, then landscape architect, as a person who is able to plan and design outdoor space has an important part in this process. And as it came out from my research in Rosengård- the biggest barrier in outdoor integration was the lack of *public* places and fear of the unknown- thus, enhancing accessibility in the area could be hypothetically the key to better and more outdoor integration supportive environment. The same concludes in his article Madanipour who

writes that:

Revisiting spatial barriers and promoting accessibility and more spatial freedom can therefore be the way spatial planning can contribute to promoting social integration. (2000, b, p. 87)

Final Reflections

I believe that social integration, as discussed in the Theoretical Background chapter (p. 17), is a process that can and is happening in the outdoor space. However, what came out in Rosengård was that the negative changes outlined at the beginning of my research (p. 18) that have been happening to the outdoor space could be easily recognised in the area under investigation. Moreover, these negative trends are affecting negatively the process of outdoor integration.

The interviewed students are avoiding the outdoor space in Rosengård- they prefer public transport to walking through the area, they find the outdoor space hostile, unattractive and badly structured. The people interviewed in the streets of Rosengård also felt that there is no place to go to in the area, lack of activities and lack of Swedish people. Thus, coming back to the statement that people at the present days have the chance to choose where they spend their free time depending on the quality of the place (p. 18)- the poor quality outdoor space in Rosengård is stopping some groups of people from having normal social life in the outdoor space- thus, excluding them and drawing them off to other places in Malmö.

The most paradoxical is that despite the fact that in the beginning of this thesis I came to conclusion that commercial buildings cannot be the places that could support social integration due to their exclusive nature (p. 19) - the most integration supportive environment based on my research turned out to be the biggest shopping centre in the area.

However, it is also clear that most of the interviewees felt the need for another place that would be clearly public and universally accessible and

attractive. A public place that would promote in a diverse city of Malmö different (common) activities and through that social integration that would lead to mutual respect (p. 15). A place that would allow to re-introduce Rosengård to the rest of Malmö in a positive way (p. 21).

One could ask- why anything at all has to be done with this area. What if it is right what the student from Iran said, that people living in Rosengård are more than satisfied to live the way they live right now- having their relatives and friends from home country around them and by following their own rules? Also, it is important to keep in mind that by restructuring Rosengård, one could destroy the social life the area has at the present time. Dorte Skot-Hansen (2008) writes in her article that, "By cleansing the urban landscape of authenticity, the original inhabitants are excluded from the public places they used to consider their own". Thus, by making the area more "Swedish" one could exclude the current residents into another "immigrant" area.

However, the main reason for changing Rosengård is mainly motivated by those who are powerless and excluded. Here I would again bring out students living in the dormitory, the women and children in this area and all those whose life quality suffers due to poor outdoor space. They do not dare to go outside when it is dark, as the outdoor space is hostile, unwelcoming, hard to orientate, there is nothing to do and in addition to that- dominated by men. So there is a need for improvement, but it has to be based on thorough and versatile analysis of the area in order to minimise any negative impact on the social life of Rosengård.

9. CRITICISM OF THE METHODS, APPROACHES AND PERSONAL COMMENTS

I decided to write my investigation not just on the basis of literature, but through interviewing actual people and visiting actual places. The selected approach of my work definitely has affected the outcome of my research. I do not state that I managed to get to know everything on the subject of outdoor integration- but it is a view on Rosengård and its outdoor space through the eyes of people I managed to talk to, and I believe it has a value of its own.

I do believe that I would have never got all the information, if I had not taken the time for all those site visits and interviews that helped me to understand the situation in Rosengård. Social life, I believe, is something that cannot be read from the maps and that is why personal contact and experiencing the area formed substantial part of my work and helped me to get closer to understanding Rosengård and its problems in a way that I wanted.

If I look back on my research question, I have to admit, it would have been much easier for me, if I had picked one and more defined research question. I believe I could have been less ambitious and face the fact that it is impossible to cover all the aspects of the field under investigation within the given time frame. I also had to struggle a lot with the amount of information and selection of the most important data. However, besides hard times I also got a lot of new questions and ideas that would be interesting for me to study in the future- for example, how to make women use the outdoor space and what could be the activities designed especially for them.

This thesis has been a process of investigation- on one hand, I have been trying to broaden my knowledge on the outdoor space and its connection to the process of social integration based on the example of Rosengård; on another hand, it has been a learning process on how to adopt and

change tactics and approaches due to unexpected variables, unfamiliar context and still be able to get as much valuable information as needed. Finding constantly ways in which to write a work based on interviews with complete strangers and coping occasionally with the language barrier has been a good lesson for me to learn. I believe that through conducted interviews and observations I have obtained valuable personal insight on the social life in the area and its connections to the outdoor space. Moreover, I also feel that I have grown as a beginning researcher in terms of learning to listen to people and approaching them “from the right side”. This all came through trial and error, but I do believe that this has been, all in all, a very valuable and interesting experience that I will definitely benefit in my future work- no matter what it might be.

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11. ATTACHMENTS

ATTACHMENT 1.

Main questions to Magdalena Alevra

- What is your position?
- How many years have you had that position?
- How well do you think you are aware of the subject under discussion?

