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‘ETHNIC LANDSCAPE’ RE- IMAGINED:

Imagineering diversity and neighborhood
revitalization in Mjørnerparken,
Copenhagen, and Rosengård, Malmö

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ABSTRACT

The spatial planning system tends to reinforce the norms of the culturally dominant majority (Sandercock 2000). Moreover, urban reimagining creates a geography of difference in which certain forms of difference are valued or pathologised and fixed in space (Young: 2004). This thesis seeks to understand how the recent planning practices respond to the dynamics in cities that are increasingly diverse, driven by global migration. Introducing the concept of diversity as a new orthodoxy of city planning (Fainstein: 2005), I focus on a recent trend of area-based planning in order to revitalize/reimagine of the so-called 'urban ethnic space' in Europe with a celebratory tone of diversity. Adapting the critical approach to the recent argument of cosmopolitan urbanism, this research sees recent neighborhood revitalization at the center of struggles over difference, where a crucial aspect of symbolic power created by the culturally dominant majority comes into play, allowing for certain forms and expressions of difference, but masking and marginalizing others.

Keywords:

Diversity, difference, multiculturalism, urban cosmopolitanism, multicultural planning, cosmopolitanism urbanism, urban neoliberalism, planning and power, Imagineering

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Erklärung

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND, PROBLEM STATEMENT

The cities of the 21st century have been characterized by the challenge of multiculturalism (Keith 1995; Gilroy 2000; Vertovec 2014). Integration of ethnic minorities and social/cultural diversity has been one of the central components in urban governance and policy making process in western societies (Vertovec, 2004; Sandercock, 2003; Binnie et al., 2006). In this context, a considerable number of scholars such as Qadeer (2009), Burayidi (2015), Fincher (2013) and Reeves (2005) made contributions to the theory of urban spatial planning leading to a world of difference. These are not just social and economic issues but also strongly relate to “how space is used and how the built environment is manipulated” to suit the needs of various intentions - that is the sphere of urban planners (Burayidi, 2015:2). Furthermore, Binnie et.al. (2006:1) argue that discourse of the “cosmopolitan city” has become commonplace in debates of contemporary urban development, and policymakers and key urban players are actively focusing on the cultural diversity of cities to gain the ‘crown’ of a cosmopolitan city.

The focus of this thesis is to explore the recent trend of neighborhood revitalization, which aims at re-imagining and transforming the neighborhoods that have formerly been defined as disadvantaged in Copenhagen (Denmark) and Malmö (Sweden). These neighborhoods are often seen as enclosed ‘non-cosmopolitan’ place, but multiethnic characterized by migration-driven diversity. Area-based urban intervention in the aim of re-imagining/renewing/promoting the specific segment of the city has been a prevailing strategy for the creation of a cosmopolitan city and promotion of diversity, not only in the United States but many of the European cities.

Arguably, the cultural diversity in the urban space is seen not only as an increasing challenge of urban governance but also an opportunity within this rising ‘cosmopolitan city’ mantra. The contemporary metropolis is consequently seen as an area of struggles of living with differences through which hostility toward otherness, or even, the fear of terror are expressed (Graham,2006). Linking it with a spatial planning, Sandercock (2000:13-17) argued

that planning system can easily become a media to reflect this fear and xenophobia (Sandercock, 2000). Discrimination becomes thereby visible through physical planning elements, such as a refugee camp or a mosque placed far away from the city center. However, as discourses of cosmopolitan cities evidently show, the celebratory tone for cultural diversity has also been increasingly used in many cities since the 1990s, often in the process of the vaunting of their status in the context of the global network. Many city makers and scholars advocate for the recognition of the positive contributions of diversity in cities and importance of multiculturalism and tolerance for others for desirable urban life. It reflects Florida's famous creative city theory (2002), in which ethnicity and cultural differences have started to be as one of the core element of cities' sustainability, creativity, and entrepreneurialism. In short, diversity is now seen as an asset, rather than a disadvantage.

What should be critically considered here is the fact that the planning system tends to reinforce the norms of the culturally dominant majority, in a favorable language of 'managing differences' (Sandercock, 2000). Xenophobic planning can create what Sharon Zukin (2004) calls '*landscape of power*' and gives shape to what Lipsitz (2011) explains as '*the white spatial imaginary*.' In this basis, Sandercock realizes that even planning with friendly discourse can never flee from the dominant norm. Others (Young, Diep and Stephanie Drabble, 2004) alert that "urban reimagining creates a geography of difference in which certain forms of difference are valued or pathologised and fixed in space" (2004:1) through the place construction process by local and global power struggles. It raises the crucial question of how we are to understand the neighborhoods that are in the process of transformation driven by the notion of diversity. The use of recent hype regarding ethnocultural diversity in re-shaping and re-imagining the targeted neighborhoods could also be seen as an important tool in increasing the brand value of the city and creating unique selling points for the sake of its competitiveness. Therefore, physical planning applied to specific neighborhoods could be interpreted as the materialization of dominant diversity discourse in space, which is a crucial aspect of symbolic power created by the culturally dominant majority.

In this sense, I believe that scientific, comprehensive, and comparative examination of the ideological power structure of planning through diversity is needed. Given the concept of diversity has become a new orthodoxy of urban spatial planning in European cities, to what extent are new European planning instruments and approaches managed to deal with diversified interests for creating a more inclusive city? Does it work for the sake of justice for

minorities, or for reinforcing differences and creating another form of exclusion in the elitist cosmopolitan city mantra? This paper then asks:

How are the discourse of difference and diversity spatially negotiated in the process of revitalizing/re-imagining ‘urban ethnic space’?

‘Urban ethnic space’ in this case is used to indicate a particular part of the city which has been characterized by the high concentration of non-western immigrant. In this paper, I specifically focus on the Scandinavian context, in which the argument of immigration and the topic of diversity have been rather under-investigated, compared to the U.S. cities and the other global European cities. The investigation deals with ongoing revitalization processes of what’s considered as disadvantaged neighborhoods within the increasingly neoliberal urban development of Øresund region, Copenhagen and Malmö. By answering this research question, I eventually seek to reveal which forms of cultural difference are valued and which are excluded through the re-imagining of contemporary cities, and which diversity vision have an impact on place transformation of the neighborhoods.

1.2 THE AIM OF THE RESEARCH, RESEARCH QUESTION AND ASSUMPTIONS

This paper aims to address critical inquiry towards the existing planning practices, policy, and governance instruments addressing diversity in Europe. Here, based on the Vertovec’s (2012:288) conception, I am referring to ‘diversity’ as “a wide-ranging corpus of normative discourses, institutional structures, policies and practices in business, public sector agencies, the military, universities and professions”. Among various interpretation and definition of the term, I focus on diversity that explicitly invokes the ethnicity and cultural difference, as a new “normative meta-narrative” (Isar 2006) for public understanding. By asking how diversity and difference are conceptualized and applied in contemporary urban renewal, and how it is spatially manifested in the physical form, this research meets Sandercock’s critical problematization of the planning system as a facilitator of the norms of the dominant cultural majority.

In this thesis, the neighborhoods of intervention are considered as a location where approaches and imaginaries toward diversity are translated into the actual spaces of cities. Dominant discourse of diversity and cosmopolitan thinking are harnessed in these places, as

sites of meaning making and a located politics (Sandercock 2006:39). As Binnie et.al. (2006:1) argue in their discussion of cosmopolitan urbanism, we carefully need to ask “which forms of cultural difference are valued and which are excluded from this re-visioning of the contemporary city.”

Based on the research question mentioned above, this work explores the following assumptions and leading themes.

- Cosmopolitan branding and global aspiration of the city has had impacts on the planning pattern and the transformation of the physical environment of the city. The promotion of diversity is one of the core elements of this strategy and cities are developing their own narrative about local immigrants, which often differ from national discourse.
- The discourse of diversity is often defined based on ‘the ethnic lens’ (Schiller, 2006). Thus, certain forms of ethnically defined difference are valued, packaged and controlled, which reflects political and economic imaginaries on cultural differences.
- Diversity, in the context of cosmopolitanism, is becoming a mere white middle-class amenity (Oliver, 2015) rather than social justice ethic in the urban renewal process.
- Power is unequally distributed within different urban actors, and the dominant norm that is valued within the power relation is reinforced and spatialized by the planning system.

1.3 RESEARCH APPROACH AND FRAMEWORK

Recent Urban Studies generally ascribe great importance to the investigation of the interrelated processes of globalization and restructuring of urban form. However, as Schiller (2012) claims, migration processes and immigrants are rarely addressed as an important factor/element of urban place-making process within the literature on urban restructuring and regeneration, if not ignored. Arguably, the urban scholars of neoliberalism emphasize on the point that increasingly all cities and states are being in the process of rescaling by flows of international capital and its accumulation, without adequately theorizing transnational

processes including processes of migration (Schiller, Scott and Soja,1996). Furthermore, Susan Dieterlen pointed out that landscape and physical environment have rarely been discussed by scholars and in popular media as a part of immigrant's everyday life (Dieterlen,2015). Here, it is important to investigate the contemporary impact of those downplayed transnational immigrants in the context of current urban planning and following urban restructuring. I then intend to fill the gap between the recent discussions of urban studies and migration studies, by analyzing the contemporary spatial planning approach toward contested multiculturalism in Europe, which has been displayed in some western cities as a recent trend of 'restructuring through diversity' mantra (Schiller,2012).

This work is set in the framework of critical cosmopolitan urbanism, which takes the discourse of 'cosmopolitan city' seriously into the debate of contemporary urban development. There are two theoretical pillars that I use to support my critical approach; 1) critical theories of diversity and cosmopolitanism and 2) Foucauldian planning theory, which together bring power, discourse, race and ethnicity into the forefront of the current discussion of urban regeneration.

In this research, a notion of Imagineering is key. Suitner (2015) used the term 'Cultural Imagineering' to explain how dominant cultural imaginary affects the urban development through the particular planning practice in Vienna. He grasps urban places between meaning and materiality. Meaning and image of places are increasingly becoming the focus of the restructuring of the contemporary cities, in which what Zukin (1995) calls 'symbolic economy' prevails: to stimulate not only economic value but also the political status of the place. Importantly, discourse, as a process of meaning-making, is not mere a representation of certain truth; discursive production of urban space can be grasped as a process of attaching space with meaning (Jessop, 2008; Auitber, 2015; Suiner. 2015). Based on this understanding, cultural Imagineering is to grasp the process of discursive construction by powerful urban actors, to shape the immaterial layer of urban space and the objectified truth, which then influence on the urban future (Suitner, 2015:40). I support his view in the context of diversity, where the discourse of diversity not just reflect the urban reality, but rather be re-imaging, re-shaping of particular diverse subjects and places. By doing so, the question of how power and knowledge interact in planning, and how they are to construct the racialized 'Other' that is fixed in space, becomes the axis of the investigation.

1.4 STRUCTURE

Based on the research question and assumption mentioned above, the following keywords are important: diversity and discourse, difference, multiculturalism, urban cosmopolitanism, revitalization and spatial planning, immigrant communities and neighborhoods. They point out the scale of analysis (Europe, and the Scandinavian cities), the unit of analysis (Area-based urban intervention/revitalization of immigrant neighborhood), subject of analysis (discursive construction of diversity in planning process and its practice), and the object of analysis (the neighborhoods with higher proportion of people with foreign background).

This thesis starts with a comprehensive literature review, discussing the most relevant literature around the key elements of my study to build a frame for further discussion: diversity, spatial planning, multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. Following, Chapter 3 deals with the two main theories in order to go beyond the current state of research: 1) Theory of critical cosmopolitanism (alternative view on diversity and urban cosmopolitanism), 2) Foucauldian planning theory with a question of power. Chapter 4 defines the analytical framework and research strategies, with the demonstration of a set of methodology. Chapter 5 outlines the case studies, starting from European specificity to the Scandinavian context. The general presentation of Copenhagen and Malmö is included with the development of Øresund region. Chapter 6 illustrates the analysis of the empirical studies and its comparison. The final chapter elucidates the conclusion and recommendations for further research.



"The antidote to stagnation is hybridization. M lange is the norm."

Beck, 2006:151



2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

In this literature review, I explore the existing arguments of planning approaches to the key elements of my study: diversity, multiculturalism, and cosmopolitanism within diverse urban context. It outlines the context in which urban planning in relation to ethnicity and cultural difference develops today. First, the journey of literature starts from setting the broader framework in which contemporary cities develop, in the midst of the recent ‘neoliberal turn’ of urban governance and economic restructuring. Thus, I will discuss urban entrepreneurs and urban cultural politics in relation to place identity and image-making, as the locus of globalization and competitiveness of cities. Secondly, this competitive condition is linked to the increasingly celebrated focus on cultural diversity and urban cosmopolitanism, as a tool of city marketing and economic growth. The third part of the literature review deals with how the notion of diversity has long been an important segment of urban governance, policy-making, and spatial planning roughly since the 1970s. The historical overview of diversity encapsulates the intersection between multiculturalism, political philosophy, and urban planning theories, moving from the birth of alternative planning system influenced by civil-rights movements in favor of minorities, to today’s contested use of diversity. Finally, I set my framework of the research on the recent critical arguments of cosmopolitan urbanism, to reveal the particular mode of planning practice for diversity in the twenty-first century.

2.1 CITIES IN COMPETITION: URBAN CULTURAL POLITICS - PLACE IDENTITY, IMAGE, AND CULTURAL BRANDING

One of the distinct dynamics that shape urban space in the contemporary cities is undoubtedly the accelerated process of globalization. Today’s urban governance, an altered form of governing the city (Peters, B. Guy, and Pierre, 2012; Harvey, 1989; Yuri, 2010; Gualini, 2007), tries to maintain increasingly complex urban order whilst seeking to promote forms of global development. This is often characterized by restructuring processes including the emergence of postindustrial economy. Swyngedouw (2006) underscores the current implementation of consensual neoliberal socioeconomic policies in western cities that reflects

the demand of global economic necessity, which fundamentally determined the shift in domains and levels of intervention, as well as the characteristics of actors and institutions. Policy focus, therefore, switched away from distributive considerations towards economic growth and competitiveness, entrepreneurship, and creativity (Oatley 1998; Robert and Sykes 2000; IN Swyngedouw 2006). The consensus around these produces what Rancière explains as the supreme democratic value (Rancière, 2004) that characterizes a post-democratic constitution (Swyngedouw, 2006).

Here we entered the scope of a ‘new urban politics’ (Swyngedouw et.al., 2006) This is where newly emerging common and consensual languages such as ‘urban revitalization’, ‘place-marketing’, ‘local boosterism’, and ‘creativity’ progressively frame the local planning strategies. It is due to the breakdown of the Fordist accumulation regime (See Harvey 2000, Mayer 1994, Fainstein, Macleod 2011), which has led to a globally mediated bidding process orchestrated by state-led coalitions which seek boosting urban economics within global capitalism. Harvey (1989) explains the new urban governance as entrepreneurialism compared to the former managerialism as the ‘new hegemony of vision’, in which ‘City as a growth machine’ (Logan and Molotch, 1987) leads a “a seemingly intoxicating neo-liberal consensus to generate economic growth” (Macleod 2011:2631).

In such frameworks, construction of place-attached identity and spectacle of culture appear to be key factors moving towards the new stage of urban politics and economy. Zukin (1995), for instance, argues the symbolic importance of art and culture in the urban political economy in the post-industrial setting of the cities, which is to provide consumable experiences for political, cultural and business elites (Zukin, 1998). Thus, the cities shift the focus to identitarian political strategies such as “Imagineering,” “branding,” and “theming” to position themselves in the competitive global network (Kaltmeier 2011:13). Zukin (1998) refers to this as the symbolic economy: to address the consumption of culture and representation in urban space, where urban spectacle holds symbolic power on space. Here, I want to articulate how they are evident in the actual landscape and urban space, as Terkenli (2002:2) calls it “landscape of new cultural economy of space.”

Indeed, place became the locus of consumption. Urry (1995:2) discusses how places are increasingly being restructured as centers for consumption, in which localities could consume one’s own identity. He further adds the role of the visual and jumbling of aesthetics as a hub and booster of this consumption of place (*Ibid.*). Imaging is commonly adopted as a

strategy to sell/promote ‘opportunity-rich’ inner city areas to specific audiences to represent “a framed pictures of the cultural qualities of urbanity that are considered valuable in the politics of visibility” (Suitner 2015:95).

Here, a concept of social and cultural 'diversity' becomes key. Tolerance and openness to urban difference have thus been the powerful tool to gain the uniqueness and distinctiveness of “image-value-saturated” (Jonnas 2015:67) renewal approaches. Below, I turn to the discussion of the increasingly accelerating issue of urban diversity in the making of urban space, to reveal how ethnicity and cultural diversity play an important role in the urban regeneration processes of the globalized competition age.

2.2 SELLING ‘ETHNICITIES’: ETHNICITY AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN URBAN REGENERATION PROCESSES

2.2.1 A: CELEBRATION OF DIVERSITY - COSMOPOLITAN ASPIRATION

In relation to the urban lifestyle and cultural consumption, space of everyday diversity is omnipresent in a “global” urban habitat of the local streets, where “differences of language and culture are seen, heard, smelled, felt, and certainly tasted” (Zukin 2006:1). However, while the term diversity has gotten growing attention by urban governance and management, the definition of it has been rather confusing. For sociologists and planners, diversity tends to mean not only class and racial-ethnic heterogeneity but also age and gender differences. For designers and architects, diversity is associated more with mix building types and land uses. Titley and Lentin (2008) explains that diversity is understood different ways in time and space; thus, a widespread “diversity turn” could be interpreted multifariously.

The term itself has roots originating in the United States, in which the civil rights movement and civil rights legislation of the 1960s have played a considerable role in the establishment of a framing term relating to disadvantaged minorities within the public discourse and governmental policy. In this context “diversity” is associated with the understanding of the equivalence of differences - race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, physical disability and beyond.

Now the diffusion of “diversity” can be observed worldwide (Vertovec 2012:292). One of these interesting divergences can be found in Europe. While in the United States “diversity” is closely linked with people’s minds about equivalence of differences, the term is associated more with cultural differences arising from recent migration and integration issues in a

European context(Lentin and Titley 2008, IN Vertovec 2012:295). In Europe, in this context, the public/state sector become the main player of diversity rather than individual, advocating policies and administrative practices concerning the integration of immigrants (*Ibid.*). He further explains that “the language of ‘diversity’ has largely replaced and substantially outpaced that of ‘multiculturalism’” in Europe (2012:1420; cf. Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010). Following this reasoning, while bearing many other definitions in mind, I have chosen to use the term diversity to grasp European approaches toward cultural differences in the context of immigrant integration and multiculturalism.

‘Multiculturalism’ as well has many meanings and is differently practiced/operated across various institutional and geographical contexts. The term ‘multicultural’ indicates a demographic reality in nation states and cities in which ethnic variations exist in the population. Multiculturalism, on the other hand, is “a political philosophy that recognizes cultural and ethnic diversity in a society and supports their expression and recognition as constituent elements of the social order” (Tatjer, 2003), which entails a set of public policies. The state tends to play certain roles here. Kymlicka comments that the idea is rather novel that the state should take actions for ethnic minorities, even though ethnic differences have always been an enduring feature of our societies (Kymlicka 2012:101). Gilroy calls it state multiculturalism, which became no different from assimilationism that is “recast as a process of managed integration aimed at making us all safer, more secure and more similar” (2012:387). He further phrases multiculturalism as “a blurred term covering a host of different woes” (Gilroy 2012:384), indicating that it is essentially dead as “part of anxiety-inducing arguments about security, national identity and the menace of Islamic extremism (*Ibid.*)”.

In this context, in relation to urban studies, Graham (2007), for instance, talks about ‘Architectures of fear’. His argument entails militarization and securitization of urban space in Western cities, which includes urban design, architecture, community policing and social policy to put the urban undesirable in control. In a similar tone to Graham, Amin (2012) points out that hate and xenophobia, together with liberalism, is spreading across Europe. In particular, he singles out Muslims, Roma, and Africans as being subject to physical and verbal attacks. Amin’s focus is on the new development of ‘biopolitics of risk and uncertainty that descends on the figure of the stranger’, where state and non-state techniques in place to manage society by classifying and ordering the body and ‘regulates the social experience of diversity.’

On the contrary, the discourse about diversity became much more celebrated in urban context during the past few decades (Florida 2002; Fincer 2007; Oliver 2015; Vertovec 2012). It is increasingly considered as an economic asset of the city, on the basis of above-mentioned urban cultural politics, which is linked with the creative economy and global aspiration and branding. Jane Jacobs (1961) was the first one who mentioned diversity as the possible source of economic productivity. Her idea ironically anticipated the more recent popular argument of Richard Florida (2002), who addresses the importance of diversity as stimulation of innovation and creativity, which then leads to economic amplification. According to Florida's creative city theory, the creativity of cities in western society is often measured by 1) the number of patent applications 2) the number of 'nonwhite' residents 3) the number of services provided for gay and lesbian residents (Florida and et al., 2002). Thus, diversity is seen as a magnet for human capital that has a positive impact on attracting a further creative class, thus leading to economic growth. Florida's argument is linked with "business case for diversity" (Blackmore, 2006), which is a dominant characteristic in the United States since the 1990s. Syrett and Sepulveda (2010) pointed out the increased policy attempts in the business sector to realize a so-called *diversity dividend*, which stimulates skills and knowledge development, enterprise activities, creativity, and innovation. These strategies include the promotion of ethnic businesses, diaspora trading networks, ethnic quarters and festivals, and innovative and creative activity, which together attract global investors, high-skilled workers and tourists (*Ibid*).

The positive recognition of diversity relates to the notion of urban cosmopolitanism and 'cosmopolitan city' aspiration, in which difference is constructed and treated in the contemporary entrepreneurial city. Cosmopolitanism is often described as "a specific attitude towards difference and thus the possession of a set of skills that allow individuals to negotiate and understand cultural diversity" (Binnie et al. 2006:4). Thus, it is to be understood as an individual's ability to seek for equal human rights and responsibilities, and intercultural openness and inclusiveness. 'Cosmopolitan city' then characterizes itself as being migrant friendly and tolerant for diversity, therefore attractive for "citizens of the world"; who lives life across borders, sophisticated consumers of multiple cultural others.

Of course, after the divergence of the definition of the term, cosmopolitanism rather functions as an 'empty signifier' (Beck and Sznaider 2002:469). However, as Beck and Sznaider (2006) refer to 'cosmopolitan condition' in the twenty-first century, cosmopolitanism now should better be understood as a social production rather than an individual choice (Calhoun,

2002; Binnie et.al. 2006). Diversity thinking and awareness, in this context of cosmopolitanism, are now embedded in the new political discourse and organizational practice (Ahmed: 2012, Raco: 2016), to what Mike Raco (2016) explains urban diversity as *consensus* with selective recognition and global city ambitions. I will come back to this point later in this chapter.

2.2.2 B: REVITALIZATION OF ETHNIC NEIGHBORHOOD: DIVERSITY AND MATERIALITY

A celebration of diversity and urban cosmopolitanism is not only about the reaction to the existing social reality; rather, diversity is inevitably linked with the materiality of urban space. Burchardt and Höhne (2015:1) argue that materiality and diversity are entangled, reciprocally shaping/reshaping one another. I agree when they argue that urban infrastructure/materiality and diversity should be investigated in conjunction, to open up the new scope of politics and meanings of urban space. The differences in urban life are spatially organized and articulated with particular spatial expressions and regimes – in other words, “these spatializations of difference are facilitated, shaped, and, to some extent, produced by material infrastructural formations (Burchardt and Höhne 2015:1). Ethnic and cultural segregation, social polarization, and space/buildings of religion are the apparent examples, but even transport infrastructures, which are not instantly associated with social diversity, connect “certain urban populations and simultaneously disconnect others (*Ibid.*)”. Their claim is critical in order to highlight the sphere of urban planning - building code and zoning laws, spatial organization and infrastructure, as what enables, circumscribes or constraints interplay of everyday difference.