STRATEGIES

- What are the main problems in Rosengård's public open space (concerning integration) from the municipality point of view?
- Does the municipality believe that public open space is important in terms of integration?
- What are the main strategies that have been used in Rosengård for public open space in order to promote integration?
 - What are/ were the initial aims of the policies?
 - What have been the results of the policies?- statistics?
 - What strategies have been successful and what could be improved? + and - examples
- I have been reading ... importance of meeting places...How much effort has been put to construction and support of meeting places (is it important)?
 - Could you please define meeting place as a concept that has been used during Rosengård planning process, sustainable development document?
 - Importance of meeting places in terms of integration

POPULAR MEETING PLACES

- Why do you think people come to Rosengård now and what will be the main attraction features in the future?
- Where are the most popular meeting places in Rosengård (when are they used, by whom)? (map)...outdoor meeting places?
 - What do you think, which outdoor meeting places could sup-

port integration/ where multicultural meetings are happening? (map)

- Have you had any research on them?
- Does Malmö's municipality support those places- has been part of the creation of them???
- Do they do anything to advertise those meeting places more?
- How much room there is for self organization? Do they encourage it?
- Importance of network of those places...?
- Places for interview- most interesting meeting places?
- Have you had any feedback on the projects that have been undertaken? (bicycle lane, art projects- do they attract people, influence the image of Rosengård?)
- What do people living in Rosengård want their outdoor living environment to be like-any research? Do they use it? What are their main activities?
- Do you think that people feel that the outdoor environment is improving?

POSSIBILITIES FOR IMPROVEMENT

- Plans to change in Rosengård's outdoor environment, meeting places?
- How do you see Rosengård in 10 years time- what has happened to the public open space/meeting places?
- High mobility in Rosengård- do you think that it could be stopped by well functioning and attractive outdoor space?

ATTACHMENT 2.

Main questions to Tobias Starck

- What is your position?
- How many years have you had that position?
- How well do you think you are aware of the subject under discussion?

- What Rosengård-connected project are you working on?
- What do you think are the most important meeting places in Rosengård? Could you name any meeting places in the area that could be classified as multicultural, places where people living in Rosengård and those living outside of the area meet?
- Are there any integration related strategies in your work that would concern public space in the area that you have to follow?
- What are the main problems in Rosengård's outdoor space?
- What have been done in order to bring more (Swedish) people into the area?
- What do you think people living in Rosengård want their outdoor environment to be like and do they use the outdoor space at all?
- Should immigrant area (its outdoor space) be approached by landscape architect differently than regular dwelling area?
- What are the main goals of the municipality in terms of Rosengård and its outdoor space?

ATTACHMENT 3.

Questions to the People Living in or Visiting the Area

The interview covered main themes as:

Background information:

- Where do you live? For how long have you lived in Rosengård?

The place:

- Is this a popular place to go to in this area?
- How often do they visit the place?
- What do they think of this place?
- Who usually visits this place?
- Other popular meeting places.
- Where are located other popular places?
- Where do they usually go with their friends?
- Where do they usually go to have a picnic, where they meet up with their friends?

Opinion:

- Main problems in Rosengård outdoor environment?
- Perfect outdoor place? What would they want it to be like? What would they change if they could in the outdoor space?

ATTACHMENT 4. Interviews with the People Living in or Visiting the Area

I SITE- ROSENGÅRD'S PARK

Interview 1. - middle-aged kindergarten teacher from Rosengård

She lives in Rosengård herself and works there as a kindergarten teacher.

Thoughts on the Current Place

The main reason why she came to Rosengård's Park is because of the kids. She explained that they bring children to the park every day before lunch. She thought that this park is nice and could be even called the best in the area. When I asked her why, she answered: *"There are many different people. You can hear very many different languages."* She explained that to her it is important to have places where different people are coming together. She said that this place is used by very many different people: *"...we come (to the park) now and later on children from school come here"*.

Other Meeting Places

She believed that this park has always been popular place to go to since it was built. When I asked her about other popular places where people go to in Rosengård, she named Water Park that is especially popular among children.

When I asked her about the Rosengård Centre and Bokaler, she agreed that they are places where one can see usually a lot of people and they could be named as popular places to go to in this area. She continued that Rosengård has changed in recent 10 years, but she thinks not for the best. The main negative aspect she believed is: *"...too many people in small apartments". She was concerned that immigrant population, to be precise the grownups, does not speak Swedish, "only the kids speak Swedish"*.

Other Thoughts/Suggestions

When I asked her about importance of the outdoor space for local people, she concluded that the outdoor places are important, but she could not come up with any improvements or changes that she would like to happen in Rosengård.

Interview 2. – middleaged Bosnian man with a small child

Thoughts on the Current Place

He lives in the northern part of Rosengård and usually he visits the park with his child once a week, no more. The reason why they do not come more often, is because he finds Rosengård's park to be not the best place for his small child, as it lacks any play-equipment. He admitted that usually they go to the playground on the other side of Amiralsgatan.

Other Meeting Places

When I asked if he thinks this place is popular place to go to among other residents in Rosengård, he said that this is one of those places where people living in Rosengård like to come and meet up, have a picnic. Though, he explained that he was not quite sure, as he has not been living in Rosengård for very long. *"I moved to Rosengård only two years ago. I do not know so much. There are definitely other places where people like to go. There is another big park, that I go to often with my child...it (Water Park) is more popular in the summer."*

Other Thoughts/Suggestions

When I asked him what he thought generally about the outdoor space in the district he said: *"In Rosengård, I think that it is good here, for me it is good here. I lived in Stockholm for 15 years. It is very beautiful and good city. But it is very good here, even better. But the climate is not good. Too windy"*.

II SITE- ROSENGÅRD'S CENTRE

Interview 1. - young man from Croatia

Thoughts on the Current Place

He lives 20 minutes away from the Rosengård's Centre, outside Rosengård. Though, he admitted coming often to this particular place: *"I come here often to shop, to City Gross"*. He also admitted that has not been to other parts of Rosengård, *"No, I never visited the parks, I just come here to shop. In general I know about the place..."*.

Other Meeting Places

When I asked if he knows anything about Rosengård he smiled and said that he knows a lot. Though, when I asked him to name some of the places where people like to go in Rosengård, he could not name any and suggested to ask local people. He said that as far as he knows the surrounding area of the shopping mall is the place where people from different city parts come together from all over Rosengård, adding that: *"... this is an important meeting place for those who come especially from other countries, yes...but not for Swedes"*.

Interview 2.- young woman from Iran

Thoughts on the Current Place

She said that she lives near the City Gross and she has been living in the area since 1991. When I asked her what she particularly likes about living in this area, she said: *"I am not afraid to go out when it is dark. Because there are always so many people outside. And they help each other if anything should happen"*. She explained that anywhere else in Malmö where there are only Swedish people they just stand and look, *"but we, who are from other countries, we help each other"*.

Other Meeting Places

When I asked her if she ever uses the parks in Rosengård she said that now, when she has children, she does. She pointed out Water Park that she particularly likes. She thought the park areas are rather good, but they could be better. She was concerned that the city does not invest

enough into Rosengård and its outdoor space. She added, *"Rosengård in my eyes is beautiful, but I think that the city does not take the time and do something for this area"*.

Other Thoughts/Suggestions

She explained that the main problem that she feels is in the area is that there is no place to go. When she was little, she went to sport's centre and to the shop where used to be billiard table. But as she has grown up those places have lost their significance for her. Whenever she is meeting with her friends they do it in the city centre where are plenty of good restaurants and discos. So, she prefers to go outside of Rosengård during her free time.

She explained that change that has occurred to the area is that there used to be much more Swedish people. She thought that if the area would be more interesting, there would be again more Swedes. *"The people living in this area, they have so much to give, but most of them cannot speak Swedish."* She explained that learning the language takes time. But as most of people in Rosengård are from other countries it affects negatively their language skills. That is why she believes it is important to have more mixed society in Rosengård.

She explained that when Swedes are talking about Muslims, they think of them in a negative way, as they do not know about their culture and religion. She thought it is sad and that it is also another reason why there is a need for an outdoor place inside Rosengård that would attract Swedes as well as all other people of different origin. She thinks that all cultures- Swedish, Arabic- they are very big and different and it would be good if people could come together and learn from each other.

When I asked her what would she like to improve in the outdoor space, she thought for a while and said that, *"I would like Swedes to learn that Rosengård is not such a dangerous place like they think it is. And that we are not dangerous people"*.

III SITE- BOKALER

Interview 1.- teenage girl from Rosengård

Thoughts on the Current Place

She lives in Rosengård, near Bokaler. She comes quite often to this area (Bokaler), as it is comfortably nearby. She visits the shops in Bokaler when she feels like having a quick pack of chips, but otherwise she goes to City Gross in Rosengård Centre.

During the interview, she admitted that she feels that Bokaler and its surrounding area has changed a lot for the last year and for the best- *“It is more upbringing. It used to be very dull before, but now there are more people, more voices.”* She explained that in August, they had a big tent over the parking lot opposite Bokaler and she was working there during that time. *“We had lots of music there and it was all really good.”*

To her point of view this is the place that is mainly used by local people, those who live or work around the area. She said that people from the rest of Malmö and other parts of Rosengård usually never end up in this area. Though, she added, *“But when we had the tent, people came from all over the place, I was really surprised”*. Yet, she thought that this is not the place for people to meet up. Though, she also said that it depends on the person and the place where one lives.

Other Meeting Places

When I asked her where she usually meets up with her friends and where they usually go to, she answered: *“Me and my friends we just go around the whole area and just talk. Just move around. I think it depends on where you live here, because you cannot just stay at where you... Here is a lot of people because the store is open and everything; lot of guys hang around here with mopeds and think they are cool. Otherwise you could just say where the benches area that is where people meet up”*. She thought that another place to be outdoors and meet up, especially for children is the Water Park, but that is mainly used during the summer.

Other Thoughts/Suggestions

“Rosengård is not perfect and neither is it's outdoor environment,” she said, but she still finds it very beautiful during summer:

“...there are so much trees and flowers of different colours, but now when the winter is coming it is kind of dull. What I would like to have is more trees and more nature and renovate the houses. They are starting to renovate the children's playgrounds, so it is getting better here, actually”.

Interview 2.- middle-aged local salesman in Bokaler

Thoughts on the Current Place

He has been working in Bokaler from the time it was opened. He thought it is great project, but it needs more time and effort to be put in. *“It is good project for the whole city, not just for this area”,* but *“other people are afraid to come to Rosengård...it is not very safe here and people are afraid of young people here”*. He thought safety is a big issue in Rosengård. He said that he has contacted police several times because of criminal situations. *“It is not very dangerous place, but when it goes into media, the people get scared,”* meaning that even smallest criminal cases, when transferred through the media, add to the already negative image of Rosengård.

When I asked him who his average customer is, he said that basically those people who live around the area. He added that he has also DHL-service, so he gets to see people from another places as well. He said that Bokaler is at the moment not the place that is popular among all people in Rosengård, but it slowly starts to become that place. He also believed that this place could *“give good name for the whole area”*.