In a similar tone, Kaltmeier (2012) combines diversity politics and the actual materiality of urban space. He explains how public space, historic city centers, and importantly, so-called “ethnic neighborhoods” have been in the midst of revitalization through ‘Imagineering’ of the urban landscape (*Ibid.*). For him (2012), Imagineering, famously known by the use of the Disney Corporation, has recently been a distinct character of marketable, profitable urban intervention; such as those of shopping centers or gated communities, which “are tailored to target precisely defined lifestyle groups” (Kaltmeier 2012:91). Kaltmeier’s critical view echoes with the argument of Ford and others (2008), who proclaim that the neighborhoods with high levels of migration-driven diversity have potential to be economically profitable on the basis of ethnically-themed branding and planning intervention. They believe that a combination of unique building style and “urban life” of diversity together play in neighborhoods to create

more jumbled aesthetic; as they explain, “ethnicity and architecture merged to create a very strong sense of place - and very high property values” (Ford and others 2008:85).

Unlike Ford and others, Kaltmeier (2012) criticizes this trend by calling it “Selling ethniCities”. Ethnic branding of the neighborhoods with high levels of migration-driven diversity is a mean of “a progressive multiculturalization and hybridization of cities that has led to the formation of diverse so-called “urban ethnic spaces” within cities that seek to distinguish themselves from other cities and create unique selling points of their own” (Kaltmeier 2012:91).



Figure 1: China town in New York, Flickr/Martin Solli



Figure 2: Danish Village in California, Shutterstock

Furthermore, I would like to articulate not only aestheticization of diversity, but also what Zukin calls aestheticization of fear. Culture became a contested site of negotiation of social differences and urban fears (Zukin 1995:2). Fear of violence, crime, and strangers which are closely intermingled with the popular discourse of immigrants and ethnic minorities is often castrated, or even amplified, by the use of infrastructures of urban policing and surveillance (Burchardt and Höhne,2015; Graham,2007). In western cities, this aestheticization of fear is observable in the neighborhoods with high concentration of non-western migrants, which often operates through the ethnic line and other kinds. From this basis, my question and interest accord with Burchardt and Höhne’s (2015:2) inquiry, who ask: “how do such infrastructures realize the visibilization of particular groups of migrants as delinquents, suspects, etc.? How do other technologies and practices of cultural categorization of diverse classes of people interact as assemblages that have particular effects on perceptions and realities of hierarchy and difference?”

2.2.3 A+B: THE USE OF ETHNOCULTURAL DIVERSITY IN THE IMAGINEERING OF URBAN LANDSCAPE

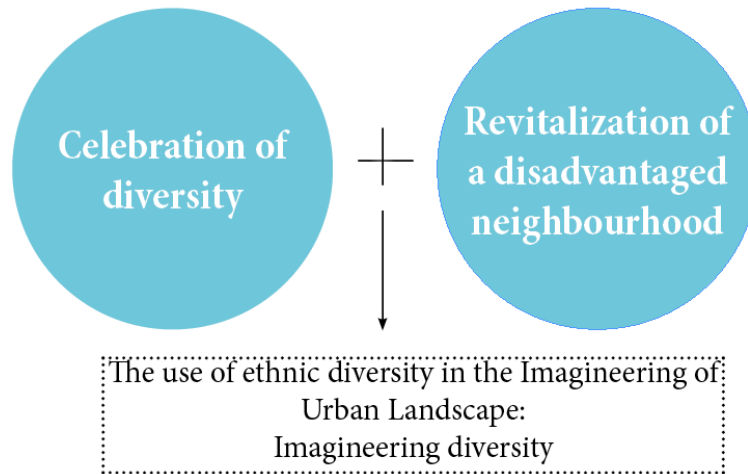


Figure 1: Accessing the topic of Imagineering diversity, won illustration

Above-mentioned trends set the model of the use of diversity in urban planning in the Imagineering of the urban landscape. Zukin (1995:91) says “the symbolic economy recycles real estate as it does designer clothes”. On this basis, the planners and investors are “Imagineers,” who have the power to put certain neighborhoods “on the map” of the global economy and cosmopolitan competition.

Imagineering brings imaging of the cities into the physical form. The word, which has firstly appeared in 1940 by an aluminum company Alcoa, holds two inseparable processes of “imagination” and “engineering” to indicate the practice of implementing creative ideas into physical/practical forms. Its advertisement states that “the place they do Imagineering - (...) Imagineering is letting your imagination soar, and then engineering it down to earth” (Figure 4). Here, Suitner (2015) suggests employing the dynamics of the term to capture the essence of recent culture-led urban transformation.

Importantly, Imagineering is not only about the representation of social reality and meaning-making of the existing material places, but also about influencing future urban development in physical, material terms. This is how Suitner (2015) suggests moving the shift away from imaging to Imagineering - “from the representation of material cultural artifacts in strategic images to discursive meaning-making as a discursive construct influencing the material development of the city”(97).



Figure 2: Ads by Alcoa, 2/16/1942 advertisement by Alcoa in Time magazine

The construction of dominant narratives about what the city *is*, and importantly, what the city *should be*, has power to push material transformation into a certain direction (Goodwin, 1993 In Suitner 2015:98). Thereby, “discourse can influence conceptions of truth, power and knowledge in planning” (Flyvbjerg, 2002, 2003). A celebration of diversity and promotion of ethnic/cultural differences are then powerful devices to imagineer the landscape of contemporary cities, in the making of a cosmopolitan city in the globalized world.

2.3 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW: PLANNING THEORIES FOR DIVERSITY AND MULTICULTURAL PLANNING

In this part of literature review, I aim to go through a historical overview to see how diversity, as a broadly normative term, has been incorporated into the planning theories and practices from the first place. By doing so, I wish to stretch the understanding of spatial planning theories, around the topic of immigration, diversity, and social cohesion.

In the age of global migration, a massive demographic change and a pressure of multiculturalism challenge the discourses and practices of urban planning (Fincher and others 2014:6). Reeves (2005) was one of the pioneers who shed the light on the responsiveness of planners as a mean to manage urban diversity, and emphasized the role and practical importance of diversity and equality for spatial planning and sustainable urban development. Based on Kirton and Greene’s work *Managing Diversity* (2000), she uses the term broadly to increase awareness of the discriminatory effects of some current practices which recognized the role of power. In the similar tone with Reeves, Qadeer (2015:58) later suggests to recognize differences on culture and identity in the planning process, and introduces the theory of

‘multicultural planning’. He explains the concept as “a strategy of making reasonable accommodations for the culturally defined needs of ethnic minorities on the one hand, and reconstructing the common ground that underlies policies and programmers on the other”. While North America has taken the lead in this multicultural planning since the 1990s, Europe as well developed it in response to the experiences of immigrant ghettoization, race riots and series of terrorism (Rath 2011 IN Qadeer,2015).

Contemporary heterogeneity of the public, not only ethnocultural diversity but also the one of socio-economic and gender, might create the conflict between different interests that makes redistribution of resources difficult. There is then a need for planning system to help to make a common ground to reflect the diverse interests with the emphasis on designing a better future for ‘all’. In this context, Talen (2015) and Fainstein (2000) summarize three diversity-sustaining planning approaches: communicative planning, New Urbanism, and the just city ideal.

First, the communicative planning theory (CPT, also often referred to as critical planning theory), based on the Habermas' (1984) notion of communicative rationality, was born as an antidote toward the modernist coercive planning (Forester 1993; Fischer 1993; Healey 1992; Sager 2013; Innes 1995). The modernist epistemologies of planning theory with technoscientific and deductive logic have been challenged by “cultural diversity, a strengthening civic society, and philosophical critiques emerging largely from postmodernism's deconstruction, antifoundational and pluralistic tendencies” (Filion 1996; Moore-Milroy 1991; Sandercock 1998, In Mc-Guirk 2001). The newly emerged CPT has developed to ‘democratize’ planning practice to include the value systems heretofore excluded from planning practice (Healey, 1997; Mc-Guirk 2001:195). Then, planners could feel ‘their way towards democratizing planning practice’ under the CPT’s normative, pluralistic dimensions (Mc-Guirk 2001).

Second, New Urbanism focuses on sustaining/creating diversity through “mix housing types, building forms, and lot sizes, a connective street system, a supportive public realm, well-dispersed facilities and services, and codes that support these physical prescriptions” (Talen 2015:271). Lewis Mumford, already in the 1930s, urges the importance of the social and economic mix of the cities, as “many-sided urban environment” (Mumford, 1938 IN Talen 2015:268). Jane Jacobs also mentioned urban diversity as an asset that might stimulate the economic growth of the neighborhood (Jacobs, 1961 IN Talen 2015:268), in the context of this New Urbanism.

Third, Fainstein's argument of "Just City" takes the above mentioned two planning theories towards the normative realm of diversity. Fainstein emphasizes diversity as one of the most important indicators of the more democratic, more inclusive city, and it should be achieved through a normative principle (Fainstein, 2010). She also draws on the work of Iris Marion Young and Leonie Sandercock (1997), who both argue diversity from the perspective of social justice. Young (1990) looks deeper into 'politics of difference' in cities as an arena where differences flourish. Leonie Sandercock, in her book *Cosmopolis*, argues her ideal prototype of the metropolis as where people from a variety of backgrounds have equal rights to city space (1997). By using these examples, Fainstein claims that correct recognition for diversity is necessary for the 'Just City,' as there are substantial differences in "the kinds of environments planners should aim to produce—and how and whether conscious planning can create them" (Fainstein 2005:6).

To sum up, planning for diversity has been widely believed to be a normative, democratic practice – as a 'good' thing. However, I want to demonstrate in the following that these theories remain to be rather naïve idealism under the neoliberal restructuring of cities. Thus, as the last part of the literature review, I introduce the argument of cosmopolitan urbanism, which I will take a critical stand for.

2.4 COSMOPOLITAN URBANISM – CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH AND PROBLEMATIZATION

As a summary of this literature review, it is now necessary to talk about the recent trend of cosmopolitan urbanism as a popular mode of entrepreneurial planning for diversity. Binnie et.al. (2006) explain cosmopolitan urbanism as the major intersection of urban studies with cosmopolitanism; to harness cosmopolitanism thinking in the actual space of cities. The processes of cosmopolitanism are (re)produced and sustained through different forms of urban governance, creating cosmopolitan space and sectors through policy and planning. Sandercock (2006) believes that cosmopolitan urbanism is a normative project that is a necessary to the empirical reality of multicultural cities. It entails prospect of a social imaginary of living together in difference, as well as overcoming the weaknesses of twentieth-century multiculturalism (*Ibid.*).

However, cosmopolitanism as a concept has currently began to be regarded with considerable disapproval by some critical theorists. Beck (2006) argues the influence of meta-

power of the global economy on the cosmopolitan condition, as “cosmopolitan corporations” and “cosmopolitan capitalism” are in the making. Harvey (2009) famously criticized Kant’s original meaning of cosmopolitanism and its implication of geography as “nothing short of an intellectual and political embarrassment” (26) due to his racist observations. The most common criticism against cosmopolitanism in global neoliberal context argues that it is mere “preferred ethical orientation of those privileged to inhabit the frequent-traveller lounges” (Calhoun 2002 In Sandercock 2006:38). Szerszynski and Urry (2002, 2006) refer to it as a kind of intellectual and aesthetic *connoisseurship* of places, people, and cultures.

In this standpoint, ‘cosmopolitan city’ mantra to attract “cosmopolitans”- *mobile expats but not migrants* - produced greater social disparity, inequality and distance (Schiller 2014). Elite cosmopolitans have self-segregated need to create specific spaces, policies of social cohesion (*Ibid*), thus symbolic meaning of cosmopolitanism can be translated into ‘material territorialization of difference’ (Binnie and others 2006:18).

First, Binnie et.al. (2006:18) argue that there is production of ‘cosmopolitan space’ to sustain the dominant, often homogeneous image of cultures. Here, the development of ‘enclaved’ space is one example that “contains diversity as one of appreciating and valuing difference” (*Ibid*). In this context, Rose (2000:107) argues that “the city becomes not so much a complex of dangerous and compelling spaces of promises and gratifications, but a series of packaged zones of enjoyment, managed by an alliance of urban planners, entrepreneurs, local politicians and quasi-governmental ‘regeneration’ agencies”(In Binnie and others 2006:18). Second, Binnie et.al. (2006) further argue that these spaces are then consumed by the ‘new urban middle class’ (2006:13). It is, for instance, obviously shown in the example of the branding of the ‘cosmopolitan city center lifestyle,’ which marginalizes and displaces ‘non-cosmopolitans’ from gentrified inner city.

This is then this cosmopolitan condition of twenty-first century that shapes the dominant social imaginaries on difference and diversity, which are produced and consumed in the urban everyday. I find Binnie’s critical argument on cosmopolitan urbanism useful, therefore in the next chapter, I introduce some of the theories that strengthen its analytical approach of cosmopolitan urbanism.

3. THEORETICAL ANALYSIS: TOWARD CRITICAL COSMOPOLITAN URBANISM

In the previous chapter, I examined how current uses of diversity in urban renewal in Europe tend to suggest cultural diversity vaguely in the context of multiculturalism. I also argued that diversity can be considered as a selling element under the neoliberal urban restructuring and elitist cosmopolitan urbanism. Thus, to approach the recent hype of diversity in re-shaping and re-imaging the targeted neighborhoods, more critical, multifaceted examination is needed to explore this field theoretically from different angles to go beyond the limit of the current state of research.

In this theoretical analysis, I use some of the critical theories and concepts toward diversity and planning under the framework of critical cosmopolitan urbanism. The related theories and concepts are divided into two parts: 1) Theory of critical cosmopolitanism (alternative view on diversity and urban cosmopolitanism), 2) Foucauldian planning theory (critical reflection on current planning theories and practices).

As seen in the previous literature review, the neighborhoods of intervention are considered as sites where approaches and imaginaries toward diversity are translated into space; the social imaginary of cities on diversity hold material influence and importance on the urban fabric of landscape and architecture.

Critical Cosmopolitan Urbanism	
1) Critical cosmopolitan theory • Super-diversity, diversity vs. difference • Going beyond 'ethnic lens' • Diaspora cosmopolitanism	2) Foucauldian planning theory • Power and discourse • Rationality

Table 1: Theoretical framework, own illustration

3.1 CRITICAL COSMOPOLITAN THEORY

By using critical theory on cosmopolitanism, I wish to enlarge the alternative understanding of 'the cosmopolitans,' therefore challenge the narrow perception and usage of diversity in the recent entrepreneurial urban planning and renewal processes.

First, Miguel de Oliver (2015) provides the fundamental argument that criticizes the recent use of diversity in planning. He underlines that the use of diversity as cultural difference has changed from a social justice ethic to a consumable middle-class amenity. According to him, it lost its normative power to address marginalized racial/ ethnic minorities, to ensure them to receive equitable access to opportunities for employment, education and housing (Oliver, 2015). Instead, ethnic minorities and their cultural differences have been viewed “as possessing cultural elements that are *therapeutic* to industrial society” (Oliver 2015:2, emphasis original). By referring to other scholars such as Weatherford (1992, 1994), Leinberger and Tucker (1991), and importantly, Bell Hooks (1992), he alerts the construction of racial ‘Other’ as ‘therapeutic primitivism’ within Anglo-American consumer culture (*Ibid*). This atavistic consumption of cultural diversity is what Bell Hooks (1992) calls ‘*Eating the other*,’ which imprecates cannibalism, thus primitivism, which has always been the mysterious fascination of the West. She says; “within commodity culture, ethnicity becomes spice, seasoning that can liven up the dull dish that is mainstream white culture (Hook 1991:366).” In this context, Oliver (2015) criticizes the emerging spatialization of cultural diversity as a lifestyle amenity of dominant capitalistic white society.

In a similar tone, Eriksen (2006) also problematizes the current use of diversity in the context of European Multiculturalism. He addresses that there is a certain distinctions between the concept of diversity and the one of difference within the urban governance, even though these terms are easily and typically equated with one another. There is, he notices, considerable support for diversity in the current urban governance and management, whereas difference remains to be the main cause of social problems associated with a negative understanding of immigrants and their descendants (Eriksen, 2006). Thus, cultural difference is not just one thing because “diversity should be taken to mean largely aesthetic, politically and morally neutral expressions of cultural difference”. The difference, by contrast, refers to morally objectionable or at least questionable notions and practices in a minority group or category (Eriksen 2006:15)”. I found Oliver and Eriksen’s acknowledgments crucial, as they explain the double

standard of why the immigrants can be praised for ‘enriching’ the national culture, while some of the immigrant values and practices are still shunned.

Vertovec (2007:1026) argues that the understanding of diversity as merely ethnocultural differences doesn’t capture the essence of the complexity of highly globalized society. He tried to grasp new patterns of diversification associated with global migration by introducing the notion of “super-diversity” (Vertovec, 2007). The notion goes far beyond national, ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds, and captures also “a diversification by way of distinctions of migration channels, the differentiation of legal statuses and their associated conditions, diverging patterns of gender and age in migration flows, and variance in migrants’ human capital (education, work skills and experience)” (Vertovec 2012:303).

Again, the concept of diversity is not semiotically fixed; rather, diversity is understood and imagined in different space and time. Thus, diversity is better to be understood as discourse, in this case, discourse that is semiotically engineered in public and corporative languages, activities and institutional structures in the specific context (Vertovec 2007;2011;2012). Discourse about diversity defines ambiguous, ever-shifting diverse subjects, which then push them institutionally mainstreamed to the point of banality, predictability and cliché (Vertovec 2012:288).

What is import to capture diversity as institutionalized discourse, in Vertovec’s sense, is to embed it in what Charles Taylor calls ‘the social imaginary.’ Taylor (2007:23) explains the social imaginary as “the ways that people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations”. He considers how certain notions and set of ideas level up from the mere discourse among experts to an integral part of the collective social imaginary, which then gives us an explanation of how to read the specifics of western modernity. What interests Vertovec is precisely this point; how diversity, as a certain set of ideas and practices, has social impacts that are transforming the social imaginary, the moral order.

In the similar tone with Vertovec, Schiller and Çağlar (2006, 2009) repeatedly argue that a multidimensional perspective on diversity is needed to go beyond the ‘the ethnic lens’ – that is, group thinking based on ethnicity as a unit of analysis or an intervention (Schiller et al. 2006:613). Michel Keith (2005), in his book *After Cosmopolitan*, also points out racialized spatial imaginary in contemporary western cities. Just like Schiller and Çağlar, he problematizes “the

powerful mirage of race thinking” (2005:25), where ethnically and racially based approaches are grounded in a static understanding of culture and diversity, which is one of the major limitation of the concept of multiculturalism. Referring to some postcolonial thinkers such as Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy – who claims one should ‘go beyond the raciology’ (Gilroy, 2000; Keith, 2005) - he demonstrates that neither the utopian naïveté cosmopolitan democracy nor the pessimistic multiculturalism can adequately make sense of our complex metropolitan life and today’s racism. It is due to the fact that even today’s progressive cosmopolitanism entrenches ethnic boundaries and reproduces social division. In this sense, refereeing to one single ‘immigrant community’ that belongs to a enclosed entity of a neighborhood is simply a false. Keith (2005:47) argues that “demographic fractions of a city population do not constitute communities. Communities are built, imagined and fought for, frequently in struggles for justice and resources against the state”. Racialized subjects are unquestioned sometimes even by critical scholars, whose work doesn’t make racialized social divisions any less a mirage. In this way, uses of bounded concepts of ethnic community and urban neighborhoods not only as an area-based intervention but also as units of analysis is simply problematic (Amin 2012; Brah 1996, In Schiller 2014: 3).

It leads to the question of how we are to recapture the concept of urban cosmopolitanism. There is a number of notions that seek to overcome the problematic nature of the cosmopolitan theory; such as *Diasporic/Subaltern Cosmopolitanism* (Schiller 2014; Gidwani 2006), *Another Cosmopolitanism* (Benhabib, 2006), *Versace Cosmopolitanism* (Niva, 2007), *Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism* (Hannerz, 2005), just to name a few. I would here suggest employing alternative theories of cosmopolitanism “for a critical, oppositional and activist vision and practice thriving on the periphery of ‘current geopolitical distribution of epistemic power’” (Mignolo 2000:745 IN Zeng 2014:141).

Schiller (2014) takes opposition to the notion of the cosmopolitan that can be found in the dominant discussions of cosmopolitan urbanism, as the capacity to appreciate and be open to difference, as well as the equation of the term as high mobility and rootlessness. The problem of conventional understanding of cosmopolitan is not only its elitist, selective connotation. According to Schiller (2014), the very idea of being open to others and their difference can easily reproduce the racializing binary logic and boundary, which put the critical dichotomy between rootedness and openness. Instead, she proposes “diasporic cosmopolitanism” that juxtaposes different sensibilities of communalism and openness

(Schiller 2014:1), that implies the opposite of what is thought as cosmopolitan – vernacular, rooted, ghetto and diasporic (Appiah 2006; Bhabha 1996; Sinatti 2006; Nashashibi 2007, IN Schiller 2014). The word diaspora originally meant a group of people who have been forced to move out from their homeland, longing to return. Shiller, refereeing to other postcolonial thinkers who broadened the term and put the word into the contemporary political horizon, applies the word of the diaspora to any minority who confronts ethnicized, racialized, and ethnoreligious stigmatization of difference in their everyday lives (Schiller 2014:7).

The term diasporic cosmopolitanism can be defined as “the sociability formed around shared practices, outlooks, aspirations, and sensibilities – however partial, temporary, or inconclusive---that emerge from and link people simultaneously to those similarly displaced and locally and transnationally emplaced social relationships. (Schiller 2014:3)” The aim of this alternative denomination is to oppose to the somehow naturalized idea that people of migrant background remain strangers to the city. She provides broader perspective into the notion of cosmopolitan to question “how cosmopolitanism is lived, whose cosmopolitanism is being noted and who is, in fact, open to the world” (Werbner 2008; Glick Schiller et al. 2011). That is, she claims, to apprehend what she calls “the domains of commonality” that people in cities forge in their every life, where what Ulf Hannerz (1996:103) describes as ‘lived cosmopolitanism’ comes into play.

Thus, the concept of diversity and cosmopolitan figures should be used beyond the dichotomic framework of elitist cosmopolitans - who has skills to appreciate the static sense of diversity – and migrants – who are static, segregated and traditional, and unable to change. Both Oliver and Eriksen provide the useful guideline of how to evaluate and investigate the conceptualization of diversity in recent planning, within the framework provided by Vertovec’s notion of ‘super-diversity’. Furthermore, Keith and Schiller & Çağlar taught us to go beyond the ethnic lens and dichotomy of immigrants/native born, to avoid recapturing the neighborhoods in question as a closed community.

3.2 FOUCAULDIAN PLANNING THEORY

This part of the chapter is dedicated to deconstruct the common planning theories and practices for diversity, which were introduced in the previous chapter. I will argue that these practices have not been fully criticized due to the normative mask and the seemingly democratic outlook.

One critical essence that has been missing from most of the recent discussion of diversity planning and cosmopolitan urbanism is the issue of power. Indeed, some critical scholars such as Richardson (1995), Flyvbjerg (2002a, 2002b), Jones and others (2004) alarmed that one of the weaknesses in planning theory is its failure to address issues of power. Flyvbjerg (2012) argues that what is considered as a desirable development and what is thought as necessary is determined by the Foucauldian sense of power. Suitner (2015) also analyzes recent planning systems through political strategies and their discursive negotiation in order to reveal “ideological principles and underlying values that frame urban development and establish hegemony in planning” (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005; Barnett, 2008 In Suitner 2015:98), in which power plays the central role. This is the reason why even communicative planning and collaborative planning cannot be free from hegemonic power relations, as Gunder (2010) explains the recent communicative planning as a facilitator of neoliberal ideology.

As noted earlier, CPT has based on the Habermas' (1984) notion of communicative rationality. Consensus building in CPT and collaborative planning are based on rather naïve reliance on human rationality for successful communications (*Ibid.*). The major criticism against CPT comes from the crucial question of how to deal with unequal power relations, difference, and conflict along with it. For instance, Mc-Guirk explains how politics of consensus is a matter of epistemological realignment so that power and difference can be set aside, temporarily at least. However, power and difference can never be erased (Watson 2006). It this standpoint, Watson (2006) talks about ‘deep difference’, that is, increasingly widening gap of social and economic differences and inequalities by the aggressive promotion of neoliberal values. ‘Deep difference’ of contemporary cities demystifies consensus-seeking processes, which is a central decision-making tool in planning so as to achieve a universal common view and justifiable outcomes, as highly problematic faith (Watson 2006:32). He argues: “planning’s current sources of moral philosophy are no longer an entirely satisfactory guide on issues of ethical judgment in a context of deepening social difference and an increasingly hegemonic market rationality” (2006:31).

What the theorist of CPT achieved at least was to reveal planning practice and planning theory as political. Foreter (1980) stressed: “in planning practice, communication is political,” meaning that the planning process represents a ‘systematic patterning of communication’ which shows the levels of community organization, citizen participation (Foreter 1980:275). However, the communicative planning theorist failed to grasp the unequal power distribution within the

politics of planning, as much as pragmatist systems theory and Foucauldian power analytics do (Mäntysalo 2002:417).

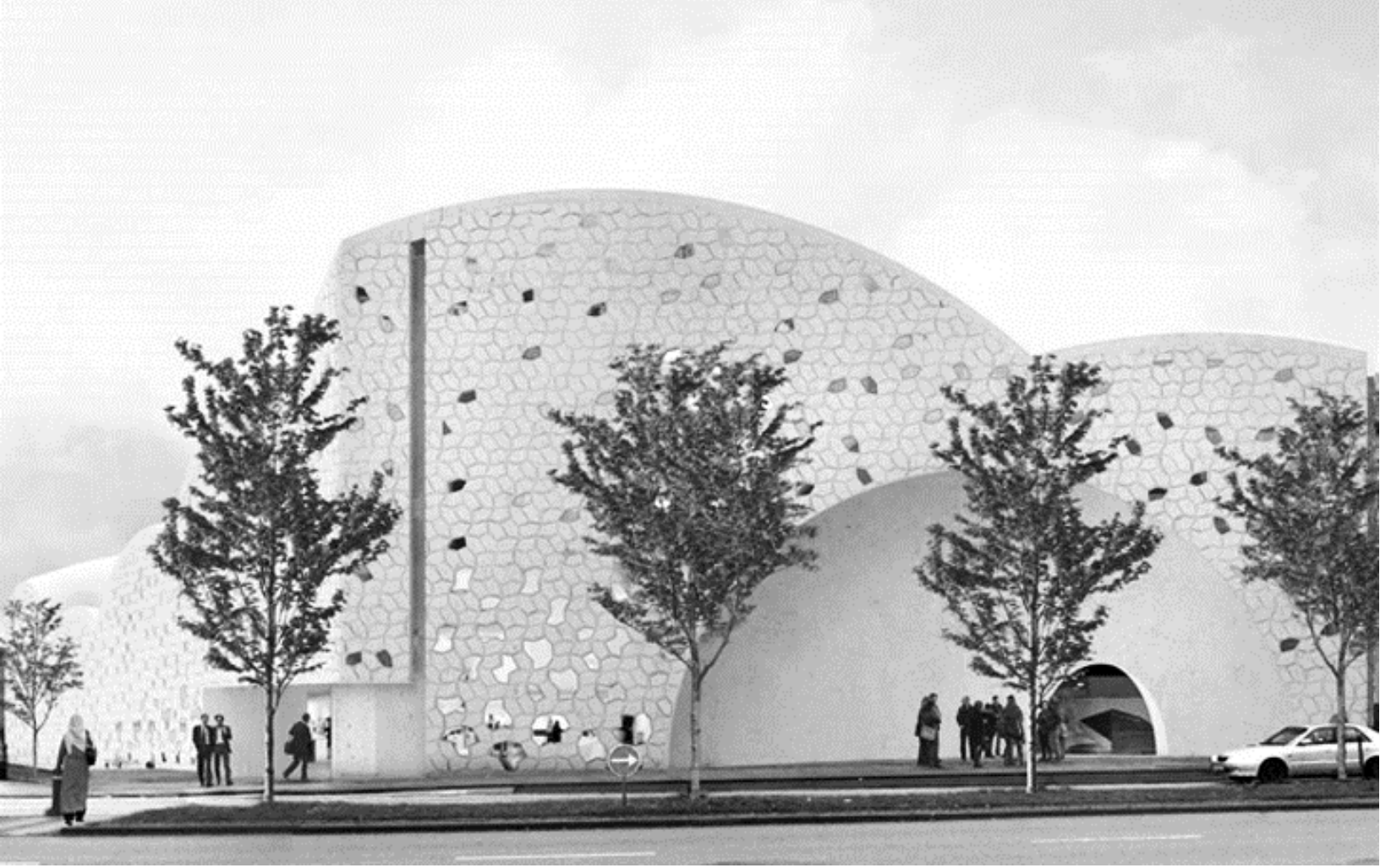
Going back to the argument of Healey (1982), I want to articulate that discursive layer is a powerful instrument for coalition building and promoting certain planning visions when it comes to the formation of urban governance and urban regime (Healey 1982; Suitner 2015). In a similar tone, Sandercock (2003) argues that “the way we narrate the city becomes constitutive of urban reality, affecting the choices we make, the ways we then might act (12)”. That is precisely the reason why she argues storytelling is central to planning practice and both arguments lead to the conception of discourse.

For Foucault, the importance of discourse is its intersection with power and knowledge (Richardson, 1996). In Sandercock’s sense, “how and which stories get told, get heard, carry weight (2003:12)” is a matter of power. It echoes Suitner’s (2015) argument about discourse as discursively constructed imaginary that can be understood as the discursive regulation securing accumulation strategies in planning. It is then important that those who are usually engaged in planning are likely to be a member of the dominant culture - therefore the dominant cultural norms and imaginary, and following practices are less likely to be confronted and questioned (Sandercock, 2003). “In a multicultural context, there is usually a dominant culture whose version of events, of behavior, and practices, are the implicit norm,” Sandercock explains (2003). What planners do, therefore, can be understood as what she calls “performed story” (Sandercock 2003:12), or, in other words, *planning is performed through the story*.

It is at this point where ‘themes of power, coercion, and collective resistance shape landscape as a social microcosm’ (Zukin 1991:19). Symbolic languages, thus dominant discourses, are manipulated to connote exclusion and entitlement; what and who should be visible and who belong to space (Zukin 1995). Zukin’s (1991) term *landscape of power* captures the power relation on planning and urban space quite well. According to her, the landscape is a major cultural product of our time, which is “the physical manifestation of place” (Jones 2004:116) that represent who dominates the city (Zukin, 1991). ‘Landscape’ is a physical environment that makes up the visual appearance of a place through which we experience the place; they thus play a role in structuring our everyday lives. What is important is to define landscape as products that are actively created by human beings - thus, the landscape always convey meanings, memories, identity and attachment through symbols, which contains messages about power and politics, which tells people about who is in charge of the specific

place and what is the dominant ideology and philosophy behind it, through command over resources, wealth and property. (Zukin 1991; Jones 2004:116).

In this chapter, I tried to deconstruct and overcome the existing arguments for diversity planning and cosmopolitan urbanism, which are still under the mask of its normative shell, thus communicative and democratic outlook. With an alternative understanding of diversity and difference, as well as those of cosmopolitans, a crucial question of ‘whose cosmopolitanism?’ gets into debate. Moreover, by introducing the horizon of the landscape of power, we need to take discursive layer more seriously as a powerful instrument for coalition building and promoting certain planning visions, in which power and knowledge come into play and claim for their territory.



4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

The theoretical analysis that has been discussed above gives us an assumption and defines the direction of empirical analysis. The critical planning theory and the theory of critical cosmopolitanism together allows us to go beyond the limit of the current state of research; that is to reveal the ‘dark side’ (Sandercock, 2000) of diversity planning. Again, the basic assumption of this thesis is that physical planning applied to specific neighborhoods could be interpreted as the materialization of the dominant social imaginary that shapes diversity discourse in space, which is a crucial aspect of symbolic power created by the culturally dominant majority.

To analytically grasp the process of neighborhood revitalization as the materialization of hegemonic social imaginary of diversity, and its symbolic power created by the culturally dominant majority, I go back to the concept of ‘Imagineering’ as a tool to approach empirical practice. Again, Imagineering is a term to indicate bringing the imaging of cities into physical form. I argued that diversity is promoted as a powerful device to imagineer the landscape of contemporary cities, in the making of a cosmopolitan city in the globalized world. Thus, based on the concept of Imagineering, the following two study dimensions are adapted to approach empirical cases critically; 1) Discursive construction of difference and diversity, 2) Planning practice for diversity: spatial practice on production and consumption of cosmopolitan space.

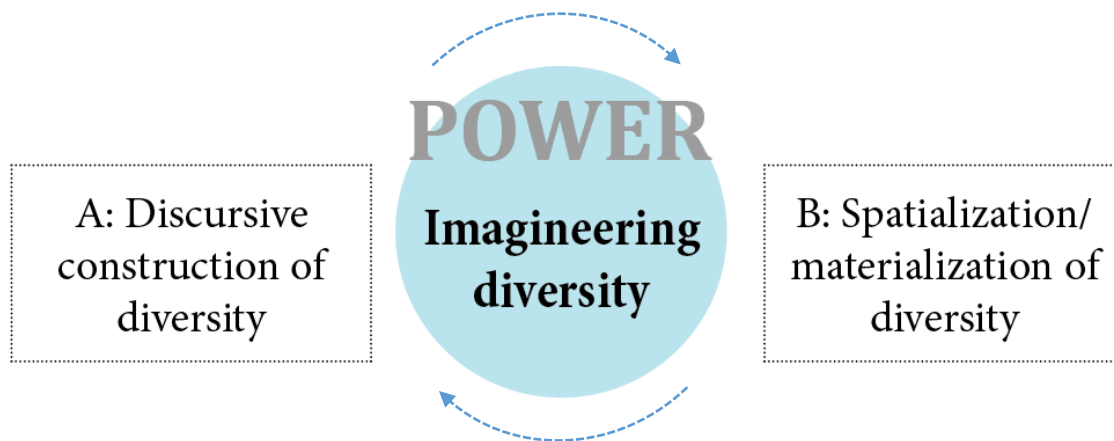


Figure 3: A model of Imagineering diversity, own illustration

A: Discursive construction of diversity – how diversity is conceptualized in planning discourse

As discussed in the previous literature review and theoretical analysis, discourse plays a significant role in the process of urban renewal. In the empirical case of area-based neighborhood revitalization, the discourse of diversity in planning legislation and policies, including corporative languages and media coverage will be analyzed. Critical discourse analysis, as to be discussed in details in the following, is used to analyze how diversity, in relation to cultural differences, multiculturalism, and ethnicity, are conceptualized by various stakeholders, within the complexity of power relations among them.

B: Planning practice for diversity – how diversity is manifested in space**1) Planning practice on production of cosmopolitan space**

The previous chapters proved that neoliberal governance and urban politics encourage and trigger actions to push specific discourse of diversity further into material form. Thus, following these theoretical findings, this analytical dimension examines ‘space of diversity’ in its production and consumption, based on the case-specific planning practices in neighborhoods in the midst of revitalization.

Spatial practices of diversity planning have already been studied by some scholars such as Fincher and others (2014) under the name of multicultural planning, which is helpful to frame the empirical material practices. For instance, the practice to achieve diversity as a *social mix* in ethnically concentrated neighborhoods is one example of urban planning to ‘manage’ various form of differences, when these difference are interpreted as disorderly and disadvantaged (*Ibid.*). Importantly, discourse of social mix reflects the changes from Keynesian social liberalism into recent neoliberalism in 1) *The subject* of intervention; that is, shift from the urban poor to racial Other and foreigners, and 2) *The site* strategies of intervention, from neighborhood settlement quotas to area-based urban renewal of disadvantaged neighborhood – which of course are influenced by a range of contemporary social scientific theories, such as spatial assimilation theory, contact theory, and neighborhood effects (Fincher et al. 2014, 2016). Thus, the intervention of ‘deprived neighborhoods’ and ‘ghettos’ can be considered in this line, as part of the social mix construction.

The urban public realm is another example of production of cosmopolitan space. Based on the classification of Fincher (2014:35), it includes; 1) production of urban space in relation

to religion, such as contests over mosques, and 2) planning and regulation of public space, and finally 3) the promotion of encounter and contact among different ethnic groups, such as festivals with focus on multiculturalism. By analyzing these example of how ‘public interests’ are conceptualized and acted upon to shape/reshape the public realm of cities (Fincher et al. 2014:35), I intend to empirically approach the dynamics shown in public space through the process of revitalization, and how the imaginary of diversity is especially visible in the public realm.



Figure 6 Multicultural festival in Europe, Multicultural festival.com



Figure 7: Promoting ethnic entrepreneurship in European cities, European Urban knowledge network



Figure 4: The Cologne Central Mosque in Cologne, Funkmug

2) Planning practice on consumption of cosmopolitan space.

Another aspect of spatial planning practice can be characterized by process of *commodification of diversity* (*Ibid.*). This type of cosmopolitan space links with what above-mentioned Eriksen (2006) explains as ‘aesthetic, politically and morally neutral expressions of cultural difference’, or what Oliver (2015) argues as ‘diversity as middle-class lifestyle amenity.’ Analysis of planning practice on commodifying diversity reveals how immigrants or ethnically defined groups are included in local governance strategies and private interests to form a creative cities mantra and local business alliances (Fincher et al., 2014), in order to make the area attractive for visitors and tourism, as well as retail precincts that are “distinctively characterized by ethnicity and exoticism”(*Ibid.*).

What should be noted here is the fact that these processes can never be understood solely as a work of planners by its profession. It involves various urban actors from business initiatives to NGOs and local organizations, student associations and beyond. However, their intentions and their size and power to influence other actors vary. In this sense, actor constellations and their coalitions are important to consider who has the dominant influence upon not only discursive construction but also production and consumption of the spatialized imaginaries.

4.2 SELECTION AND NATURE OF DATA MATERIAL

I owe a lot from the permeability of the governmental corpus and the open data source in Denmark and Sweden. Both countries provide the information digitally, if not accessible in the national public libraries, most likely also in English. During the period between August 2015 – January 2016, as well as June 2016 – July 2016, for eight months in total, I spent time living in the case study neighborhoods in Copenhagen and Malmö to conduct field research and collect the data. In Denmark, due to the social security number I obtained, I have been granted access to most of the online documents concerning the master plan of the case study neighborhoods, media coverage, and public opinions through the media monitoring platform *Infomedia*, which covers most of the Danish media including TV and radio. My stay in Malmö allowed me to access the database *Retriever*, which collects articles from several hundred printed newspapers, magazines and business press, such as *Aftonbladet*, *Göteborgs-Posten*, *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Privata Affärer*. Aside from online data, the physical text documents were gathered at local libraries or obtained through interviewees. Furthermore, the visits to the case study site on an everyday basis gave me a rich variety of contextual background information including visual perception, atmosphere and smell, as well as inhabitants' and visitors' everyday practices. My selection of data is motivated by suitability and applicability for my research theme and question, in order to get a comprehensive survey of the field. Thus, the policy documents, the official publication of the plan, and the corporative languages of the stakeholders are carefully selected, including the transcription of the interviews conducted by the author.

4.3 SET OF METHODS

The following four layers and methodological tools are applied to conduct empirical research to reveal the local Imagineering processes.

a) Analysis of policy

The logic of discourse formation and its implementation into the regeneration process cannot be fully understood without the deep understanding of the policies. As Schiller (1998, 2012) explains, there are discrepancies between the local diversity strategies, self-narratives, and policies among cities and their national counterpart. Therefore, three levels of the investigation were adopted in this paper; 1) the EU legislations and the EU funded projects with the international framework, 2) the national registrations and policies of the two case countries, and finally, 3) the local policy practices and regulations. The analysis of policies is based on the web-based research of laws, regulations and institutional policies by using official publications and secondary research. The major policies are selected under the topics of diversity, integration, and immigration. This process helps to set the cases into place/historical context, which helps for the next discourse analysis.

b) Critical discourse analysis (CDA)

This part examines the first step of Imagineering – imaging - to see how diversity is formulated and conceptualized in the place-specific local discourses. Policy intentions around the related development projects and investigation of media discourses are important (Flyvbjerg et al., 2002) to discover the construction of dominant imaginaries over diversity that potentially influence place transformation. Both quantitative (word frequency to reveal thematic tendencies) and qualitative (the depiction of dominant cognitive constructions, policy vocabularies, and epistemic figures that together form the dominant place-specific diversity imaginary) methods are conducted.

Norman Fairclough (1995) established CDA, which provides us a set of theories and methods to make sense of the relations between discourse and social and cultural developments. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:72), in their introductory, overview CDA by drawing following five accounts;

1) In CDA everyday life matters because the discursive practice is viewed as a form of social practice, which <i>constitutes</i> the social world itself.
2) Discourse is in a dialectical relationship with other social dimensions - discourse, as a form of social practice, both constitutes the social world but also is constituted.
3) Discourse should be observed within empirical studies,
4) Discourse has an ideological function. Discursive practices “contribute to the creation and reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002:63)” - such as between classes, ethnic minorities, and the majority. Thus, the discursive practices both construct a representation of the world, social subjects, and social relations that reflect power relations, and play a role to push further the interests of particular social groups.
5) CDA’s aim is to uncover the maintenance of unequal power relations. Thus, it takes the critical approach that is politically committed to radical social change on the side of oppressed social groups.

These are precisely the reasons why I chose to use CDA among other discourse theories as my methodological tool – taking a critical step to reveal the ideological function of discourse within the unequal power relations. In regards to the variables and practical steps, I have color coded all related governmental corpus material, planning texts, and sampled media coverage, interview transcriptions according to the considered variables and themes: 1) definition of diversity, 2) the attitude toward diversity, and 3) the role of spatial planning for diversity. It should be taken into account that these discourses are not reflective of the single totalizing ideology that cannot be challenged, as an Althusserian perspective on a single dominant ideology. Nor am I suggesting that discourse is the only reason that causes place transformation.

c) Critical Semiotic Analysis: analysis of planning and outcomes

Based on the previous analysis of discursive image construction, spatialization and materialization of diversity imaginary and its outcomes are presented. Suitner’s (2015) term of Imagineering is aimed at advocating the two-way link between materiality and meaning of cities. Image and meaning are not just discursive representations of the physical artifact and reality of a city – the discursive meaning making also has a crucial influence on the material process of the city, which can steer future urban development into a certain direction (Suitner, 2015). This

way of thinking is necessary to proclaim diversity-friendly planning practice as the spatialization of political/economic imaginary. Thus, agreeing with Suitner, I adapt Bob Jessop's critical semiotic analysis, by extending Fairclough's discourse analysis into including material factors. It will be done through analysis of case-specific spatial planning practice; first, I will focus on the specific neighborhoods in regeneration process in the turmoil of the discussion of diversity. The history and spatial development in these neighborhoods will be demonstrated by using official planning reports and case focused secondary researches including websites and online articles. Second, on-site observation is to be conducted to gather empirical data to see the spatial character of the area, to ethnologically approach the specific plans in question. Third, interviews with key actors are conducted to get the deeper insight into the neighborhood plan.

d) Qualitative Interview

Finally, interviews with related actors and inhabitants are conducted to identify the subjective perception and perspective, as well as the expert's hidden knowledge. Kvale (1994:149) defined the quantitative research interview as "the purpose of which is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with the intention of interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena". Furthermore, he explains the quantitative interview as "privileged access to a linguistically constituted social world," as it bases on conversation and interaction that is highly interpretative and relationship-based (1994:147).

The interviews have been conducted on two levels; Decision makers and authorities (Public authorities, politicians, planners and architects), and the local organizations (local initiatives and activists). The guideline-based semi-structured interview was used for both groups and the gathered data were analyzed and evaluated by using qualitative content analysis and discourse analysis. The table below shows the number of interviews conducted in two cities. It should be noted that there was a difficulty of getting interviews in Copenhagen, because July is a holiday season in Denmark. All the interviews were done in English, in the duration around 1 hour, which were then transcribed and coded for the further analysis.

Level/City	Copenhagen	Malmö
Decision makers and authorities	2	4
local organizations	2	4
Total	4	8

e) Comparative analysis

This research is set as a response to the recent call for a “comparative (re)turn in urban studies” (Ward, 2008; Robinson, 2014). Robinson especially contributed to set aside the binary division between the West and the rest that had been dominating the thinking of urban studies, and tried to provide a way to examine sufficiently the cities that have been historically, and globally marginalized and “off the map” (Robinson, 2014). What is important from the recent comparative studies is that it addresses a relative scalar approach to examine neoliberal rescaling of cities and its restructuring process, which allows researchers to grasp the connectivity of cities within the power hierarchies of the global network (Schiller 2012; Schiller and Caglar 2009; Robinson 2014; Brenner 2004, 2009). In this paper, I especially align with Schiller and Caglar’s use of comparative urban perspective in the analysis of migration and city-making process. They studied how the relative positioning of each city affects and is affected by its relationship to migrants and their descendants, in order to reveal the migrant’s role as city-making actors within the urban restructuring process, as she calls “migrants as 'scale-maker” (Schiller 2012:885). The two empirical cases in this paper are analyzed and compared, within their relative comparative perspective on the relationships between migrants and cities. I take a method of “variation finding,” which is one of the methodological frameworks that was set by Robinson (2010:2) to shed the lights on the most similar cases; which I believe to be applied to the case of Copenhagen and Malmö. This strategy “establish a principle of variation in the character or intensity of a phenomenon by examining systematic difference amongst instances” (Tilly 1984:83 IN Schiller 2009), while identifying similarities as well.

Finally, it is important to note that this is inductive research, even though the structure of the paper takes deductive overlook. The observation of the two neighborhoods was apriori before the development of the theoretical framework. Thus, I don’t intend to use two cases from Copenhagen and Malmö as mere confirmation of the theories that discussed above. These empirical cases are partially explained by the existing theories and concepts, but at the same time contradicted/negotiated within the framework.



“Openness and closure follow a complicated pattern that has been compared with a computer firewall that performs intelligent filtering of immigrants by being open for the attractive and being closed for the unattractive.”

Carsten Yndigegn, 2011:50

5. CASE STUDIES

Ford and others (2008) discuss the applicability of the U.S. model to European cities to use ethnic neighborhoods as a facilitator of urban revitalization. In contrast to the largely invented ethnic neighborhoods such as Little Italy or China Town in some American cities that have recently been used to revitalize a section of the inner city, they argue that such districts, in other words, ethnic enclaves and such, have not been obvious in the European cities.

Throughout the United States, some of the neighborhoods with high ethnic concentration were formally characterized with inevitable conflict and turf battles (Ward, 1971) - feared, shunned, or invisible. Now, they have been transformed in an effort “to create – and often invent – ethnic landscapes” to celebrated tourist, commercial, or residential attractions by the 1990s (Ford and others 2008:83). These strategies include such as using a Danish village architectural style, or any other variation on the ethnic identity theme with kitschy charm.