I asked him whether Bokaler has become a meeting place for young people and he agreed that it has. He explained that young people are meeting up near the shops, but he was not sure from where they come from. He continued that the people, who cross the area in front of Bokaler, on a

daily basis, are very different. The bike path, in front of Bokaler, brings lot of people from other city parts. At the same time he said that the bikers never stop, just cycle through the area.

Other Meeting Places

When I asked him about popular meeting places in this area, he said that Rosengård's Centre is definitely important place to meet for adults. He believed it is also the only place where people from outside of Rosengård and from inside the area meet. *"Most of the time people just come and buy and go away (in the Rosengård Centre). For many people who are unemployed, it is a good place to gather up."* At the same time he believed there is no good place for young people. He described how youngsters just hang around the area, *"They just walk around; just roll around with their motorbikes, all the time all the same"*.

Other Thoughts/Suggestions

He believed that : *"Authorities have to take it very seriously; it is going to be worse, if they do not do anything. It is not just a problem of this area... if it is a problem- it is for everybody"*. He strongly believed that there have to be more activities for the growing up children and the authorities have to have zero-tolerance against the young hooligans. When I wondered what he thinks about the percentage of man and woman outside, he explained that in the evenings 99% are boys outside. The main reason for that he believed is that there are no places for them to go to. By the latter he meant that on one hand, there is lack of places for women outside, so they stay home. On the other hand, there is lack of activities for teenage boys, who are forced to wander around the streets.

He summed up his interview by saying: *"If they (Malmö City) want to have a good result, they have to show that this place is safe; it needs to become part of Malmö, so people could come here and enjoy it"*.

IV SITE- WATER PARK

Interview 1.- elderly Swedish man with a dog near Water Park

He said right away when I introduced my subject of research: *“I have been living in Rosengård since 1982 and I love it”*. He lives not far from park and walks there often with his dog.

When I asked him what makes Rosengård special place to live in, he answered that for him the main value of the area is in its greenery. He continued that he believes parks are really important and they are the places that attract people in this region the most.

Thoughts on the Current Place

He said that people from all over Rosengård come together in the particular park (park near the Water Park), *“this is a place where people mix in a way”*. However, he added that people from the rest of Malmö do not tend to visit the parks, as they are scared of Rosengård. He explained that the area has a very bad reputation.

He continued that usually, during the summer time, he has barbeques with his friends in this park. He finds that it is of very good quality even compared to parks in rest of Malmö.

Other Meeting Places

When I asked him what other popular places could he name besides the parks that he believes are important meeting places/ places where people tend to go to, he pointed out shopping centre- Rosengård's Centre.

Other Thoughts/Suggestions

The only thing he would like to change is to have more Swedish people visiting the area. He explained with regret that they (the Swedes) are just afraid to move into Rosengård as at the present time it is mostly made up of people from Arabic countries and Somalia.

Interview 2.- young Swedish woman from Gullviksborg with a small child and a dog

Thoughts on the Current Place

When I asked her how often they tend to visit this place, she answered that not so often. Though, she admitted that when during summer the park was filled with water, they did. She thought that: *“This particular place is really nice”*. To the question what places they like to visit in this area, she replied that usually they tend to go to the parks around the water playground.

Other Meeting Places

When I asked her if she happened to know any other places in Rosengård where people tend to gather or meet, she said that she is not aware of them. But, she was sure that the Water Park is definitely the place to go to and also this is the place where parents meet while their children play.

Other Thoughts/Suggestions

She believed that the Water Park is definitely not of poorer quality than the playgrounds in the rest of Malmö. She said the main problem is lack of information- that not many people know about the place. She explained that day-care, located nearby, uses the place, but otherwise she thinks at the moment the playground is quite empty.

When I asked her if she is not afraid herself to come to Rosengård, she confidently replied that she is not afraid of coming to this particular playground and to walk around this area with her dog. Yet, she said that she avoids the areas that have been affected by conflicts (eastern part of Rosengård). Even though in the end of the interview she said that she feels that playground area is really nice and quiet, she admitted coming only during daytime, as it is safer.

Interview 3.- day-care teacher with group of disabled teenagers

The teacher said that he is actually living himself outside Rosengård, but all his students are living in Rosengård and are originally from different Arabic countries. He explained that even though he is not from this area, he knows quite a lot about Rosengård.

Thoughts on the Current Place

When I asked if this playground is important meeting place he said: *"playground are always meeting places for youth; in the evenings and nights young people gather around the Water Park".*

Other Meeting Places

When I asked him what are the main meeting places in the area, he answered that parks. He brought out Ögårdsparken that he believes is very popular during summer when people are having their barbecues and come away from the city.

With the help of the teacher I also got answers from his students. One of the students said that he usually meets up with his friends in Malmö city centre or near Rosengård's Centre. He also admitted sometimes just wandering around the yards all over the Rosengård to meet up with his friends. Another student said that when he wants to meet somebody, he either goes to the cinema near Triangeln, or near they meet up near his home in Rosengård.

Other Thoughts/Suggestions

The teacher explained that usually the children living in Rosengård go around the whole area to meet others. He also added that most of the children spend all their free time outside, even during the winter. He believes that being outside is the best way for them to socialise and meet friends.

He makes a quick questioning among his students and it turns out that most of them live in flats of two rooms with 7-8 people. *"Most of them*

live in very crowded conditions, so they have to be outside." When I asked them what they would like to be improved in the outdoor space, they said that the main problem is lack of activities during winter months and of course it sometimes is too cold to be outside.

Interview 4.- teenage girl from Iran

She used to live in Rosengård, but then she moved into another city part.

Thoughts on the Current Place

She did not believe that the Water Park is attractive enough to be an important meeting place. She thought that it is not a place where people from inside and outside the area meet. The main reason for having such conviction was that she had not seen any Swedes around Water Park.

Other Meeting Places

When I asked her about the most popular places to go to or the places that are important in terms of meeting people, she thought there are many places where people meet in the area. School yards, she believed are one among them, but overall *"places outside the houses"*. When I asked her if she could name any beautiful or good places in the area, she sadly said that *"there are no good places in here"*. She admitted that even while she was living in Rosengård, she used to go to other places in Malmö and she almost never stayed in the area during her free time. *"There are many problems... very difficult to go out; lots of shooting"*. She also did not like to go out in the evenings. She thought there are no places in the area that would attract people into Rosengård from outside.

Other Thoughts/Suggestions

The main problems that she felt the area has, besides the fact that there are no other people besides immigrants and it is crowded, is lack of activities in the area *"there is nowhere to go...there are no Swedish people"*. Though, she thought Rosengård would not become better place if more Swedes would move into the area. When I ask her what could be the solution, she sadly said that *"there is no solution... this area is always going to be like it is"*.

ATTACHMENT 5.

Questions to the Students

- Where are you from?
- Where do you study? How do you get there?
- For how long have you been living in Rosengård? Did you have any previous contact with the area?
- Where do you usually meet with your friends?
- Where do you think are the most popular meeting places in Rosengård? Who uses them?
- Where to would you suggest people from outside Rosengård go in the area?
- Have you had any contact with the people outside the dormitory? Where can one meet local people in Rosengård?
- What do you usually do in your free time? What are your main outdoor activities? Do you like being outdoors in Rosengård?
- How often do you usually go outside Rosengård to other city parts?
- Where do you usually do your shopping?
- Do you like to live in Rosengård, what particularly do you like about it?
- How do you feel about living in immigrant area?
- How do you usually move around Rosengård?
- What do you think of the outdoor space in Rosengård?
- What do you think are the main problems of Rosengård's outdoor space?
- What do you think, how important it is to have a place in this area where all people could meet? Is there such place?
- What would you change outdoors in Rosengård?
- Describe the perfect outdoor space, place where you would like to be outdoors?

ATTACHMENT 6. Interviews with the Students

INTERVIEW- STUDENT 1.- woman from Iran

Age: 28

Study: SLU, urban landscape dynamics

Coming to Rosengård

She had been living in Rosengård's student housing for one year and two months. Before that, she stayed in a small place near Linköping for two months. She described the dormitory as a place where one can find a lot of Swedes and hear Swedish language, unlike in the rest of Rosengård where she claimed to hear more Arabic.

Moving Around

The typical way for her to get to the university was to take buss in front of the dormitory, change busses in Södervärn and head off to Alnarp where she is studying. She admitted that she tried biking to school once, but it was too hard for her. Moreover, she said that she does not know many students that bike to school from the dormitory. But when she is biking, she takes normally one of the bike paths, either to the centre or to Willys and she never stops on her way, as "there is no reason to". When I asked her if she has been around the southern part of Rosengård, she said no. Though, after a while she admitted she had actually been to the allotment garden area.

Meeting Places, People, Activities

When I asked her about her habits to meet up with her friends, she admitted having only one friend and they tend to meet inside the dormitory. She continued that her main outdoor activities are going to shopping: one time per month to Willys and everyday grocery shopping to the City Gross in Rosengård's Centre.

The next question I asked was what are her favourite outdoor places in Rosengård where she usually goes to, but she just smiled and said that she is not very outgoing person and that she does not go out for recreation purposes that often. When she does, she goes to the city centre.

Her favourite places to go to during summer are Västra Hamnen and Pil-damms Park. She thought there are no places inside Rosengård where one could go and also she personally admitted being afraid to go out during the night as it is not safe.

When I asked her to name some of the most popular meeting places, she named bazaar (i.e. Bokaler). Though she never goes there herself, she thought that it must be popular place to go to, as she has seen lot of people there. Rosengård Centre was another place where she thought people from different parts of Rosengård and from other parts of Malmö meet. But she added quickly that the students from her dormitory prefer to use the space (small green area) near the student housing.

When I asked her where she would suggest person to go in Rosengård, she thought that there is very beautiful nature next to the dormitory, especially in the autumn. When I asked her if she has ever been to the Water Park, she shook her head and admitted, that she has never been there. Moreover, she had no idea that the place existed in Rosengård.

She thought that the problem of Rosengård is not that there are no opportunities for outdoor activities, but lack of safety, which stops her from using the outdoor space. She thought that the main reason why she is frightened is because of her Iranian background. She admitted that she feels pressure from the Muslim men that are everywhere. Mainly she is disturbed by getting strange looks from them, as she does not wear a head cover. She also agreed that if there were more women like her, she would feel much more safe and comfortable in the streets and she probably would go out more often. At the moment of the interview she admitted limiting her walks inside the area only to and back from Rosengård's Centre.

When she described her relationships with the people she is living among, it turned out that she has not had any contact with other residents in Rosengård (those living outside the dormitory). One reason for that she said is that there is no good place to meet them. Secondly, she

felt that their culture is very different of hers- “I have nothing in common with these people,” she said. At the same time she believed that if there was some kind of activity where everybody could participate, it would bring people closer to each other. She also told me about her recent school project that was about Rosengård and her idea to establish children centre in the middle of the area in order people of different background would mix. She believed that it is one way to bring people from all over the place together and help them to start a dialogue.