Ford et.al. (2008) believe that positive outcomes from this creation of ‘ethnic landscapes’ are possible due to possible economic advantages in the region. From this standing point, they suggest for European cities to use the American-style ethnically themed revitalization strategies to meet the global aspiration in Europe, which serves to lessen the ethnic tensions within the existing diverse neighborhoods and revitalize marginal central-city districts (*Ibid.*). According to them (87), European cities are becoming more like their U.S. counterparts due to 1) increasingly large non-European immigrant population, and 2) growing numbers of marginal central-city neighborhoods. While admitting the contextual difference of urban history and migration, they conclude “the culture of “place” can be viewed positively even in the midst of important social and economic issues and conflicts” in Europe (*Ibid.*). I do not align with their ambitious plan to transfer this strategy directly to the European cities – yet, progressive creation of ‘ethnic landscapes’ and celebration of diversity should be now detected and critically reflected also in the European context.

To examine different attempts and various historical formations of urban diversity policy and related planning, I would like to choose two similar cases from Northern Europe: Copenhagen (Denmark) and Malmö (Sweden). These specific neighborhoods and plans are chosen respectively within these two cities, on the basis of the following reasons. First,

Copenhagen is chosen due to the city's ambitious diversity strategy; the city of Copenhagen had been trying to achieve to be the most diversity inclusive city in Europe by 2015. Second, Malmö is chosen, both because of its strong connection with Copenhagen and due to its recent cosmopolitan branding based on its large multiethnic population. These two cities are linked by the Øresund Bridge, which allows people to move between the two cities within 30 mins. The formation of the Øresund region by these two cities is discussed as one of the obvious examples of the neoliberal urban development in Scandinavia, which adds depth to the topic. Furthermore, American types of ethnic enclaves are hardly observed in most of the Scandinavian cities, thus taking the examples from Copenhagen and Malmö is a unique way to challenge the model suggested by Ford et.al. (2008).

These two cities are highly similar cases, regarding geographical location (Scandinavia), national political structure (developed welfare countries), and shared history. They were chosen within the analytical framework of what Arend Lijphart (1975) refers to as the 'comparable-cases strategy in comparative research' (1975:159). I certainly acknowledge the limitation of 'most similar systems' research designs, as Robinson (2002, 2004, 2005, 2006) has advocated a new comparative urbanism that goes beyond comparisons of cities with similar political systems and compares different cities together with global 'south' and 'north.' However, the point of my research is to detect the rich variation regarding the political behavior and the policy output of multiculturalism and spatial planning, even when they seem to share the similar approach.

5.1 THE EUROPEAN DIVERSITY MODEL: EU'S DIVERSITY POLICY TRAJECTORY

To underline the importance of analyzing discourse construction around diversity in planning, approaching 'Europe' as a political unit is the first crucial step. As mentioned above, there is a tendency in Europe to define diversity roughly as cultural differences within political discourse. In fact, there has been a considerable amount of European-level policies on diversity as well as migrant integration for the past decade, which continuously emphasizes the need to extract positive contributions from the cultural differences of mainly non-western immigrants.

Mörth et al. (2003:159-178) discuss the Europeanization of public policy. Europeanization can be defined as “the emergence and the development at the European level of distinct structures of governance” (Risse et al. 2001:1), reshaping the governmental structure of the member states. Europeanization thus means regionalization of political, economic, cultural systems and beyond, which strongly defines how local policy is legitimized. The argument made by Brenner (2004:45) is also necessary for this line of argument; Brenner (*Ibid.*) describes how capitalistic globalization reconfigures scalar organization and territorialisation, which increasingly shifts focus from the importance of the national scale to the subnational and supranational. Thus, European diversity policy functions within the interconnectivity of urban scale.

There are many European legislations and policies that are on the topic of migration, integration, and diversity. Various ethnicities, languages, and religions under intense mobility within member states have been negotiated under the EU’s motto of ‘Unity in diversity’. The term of diversity, however, is used quite vaguely and broadly thus it is not an easy task to summarize the development of diversity-related policy. The secondary research made by the EU-funded research project DIVERCITIES is thus helpful to present the trajectory of EU’s diversity-related policies. DIVERCITIES launched in 2013, based on the hypothesis “that urban diversity is an asset. It can inspire creativity and innovation. Create cities that are more livable and harmonious. Stimulate local and national economies and make European cities more competitive” (DIVERCITIES, project overview). It echoes with the philosophy of the European diversity charters by the EU, which defines diversity as a core value of the European Union to boost competitiveness and promote equality (Diversity Charters across the EU).

The research by DIVERCITIES found out that national governments are becoming hostile to all kinds of diversity in many cases, whereas in metropolitan areas more pragmatic and positive approaches are taken supported by EU policies (DIVERCITIES policy brief 2, 2014). The term diversity tends to portray ethnic and cultural aspects in these local policy arrangements, and even with minor varieties, the local attitudes are generally positive and inclusive (*Ibid.*).

Figure 9 summarizes the governance arrangement and initiatives about diversity in EU. In relation to the topic of this thesis, I especially focus on the area-based initiatives and the group-specific policies among other diversity initiatives. The research by DIVERCITIES detected the tendency for European cities to focus on the specific neighborhoods that can be

characterized as disadvantaged, in order to approach diversity (*Ibid.*). The local policy makers are actively using the narrative of “mixed communities” and neighborhood cohesion, in which the importance of the mixed composition of age, lifestyle, income and ethnicity is emphasized in the planning perspective.



Figure 5: General classification of the governance arrangements and initiatives in Europe, own illustration based on DIVERCITIES policy report 2014

The area-based initiative is also notable in the planning trend itself since the 1990s (Tosics, 2003). European urban policies and practices have changed continuously and dynamically in the past few decades, and the current trend can be characterized by its area-focused ‘integrated’ approach - not only physical but also economic and social interventions (*Ibid.*). Previous decades dealt with the problem of so-called disadvantaged neighborhoods through the renovation of physical characteristics of the places (‘hard’ urban renewal in the 1970s), and later the composition of the population in these places (‘soft’ urban renewal in the 1980s) (*Ibid.*). A new feature in urban renewal trends is its complex intervention within these

neighborhoods which regulates the interaction between places (environment), people (social) and institutions (economic and political). This is widely called integrated urban renewal (Jacquier 2008), in which the idea of diversity intersects. Unlike previous slum clearance that repelled unprivileged inhabitants from the area, integrated urban renewal tends to focus on integration and enhances the positive side of existing diversity among the inhabitants. Here, the targeted territorial approach is considered to be the most important (Tosics, 2003), and the European policies and initiatives fit well within this model.

Michael Parkinson (2007), a Director of the European Institute for Urban Affairs, highlighted the importance of the European scale in the process of adopting the specific planning system. He argues '*place matters*' in the globalized world, where integrated urban renewal became necessary in 'all' European cities to boost regional economies and keep themselves competitive (*Ibid.*).

However, there is, of course, plenty of divergences within this European model. Cities develop their own strategies, narratives, and relationships with diversity and migrants, based on their path dependency, their global positioning (Schiller, 2012) and future ambition. Thus, it is important to carefully deal with the individual case accordingly. Below, the Scandinavian version of the European model is to be presented.

5.2 SCANDINAVIAN CONTEXT: CONSTRUCTION OF 'ÖRESPECTACLE'

Esping-Andersen (1996) once presented the Nordic welfare state model as one of the models of political-economic systems. However, due to the neoliberal turn, this model might not be applicable anymore. Guy Baeten and others (2016), for instance, describe it as "post-welfare" phase of Nordic countries, which "does not mean the end of the welfare state but decentralization of welfare provision to lower government echelons (...) and to the private market" (2016:290). Thus, post-welfarism urges the state to "steer rather than row" (*Ibid.*), which shifts government to governance based on the market principle. Urban development and the changing nature of housing policies in Scandinavian countries thus have received some attention from the recent study of neoliberalism.

Here, Baeten (2012) brings an example of what he calls the production of "the Örespectacle," which stretches out within a newly emerging scale of the Øresund region, between Copenhagen and Malmö. The implementation of the Øresund Bridge in 2001 to

connect two cities brought an integration of the labor market and businesses, housing, and consumption, which boosted the economic growth and regional competitiveness (*Ibid.*). The Örespectacle, as a symptom of a new post-welfare neoliberal planning, “creates a new landscape of wealth, prosperity and exclusivity” (Baeten 2012:33). It stimulates a new scale of elitist built environments, the creation of prime office locations, gentrifying parts of the inner city, and of course, creating eye-catching architectures, (Vision for the Øresund region 2070), which have drastically affected the development direction of both cities.



Figure 6: Øresund Bridge, Flickr.com by nikos Roussos

In line with Baeten (2012), Christersdotter (2005:104) argues that the marketing of the Øresund region moves towards metropolitanization and links with the narration of cosmopolitanism to gain ‘competitive edge’. The region seeks an open, cosmopolitan connection and a global language of design. At the same time, as Baeten (2012) repeatedly argues in the context of Malmö, the development is pursuing contradictory reworks of the existing demographic fabric of the city. Under the elitist urban aspiration, the cities look towards the ‘West’ - the new wealthy white migrations attracted by the recent housing development, who are characterized as ‘entrepreneurs’, while the existing immigrations from Eastern Europe and the Middle-East remain forgotten (Baeten 2012:31).

Below, I illustrate the two case study cities Copenhagen and Malmö in the context of the neoliberal “Örespectacle” urban development. Both cities have the clear aspiration toward the cosmopolitan global city, which then affect the revitalization of ethnically-concentrated disadvantaged neighborhoods.

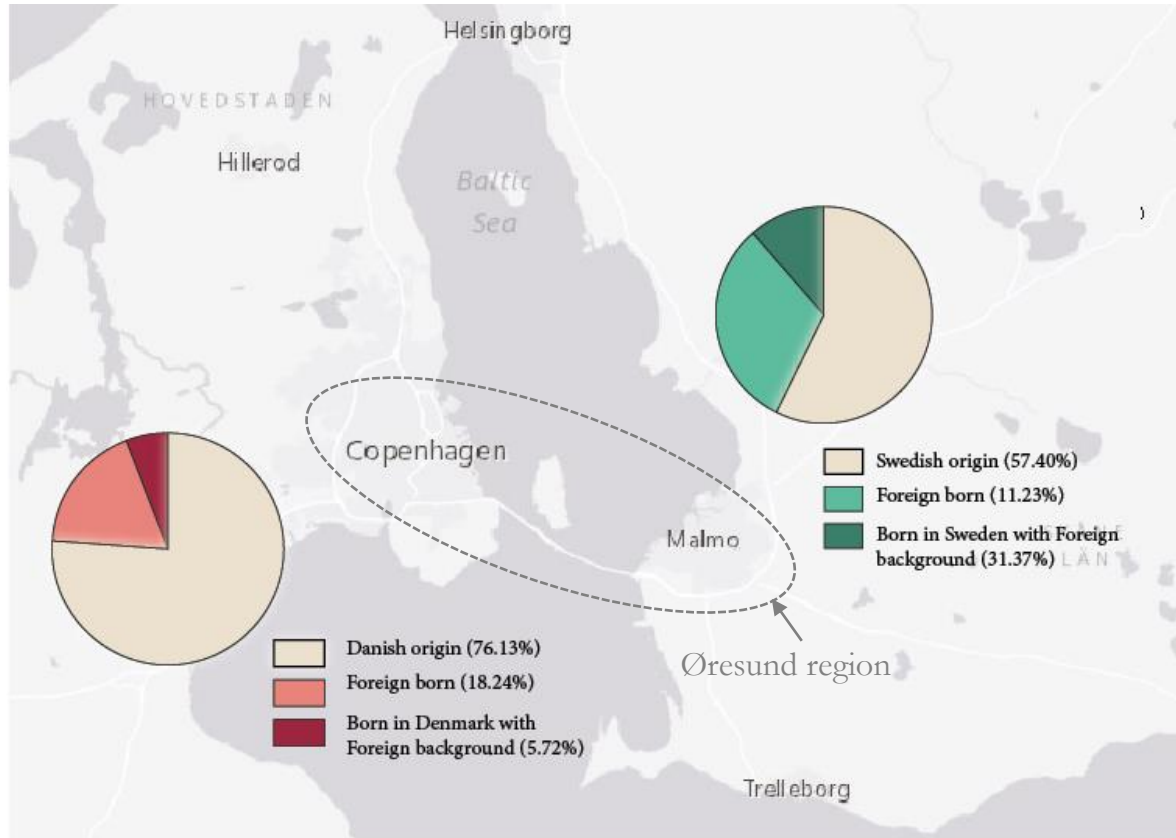


Figure 7: Share of foreigners in Copenhagen and Malmö, own illustration based on Statistic Denmark/Statistics Sweden

5.3 DENMARK - COPENHAGEN

5.3.1 GENERAL UNDERSTANDING OF IMMIGRATION AND DIVERSITY

Copenhagen has been an active participant in European diversity legislation (DIVERCITIES report 2, 2015). However, its liberal approach is not a typical example in the Danish context. The Danish debate on diversity has focused mainly on immigration and integration issues (*Ibid.*), and its laws and legislation have been one of the most strict among other European countries. As demonstrated in the famous Muhamad cartoon crisis in 2005, the country has not put forth the best impression to the Middle East and North Africa (29 Jan 2016, The Huffington Post).

The table in the below shows the general overview of migration history and policy legislation in Denmark, which demonstrates the complexity of Danish approach to (mainly non-western) immigrants.

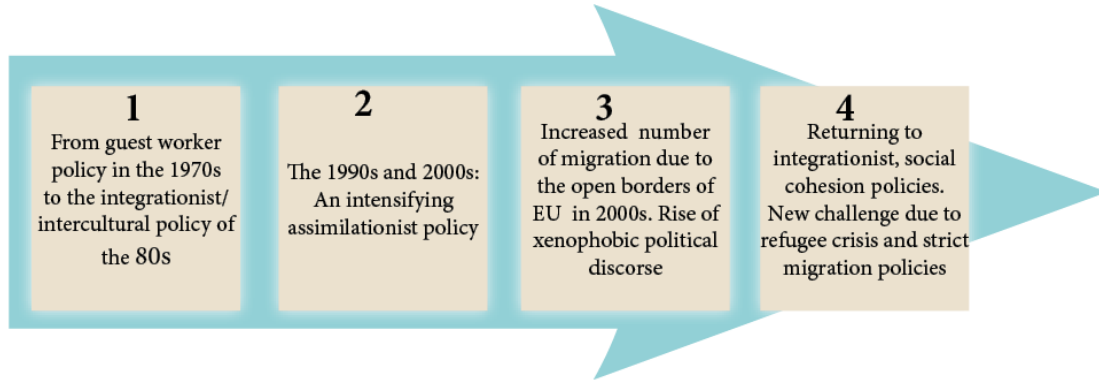


Figure 8: historical trajectory of migration policies in Copenhagen, own illustration based on DIVERCITIES policy analysis of Denmark, 2014

When we shift the focus from the national to the urban level, however, Copenhagen seems to have the opposite direction than the national government does. Copenhagen has an ambitious vision to become ‘the most inclusive metropolis in Europe’ by the year of 2015 (DIVERCITIES report on Copenhagen 1, 2015). Diversity-related considerations are explicitly incorporated into a range of municipal policies and local initiatives, emphasized to create “a city with room for diversity,” to enhance the positive contribution and advantages of diversity. To establish the broad framework and set up the guidelines, the investigation of the following policies is fundamental to grasp the overall picture of the municipality’s approach toward diversity (*Ibid.*).

1. Policy for Disadvantaged Areas in Copenhagen (2011)
2. Get Involved in Your City. Citizenship + Inclusion (2010)
3. Metropolis for people (2009)
4. Action Plan for the inclusion policy (2011)

These four policies include all types of (a)equity and the (re)distribution of resources, (b)to create spaces of encounter and spaces of democratic deliberation between groups,

(c)diversity and the recognition of multiple voices (Andersen et.al. 2014:26). Below, I highlight the Policy for Disadvantaged Areas in Copenhagen (PDA) according to my topic of analysis.

5.3.2 URBAN POLICY AND PLANNING OVERVIEW

“Copenhagen has become a paragon of urban planning & urban design over the last 70 years” (Scandinavian Standard, Apr 19, 2015). The Finger Plan, developed in 1947, is what determined the direction of today’s urban development in Copenhagen. The train lines spread in a shape of fingers, from the “palm” of central Copenhagen area. Now, Copenhagen is rapidly expanding in terms of population and infrastructure (Danish ministry of environment, 2006). The new metro construction is boosting makeover in some of the development-intensive areas such as Ørestad – as well as Nørrebro, Vesterbro and Østerbro in particular, which have seen a huge regeneration (Scandinavian Standard, Apr 19, 2015). The old harbor and industrial areas have been actively renewed into high-standard residential and business areas, which are attracting wealthy population and foreign investment (Klint 2005). As urban planning trend since 2000, Copenhagen is particularly known for its integrated approach for urban regeneration – not only focus on the physical side but also on social and economic development. This approach has been applied to strategies for revitalization of disadvantaged urban areas, focusing on partnerships among stakeholders and local participation, local challenges and possibilities rather than the problems (*Ibid.*).

According to their summary documentation (Technical and environmental administration, in the following referred to as TAEA, 2013), six disadvantaged areas - Nørrebro, Amager/Sundby, Bispebjerg, Vesterbro/Sydhavnen, Husum/Tingbjerg and Valley/Vigerslev - are addressed as the targets of the intervention within PDA. The problems are expressed in these six areas due to “outdated housing, allocation of public housing flats to people receiving social security, social problems in general and poor health levels (TAEA:2)” that are targeted to be solved by 2020. The indicators of selection are small flats (under 60 m²), flats which lack basic installations, residents outside the labor market, residents with low/no education, residents with low income, and importantly, residents of non-Western origin (TAEA:15). Thus, ethnic differentiations and presence of non-western immigrants are considered to be the sign of deprivation and the object of intervention.

Another important planning element that has been taken in Copenhagen within the related objectives is the district development plan called Kvarterløft. The kvarterløft project initiative is “a large-scale attempt to “lift” deprived urban areas through a holistic initiative based on public participation and public-private partnerships” (Jensen 2007:5). Rikke Hvilshøj, the Minister of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs, distinctly addresses the importance of integration of ethnic minorities during this this planning project (Kvarterløft - Ten years of Urban Regeneration, later referred as Kvarterløft, 2012:2). On this basis, diversity, in this case as integration and participation of ethnic minorities, is becoming a common language in the planning practice in Copenhagen.

5.3.3 NEIGHBORHOOD BACKGROUND: MJØLNERPARKEN

Mjølnerparken is a district within Nørrebro, situated on the border between Nørrebro and Bispebjerg (Nordvest), which has been the major focus of planning intervention by the



Figure 9: Location of Mjølnerparken, own illustration

city government for the past decades. This area, characterized by the four large-scale social housing blocks that constructed in the 1980s, is famous due to its population, in which 85.5% (out of 1,920) have a foreign background, mainly from middle-east. It has suffered from the negative labeling of a ‘ghetto’, as Jørgensen from Lejerbo expressed during the interview as ‘always a bad icon of the city – sort of a parallel society’.

Nørrebro, where Mjølnerparken is located, is one of the six major municipalities that consist Copenhagen. This neighborhood, in particular, has a reputation as a diverse neighborhood in terms of ethnicity and culture (*Ibid.*). Even before the abolishment of the demarcation line in 1852, Nørrebro, as an old working-class neighborhood, has always been a hub of people moving in and out from inside/outside of Denmark (Schmidt, 2012). In 2016, 26% of Nørrebro's inhabitants are either immigrants or their descendants, mainly from former-Yugoslavia, Turkey, Somalia, Morocco, Iran, and Pakistan, who came to Denmark in 1960s as a significant guest worker. Today, Nørrebro has been going through rapid urban renewal and gentrification, as it is targeted by the municipality as one of the six disadvantaged neighborhoods by the planning policy.

As discussed above, area-based intervention and urban renewal of ethnically concentrated areas are some of the major characteristics of urban planning in Copenhagen, and I argue that the case of Nørrebro, more specifically Mjølnerparken, is representative of that trend. Schmidt (2012) argues that the national identity and history are contested by events and identity political manifestations in this specific part of the city, which confronts what Dumcam S.A. Bell calls 'mythscape' (Schmidt 2012:95). Mythscape implies the rootedness of national identity and history, which is then believed to be manifested in concrete places (*Ibid.*). As a neighborhood where identity and memories are always negotiated, as well as a place which has been through rapid urban transformation and gentrification, the analysis of Mjølnerparken would represent the complexity of diversity politics and its spatial negotiation in Copenhagen.

5.4 SWEDEN - MALMÖ

5.4.1 GENERAL UNDERSTANDING OF IMMIGRATION AND DIVERSITY

Sweden has long been applauded for its relatively generous and welcoming migration policies, except for the recent change shown in this year's response to the refugee crisis. The table below shows some of the major characteristics of the migration policies and integration efforts in Sweden. In contrast to its neighboring country Denmark, Sweden hosts far greater number of the non-western immigrants, and its diversity-related policies are abundant.

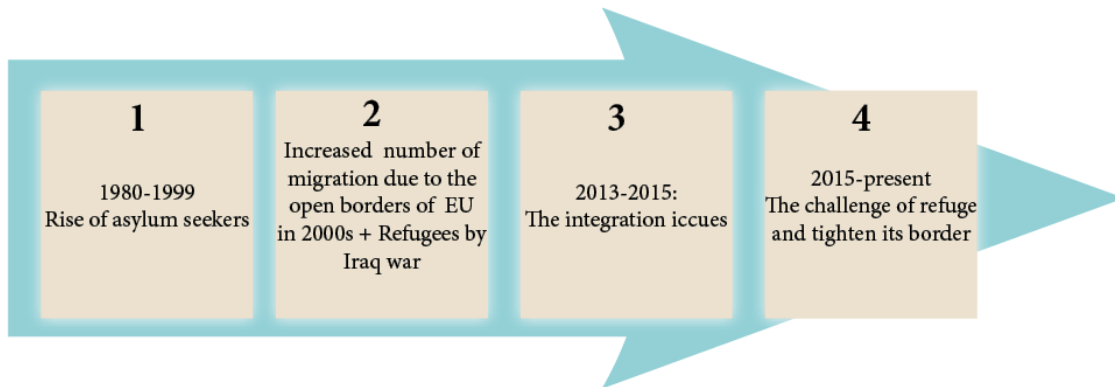


Figure 10: historical trajectory of migration policies in Sweden, own illustration based on 'migration and Sweden'

The country's third-biggest city, Malmö, has also been a place to host a large number of foreign-born workers. Today, the city is known for its high share of immigrants and their decedents. In 2016, the share of foreign-born immigrants and their descendants takes up to 42.6% of the whole population (Statistic Sweden), which is much greater than its counterpart Copenhagen.

According to Heelsum's (2009) policy overview and evaluation, Malmö released an "Action plan to promote integration in the City of Malmö" in 1999 which has focused employment, language education, and anti-discrimination. While this action plan doesn't provide any specific measures to tackle specific problems, it's presented as the first diversity policy that is interrelated with national integration legislation policy (*Ibid.*). The word of diversity is highlighted especially in the context of working environment - therefore, diversity has been strongly linked with labor market policy in Malmö, not with ethnicities.