When I asked her opinion, as urban landscape dynamics student, on formations of immigrant areas, she explained that she believes Swedish people can adopt themselves to other cultures more easily than some other cultures. She brought herself as an example by saying that she is a person that just cannot adopt. For her it is very hard to take over new (Swedish) habits. She smiled and continued that one of the hardest things for her is to have dinner at 6pm or 7pm; while back home she had it at 9pm. The same she said is with shopping. Usually in her country she can go shopping at late evening as the shops are opened until 1 am.

She also thought that people living in Rosengård mainly seem to be content with their situation and they do not want to integrate to the Swedish society. She feels that they are happy and satisfied to be able to live among their relatives and friends from home country; “they are living together by the rules they had back home”.

Image of Rosengård

She continued that everything is ok in the dormitory, but the main problem is going to the city centre and back. “The bike paths are good, but the distance is too far. Especially if one does not feel like going out.” She also mentioned that she has some friends that also got an apartment in Rosengård student housing, but as soon as they found out what kind of area it is, they turned the accommodation down. She stresses that the bad image of this area is really strong and it impacts the decisions of people, especially of those who do not live in Malmö. At the same time she, who has been living in this area for one year, feels that it is not as

dangerous as people think it is, as nothing has happened to her so far. She referred back to her project where she also conducted interviews in the streets. The outcome was that people living in the nearby districts were not afraid of Rosengård in general, but those living further in other parts of Malmö- they tended to be more cautious about the area.

Problems/Solutions/Thoughts

She thought that outdoor space in Rosengård in general is very beautiful. She liked especially the layout of the area where cars are separated from the pedestrians, but the main problem for her was that there are no good and attractive meeting places in the area. When I asked her what she would like to change, she said that she would most obviously change the Rosengård’s Centre. She added that on one hand, it is a place that attracts people because of the shopping, but on the other hand, it is boring and ugly. If it would change, she hopes, that all those people from outside Rosengård that visit only the Centre would think better of the area in general.

Another change she had in mind concerned green areas and parks. To her mind, they are “just green and nothing happens there”. Also she pointed out bike paths, as “they do not feel safe during the dark time”. When I asked her to explain why, she said that she feels the path itself is too close to the buildings. She was afraid to pass the lane during the night and when she had to, she has never been brave enough to do it on her own. She continued that during day the bike lane is crowded and that makes her feel safer. However, in the evening groups of male start to gather in the streets that make her feel uncomfortable.

When I asked her about her thoughts on the importance of outdoor space on the process of social integration she said that she believes it to be very important, at least to her. She explained that, at first, during the times when she had no Swedish acquaintances, she liked to just sit in public places in the centre of Malmö and observe people. In that sense, she believed, Rosengård is not the easiest place to start life in Sweden for a foreign person. Firstly, there are no suitable public places inside

the area (like in the centre of Malmö) and secondly, there are no Swedes whom to observe. Though, she admitted with laughter that Malmö in general is not the best place to learn about true Swedish way of life, because of so many foreigners.

Perfect Outdoor Space

She said it is very hard to describe the perfect outdoor space as it depended on what she wanted to do. Finally she said that there have to be very many different places- place to be alone and places to see people, activity places and places to spontaneously meet other people. Sometimes she just likes to see people- “feel the life”. She also added that water feature is something that she really is missing in this neighbourhood and if there was an opportunity she would like to have one place with open water surface.

INTERVIEW- STUDENT 2.- man from Nigeria

Age: 29

Study: Malmö University, human rights

Coming to Rosengård

He had been living in the dormitory in Rosengård for two months and still felt that he has not been able to get used to Swedish way of life, as it is completely different from his own culture. He said that at the present time he is focusing all his time on the school and the rest of the time he spends in his room.

Moving Around

When I asked him how he usually gets around the area, he said that he does not like to walk. Typically he takes bus or the train. He admitted he has not been very far around Rosengård. The only places he claimed to know where City Gross and Central Station. When I asked him why he has not been exploring the area more, he answered that there just are not very many important places around the area (dormitory) where he lives.

Meeting Places, People, Activities

When I tried to ask him if maybe he has been to some of the parks in the area or if he knows where people usually like to go to, he said that he has never been to the parks and stressed that he does not at all go outside as he has no friends. He complained that most people from his country are focused on their business and he has nothing in common with them. Though, those he meets occasionally are living in the same dormitory- meaning that all the meetings are held inside the student housing and he has no reason to go anywhere else. At the same time he admitted enjoying going to Central Station to see some people and going to school but he had no idea where people meet in this area. In a while he added that where he usually has seen a lot of people is the dormitory and City Gross. He described those places as places of many different people.

City Gross and the dormitory, he believed, are the best places to meet different people from all over the world. He stressed that whenever he feels like seeing people, he goes to the common room in the dormitory, the City Gross or the Central Station. He also said that for him churches are of great importance as the places that bring people together to worship.

Problems/Solutions/Thoughts

He mentioned that recreational places in Sweden are very important and lots of people use them. He brought out football fields and table tennis courts. He admitted that his problem is that he does not know the area too well, that is why he cannot name any outdoor recreational places. Though, he believed that outdoor recreational places like football fields, parks are the places where one could be engaged in interesting activities and meet through that new people.

When I asked him how he, as a foreigner, is learning about the Swedish culture and habits he said that the main way of learning about Swedes and their customs to him is by attending school and taking special classes on Swedish culture. He continued that the Swedes he meets at the university tell him what they like or dislike. He added that if Swedish people

want him to learn about their culture, it is their responsibility to invite him to those places or gatherings where he could do that. When I asked him about the importance of the outdoor space in the process of learning, he said that not knowing about Swedish culture it is very hard to go anywhere, because he believed that he cannot go just anywhere- “not all places are open and not all places are forbidden” and without knowing the rules he feels trapped into his room.

He is very certain that in order to get to know Swedes one has to know the language they speak. He wants to get to know the language and hopefully that way get to know more about the people in Sweden. Without the language he admitted feeling like being stranger forever.

To his mind, there has to be a place where people could “come together in order to share experiences, exchange views and have a discussion concerning their life affairs”. He is more than sure that socialization is also part of education. He said that maybe there is a place in Rosengård where people tend to meet, but he cannot go there because he has not been invited.

I stressed that there are places where one can go without invitation, like parks and squares, but he explained that he is the kind of person that he will not go anywhere unless he has somebody, preferably a friend from his country, telling him “let’s go”. He admitted that recently he went to a party where to he was invited with his friends. He admitted feeling comfortable there, because of the invitation. He stressed once more that when he goes out he likes to be with people from his own country. He explained that it is important for him in order to avoid uncomfortable questions about his origin that could “throw one off balance”.

Perfect Outdoor Place

As a human rights student, he believed that there has to be a place where “all people could feel safe and where people are happy.... in a recreational place, enjoyment is the heart of life”. When I asked him what the place has to be like to make people happy, he smiled and said that

first of all one needs to feel that one is protected; “doing something that you like makes you happy”.

INTERVIEW- STUDENT 3.- girl from Sweden

Age: 19

Study: Malmö University, Architectural visualization and communication

Coming to Rosengård

She came to stay in Rosengård from Northern Sweden and by the time I took the interview from her, she had been living in the dormitory for two months. It was not her decision to come and stay in this area; just it happened to be the only place where she could find accommodation. Though, by the time of the interview she thought Rosengård’s dormitory is quite decent place to live in.

Moving Around

At first, when the weather was nice, she used to bike to the university and back, but at the present time she admitted taking bus to school, as it is much more convenient and easier.

When she first got to Rosengård, she wanted to get to know the area and explore Malmö. So, she took her bike to IKEA and to other places around her dormitory. But after that, when she felt that she has seen everything the city and the area have to offer, she stopped her exploration tours. Though, when I asked her if she has been to the parks in the southern part of Rosengård, she admitted of never cycling in that direction.

Meeting Places, People, Activities

The main place that she likes to visit in Rosengård is the graveyard where she likes to go on her own and read a book. She likes that it is nice and quiet and there are not many people around. She also added that she likes sports and she regularly goes to gym. Though, she explained being forced to go outside Rosengård as there are no tennis courts in the area.

When I asked her if maybe she could name any other places she visits on

her daily basis, she continued that typically she goes out to Rosengård only to buy food. In the beginning she visited other places, but now she does not need to do that anymore as she knows what is out there. She summed up that “here (in Rosengård) is nothing more, besides the shop that would draw me out into this area”.

She admitted really enjoying spending time with her friends in her free time. However, she claimed that she cannot do that in Rosengård as there is no place to go to and usually she just takes bus to the city centre. The other reason why she goes out of Rosengård to meet up with people is because most of her friends live in other cities. When they come to visit her, it is most convenient for them to meet up at the station. Typically they would never come back to Rosengård, as there are no attractive places in there compared to the rest of the city.

When I asked if she has any local friends and if she happens to know where people usually meet in Rosengård, she admitted that during the two months she had been living in Rosengård, she has never had a contact with local people. She explained that most of her friends are from the university and studying the same subject as she is. Also, she had no idea what could be the popular meeting places. She explained that City Gross is a place where one can see a lot of people, but she thought it is not used by everyone in this area. She said once more that there are not too many meeting places or just places where one could just go out and meet people.” There are a lot of places, but it is typical suburban area without any restaurants or clubs to go to and where people could interact”.

Image of Rosengård

She thought living in an immigrant area is quite fine and it could have been much worse. She added that it is not as bad as people think it is. She thought it is a good and interesting that she can live among different people and in a mix of different cultures. Another aspect she really seemed to be satisfied with is the greenery of the area.

Problems/Solutions/Thoughts

The main problem of Rosengård to her is bad reputation. She said that she is scared to go outside when it is dark because of all the things she has read and heard about. At the same time she admitted that nothing has happened to her, “...people are friendly in this area and say “Hi!”, but nonetheless I am afraid”.

She does not believe that if there were more people from different cultural backgrounds she would feel safer in Rosengård. She quickly added that to her mind Swedes are not better than Muslims. She continued, that maybe, if there was an article in the newspaper, that Rosengård was the safest place in town, she would feel safe to go out.

Another idea she had was to have places like YMCA- places where people could meet and have parties, and not just regular parties but international ones. She believed that it is important to interact with people from other countries. She thought also that for immigrants it must be good to have a contact with the local, Swedish people. She believed that at the present time there is lack of integration of immigrants in this area; lack of (outdoor) places where that could happen.

Perfect Outdoor Place

When I asked her to describe her perfect outdoor place, she claimed to like places with rustic feeling- old places. She burst out laughing and admitted, that graveyard near the dormitory could be named in a way perfect outdoor place, at least for her. But what she was really missing is green space that would be attractive. She explained that “there is a lot of greenery outside, but actually nobody uses it”. She would like to have a park that would be full of people.