Later in 2005, more general integration policy called “Welfare to all” was adopted, which provided introductory plans that are mainly for the newcomers. These general policies were given shapes when the city enacted a more detailed “Action Plan for Increased Integration and Employment for the People of Malmö” in 2007 (*Ibid.*). This time, considerable funding is specified as subsidized by the national government and EU structural funds. The main contents are presented as; 1) counteract for economic and social segregation based on the national agreement of ‘Development and Justice – a metropolitan policy for the 21st Century’, 2) implementation of the Brobyggare (‘bridge-builders-method’) by immigrant service for newly arrived newcomers, and 3) connection with an anti-discrimination action plan, in line with the UNESCO group of ‘European Cities against Racism’ which Malmö has joined (*Ibid.*). Here, in relation to my topic of analysis, the emphasis on economic and social segregation is key. Based on the policy-based notion of ‘divided cities’ (Andersson 1999), Malmö developed various approaches towards its ethnic and socio-economic segregation. Next, I turn to the demonstration of urban development and planning character in Malmö, in relation with diversity and segregation.

5.4.2 URBAN POLICY AND PLANNING OVERVIEW

Malmö is a former industrial city that has gone through a rapid urban transformation. The city enjoyed industrial success until the whole economic structure was shaken by the oil crisis in 1970. The following closure of shipyards and textile industries caused the loss of approximately 35,000 workplaces, which led the city to go through severe stagflation and slow development (Nilsson, 2010). However, as the majority of the cities with the similar industrial past, Malmö also followed its precedents to shift the economic/political focus from manufacturing towards knowledge-intensive sectors for the renewal accumulation of capital within the global economic structure (*Ibid.*). The campaigning slogan “Kunskapsstaden Malmö (Knowledge city Malmö)” was created which leads to, for instance, the housing exhibition “Bo01” at the newly developed western harbor (*Ibid.*). The construction of above-mentioned Øresund Bridge further pushed the new wave of neoliberal commercial opportunities forward and created some iconic landscape, such as the famous new district of Västra Hamnen and Turning Torso (in Swedish Vridande Bålen) skyscraper (Baeten, 2012).



Figure 11: Turning Torso and newly developed housing area Västra Hamnen, by malmotown.com

Thus, while neoliberal globalization and the crisis of Swedish social democracy has been discussed (Ryner, 1999), there are also plenty of studies that shed light on Malmö's increasingly neoliberal character of local economic growth and urban development. Various forms of large-scale strategic urban planning and global city branding in relation to the creative economy have been reshaping the urban fabric of the city, as shown in the example mentioned above. At the same time, some planning efforts exist to eliminate the segregated areas, which is linked with my case study neighborhood.

According to Andersson (1999), the Swedish Commission on Metropolitan Areas (CMA) characterizes Malmö as a *divided city*, due to its economic and social segregation. It is interesting to note that CMA clearly denies to point out ethnic element as one of the basic underlying natures of the division of population groups (*Ibid.*). Based on this initiative, the planning policy of “District Programme for a socially sustainable Malmö” (Områdesprogram för ett socialt hållbart Malmö) pushes structural changes in order to allocate resources to the five chosen neighborhoods of the city. Thus, the local City District Administration (stadsdelsförvaltning) organizes the planning work, which are required to formulate and implement its district program to increase education level and create employment opportunities. Below, I introduce Rosengård, which is one of the five geographic areas that have been selected for the initiative.

5.4.3 NEIGHBORHOOD BACKGROUND: ROSENGÅRD

Rosengård is a neighborhood situated in a southeast part of Malmö municipality. Characterized by the large-scale housing estate blocks, it was constructed from 1967 to 1972, as a part of the Million Programme based on modernist planning ideology. It comprises 10,000 apartments and 25,000 residents, which makes it one of the largest housing areas in Scandinavia

(Malmö stad). Due to the ‘white flight’ since the early 1970s, a large number of immigrants with foreign ancestry began to move in, who represent almost 80% of the whole population of the neighborhoods currently (*Ibid.*).



Figure 12: Location of Rosengård, own illustration

It has often been labeled as a deprived and segregated ‘ghetto’ area in the Swedish suburb (The Local, 02 Mar 2012) and there have recently been considerable efforts to upgrade the area. For instance, MBK – Malmö’s Social housing authority and leading company – invited Gehl Architects in 2006 to submit a new proposal to regenerate the area, in order to “to turn one of Sweden’s most deprived areas into a well-integrated and inviting neighborhoods” (Gehl Architects HP). Meanwhile, there is evidence that MKB began to adopt cultural/ethnic diversity into their overall branding strategy. Here, I believe that taking a closer look on the urban revitalization of Rosengård might provide a fruitful horizon on the city’s planning approach toward its immigrant population.

*"They (ethnic minorities and immigrants) could help
create an identity of place underlining their
uniqueness, not their sameness. (...) They could
create diversity"*

Kvarterloeft 2012:1



Lejerbo

Mjølnerparken

6. RESULT AND ANALYSIS

The above-demonstrated neighborhoods were analyzed based on the analytical framework that was developed in the chapter 3 and 4. To analytically grasp the process of revitalization in both neighborhoods, I argued that the following two study dimensions are necessary: 1) Discursive construction of difference and diversity, 2) Spatial planning practice on production and consumption of cosmopolitan space. By doing so, I wish to reveal Imagineering processes for diversity as a powerful device to transform the landscape of contemporary cities, in the making of a cosmopolitan city in the globalized world.

6.1 IMAGINEERING DIVERSITY IN MJØLNERPARKEN

6.1.1 DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION IN NØRREBRO

During the analysis of discourse, positive and pragmatic approaches toward diversity are found in the both public and corporative languages in Copenhagen, especially in Nørrebro. This contrasts the current political climate on a national level that is skeptical of the position of immigrants in Danish society. CDA revealed that, despite the strong national assimilationist stance towards integration, the promotional discourse of diversity is used in Nørrebro in order for one to ‘feel like’ experiencing the cultural difference. Nørrebro, I argue, can thus be considered as a place where it has been re-imagined as a Cosmopolitan space by drawing on its idealized diversity.

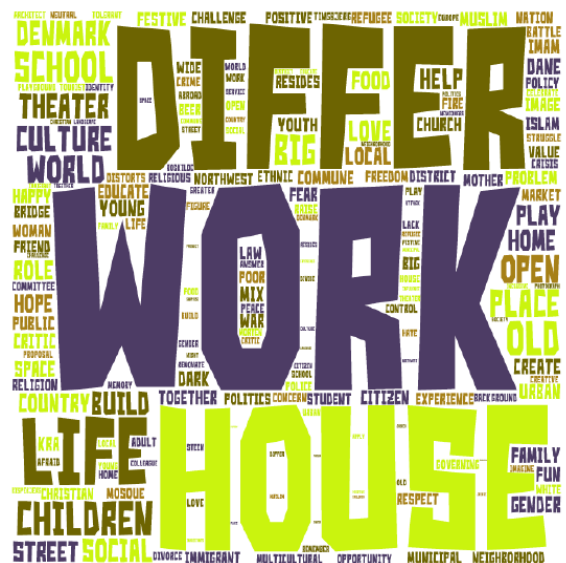


Figure 13: Popular terms that appeared in mass media about Nørrebro and diversity for the past 12 months, own illustration

The analysis of frequently appearing terms in the mass media (national/local newspapers, magazine articles) in the place-specific discourse of Nørrebro shows the thematic orientation around the issue of diversity in the neighborhood. Diversity in the labor market

and housing types are commonly mentioned in the media, as well as culture, street life, school and so on.

The discourse of diversity is evident in the planning policies in the context of Nørrebro's renewal process. Five main planning policy documents and planning texts are analyzed from the strategies for Disadvantaged Areas and Kvarterløft', to understand 1) how diversity is defined in these policies, 2) what is the attitude toward diversity, and 3) how they define the role of spatial planning for diversity. Moreover, web-based corporative languages of the major stakeholders, as well as the insight gained from the qualitative interview with the key stakeholders and local organizations are included, to enrich the understating of the popular image of diversity and planning for the re-imaging of Nørrebro's 'urban ethnic space' into Cosmopolitan Space.

1) How is diversity defined in these policies?

The policy for disadvantaged neighborhoods (PDN) defines ethnic differences as a negative indicator of deprivation of the areas. Setting its aim to archive equality among different segments of the city in terms of housing conditions, social security and health levels, the policy uses the number of non-western immigrants per area as one of the indicators of depravedness. According to PDN, it creates 'the gap' between well-functioning parts of the city and the rest, which potentially threatens the cohesion of the city.

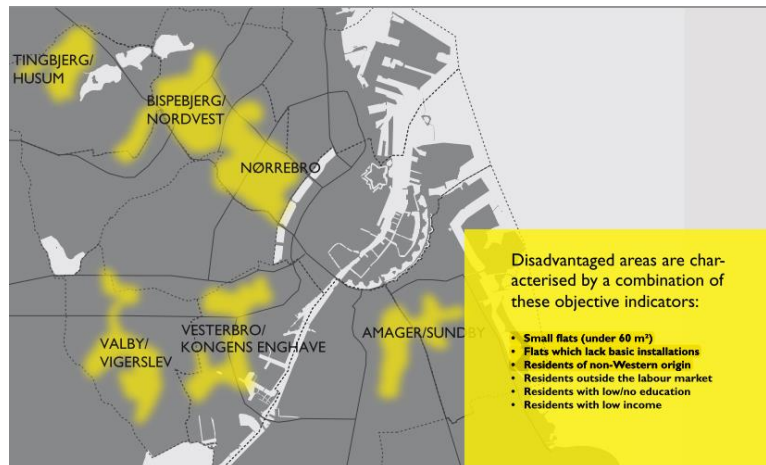


Figure 14: Map of disadvantaged neighborhoods defined by PDN, Copenhagen municipality

Not only PDN, but Kvarterloeft as well connects depravity of the neighborhood with its inhabitants with different ethnic backgrounds to Danish (Kvarterloeft 2012: 2). Having networks and organizations only within the immigrants' communities is concerned to be undesirable, as "they just do so in their own clubs and societies," (Kay Jokil, a participant of Kvarterloeft workshop, Kvarterloeft 2012:18), and accelerate the social segregation. Thus, in the context of the planning policies in Nørrebro, discourse of diversity is strongly linked with ethnicity, possessing negative connotations as it ascribes social segregation and lack of participation. It further suggests that diversity can be a source of opportunity only when the participation and integration of ethnic minorities are achieved.

In this discourse, there is a clear imaginal dichotomy of ethnic Danes, as a host society who is eager to engage with the latter, and immigrants, as a closed community stubborn for change. Thus, 'diverse city', 'cosmopolitan space' can only be obtained as opposed to a one-sided composition of residents; in other words, a parallel society. Municipal planning strategy (2010:10) negatively refers to a one-sided composition of residents, most likely consisting of the non-European immigrant population, as a source of poverty traps, the lack of understanding and tolerance between people.

2) What is the attitude toward diversity?

In this sense, diversity suggests an opposite of parallel society – or, in other words, 'non-cosmopolitan' space. Creating diversity means encouraging minorities' engagements in society and enhance the tolerance for difference (PDA 2011). Here, attitudes toward diversity



Figure 15: A front cover of *Områdeløft*, Copenhagen municipality

are generally positive and promotional, thus aimed to be actively achieved. For instance, Områdeløft, a part of Kvarterloeft, uses the catch phrase that states "Nørrebro is hot" - having vibrant cultural features and tolerant atmosphere (Områdeløft 2007:5). The front picture of Områdeløft's policy publication (Figure 18) emphasizes the ethnic character of the neighborhood, suggesting its openness and tolerance. However, ethnic segregations

should be progressively eliminated, in order for it to be "hot" (PDA 2011).

3) How do they define the role of spatial planning for diversity?

The spatial planning is explained to be necessary to foster diversity and multicultural city life. The analyzed policies see disadvantaged areas as a setting for a possible good life in Copenhagen, as “each of the disadvantaged areas has the potential to become an attractive, distinctive area characterized by diversity, cultural pluralism, and creativity” (PDA 2011). It can be attained by making the varied composition of residents and include the ethnic minorities to the society, for which high architectural quality, sustainable urban design and public realm can contribute for (Kvarterloeft 2012:2).

Interviews with Rasmus Koldby Nielsen, a project manager of Nørrebrohallen, commented on the importance of having room for different activities and interests, such as various cultural activities organized by Nørrebrohallen, in order to reach a great range of people, therefore, having diversity in the area. Nørrebro is getting less diverse, he argued, given that there are more and more students and hipsters coming in. However, Nørrebro by its character has tolerance to welcome diverse interest and activities for everyone, thus cultural facilities like Nørrebrohallen could contribute (Nielsen 2016).

To sum up the dominant ideas, spatial planning for diversity is about the investment of the city – to make the place attractive, inclusive and open for integration. During the interview, Jørgensen, a business manager of Lejerbo, commented on the development of Mjølnerparken as an attractor for further investment, by opening up the ‘the parallel society.’ By using the history of Mjølnerparken’s past, he explained it is about “using the image. Mjølnerparken has to be open now so that we can use it as an attractor. Revitalization of Mjølnerparken is an overall investment to the city, and after years, the money would be paid off.” In this way, for Jørgensen, it’s generally about making a nice place to live in for their tenants, not for a specific ethnic composition of the area or their special needs. However, some of his comments are ethnically determined, or at least locked into the dichotomy of ‘isolated immigrants’ and ethnic Danes. Here, diversity is discursively constructed within the context of a segregated immigrant population that is imagined to be homogeneous and separated from the rest of society. The role of planning is about creating the various compositions of inhabitants, by opening up the space of the formerly segregated racial other; to re-image the neighborhood as open, cosmopolitan space. Below, I now turn to the planning practice in relation to the diversity discourse that was shown in this chapter.

6.1.2 SPATIALIZATION OF DIVERSITY

The ongoing renewal project of the district Mjølnerparken is perfectly linked with the discourse of diversity in Nørrebro. Today, the area belongs to the non-profit housing association Lejerbo, which rents out to approximately 42.000 residences all over Denmark. The overall renewal of the area has been facilitated by the investment of the municipality. In fact, this area is the focal point of intervention in Nørrebro, as part of the above-mentioned Policy for Disadvantaged Areas in Copenhagen. Even among Nørrebro, which marks one of the highest numbers of non-western immigrants and prominent lack of basic installations of the housings, Mjølnerparken is a special case; the district hosts “the highest percentage of people of foreign descent in *any* social housing project in Denmark” (LAU/MATHIESEN: 115), which is 85%. In 2014, the physical master plan was voted and proposed for the physical uplift of the housing buildings and outdoor areas.



Figure 20: Mjølnerparken, image taken by the author



Figure 21: Image of Mjølnerparken in the future, Mater plan by Lerbro

The upcoming change of Mjølnerparken is drastic. Each building is going to be renovated, and all the flats are to be upgraded. There will be some commercial areas on the ground floors to bring a variety of activities to the area, which used to be a monofunctional residential space. The renewal of Mjølnerparken is a good example of the dominant vision of social mix – attracting middle-class residents and lift the living standard of the area.

Table 2: Planning overview and objectives in Mjølnerparken, own illustration based on the text of Mater plan by Lejerbo

- 1. Renovation of the housing** – aiming at the mixed composition of the residents.
- 2. Security** – aiming to make physical improvements for the safe environments to prevent gangsters to come in. Enclosed courtyards, secured stairways and entrance doors that directly face the street are designed to create a more private and secure environments. The districts has several basic features which are typical for ghettoized areas. The physical environment is thus contributing factor to reduce crime rate and reassurance the area.
- 3. Connection to the rest of the city** – Good connection with Superkilen, Metro stations urban life and the diversity in Nørrebro allows residents in Mjølnerparken to develop the special relationship with the neighborhood. Kvarterhus, a newly made community center in the district, and a bazaar street from Mimer Park with shops and cafés are made to attract more visitors from outside.

Furthermore, the construction of the surrounding two parks - Mimersparken and Superkilen have played a significant role in the revitalization of Mjølnerparken, both physically and symbolically. Mimersparken and Superkilen are located in a way to enclose Mjølnerparken from its two sides, which gives great access for the inhabitants to the public space. The development has been initiated in partnership between the municipality of Copenhagen and Realdania. Realdania is a private association which supports philanthropic projects in the realm of built environment, in order to give a new and more positive identity to the area (Realdania official HP). The analysis of these two public spaces revealed the connection between the design/its spatial character and the imaginary of diversity, which was shown during the investigation of the discourse about diversity.

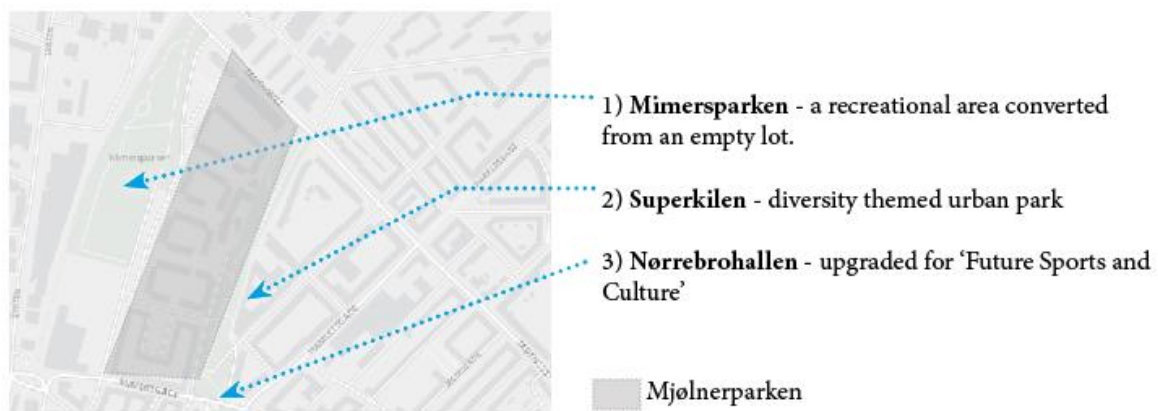


Figure 22: Three focus of the development in Nørrebro, the surroundings of Mimersgade

Superkilen, a kilometer long park, is often referred to as a “multicultural urban playground”. It was designed in 2012 by the collaboration with the internationally famous architectural firm Bjarke Ingels Group (BIG), Berlin-based landscape architects from Topotek1 and the Danish art group Superflex, under the theme of integration and ‘celebration of diversity’. Within the three distinct areas of The Black Market, Green Zone, and Red Square, this park is decorated by the patchwork of various park objects that are collected from all over the world: public furniture, signs, exercise equipment, and plants which are representatives of more than 60 nationalities.

The official Danish website explains the goal of Superkilen is to revitalize the area by celebrating diversity – to uplift an “ethnically diverse and socially challenged neighborhood by giving it “a global identity and unifying its inhabitants”. Thus, multicultural symbolism is what makes this park special; the objects in the park aim to support the diversity of local inhabitants, which symbolize their home countries, such as Palestinian soil, Japanese sculpture, neon signs from Qatar, a sound system from Jamaica, or bollards from Ghana.



Figure 23: Mimersparken, picture taken by the author



Figure 24: Superkilen, BIG Architects, Topotek 1, Superflex, photo taken by Iwan Baan

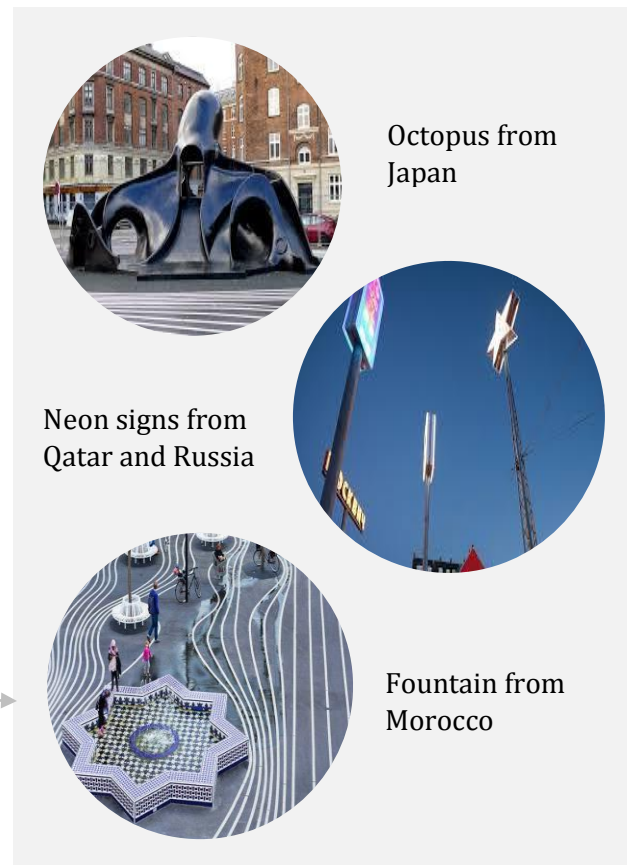


Figure 16: "Multicultural" objects in Superkilen, images from official HP

The inhabitants of the area were actively encouraged to participate in the process of choosing the design objects of the park. Under the slogan of “Sammen Om Byen (Copenhagen Together)”, the municipality of Copenhagen is trying to brand the city in a way that people in the community and private sectors can participate together to create the urban space. However, in this context, Bloom (2012) believes that integration means “a process by which foreign-born people are convinced to give up many of their cultural attributes and distinctions to adapt more Danish ways of speaking and behaving” (Bloom 2012:1). For Bloom, Superkilen, as an integration project, thus can be grasped as “the spatial battles of Nørrebro” (Bloom 2012:1). The park is to celebrate the diversity of culture in Nørrebro, but diversity in this case is mere the sugar on the cookie that adds the happy image on top of an “aesthetic exercise in Danish design” (Bloom 2012:8). By this account, I agree that “Superkilen can be seen as a public way for the status quo power structure to process demographic shift through a charade of multiculturalism” (Bloom 2012:8).

Furthermore, Mimersparken was finished on the other side of Mjølnerparken - the old railroad area between Bispebjerg Station and Mjølnerparken. It has a huge playground, several sports facilities such as football field, climbing wall, table tennis tables, and even barbecue tables. Now, the inhabitants of Mjølnerparken have easy access to the public life of the streets – which has been designed in a way to penetrate the boundaries of ‘the parallel society Mjølnerparken’.

Here, it is also important to mention legislation for security as one of the greatest aspiration in the discourses of Mjølnerparken. Steffen Boel Jørgensen, the Business Manager of Lejerbo København, emphasizes the importance of collaborating with police during the revitalization of Mjølnerparken. During the interview, he explained various measures installed by Lejerbo to make the inhabitants of Mjølnerparken feel “civilization is there for them.” If they don’t feel that “they are now in the white west, and if it is only criminals running out the things of the area, you can forget everything” (Jørgensen, Lejerbo, 17 Jul 2016). Thus, the most important partner with Lejerbo and development of the area would be the Copenhagen Police. TV surveillance is one of these measures that he believes to be successful to make people feel safe to be in the area. Surveillance cameras are now everywhere in Mjølnerparken, which Jørgensen explains reducing the vandalism and pity crimes by the youngsters.

The immigrant population, especially youth with foreign backgrounds can easily become the target of punitive social control measures. ‘Zero-tolerance’ for ‘patriarchs’ - as Jørgensen repeatedly emphasized during the interview - has been executed, in order to “regulate

behavior through the codification of place-based rules and restrictions” (Fincher 2014:40) in public space.

To sum up, the intention of re-imaging Nørrebro with its diversity has been and is going to be, spatialized and materialized in the form of the revitalization of Mjølnerparken and surrounding areas. The discourse of parallel society - as an enclosed immigrant community - is to be tackled by creating attractive cosmopolitan space, where people can come and appreciate no matter where they are from. The objective behind the development is to attract middle-class residents and tourism-oriented visitors in the area. Increasing support for ethnic businesses and ethnic entrepreneurs is also addressed (PDA 2011). Thus, the renewal of the area is strongly linked with the commodification of diversity - as practices of the entrepreneurial city (Harvey, 1989) and the neoliberal city (Sager, 2011).



"Symbolism has never been more important. Malmö has every chance of becoming a strong symbol. Malmö needs the world, and the world needs a city like Malmö."