INTERVIEW- STUDENT 4.- girl from Germany

Age: 19

Study: Malmö University, Architectural visualization and communication

Coming to Rosengård

She had been living in the dormitory for two months. Before she arrived to student housing in Rosengård, she read articles about the area and found out that it might be not the safest area to live in, but as it was very hard to find accommodation in Malmö, she decided to come anyways in hope that it will be not as bad after all.

Moving Around

At the moment of the interview she admitted taking buss every day to the university. As she has a monthly bus ticket, she almost never walks outdoors. Though, she added that in the future she would like to cycle, as it is much cheaper.

Meeting Places, People, Activities

When she came in September she used to sit on the grass outside the dormitory, but “now it is too cold for that,” she said. Instead, she is meeting with her friends in the dormitory or in the university, but mainly in the centre of Malmö.

She admitted that she has no idea where people usually go in Rosengård besides the City Gross, as it is the only place she had been to and seen a lot of people there. She said that she has never really been around Rosengård- nor to Bokaler, nor to parks in the southern part of the district.

When I asked her to name some of the places she usually visits or goes to, she had to admit that when she wants to go out and have fun, she usually goes to the city centre or to the areas along the coast. In the evenings she likes to go to clubs, bars and cinemas that are all located in the centre. She also said that it is too dark in Rosengård and with all the news about shooting in Malmö, she feels safer in the city centre and

does not like to stay too long in Rosengård. Though, she mentioned that apart from that, she feels quite safe living in Rosengård, as she does not look so foreign (according to the mass-media at the time of the interview several foreign looking people were shot in Malmö).

When she has free time, she likes to play floor ball and go to the gym. Besides that she mentioned going to cinema, theatre and shopping. But usually she just likes to stay in and study.

She was not quite sure how she feels about the outdoor space in Rosengård, as she has not been around that much. Her first impression, as she came from big lively German city, was not so good. She finds Rosengård dull, and that “nobody just hangs out in the streets like in my hometown”. She found Rosengård to be just “a place for people to come and sleep in”.

She really misses going outside and sitting with her friends while having a beer. Moreover, she feels that she cannot do that in Rosengård as it is not appropriate and she does not feel comfortable enough to go out and try. She explained that it is not because of other so many foreign people in the streets. “I need to have a company to hang out with who would know more about this area...like where to go to...and where it would be ok to sit and just hang out,” she explained. As she has no contact person among immigrants, she is just afraid of sitting somewhere and risk to occupy the places that are already marked as popular places for locals. So in a fear of a conflict, she just does not use the outdoor space in Rosengård.

She also admitted that she has not been able to find the places where it would be possible for her to get in contact with local people. She thought that there is a need for at least one place where everybody could be- youth centre or a public square. She added that at the moment there just is no place where one can say to his/hers friend: “let’s meet there”.

When I asked her about where she usually does her shopping, she said that for food she goes to City Gross but for everything else she goes into

central parts of Malmö. She also confirmed that the Rosengård Centre is the place where one can see people from all over Rosengård and also from Malmö. She said it is the only place that brings together very many different people in the area.

Living in Rosengård/Image of Rosengård

She felt that bad reputation of the area is very strong. She also said that people from the rest of Malmö do not come to Rosengård because of that. At the same time she thought it is partly because they are not familiar with the area. She drew an example by admitting having doubts herself in the beginning, but now, when she has been in the area for a while, she feels it is “ok” place to live in.

She said she does not see the problem in not hearing Swedish language in the streets as Sweden is a multicultural country. Yet, she added that when she read about Sweden in Germany, she understood that there are a lot of immigrants and they are all integrated. Only after having arrived to Sweden, she realized that there are lot of problems related to immigrants and especially in areas like Rosengård.

She said that she likes living in the student housing as there are lot of students that are of her age. Another aspect she enjoyed about the neighbourhood was that it is full of young families and kids that she finds attractive and fascinating. She thought it is very nice place in a sense that “it is OK to have a party from time to time and there are no neighbours that would complain later on...and it is quiet area at the same time”. She also really liked green areas in Rosengård.

Overall she found that living in immigrant area is quite nice, because she is an immigrant too. At the same time she does not feel like one of “them”, because her cultural background is so different- “I am immigrant too, but a little bit something else,” she said.

Problems/Solutions/Thoughts

Outdoor space in the area she believed is nicely green, but all “looks the same”. She explained that all around one can see tall buildings that are identical and sometimes she has to wonder between building blocks for some time to get home.

In general she thought that one of the problems is lack of different activities in this area and that nothing is going on. She believed that it is important to have places where people could spontaneously meet as this created feeling of “neighbourhood”. She stressed that for her it is important to have a community, where everybody can be part of. “If it (Rosengård) would have more cultural or social life, it would be great improvement.” She said that she has been hearing of the bazaar (Bokaler) and she has planned to visit it one day, as it might be the beginning of something “new” in this area.

One of the things she would like to change is to have a shopping centre where one could buy something else besides food. She thought that maybe that way Rosengård Centre could become place where everybody is meeting, not just those who come for food. She would also like to have a place (a park) where she would feel comfortable sitting and drinking beer with her friends. She said that the parks she knows about are without lights and there are no benches. She also felt that all the parks are far away and it would be great if she could walk to one.

Perfect Outdoor Place

She sees the perfect outdoor space foremost as a place where everybody could be together and enjoy each other’s company. Place where she could sit and have a beer with her friends. Also it should be place of many different activities.