Little Big Malmö

6.2 IMAGINEERING DIVERSITY IN ROSENGÅRD

6.2.1 DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION IN ROSENGÅRD

Malmö, as well as Copenhagen, seems to promote its multicultural character within the development discourse, although to the lesser extent. Nilsson (2010) analyzed the discourse shown on the local authority's web page in Malmö and detected two core elements in the public discourse of the city. First, the repetitive emphasis on the fact that city's population is rooted in more than 170 countries. For this reason, Malmö has its self-narrative as multicultural, 'most diverse city in Scandinavia' (*Ibid.*). Second, the city of Malmö has been going through a major transformation from a former industrial city into a knowledge/technology oriented post-industrial city. Thus, there is a distinct emphasis on its recent rise of the knowledge-based economy within the web-based self-narrative and branding of the city. Here, the character of the city tends to be described heavily either on its multicultural and postindustrial character (Malmö Stad, 2008). Nilsson (2010) calls it a shift from "industrial" to "colorful."

Frykman (2015:6) also remarks on the tendency of local media that present Malmö as "*the most cosmopolitan place in Sweden*" – where there is 'distinct atmosphere or spirit, that has functioned as a kind of social lubricant between Malmö's inhabitants of different origins' (Sydsvenskan, 12 February 2012). The similar narrative is also evident in the interviews that I conducted during field research in Malmö in June 2016. Finnur Sverrisson, a founder of a social enterprise *Little Big Malmö*, emphasizes that Malmö is 'one of the most international cities in the world.' Malmö is represented by citizens from 170 out of the 193 countries in the world, which makes Malmö the fourth international city by default. What *Little Big Malmö* tries to achieve further is to attract people from the missing 23 countries – to become, he says, "the best city in the world that are paying for diversity." The importance of international scale is emphasized in his project "to put Malmö on the (world) map, make the city visible in the international media and community." Within this ambition, the discourse of diversity as 'economic asset' is evident, which provides an international environment to attract the global talent in Malmö. According to him, Malmö used to be represented negatively by media, with the repetitive reference to local crimes and bombings. However, "the transformation of the city has been surprising" for the past decades regarding urban development and economic growth, and diversity should be celebrated to change the perception of the city positively (Sverrisson, *Little Big Malmö*, June 2016).

However, shifting the view toward place-specific discourse of Rosengård specifically, the analysis revealed a rather different picture from Nørrebro. The Malmö city council discerns housing segregation as a serious impediment to long-term sustainable growth, which should be the target of elimination by municipal policy (Heelsum, 2008). However, CDA revealed that these areas targeted for intervention based on municipal policies are not ethnically determined, nor does diversity plays a big role in the discourse of revitalization. This means that the celebratory narratives for its multicultural character, which are actively shaped by the local authority and some private actors, don't necessarily boil down to the area-based planning intervention of the specific part of the city. Instead, the basic objectives of planning practice in Rosengård are explained to ensure “that they become more attractive to move into and remain in” (Heelsum 2008:19). Below, I present the analysis of place-specific discourses of Rosengård based on the policies/corporative languages and interviews with stakeholders.



Figure 26: Popular terms that appeared in mass media about Rosengård and diversity for the past 12 months, own illustration

1) How is diversity defined in these policies?

First, the discourse of diversity seems to have connotation much beyond ethnic difference. Whereas some governmental publications and media coverage create the image of the city as multicultural, cosmopolitan atmosphere, the discourses that are exacted from the sampled policy documents and interviews with stakeholders are closer to what Vertovec calls super-diversity. The imaginaries on diversity seem to be more openly defined, which are inclusive to various kind of differences. This is especially evident when

Malin Martelius, the director of Coexist Malmö and a public worker of the safe and security department of the municipality, stated that “I don't see it as ethnic, religious thing - it's a big ‘we.’” While working with the representatives of different religious communities in the city, her approach is not on the difference, but on ‘togetherness’; the things that people can all agree on. Therese Frykstrand, the manager of the local company Yalla Trappan, also said to the author that they don't use the word ‘diversity’ while working at the heart of Rosengård; “it's more

about humanity (rather than diversity). It's more about ... 'we are people'" (Frykstrand, June 2016).

Tatjana Ristovski, the manager of Internationella Kvinnoföreningen i Malmö, disregarded the category of immigrants, especially the second/third generation. "You can't inherit the act of what your parent did. So for me calling them as "second generation immigrants" is stigmatizing by itself. When we use the word, it feels like they cannot belong here". For this matter, being diverse is not something interesting or special for her, as "I don't think there is any single place on earth that is not diverse". Rather, what is interesting for her is to reveal how we use the term and how we want it to be reflected on the city; "the most important is to ask in which way I want the city to be diverse? And how is that going to reflect the city? So we are talking about the values". Ristovski further describes Rosengård, as having "segregated diversity" in the question of gender and equality.

2) What is the attitude toward diversity?

However, even though there is conscious avoidance of using the term diversity as the ethnic difference in most of the cases, promotion of cultural differences and its focus on immigrants' population still exists. It leads to the second point of CDA, which examines attitude toward diversity. Nilsen (2015:9) argues that there are still repeated allusions to Malmö's culturally diverse population in the city's branding, which then hold the ideological power over representation of the city. The representation of Malmö should be conditioned by the global economic process, Nilson (2015) argues, where the discourse shaped by local authorities is to present the city in order to attract foreign investors, finance, and tourism.

It links with how Finnur Sverrisson, a founder of Little Big Malmö, approaches cultural diversity. According to him, immigrants are 'pure assets for the city'; something really positive. He defines diversity as a different background of the individual, and there should be an openness and celebrational tone to be able to ask each other's background openly. This way of presenting the background is rather similar to the strategy of above-mentioned Superkilen; "quite selling and attractive" (Sverrisson, 2016).

Here, national identity and ethnicity became the locus of the discourse of diversity. Sverrisson uses the example of "people cook the dish from their own home country. We can taste the different pallet of the world", or "a girl who does my girlfriend's nails - if she can incorporate Asian style, European style, American style and all kinds of different styles for

everyone, it's really cool." From his marketing point of view, diversity boils down to profitable and commercial cultural differences, which can be easily used to attract talent in the city of Malmö. For instance, Little Big Malmö has a project idea called the flag park – which I believe reflects their idea of diversity directly. According to Sverrisson, the flag park is a "symbolic gesture of celebration of pure diversity" of all the nationalities in Malmö. The polls set up in the western harbor have all the national flags that represent the people living in Malmö.

3) How do they define the role of spatial planning for diversity?

While there is a repetitive emphasis of a rather limited idea of diversity as mentioned above, the role of spatial planning is not as strongly linked with diversity and immigration compared to Copenhagen. Rather, it seems to be avoided. For instance, as discussed, the Swedish Commission on Metropolitan Areas (CMA) doesn't define segregation through ethnic line; only economic and social element is considered to be the problematic underlying nature of the division of population groups. This was confirmed not only within the policy documents and planning texts but also most of the interviewees denied the strong link between the spatial intervention of Rosengård and diversity of the neighborhood. Anders Dahlback, a landscape architect at the municipality of Malmö, spoke to the author that it's mostly about employment, not the cultural difference and ethnicity;

"As an urban planner who built buildings and meeting places, I don't really care where people used to live, where they are from. Because I believe people have a same basic need when it comes to public space. (...) We shouldn't really focus on people's cultural background in the planning practice. (...) (it is because) people are very easy to fall into group thinking. If we are not really aware of it all the time. Group thinking of Swedes planners (can be problematic) - sort of believe that all the people in one neighborhood has the same identity and belonging to the neighborhood (which I disagree)."

Magdalena Alevra, an architect at the Municipality who has been a director overseeing development in Rosengård for ten years, also denies that there is a conscious planning practice which focuses on ethnic diversity in Rosengård. "We actually hesitate to do like that," she replied in the interview when being asked if they plan differently when many inhabitants have a foreign background.

Again, it does not mean that all the planning practices are free from the problematic sense of cosmopolitan re-imaging. As discussed, the branding of Malmö as a vibrant multicultural city and an international communicational hub to attract high-skilled foreign labor

and investors is present (Nilson, 2015). However, CDA revealed that these strategies seem to be commonly used in the context of the inner city makeover – for instance Västra Hamnen. Below, I now move to the analysis of the Imagineering process of Rosengård in order to investigate to what extent the practice reflects/go beyond the discourses that were demonstrated in this chapter.

6.2.2 SPATIALIZATION OF DIVERSITY

In the previous chapter, the analysis of discourse revealed that there is an absence of an ‘ethnic’ definition of diversity and multicultural focus regarding spatial planning and revitalization process of Rosengård. The answers from most of the interviewees during the field research also supported this result; avoidance of ethnic group thinking in planning leads to the rather ‘careful’ and neutral intervention into the area. However, detailed planning practices should be investigated deeper.

Rosengård has repeatedly been referred to as a site of segregation, therefore the anti-segregation focus of the public policies led to multiple phases of physical regeneration in order to create the social mix of the area (Malmö stad). Various projects in regards to housing renovation, investment for the public transportation and public space have been initiated by MKB and the municipality, (Alevra, June 2016), under the overall objective of connecting the area to the rest of the city. Among them, most of the planning efforts are concentrated in Västra skrävlinge, a south-western part of Rosengård.

In 2006 MBK – Malmö’s Social housing authority MKB (“Malmö’s kommunala bostadsföretag”) – invited Gehl Architects to propose a strategy for redeveloping the area (Gehl Architects official HP). The main focus of the interventions was decided on the field of public space, therefore the development of Bennets bazaar, Örtagårdstorget and Rosens röda



Figure 27: Bennets bazaar, picture taken by the author



Figure 28: Rosens röda matta, picture taken by the author

matta were proposed. The goal has been “to turn one of Sweden’s most deprived areas into a well-integrated and inviting neighborhoods” (*Ibid.*). In 2010, a German architecture magazine *Bauwelt* chose Gehl Architect’s strategy for Rosengård as one of the most prominent European projects that defines the future of architecture (*Ibid.*). Thus, as Alevra (June 2016) explained, MKB managed to get an international attention from the projects.

Here, I focus on a new project of much larger scale that is in the process of realization, in which culture and diversity plays key role. MKB and Danish architecture firm Lundgaard & Tranberg A/S have recently been working closely together on the project ‘Culture Casbah’; a project not only aiming at the revitalization of Rosengård but also bringing larger surrounding neighborhoods into play.

Culture Casbah, also known as Rosengård Tower, is a building of multi-layered stories and high-rise composition designed in the middle of Västra skrävlinge, which is inspired by Islamic Casbah. Casbah means an old section of Islamic city, a type of medina, or else an old market-place roofed by arches in an Arab town, which is characterized by entangles of small winding streets and various segments [see Figure29]. Around the tower there are also multiple residential buildings to be constructed. The main objective is to ascribe innovation and diversity, revitalizing and creating a social mix in a residential area from the 1960s, which had considered being mono-functional (Culture Casbah HP).

Culture Casbah is, I argue, a space of cultural diversity and its consumption. Local media defines this project as “a symbol of diversity, openness, and vitality” (Thomas Daily). Another project description states; “The buildings and urban spaces of Rosengård should reflect



Figure 29: The plan image of Culture Casbah by Lundgaard & Tranberg Arkitekter A/S, CULTURE CASBAH.com - The Culture Casbah project won the prize for Best Future Project at the MIPIM Award



Figure 30: The plan image of Culture Casbah Lundgaard & Tranberg Arkitekter A/S, CULTURE CASBAH.com

the diversity of its population. An array of urban spaces and building typologies will contribute by adding character to the local environment, via both expression and function” (CompetitionLine HP). An interview with Pil Høyer Thielst, an architect at Lundgaard & Tranberg Arkitekter A/S and a member working for Culture Casbah project, said this is about increasing the quality and heightening the value for the whole area (Thielst, July 2016). She commented that Rosengård already has high standard of residential condition, although “it is problematic that people who live there have all the same background and all the same income class” (*Ibid.*). “There are lots of unused potential in this area”, she said, because “in Rosengård, there are so many cultural beings living together without showing it to the cityscape” (*Ibid.*). She explained their task to be “taking this unused (cultural) potential and materialize it in the cityscape”. The rule of planning and building designs were then explained to be “a carrier” of the different cultures. “So all of these millions and thousands of cultures living side by side in the Swedish 70s building schemes that is all the same - which is not the correct building to have, when you have so many cultures. (...) so we try to have a facade that shifts a lot. You see different materials and so on” (*Ibid.*).

Furthermore, a greater opportunity for business and communication services are emphasized, as well as cafés and restaurants that “provide a lively street life” to all (*Ibid.*). The goal is, according to the proposal, to increase the availability of different types of housing, activities and facilities that are open to all, and increase security. Here, MKB’s ambition to invest in the area to increase the future land value owe a lot to the culture and consumption of cultural differences. The idea of culture is crystallized and spatialized in the form of a tower, where everyone can come in and enjoy a cup of cappuccino. During field research, while recognizing some rather ‘mild’ and ‘careful’ intervention that’s consciously avoiding ethnic lens, I found traces of un-ignorable revitalization processes that use the discourse of diversity as what Oliver calls ‘middle-class amenity’ and *display* cultural differences. Some of the ethnically-themed entrepreneurship, such as “Spice of Rosengård”, also possibly contributes to the commodification of ethnocultural diversity.

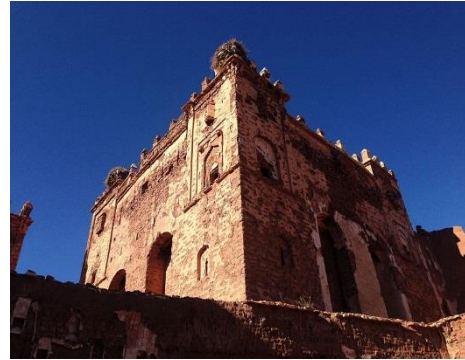


Figure 31: the Kasbah Glaoui main building, by Pedro Carvalho



“Do we dare to plan the postcolonial city?”

Michael Keith, 2005: 173

7. COMPARISON AND CONCLUSION

This chapter provides the key findings for the initial research question, as well as recommendations for research in response to the set objectives.

7.1 MAIN FINDINGS AND COMPARISON

The empirical investigations of two Scandinavian cities prove that there is a rich variation of the use of diversity in planning between two cities, even though they seemingly show the most similar cases. The table shows the results and comparison of the empirical analysis, based on the research question and analytical framework.

	Copenhagen	Malmö
General	• Upscaling city with relatively strong scaler positioning • Focus on knowledge-based economy and creativity • Strict national migration policy	• Once downscaled, but gradually upscaling / rising positioning • Growing new, knowledge-based economy and rise of neoliberal urban renewal
Cosmopolitan ambition and policies	• Policy that aims to be 'the most inclusive city' by 2015 • Strong Campaigning for creative, high-skilled immigration and tourism	• Branding as the 'most cosmopolitan city' in Scandinavia, emphasis on the multiethnic population • The city welcomes the global talents of migrants of diverse national background
Assessment of critical cosmopolitanism theory	• Discourse of parallel society (ethnic segregation) vs. Diversity (mixed with middle-class Danish) • Strong ethnic lens and categorization for area-based intervention	• Conscious avoidance of ethnic/race thinking • Segregation is strongly linked with socio-economic status, not ethnicity • However, limited conception of culture still exists
Assessment of theory of planning and power	• The Strong influence of Lerbro and Realdania • Internationally praised Integrated urban renewal - socio-democratic approach, but rather strong emphasis on future investment	• Relatively less emphasis on creativity branding and ethnic diversity – neutral planning and socio-democratic approach • However, the private interests / global aspiration are gradually taking over (Cultural Casbah/MKB)

Table 3: Comparison of 2 cities

7.2 ANSWER TO THE RESEARCH QUESTION

This thesis has been dedicated to answering the following question: How are the discourses of difference and diversity negotiated in the process of revitalizing/re-imagining ‘urban ethnic space’? Thus, the analysis focused on revealing how diversity and difference are conceptualized and applied to planning discourses in the recent urban revitalization of the neighborhoods in the case of Øresund region. Assumptions were presented as 1) unlike the national scale, cosmopolitan branding and positive recognition of diversity are prevailing in the cities, which have strong impacts on planning patterns and the transformation of the physical environment. 2) The discourse of diversity is often defined based on ‘the ethnic lens’. 3) Diversity is becoming a mere white middle-class amenity rather than social justice ethic in the urban renewal process. 4) Power is unequally distributed within different urban actors, and the dominant norm is reinforced and spatialized by the planning system. I now demonstrate the answers and results to each assumption.

The presented assumptions were both confirmed and falsified by the empirical outcomes, which means that the planning practice of Copenhagen and Malmö can never fully fit in and be explained within the existing theories, nor can the empirical complexities easily be generalized. First, the analysis showed that both cities have distinct cosmopolitan branding and positive promotion of diversity and cultural difference. Both cities use this positive notion of diversity to revitalize/re-image the neighborhoods, which were formerly defined as ‘urban ethnic space’. In this sense, the processes and the model that I call ‘Imagineering diversity’ in the particular neighborhood are undoubtedly applicable in the two Scandinavian cities. Yet, their approaches vary and can’t be easily explained by the U.S. model. It leads to the second point, in which the definition and conceptualization of diversity come into a question. Copenhagen has rather obvious ethnic categorization of diversity and its implications to the physical space. The analysis showed that the revitalization of Mjølnerparken is strongly linked with what Keith and Schiller & Çağlar criticized as ‘the ethnic lens’. Here, Mjølnerparken is explained as an enclosed ‘non-diverse’ immigrant community, where undesired differences – a parallel society – are to be eliminated by social mix with middle-class ethnic Danish. Superkilen, on the other hand, celebrates the limited idea of diversity as idealized/packaged version of cultural difference. On the contrary, the Swedish case is more sensitive to ethnic categorization and avoiding ethnic entity as an object of intervention. Yet, due to the increasing global

aspiration and neoliberalising development, private interests are gradually taking over to use a rather kitschy idea of ethnic identity. Third, from this standpoint, it is almost impossible to judge whether diversity is becoming a mere white middle-class amenity rather than social justice ethic in the urban renewal process. Diversity is promoted and the neighborhoods are revitalized by both reasons. Yet, critical analysis has taught us that we need to go beyond from seeing these planning examples through mere socio-democratic reasoning. In both cities, more powerful urban actors, through the ambitious collaboration of public and private, are increasingly gaining the power to pose their influence on the urban space – both semiotically and physically. Here, naturalization of difference and commodification of diversity both shape the consumable cosmopolitan space with a nice cup of cappuccino and a welcoming outlook. Fourth, it can be said that both examples proved that, on one level or another, the dominant norm is reinforced and spatialized by the planning system, as planners and stakeholders are likely to be on the side of the cultural majority. The obvious example would be the discourse of social mix and the creation of security. As Zukin (1998) describes, the aestheticization of fear, celebration of diversity and following cosmopolitan space come along with conscious control of fear for the racial ‘Other.’ ‘Enclosed community’ is targeted for the emancipation, in order to connect it with the rest of the city be permeable. The surveillance is installed, and security is emphasized.

Based on these results, the limit and paradoxes of cosmopolitan urbanism should be addressed. As Binnie et.al (2006) concluded, cosmopolitan urbanism is surely a paradoxical phenomenon (Robbins 2002, 2003; Chandler 2003). First, even though cosmopolitanism claims global universalism, it is always nationally differentiated (*Ibid.*); thus, cosmopolitan urbanism can’t be free from the national. Second, compared to ethnic difference, the class dimension is still under-examined in the planning analysis of cosmopolitan urbanism (*Ibid.*). Third, there is surely a certain limit on encountering difference driven by market forces and policy directives. Binnie et.al. (2006) call it as “*the colonization of the encounter with difference*” which occurs in the context of models of citizenship; thus, it poses certain demands on individuals that in turn generates certain rights (*Ibid.*).

Finally, I agree with Keith (2005), who repeatedly questions, “do we *dare* to plan?”. If he is right when he claims “the plan’s appeal rests on a normative sense of being able *to know* that everything has its proper place, an appeal to a preferred model of land use” (173), Imagineering diversity can only privilege a specific genre of cosmopolitan rationality.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS AND PERSPECTIVES FOR FURTHER STUDIES

My research implies a set of further questions and research recommendations which couldn't be fully achieved here due to the various limitations. Next steps should include the investigation of detailed local participation processes and identity politics of inhabitants. Due to the character of my research (discursive construction of dominant diversity imaginary and planning practice), the politics *inside* of these neighborhoods could not be fully examined.

Moreover, there is a question of whether this model can be applied to a non-western context. There is still a focus on the Western cities, particularly British and North American cities as the subjects of the debate of the Cosmopolitan city mantra. This thesis dealt with Scandinavian cases, which has been considered as rather homogeneous until recently, thus less investigated with the topic. In this sense, the Scandinavian model of Imagineering diversity would be helpful to understand parts of the planning efforts that have been increasingly popular in, for instance, some Japanese cities. In Japan, the share of immigrants and ethnic minorities are significantly lower than the other western cities, and the population has been considered as rather homogeneous due to exclusive immigration policies. However, accelerating globalization processes and the impact of recent hyper-depopulation started a demand for urban governance and management to acknowledge its diversity as one of the major players in the cities. Hamamatsu, a city in the central part of Japan, recently adopted a 'multicultural planning strategy' by which it organizes a bigger associations among other Japanese cities. The critical investigation of Hamamatsu's new strategy is yet to come – which I hope will be carried out soon through some of the critical reflections that stated in my research.

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- MIPEX (Migrant Integration Policy Index): <http://www.mipex.eu/>

APPENDIX

LIST OF FIGURES

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Cover page for chapter 2: Above; Jackson Heights, image taken from queensledger.com, May 24, 2016, Below; Jackson Heights, image taken from the wall street journal, May 21, 2011

Cover page for chapter 4: Above; Grand-mosque project in Copenhagen by BIG - Bjarke Ingels Group, image take from the official webpage <http://www.big.dk/>, Below; A Muslim center in Copenhagen by Henning Larsen Architects, image taken by Inhabitat, March 26, 2015

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PRESENTATION OF THE INTERVIEWEES

Copenhagen

Ghetto Tour Copenhagen

Short description: Ghetto Tours is a project started by young volunteers from RCYN (Resource Centre Nørrebro District). The tour “allow first-generation immigrant kids to openly talk about their everyday lives, their community and their ideas, and thus alleviate the segregation of the Danish society into "us" and "them."

Link: <http://sputniknews.com/europe/20160509/1039296452/denmark-copenhagen-ghetto-slum-tourism.html>

Nørrebrohallen

Short description: Nørrebrohallen is a sports/cultural center that is located in the heart of Nørrebro, in front of the red square of Superkilen. It is a part of the commune's project Kultur N, which organizes the cultural, sports activities in Nørrebro.

Link:Nørrebrohallen: <http://kulturn.kk.dk/indhold/n%C3%B8rrebrohallen>, Kultur N: <http://kulturn.kk.dk/>

Lejerbo København

Short description: Lejerbo København is a nonprofit housing association which owns Mjølnerparken and a major stakeholder in the area. Aside from Mjølnerparken, Lejerbo rents out approximately 44.000 residences all over Denmark.

Link: <http://www.lejerbo.dk/da/boligsoegende>

Special contribution:

Immigrant & Fabulous! / Hamide Design Studio

Short description: “Immigrant & Fabulous!” is a project that is part of the collection “I Feel From” - a movement initiated by Hamide Design Studio. The official website explains; ““I

Feel From” aims to challenge the focus on nationality with a new way of defining self, which is based on feelings of belonging to rather than race or place of birth.”

Link: <http://www.scandinaviastandard.com/feeling-design-with-hamide-design-studio/> (An interview by Scandinavia Standard), <http://hamide.co/> (Official HP)

Malmö

Malmö municipality – planning department

Short description: Malmö municipality is one of the major stakeholder in Rosengård.

Link: <http://forskning.mah.se/en/id/imperi>

Little Big Malmö

Short description: The project Little Big Malmö is owned by "Insamlingsstiftelsen Little Big Malmö" - a Swedish non-profit foundation. Little Big Malmö aims to make Malmö become the world's most international city; the first and only city to represent all 193 countries recognized by the UN.

Link: <http://www.littlebigMalmö.com/index.php>

Coexist Malmö / Malmö municipality, safety and security department

Short description: Coexists Malmö is a project organized by the municipality's safety and security department. The aim is to achieve security from a religious perspective, and create cohesion among different religious organizations in the city.

Link: <https://www.facebook.com/coexistMalmö?fref=ts>

Yalla Trappan

Short description: Yalla Trappan is a social enterprise who hire and provide work for immigrant women in Rosengård.

Link: <http://www.yallatrappan.se/yalla-trappan/about-yalla-trappan-19619446>

Internationella Kvinnoföreningen i Malmö

Short description: IKF is a nonprofit organization in Malmö, working for political and religious affiliation, and work exclusively with women of all nationalities.

Link: <http://www.ikf.se/sv/kontakta-oss>

Lundgaard & Tranberg Arkitekter A/S Cultural Casbah in Malmö

Short description: Lundgaard & Tranberg Arkitekter A/S is a Danish architectural firm, based in Copenhagen Denmark. It is famous for the Tietgenkollegiet student housing in Ørestad, and the Royal Danish Playhouse on the Copenhagen harbor front.

Link: <http://culturecasbah.com/>

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Purpose of the interview

To understand an interviewee's perception and insight for urban diversity, and how they believe is the role of diversity within the transformation of the city.

1. Background Questions

Interviewee's position, work, and detailed activities of the project they are working on.

2. Perception on diversity and culture

- How do you define diversity in your context?
- What is the roles that assigned to diversity in your project?
- What do you think is the role of diversity within regeneration process of the city?

3. Actor constellation

- Do people participate? How is the reaction from the people?
- Do you have any collaboration network with other urban players, and what is the aim for the coalition? -What do you think of the relationships between inhabitants/urban planners, architects/public authorities/economical players?

4. Urban regeneration, Physical transformation

- Tell me about your opinion on the recent urban transformation of Malmo.
- Who/what do you think is the driving force to push through recent place transformation in Malmo? Who do you think is the major stakeholder? -Tell me your opinion about the neighbored of Möllevången and Rosengård. (Place-branding, Renewal project, segregation etc...anything)
- Should the area with high concentration of immigrants be approached by planners and architects differently than other dwelling area?

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE INTERVIEWS

Copenhagen

Interviewee 1: Sara El Ghazi - a member of Ghetto Tour Copenhagen

Date: 12 July 2016 (duration:50 mins)

Place: Copenhagen, Denmark

Interviewer: Could you tell me a bit of yourself? How did you start engaging this Ghetto Tours?

I am becoming 21 years old in few days. 6 - 7 years ago, one of my friend from a pre-school invited me to RCYN (Resource Centre Ydre Nørrebro) - which was a small old house, almost like a shelter. They were actually turned down - they built a new kindergarten or something, so they moved 2 -3 times to different locations. It's just so cozy and there are so many different things that people are doing theaters, and dancing, and doing homeworks. There are this cafe with all this youngsters with all the volunteers holding up. There are this art projects, computers and tvs - so nice to look at! The place was like graffiti all over with so many different people so I was like OMG, this is so cool, I wanna come here! So slowly I started coming like everyday after school. There were many cool people and we started many different project whatever we want. Whatever we had a reason to produce.

2 - 3 years back, there was a school in United State of Sociology or stuff like that, they wanted to come to Denmark, and just like you, to meet the local people and focus on migration issue. Then they got a contact from the commune and they recommended us (RCYN), so we got together 2 or 3 people. So we were like, why don't we show them around our neighborhood? Ghettos - well, nobody thinks that Copenhagen has a Ghetto, but that's what they call it. They (the American students) got really excited, so some of our youngsters got together, told them some stories, where we live, things like that. And afterwards, we were told that it could be a good business for us if we just keep doing this - like showing people around where we live, how we live - basically everything about us. So some of us got together and made it. Today it's called Ghetto Tours and we are around 15 - 20 members.

Interviewer: All of them are youngsters from RCYN community? And you get money from the tour, right? How often do you have tours?

Yeah, I think the oldest is 23. Yeah, pretty much. Like 100 DKK per tour. It's like a small chips.

Yeah...basically we are students so it's really hard to have fixed schedule. So normally a corporation or a big group contact us, and they ask us for a day tour. Aside from that, we have had two open tours, and we are planning on keep doing that once in a month. We are very flexible because it has to be ok with the studies and works and everything.

Interviewer: That sounds interesting, I wish I could join. So....where exactly "Ghetto"? In Denmark it's not exactly like American ghettos, but people talk about ghettos, and the word ghetto is sort of popular in my impression...so when you say "Ghetto Tours", where exactly is ghetto?

We played a lot with a name. At first it was called "Nørrebro tours", just because we wanted to get away from ghetto, to give it a more objective form. But then we started thinking - what if we move away from Nørrebro someday, and stuff like that - and then we thought we could actually make it a way further, because ghetto in

Denmark is like nothing, compared to other countries. We had a group of people from France, and they actually live in a ghetto, and they came here and saw what we explain as a ghetto, they are like, what are you guys talking about, you have luxury here, it's nothing! It's really fun, right now, we are focusing on Aldersrogade - right now they changed the name to something else, i think to get away from a bad reputation of the area. They have a lot of problems there, like young kids put fire to containers, or driving around shouting and looking out for the community. They want to get out from that, and show that 'hey, it's not all bad'.

People hear a lot about it - like how Muslims live in Denmark, how the general other people live. So I think it's nice to go to one of the places that are talked mostly about ghettos. We can also get people to all other places - you have also Mjølnerparken right next to it, the worst places with lots of shooting and stuff like that. Right now we don't have a lot of people to tell a story about it.

But some part are like new hipster places for everybody! People love to hang out there. All cool small cafes and shops and stuff like that. You don't get there, because all you hear from the media is like (this neighborhood is) dangerous, dangerous, dangerous... You are going to get shot, you are going to get lobbed ... but the change that can happen is once a million. Like you really have to be unfortunate (to get lobbed in Nørrebro) of somebody to attack you, unless you are the gang member or something.

I remember we also had an old couple on one of the tours - and talked about how they were a bit afraid of coming here, so they thought it was pretty cool to have this. Actually there are lot of young people - all the young Danes hanging out there, it's like new hipstar hanging our place, if you can say so. When we said that the old couple got really surprised. They are getting coffees, something to eat, all the small projects happening there, like football tournament. I like hanging out there.

Interviewer: This transformation of the neighborhood from the historical working class area into new tipster place. Even the media has started talking about Nørrebro positively. What do you say about this transformation?

I would say that Denmark is acknowledging more the immigrants that are here today. I don't know a lot about immigration history in Denmark - but the immigrants have been here for long - especially not as many as here today. They need workers to help Denmark so they invited people - my grandfather was one of them He got invited to Denmark and got a passport. Now they have to acknowledge that you got a second or third, somebody had already a fourth generation of migrants. At first they put them into areas that today came as "Ghettos". They had all the immigrants at one place and they are challenged. I am not going to say that it's not there - there are lot of people having hard time to learn language, to work and so on. Because there are many strict role that you have to have Danish degrees, you have to take education in Denmark from the beginning - lots of people don't want to do that. We have a lot of people challenged and I am not denying that. So yeah, I think Denmark put all immigrants into one place and now they want to get more out of it. Because they got this really bad reputation, everybody is just watching every move they make, there are cameras everywhere - every time something happens, it's like omg, it must be immigrants did that. But look around, a lot of Danish people do the same thing, they just don't hear about it - just as a common thing, oh a kid can do that. It's the same thing here, it just has different culture and might do weirder stuff for them.

I think Denmark used a lot of money to develop these place and make them more hip and more friendly and stuff like that. New playground, new pretty colors, decorating the places so it's cozy, it's nice, and family can walk by without actually being scared. Even though there are boys and motorbikes and so on, you don't get scared in the same way because there is this park with a little swing and stuff like that. We don't get scared in the same way - before, it was like this big blogs and see many scary people. Even though you don't really know if they are scary, they look scary. So you just keep away from it. But yeah....i think one of the things that is funny is this big signs everywhere - like in Mjølnerparken, there is this red place and there are all these big signs like donut signs. I think it's really funny...what is that...there is no donut place. But yeah, just to live up the place to make more colorful, more delightful to to people. That's the one thing that is good about Denmark - they try to do a lot out of it.

Interviewer: Yeah I think the neighborhood is getting prettier and prettier. I guess the best example would be Superkilen?

Yeah...i think it's cool. I've been living here for long, so I can see that there are more students coming in, more hip starts coming in, you can say so. But living here - I have never been afraid of living here. The most people that are born and raised in Copenhagen or Denmark who just lived here for many years would say they haven't seen that big of the change. Just different places, there are many investors, there are renovating a lot of places, but in general, i think the mentality has been also the same. It's just about people outside of Copenhagen hear about it, and think it's dangerous, and actually come here and realize that it's actually not that bad, it's cozy. It's not as huge as they think. For instance, let's say somebody broke a window at Kiosk. It can happen everywhere, right?

I just always thought that stories are much bigger in the news. It's so true in Nørrebro. I really think Nørrebro is one of the most amazing places in Denmark. It's just so nice and different. It's nice that there are so many different people, and so many different cultures. There are trying to acknowledge that now. People are more acceptant. For instance, if I go out of the street in Copenhagen, people have lots of question - 'oh, so you are Muslim? Do you do this? Your family is like that?' These people are everywhere. But in Nørrebro, people are used to see Muslims coming in and out. People are used to see Muslims going to a mosque. People are used to see Jew and Muslims hanging out. People don't believe that when one Jew and Muslim had a fight, they hate all the Jews and Muslims and stuff like that. People are more relaxed. People don't stare at you just because you look different. If you go to some part of the country, people stare at you as if you would harm them or something.

Interviewer: How about the identity?

We had this question from the group from America. Everybody thinks they are Americans. Denmark has not gotten there yet. Even though there are second or third generation, they still think/see themselves as parent's origin. People are more aware now that maybe they should identificate yourself as Danish, but for me I feel like why should I do either one? I am neither Morrocan nor fully Danish. Yes, I was born and raised here, but there is so much of parent's culture in my life. That's part of my identity. I changed myself depending on who I am talking to, for instance if I see a person has many prejudice or something, I would say I am Dane - I have Morrocan root but I was born here. When I see that the person wants to hear from me that I am from a different country, I would just say I am Dane. Or I just say I am Danish Moroccan. Because I have two cultures. There is a room for both of them. I never understood why I have to be a Danish. What is this thing? Even the Danes don't know what Danish is. It's just because you drink beers and eat pork? Or is it because of this entire culture that nobody can actually describe? Everybody lives differently. I don't want exclusive one to exclude the other.

We had a similar discussion with people from RCYN. At first we were asked where we are from, and we are like well...we are from Morocco, we are from Pakistan and so on. And then they made us realize that we were born and raised here, and they told us that we are Danes! At first I thought, yeah that's true, I am Dane! I live here everyday, I have Danish friends. On the other hand, I am not totally Danish! I am not gonna give up my Moroccan roots to be fully Danish. I love my Moroccan roots. I am not gonna live in Morocco, because maybe I am more Danish - when I go to Morocco, people can see that I am not from there. They have this label for 'outsider' - so I am from outside, from Europe. It's difficult to go there and recognized as European, and come back here and said 'oh, you are immigrant'. And I am not even an immigrants. My grandfather got invited. So you (Denmark) needed them.

So it's awesome to be part of Ghetto Tours. Because it gives you a chance to tell your stories. We can tell them that this is actually how we are. We are different, for instance I don't drink alcohol at a school party. But I can

still go and socialize with people. My father doesn't rock me down in the basement and force me to pray ten times a day even though we have to pray five. I still pray, but it's not a big deal. You go for a smoke for 5 mins, and during that, I go and do my own prayer! It's not that big deal, you just cope with it. People get shocked sometimes that i don't drink and eat at Ramadan. But i start slowly and I got used to it, and it comes normally - it's not a shocking thing. It's like Christmas. You also do some special thing in Christmas and do different things with your family. It's the same thing. People in Denmark have to learn that.

Interviewer: Totally. What is your opinion about the Danish migration policy and recent change in response to the refugee crisis?

I think they were a bit slow at the beginning. That's why they put all same people from the same country into the same area. And then people got separated and just keep doing what they used to do in their home countries and so on. A lot of rule are just too strict - where you can work and how well you need to speak Danish and so on. I can't remember all the things, but yeah..

For the recent refugee crisis, I've been helping out a lot. We help people who stay at the central station for half a year or something. It's like helping the arrivals and let them move on. I've been to Roskilde refugee camp, and they just want to get out from there. They still have to wait to get their asylum for few months before they can go and work wherever they want. A lot of them are getting into a bad habit. They want to learn Danish, but they have no one to talk to, because it's so isolated. It's out of nowhere. It's really sad for them. When they got there, they were really excited, they just wanted to get out from there and become a part of community. And then you just have to sit down and wait who know many months. I know it's hard for Denmark as well, because it's a small country - but i just wish that it goes a lot faster, so that they can use the energy they have when they arrived, in order to get out from there and do something. Just sitting around makes them so lazy. Well, closing the border...I understand why Sweden did it, because Sweden had taken a lot of people - they got overwhelmed. In Denmark we have taken a fair share, but I think we could have taken so many more. We have so many empty buildings, but the government doesn't want to use them - that's why there are using tent - temporary shelter. I know Denmark is a lot mature than that. I expected way much more, if you say so.

Interviewer: What is your perception when the city is branding itself as welcoming, diverse, cosmopolitan city? When compared with national level, it's a bit contradictory.

Yeah. They have their own identity from you are from Copenhagen, especially when you are from Nørrebro. Because Denmark is such a small country and they are proud of their own country - well there are so many things to proud of - Denmark IS a awesome country. But I get that you want to keep the value or whatever they call it, your own history or stuff like that, to show off Danish culture. But then again they go talk about how diverse they are, they want to be a big part of EU, and we have to be able to globalize the world, we have to help each other and so on. But if you want to do that, you're going to have to let go this proudness. You can't be proud - but just be a little bit more open minded. Yeah we are small country, but we are also rich country. Maybe they are afraid that money goes away because of the immigration. I just want to say that they are doing their best as much as they can do, but i think there are so much more to be done if you want to keep the reputation to the outside of the world.

Interviewee 2: Rasmus Koldby Nielsen : a Project officer of Nørrebrohallen**Date: 14 July 2016 (duration:45 mins)****Place: Copenhagen, Denmark**

Interviewer: Could you tell me a bit about yourself?

I am working at Nørrebrohallen, which is a part of Kultur N, which include most of the sports facilities and cultural facilities in Nørrebro. I've coordinating sports and cultural activities mostly in Nørrebrohallen, but the surrounding around it. They are doing their own activities, but it's sometimes good to put everything together – if someone wants to do something in this red square (part of Superkilen, in front of Nørrebrohallen) it's easy if we do together. Mostly they always have interesting ideas to come up with.

Interviewer: What is your background? Have did you start involved in this Nørrebrohallen?

I was studying geography, working to improve the quality of area. I came across this cultural house and strter coming here, then I got a job opportunity - so I've been working here for three years. At that point the part was already new - so i can't tell much about the past before.

Interviewer: You mean how this area (now Superkilen) looks like in the past?

Yeah, there was not so many things to see. The entrance of Nørrebrohallen was the other side of the building - the opposite side from it is now. It used to be a hocky ground and some grass, but not so many people went there.

Interviewer: So when people want to have an activity here in this red square, do they have to get permission from this Hall?

It's actually the commune who is doing that. There is online booking system and it's quite easy to be permitted. Usually the commune says that they need toilet facilities and so on - but people can use that in this Hall, as well as electricity if they need it.

Interviewer: So there are always collaboration between this Hall and commune, i understand. I also came here for a flea market.

There are many facilities, so you can have flea markets, sports, conferences and any other kind of cultural activities.

Interviewer: What kind of people using it?

For the sports facilities, it's mainly young students and kids from the neighborhood. Yeah, mainly youngsters - it's really hip area. But also some adults, like parents - young parents. I think it's quite democratic. We used to work with NørrebroParken as well. There are many skateboarders there.

Interviewer: Do you think the neighborhood has changed? It's getting hip?

Yeah, It is a hipster place nowadays, and also touristic. This square and that black square (part of Superkilen) attracts lots of architectural tourism, even though the red square doesn't look nice right now for me. This tourism - architecture interested tourism - is something new in this neighborhood.

Interviewer: I see. By the way, you have many pictures in this square at this moment. Where are these pictures coming from?

It is from a festival we have every year in April. We want to show all the Copenhagen - all the different stuff going on in the city. Because for me it's special that there are always small and obscure things happening, and this is a great way to see the small everyday life.

Interviewer: Do you think Nørrebrohallen is well connected to the neighborhood?

Yeah, I think so. Lots of stuffs bring in different type of neighbors. It Has sport facility so it's popular especially for boys. It also has communal dinner one in a week so people can come and eat outside all together. I think almost everybody has been here. Ust like this festival, to let them know that we are open minded and everybody is welcome, and we're trying to help them.

Interviewer: I think Copenhagen is putting many money and energy. Do you also live in Nørrebro?

I do.

Interviewer: What's your opinion about the neighborhood?

I think there are many different stuff and weird stuff going on, and it gives a lot of good energy. It's bad that media is talking about the bad things about the neighborhood. Of course there are some problems here but it makes it any better if media talks about only negative side of it. To me it's not really a problem, because i'm Danish and I'm not like the young kids with parents who don't have enough resources to support them. They need something else than negative focus. There are lot of young energy!

But of course, some people who are living here for long time, they don't wanna it to be hip - they don't need all the skateboarders. They like the all part of Nørrebro - no hip, no tourists. They liked it - it doesn't have to be a

big architecture place. They also don't like the process of the housing going up and they can't stay here anymore. But yeah, this is how it is.

Interviewer: How about Mjølnerparken? What do you think about the recent renovation of that housing blocks?

I guess they have some problems. Every Time something happen in Copenhagen, the name of Mjølnerparken always come up. I think they made a lot of good things out of that. Because they got the parks, and they are getting renovated - completely makeover in 5 years. Then it's good I guess. But there are also other places that do not get the support like Mjølnerparken has. It's nice for Mjølnerparken, but how about the others? All the focus is on Mjølnerparken because it has some problems.

Also, it's going to have higher price here. So people might have to move out and they need to go somewhere else. It'll be harder to stay there - but of course it is nice to have in this small area.

Interviewer: Then it's going to be completed - Superkilen, Mjølnerparken, and Mimersparken.

Yes. And another problem is the young people with other background than Danish - other cultural background. There is this clear border with Nørrebro andvej (25:20), this young boys - they are mostly boys. They experience this gang conflicts - there are some kinds can not come here. They experienced that their brothers chased away or something like that. So they don't dare to go here. We tried to break this border, inviting them here to give them positive activities. They might afraid of thing big gang brothers watching you. We want to invitet them here - so we had activities with Mimersparken and invited them.

Interviewer: It's hard to imagine in Denmark.

It is! For me it's not a problem - it's not a problem especially for Danish. For me it's ot a problem, but for kids, it's a big deal.

There are also some people selling harsh sometimes.

Interviewer: Ok. What do you think about the design/planning approach of the neighrbouhood? For instance Superkilen was designed based on the diversity and integration scheme.

Yeah, I think it makes sense. Because it is diverse. But when I say diversity, it also include different activities. When I think about Nørrebro, there are many students and yes, it;s not that diverse in a way, but all the different approaches to what is cool. The neighborhood managed to have different view on what is cool. Skateboarders can do their thing next to anything - people don't complain. There are much more ways. Also the tolerance is

much better. In this way it's diverse. Of course, it's kind of architectural way of thinking that it has to be diverse, but yeah...it's one of the tolerance area in Copenhagen. That's the way how Nørrebro is diverse for me.

Interviewer: What do you think about the migration policy in Denmark in general?

It's hard to say in general. I am really sorry that Denmark is exclusive. But Nørrebro is a bit different. As I said, it's quite tolerant.

About the overall transformation of the neighborhood - it's good for some people, it's bad for some people. It's getting less diverse in a way that young people with more money are coming in. But still I like it. This area needs diversity, this is what makes it interesting. Also, it's quite dense neighbourhood so we need more green areas.

About the Nordvest - it's a way of gentrification. People are moving out further away. When people can't stay here they go there. Also next to Mimersparken, the students residential buildings are going to be constructed. 22 stories. There is going to be a park for students as well. I like the energy, but they need to make sure what's going on in this neighborhood. They need to be conscious. And also there are going to be lots of new facilities in Mjølnerparken, but students would go in with all the students energy, and then we need to make sure if there is a room for families and daily living people.

Interviewer: 22 stories is a big building, isn't it.

Yeah, most of the building surround it have 5 stories - so they'll have nice view out there. I understand that there is a need for student housings, but it doesn't have to be in Nørrebro. It would make sense for me to bring it to further up. I don't think it's going to be a problem for me - but it's a bit of a shame.

Interviewer: I understand. Last question: do you think planners and architects have to approach immigrants area in different way?

I think they need to care about the people living in a area. So i totally think that they need to take some of the ideas and put them together when they plan.

Interviewee 3: Steffen Boel Jørgensen the Business Manager of Lejerbo København

Date: 17 July 2016 (duration:1 hour)

Place: Copenhagen, Denmark

Interviewer: Could you talk to me a bit about yourself?

I am a business manager, and a kind of a regional director. I am a manager of close to ten thousand apartment here in the capital area – of course not alone, I have many employees (laugh). I take care of the daily maintenance and also running – Danish housing sectors are run by inhabitants. They elect boards, they have the services like a governmental and municipal board, so there have elected the service board, also in Mjølnerparken. Of course, the important part of it is that it's not run by only administrators – we are like a municipality – we are like a elected board of politicians who make funding on so on. And the selected ones have to execute the political decisions.

Interviewer: So I can understand that this is sort of an social housing?

Yes, it is called non-profitable social housing. But we are not own by the government, we are not owned by the municipality – so part it is, but we are kind of owned by ourselves, but regulated by a special law. But in shorts, it says that t is our own tenants. And elect the boards in different levels, that really have important decision making in the end.

It's difficult to explain all the things, but in short we have the housing organizations. I have 9 organizations which I ministrate in business Lejerbo Copenhagen, which has 6,000 flats, of which Mjølnerparken is one of the 60 divisions. But each of this divisions which has elected Lejerbo, these board were also elected by the whole organization. And my set up is sort of service them as a politician – apart from all the practical things like cutting grass and stuff. But you can think that it's like a little government or little municipality.

Interviewer: How did the project of Mjølnerparken started? Is it connected with the policy of disadvantaged neighborhood?

Yes, it is connected anyway, you can say. Where shall I start – because the Mjølnerparken was built in 1980s – and at first it was quite expensive to live in there – it was difficult to get all the rooms and tenants full”. But in these years, there are also a lot of immigrants and refugees coming in, and it was quite easy for the authorities that “well, if you can't find a apartment, there is always the one in Mjølnerparken for free.” And in ten years, perhaps shorter, the compositions of Mjølnerparken changed from something quite average toward 99% immigrants, mainly from middle-east. And if you go back to early 1990s, it was really like a parallel society, with really limited contact with the rest of Copenhagen. And there was a lot of big issues. Mjølnerparken has been iconic in a very bad way. If we have something that's gone really wrong, we would say Mjølnerparken.

People really didn't know what to do. Because – well, this way of electing a board and making organizations, it really is based on the old traditional Danish way of thinking to be a part of a member, a part of organization, how you act in this kind of political organization, respecting certain democratic role and so on. And then suddenly the inhabitants, 99% from the third world, never have experienced anything like that before. Of course they

didn't have an ideal execution of democracy in such a place. You can really say thatand patriarch running it – yeah like the troops in Turkey today. That would be denied in the rest of Copenhagen.

When I came to Lejerbo in 2005, one of my important task was to bring some normality to Mjølnerparken. Because it was a growing problem. Outside, nobody really didn't know anything about Mjølnerparken. The chairman was elected from there – Muhammad ,,, , and he was the only contact with the outside world. We couldn't go there because it was very closed parallel society. It often says that if you want to protect yourself from integration and being part of Danish society, you can go to Mjølnerparken because in there you can turn your back to the surrounding society. That of course was a major problem for Copenhagen and also for Mjølnerparken– because the tenants are kept in inferior places with no access to education and so on.

So what the first part of plan is that making a bridge – we have to be present. Step one is to make sure all the practical things work that is the basis of everything. You have to be safe – point one. If you feel the place is run by the criminals, you cant go outside safely. If the garbage is not collected, is the roof is not maintained and so on. Forget everything else, you need to make those basics work. So that was the first part – creating those infrastructure and people taking care of the daily maintenance – they were not good enough back then.

The second part was making collaboration with police. We were the first one to install the comprehensive TV surveillance in Denmark – they didn't exist that much before 2005. Before that, there were major problems of fire putting down on the basement and so on. And that was stopped instantly because of Tv surveillance. Now it's very heavily surveilled – that is a big help. Making people feel safe, that is extremely important. I can't underline it enough. People have to feel safe, they have to feel civilization is there for them. If they don't, if they feel they are out white west, and it is criminals running out the things, you can forget everything. It wouldn't work, You can put billions corner or dollars whatever, but it wouldn't work and just be a black hole. So you have to have those basics working first.

But actually, if people feel safe, and if all the basic things work, they an actually be proud of the area. See a big pile of garbage, then you can make a big start. And the question is how much outside money is needed if you wanna make it happen. Because we provided the safety and feeling of nice place to live, much of the rest come by itself. Of course you can excessarate and you can aspire it by making investments, and you can now ask why I am now pouring a billion kroner into mjønerparken – half for Mjølnerparken, the rest half is for the small infrastructure of the surrounding area. So you can say it is an investment for Copenhagen. Because Mjølnerparken – what the general idea is we open up Mjølnerparken to Copenhagen, and bring Copenhagen to Mjølnerparken. And make all part of Copenhagen better. It has nothing to do with Mjølnerparken's past or ethnic composition of it, it's generally about making a nice place to live in. What we do is making Mjølnerparken a nice place to live in – no matter where you are from. You can say, do we make a special multicultural project, actually not. We make project for our tenants. That is really important, because if you say that if you are making something for this type of ethnic population, we rock them into a separated position. Of course you have to respect certain differences of people. Like most of the people in Mjølnerparken are Muslims. When they have Lamadan, it is imporssmle to have a big meeting – they can't eat and things like that – so you have to know and respect. But you can say you can't for instance when electing the board, we have actually been very keen on keeping the general democracy, and we have not paid any respect to the patriarch , undemocrats on the contrary– we have been fighting that. It's extremely important, in regards to some area, not to be tolerant. We have to be intolerant, because we can not respect those for the votes. So we have been muh focused on having that to work.

But the interesting thing is that when the tenants see that they can come and vote – well, in old days it was a big meeting, but anywhere else but Mjølnerparken, we took this way. Because there were many patriarch and youngsters threatening people to vote for a particular candidate – so they didn't dare to come and say no. So instead, we did that in another room. You have to document who you are in a small paper and you go into a closed room with a box – it's only you. You have to make a closed mark and nobody can see what they are voting. Very important! Hundred years ago we developed it this (democracy) and we forgot how important it is – but you can see how important it is in a place where things are sometimes difficult. So no compromise in this regards.

Also, when people see that they have influence, they get proud. Because they decide. They can actually show up and be part of decision-making process. So many things are going wrong, but yeah, nothing has worked better than this. How important the limit has been up there. 5 to 10 years ago, patriarch was running the area like a middle-east village. But there are a lot of women, Somali women, who has been seen the lowest of ... everybody looked down upon them. They actually, in a way took over. The idea is that, the women living in Mjølnerparken, they were very isolated, there were living in the three places – their apartment, the nearest supermarket and the nearest doctor. If you have only these three places, it causes you a rousy life. It gives you a horrible psychological problems. So the important thing is to enlarge their space from these three places. Our mission is to create a place where they could come and feel safe, also no matter what cultural background they have. Initially, it was opposed by the patriarch. But it was a very important period – we, together with the municipality, stated that we have to have this project to carry on. And it worked really fast, because we had a dozen's of dozens of women coming, meeting to each other. Every time we had change to meet and have vote, it was first of all, women.

Interviewer: That's interesting.

Very interesting. Because it is actually a women the the lowest layer of prestige – Somali women. Very interesting. They are still active out there I would never have believed beforehand, but I can also say that I've been very impressed of the role they have taken. And the board that elected now is very broadly put together. Before that, they were mainly Middle Eastern and Pakistani men – but now there are all the native groups, and majority of them are women! That has been very important of the development of Mjølnerparken. And before that, there were kind of hostile attitude between Lejerbo and a local board and a chairman out there, but they had this political will where the women said they want to collaborate. We don't have to fight each other.

Interviewer: Could you tell me the reason why there was a fight between the two?

Partly because of the parallel society they had. The old patriarch they actually lived upon creating enemies outside. And for them. Lejerbo and the municipality were the most present enemies. They were the symptom of the surroundings, hostile society. So if you had to stay y in power, you always can play with Lejerbo or Denmark in general. It was much of the attitude. It was pretty much the attitude ten years ago.

But it was also because we were not really present! We didn't know what was happening there, no one could be present in Mjølnerparken.

There was a project manager called Eskil, he was there for the social project. He's been there for seven years now, and very caring and thematic person, who is not afraid of anything or anybody. He was the first step of

being there and actually being present – being there and talking to people – making them serious. And also you are not there to be kind, and you should sometimes say people to the eyes and say; I tell you, and I don't change it. We have met some of these new citizens, who misunderstood that kind of kindness – it's not really good, because they get this impression of they can do whatever they want. It's very important by then to show some respects, but we were also demanding it. The balance of course is extremely important. But you can say none of these two are not too risky, because in a usual social housing project, you have a bunch of people in Danish origin – often very kind young ladies with high ideals and so on. They come and smile and tap children's heads, leave after four years, and nothing has really changed. Eskil, he was there for 2 to 3 years, and hired people only from the neighborhood. Usually he hired people for few hours, like school kids after coming home from the schools – he was giving them a small jobs, like picking up the pizzas and so on. Which was good, because people need to go through some of the procedures before getting actual jobs. They never tried that, their parents never tried that – so they knew nothing about that. So that part of it was really important, teaching them how you seek a job, how you go to interview and so on. And through the last 5 years we had 200 kids – we had a huge success! We had a big success in this area.

Interviewer: Yeah I went there by myself, and it looks good. The areas is getting a negative label, as a ghetto, isn't it. They media is putting the negative image about the area. However, what is looks now is not as bad as other people might imagine as ghetto.

Yes. Of course, there are some things to be done still. But they have improved. We had some American visitors coming over, and said, it's like nothing! They said, if this is a ghetto, it is a three star ghetto. But yeah, it has improved, because now – well last year, some of the kids - who were hired for cleaning - came and asked us that they can go around the doors and tell them that they shouldn't throw the pizza box from the windows and so on - because they were the ones who has to pick them up. So we have raised general way of responsibility. We had kids from 200 hundreds families inside of our project, and after being here for our jobs, and being taught how to work and behave and so on, we could find them other jobs outside of Mjølnerparken. You know, putting them onto the real jobs. We are quite proud of it, because it's not because of individuals face of those young people, of course it is very important, we created sort of credibility among inhabitants, they can see that we are not just practical, something they can use, not only those empty words. That is of course important.

We can also see that very large part of it, not only boys but girls go to high-school. You know, like kids damaging things for fun (meaning vandalism), it has decreased by 10%. It was worse. Criminality in general has very much decreased. Not that we are over the problems, we still have serious problems with the gangs. But the gangs are slowly pushed out from the Mjølnerparken. But we can say that one night we can finally find out that we have become a background between two gangs. So the risks are still there.

But i say that the police has been very important partner of this. I said, part one, the most important partner in this outside of Lejerbo would be the Copenhagen Police. First of all, because of the safety. Safety is not just about feeling safe and comfortable. But it's also about the feeling that you are actually offered the basis of civilization. You see, civilization started by people hiring the drunkest horses to keep the other horses away. So you have to expect from the civilization, from society, they can provide justice and safety. And if you don't feel that, if I call the police, and they are like 'Mjølnerparken? Forget it'. If I have that feeling - forget the rest. So they have to feel

that they have to have the basic of civilization that the police actually come, respectfully, and take them serious and so on. It is the basic. Therefore, the police are very important. Ten years ago the police couldn't show up in Mjølnerparken. The firemen couldn't show up in Mjølnerparken. There were struggle at them. But today the police can work in Mjølnerparken as anywhere else. There are greeted by the inhabitants.

I don't know if you have heard, but last year in February, we had some terror accident in Copenhagen. The man who shot other people, he actually passed by Mjølnerparken after the action and hide some weapons and so on, because he previously lived there and so on and knew some people in there. And a day after this terrible accident, the police had to do a lot of searches in Mjølnerparken. Given the experience of some years ago, everybody was nervous that it would come to crisis between the police and the youngsters. Mostly because there were TV from all over the world. But it turned out to be nothing of this kind. So the women in Mjølnerparken, they came down and offered coffee and cookies when the policemen came. It is so extremely important. If the society does not provide the basis of civilization, it's like forget it.

Interviewer: I understand. And you said it's about connecting Copenhagen and Mjølnerparken.

Yeah, that's the physical part - but before that, we need to have the basics, mental path. If the inhabitants and tenants in Mjølnerparken don't get the same source of civilization, you will never be connected to Copenhagen. First you need to change the mentality, and then physics - that's where we are now.

Interviewer: Do you have any opinion about Superkilen and Mimersparken?

Yes, that's very important. That is of course, the police has been the most important partner. Now we made Superkilen and it has been extremely important for Mjølnerparken to have it, because if you have seen it before, it was a dreadful area. Dreadful area. Terrible. The two parks - Superkilen and Mimersparken - are quite important, which was provided by the municipality. Because 5 years ago, it looked not good. And of course it would be hopeless to kind of overall Mjølnerparken with the surroundings. So that being provided by the basic of going on to Mjølnerparken. And if it hadn't been done, it would have been meaningless to do much about Mjølnerparken. So that has been very important, and very big applause to Copenhagen municipality. It was well done.

But point also is If Mjølnerparken inside today has been like it was ten years ago, it wouldn't have helped even with the best architecture ever. Things have to work together. And i think you have to start with the basic part of providing things working - the garbage has to be collected. The roof has to be maintained. The police has to be working with efficiency. So this is the basic part of it, before going to the physical part, and of course you need to keep ambitions with architecture and so on. It's not because there are poor people out there, they do not deserve better architecture. And good architecture doesn't necessary cause more money.

So it's important to keep up the ambitions. But i also think that can characterise the whole project around Mjølnerparken that the whole ambitious has been kept up by the municipality and also by Lejerbo. And I also think that the local board out there has been very supportive. We had a lot of meeting with tenants about the future and so on - we all talked about the ambitious of Mjølnerparken. One woman said, Mjølnerparken is not a place being afraid of being shot, it'll be a place where you look up and say; wow, how nice it looks.

Interviewer: That's interesting. Now I am curious about what is going to happen after the renovation. Are the existing tenants going to move out?

Yeah, the housing are going to be renovated for the next 4-5 years. (About the tenants) and yeah, that's the major problem. The experience is that in such big overall projects, it's extremely important how we handle this - we call it 're-housing'. Because some of the apartments, you can not live during the renovation. And some of the flats are actually deleted. So you have to understand when you mix up the project, especially when you tell people that you can not live in your apartment anymore, or at least for temporary move out because of all the noise and so on, you come really close to people, you go into the deepest life, because it's their home you are affecting. And you have to understand that can make people quite touchy. I would be really sad when somebody came and told me that i have to leave my home for 6 months for the construction. So you have to be very careful about the communication and telling people - all the steps. And also it comes across the safety. They shouldn't fear that next summer they would be out of the house because it was torn down and so on. That is why we are calling it 're-housing' because those where we delete the apartments they are offered apartments as close by as possible in the same size and price. But the good thing is that, because we do it for four or five years, we do each building each year. So when we start from the block 1, those who need to move from there - we actually expect them all, close to all - to move to other place in Mjølnerparken, while they are doing their blocks. And when it's finished, they move back again. So in this way, we have 100% of those who want to stay in Mjølnerparken can have another apartment in Mjølnerparken during the renovation. But we also said to people that, if they want to move out from Mjølnerparken, they can also tell us, so that we can help finding places somewhere else. Actually the majority want to stay in Mjølnerparken. First because mostly there are glad living out there, but also because it's not difficult to see that after the renovation, it would be very attractive.

The price will only rise about 10% in rate, which is very cheap considering what will be done - new kitchen, new bathroom and so on. And it is very cheap already - actually it's one of the cheapest in Copenhagen. But of course, it has been only possible because of the support from ??, but also because before the project decision, we had a tough work about renovating the economy of Mjølnerparken. They started with a good economy where they saved up a lot of money for maintenance, maintaining things instead of renovation. So those money which had been putted aside by maintenance, we now can use it to the renovation project and make it cheaper.

But we actually also claim that in 5~10 years, we would think Mjølnerparken will be one of the most attractive areas in Copenhagen. That is our vision. We actually believe it.

Interviewer: I am looking forward to seeing Mjølnerparken in that time.

Yeah, a lot of people think that we are crazy. But no problem, we can live with that. But it is very ambitious. Also because it's not just about new kitchens and bathrooms. It is of course extremely important for tenants - it has been the most interesting thing. But when you start talking with the tenants, you have to start from inside. No good when you just come with architects and tell the ambition about the looks. They will listen and say, go on and tell me about the bathrooms! But when we start telling the new kitchens and bathrooms, they are like 'now you are talking! When do we start?'. And the problem actually is that they are like 'four years until my block? That's a long time waiting'. But when we can make people feel safe and convinced about the new kitchens and bathrooms, they actually started being interested in the further ambitions of architecture and so on. I really feel that there are a lot of people share our ambition about making Mjølnerparken something that you are proud of. Not just those living in Mjølnerparken, but also all the Copenhagen. That's interesting how much you can spread this pride.

We have seen it before, there was another development in Amager called Gyldenrisparken. The starting point was not as bad as Mjølnerparken, but close. We finished the renovation there 2 years ago, and it has become very successful. The tenants were not interested in all the big architecture we talked about. But we told them the balcony will be 1 foot bigger and they were like 'now you are talking!' (laugh). Now everybody had forgotten that the starting point was small balcony. Now they are very proud of the architecture. People also come all over the world to see this. And they are really proud. The area has changed very much and people think that it's very nice buildings.

But you have to understand that even you end up being proud of the architecture, you can't sell architecture. You have to start from inside. They rent apartments there, so they are like 'give me a apartment, and then we can talk about the architecture'.

That's again, we have to start by providing the basics. The garbage collected, the roof maintained, feeling safe. And then you can go to the upper level of the pyramid.

Interviewer: What do you think about the overall transformation of Nørrebro. Copenhagen has this official policy and objective to be the most diverse city in Europe. Even though diversity is not defined precisely,

Yeah, I really don't know the meaning of diversity.

Yeah, but it's closely connected to the urban transformation of this neighbourhood, Nørrebro. Superkilen is one of the example.

Yeah, it is a very good question you are posing - what do we really mean by diversity? And also it's sometimes used as a kind of decoration on the cookies. Sometimes it's just an excuse, and sometimes expression of good

intention and so on. You can say in Denmark in Europe, there are so many things changing because of this. Because 10~12 years ago, everybody i guess believed it was much easier to integrate people than what it has shown now. Now you are increasing attitude in this; forget it, it will work. So it was kind of ok to talk about diversity as ambition ten years ago, but increasingly, it isn't. People won't accept it. They are lie 'we don't want diversity anymore' - we actually want people to behave and follow the rules. It meant a lot more 10 years ago than they execute now.

But you can say, no matter what, we need to make Nørrebro a nice place to live, no matter where you are coming from. So it's still important to have Superkilen, still important to open up Mjølnerparke to Copenhagen and Copenhagen to Mjølnerparken, no matter who lives there.

And I actually think we are all humans so we need the basics. They are the same. But those basics are not the same as you. There are this partriac structure and patriarch claims running around, gangs, or whatever, don't accept that! That goes to limit. Of course if you don't eat pork, and follow the ramadan, that's of course the individual choices. We need to respect that. But Lejerbo really shouldn't interfere with that, that's individual thing. But of course we have to provide living areas where they can feel nice place to live. No matter what religion we have, no matter where you are from or whatever you read.

We don't clearly show opinion about integration for instance, it's sensitive, accelerating issue. But of course, if people ask us how we do in our daily lives, we gladly talk about. We don't have any opinion about the law issue regarding refugees for instance, it's not our job. But we gladly talk about how we collect the garbage, because that's our part.

Yeah, when we force the law to the people, we need to do it respectfully. But it's also important that we force something. Enforcing the rules is for protecting the weaks.

Interviewer: I see. My last question regards to your rule in the city itself. Do you think Lejerbo is contributing the image of Copenhagen, especially internationally?

Yeah, we are taking bad icon (Mjølnerparken) away from the city. That is the basic, a scratch. And also, we are underway for providing the city a very attractive area - also because all these shops and so on. New penthouse apartment and so on.

However, when we think about the rest of the city and the rest of Denmark, I am very concerned. Right now the refugees came to Denmark now they have been sent out to the different municipality in Denmark. I really think we are repeating the era of 1980~1990. We are creating the new parallel societies in the small municipalities. We have to see that in Denmark, who hadn't seen that before, and not being tolerant. It's not something you can easily overlook. I fear that nobody really can see how serious that can be.

So one thing that we have this parallel society, it's problematic. But actually the reaction to that can be more heavy. Just providing these housing for those immigrants who came last year, is a major problem. All the municipalities have great jobs, they are doing as they can, but they are just too many. They are simply too many.

I am now close to talk about the general immigration policies - number is everything when it comes to integration. You can not really change it by funding. Like as I said, you have to have the basics. If the number is small, there are families coming here anyway, you can just put the neighborhood among other Danes, and just have normal life with kids going to schools and both parents have jobs and all that - then things come by itself. You don't need a lot of psychologist. So the number is too much now, and the municipality put refugee men into old apartments all together - and they live by themselves. There is no integration in that. It's not like the municipalities are evils - they don't have any choice. Because the number is so overwhelming. So in this way I am concerned. Very concerned, very very concerned.

Providing the good daily life - then everything is going to happen by itself. The money we are spending on Mjølnerparken, it's not for integration. But it will work in that way. No matter who lives there.

Copenhagen is growing and changing. We see new opportunity and we have to use now. New metro and new infrastructure of Copenhagen open up so many opportunity in that part of the city. And of course no matter what bad iconic status Mjølnerparken had before, that just makes our jobs even more fun. Because with Mjølnerparken's past, we can actually use it in the development outside of Mjølnerparken, as a kind of attractor. Using the image. Mjølnerparken has to be open now so that we can use it as an attractor.

Interviewer: There is also the question of who you want to attract?

Exactly. Well, if we arrange in that way, we could have set the price would raise 30~50%. And then most of the existing tenants would not be able to afford it. Then in a way we had solved the problem of dispersity (segregation). But we decided from the beginning that we can not let them down - Mjølnerparken is also for them. But yeah, this is an overall investment to the city, and after years, the money would be paid off. Not only from the surrounding development but also the renting of Mjølnerparken.

Malmö

Interviewee 1: Magdalena Alevra - Architects@Malmö Municipality

Date: 7 June 2016 13:30 (duration:90 mins)

Place: Malmö, Sweden

I can just tell you a bit about my way into this in this area. I've been working within Rosengård for about 10 years, so there isn't actually one project or one plan, one idea or one actor, or two or three gathering around one idea

of the area as a whole should grow, or...there have been many different projects and actors, and very little has become reality.

It's been pretty much dependent on the economy of the city, economic situation of land owners, and housing companies and so on.

Interviewer: I understand in 10 years there have been many different projects and so many actors - it's hard to summarize, isn't it? Also this district is quite big - there are some different blocks within Rosengård. I went to this area by walking the other day.

Yes, it now has public transportation connected to the city and it became more accessible. It has a lane that is this one - (pointing on the map) - it's connecting the eastern part of the area towards the city center. This is quite important - especially this one. Because that's the easiest way to get people to move - to school, to work. We have new buses which now connect eastern Malmö with Western Malmö. It's a symbolic thing. Because this area doesn't have symbolic power as western harbour has. If I exaggerate a little, connecting rich part of the city and poor part of the city. And economic situation of this area explains the need of public transportation, because not so many people have cars here. That's a good thing for the city. That's one of the main goal for the city.

Interviewer: So connection has been the main focus throughout your work in this area?

Not only public transportation, but more like connectivity in general. You travel and move to/from the city center. Rosengård is mainly residential area. The area is too big. People don't have good access to the shops for instance, and that's a big problem. There is a bazaar, which is one of the project that has realized two years ago. It is quite nice because it creates commercial areas that connect to the public space.

Interviewer: Could you tell me about your position?

I am an architect. I've been sort of project manager. I've been trying to connect all the projects that have been going on here, and trying to understand all the planning and describe this area within the context of million program. I have to try to describe the situation that is going on in this probably the most heterogeneous area of the city. This is my work and mission. And yes, as I said this area is really heterogeneous, we can't say that it is bad or not, or this is for foreigners - because many of them were born in Sweden. It's simplify to say it is immigrant neighbourhood.

Interviewer: I agree. There are many text that describe Rosengård as immigrant area. But it doesn't mean that they are not Swedish. It's hard to define this area.

Yes indeed. That's my opinion.

Interviewer: Could you talk about the collaboration with the other actors?

Yes, there are housing company MKB, which makes public housing. People outside of Sweden don't understand Swish public housing - they think that public housing is the worst. THE WORST. The cheapest housing with the bad reputation and poorest people. That's the opposite here. It's actually private owners letting their houses go down and they don't take care of other inhabitants and so on. You can see this differences in the east part of Rosengrad, this is where the worst housing conditions were when I started to work in this neighborhood. There is cooperative housing blocs in the east side - it's not rental housing, but not ownership either.

Interviewer: MKB is PPP?

It is a private company and it has its own independent management. It has to make rental housings that is under local regulation - that makes it public. It can not make ownership housings - it should be rental. Other than that, it's the normal housing company just like other housing company. So it's NOT social housing at all that they are making. They also make the rental housing in western harbour that's expensive.

Interviewer: That's different from popular perception of Rosengrd and MKB.

Yes. So north-west part of Rosengrads belong to MKB, and this is where most of the recent development has been concentrated. The land belongs to the municipality. MKB is really keen for new solution and good will.

Interviewer: Is there any major stakeholders? For instance, I've heard that the municipality invited Jan Gehl Architects into this area.

No 'major' stakeholder is here, because it's dispersed.

And yes, Jan Gehl Architects. But it was not municipality who invited them. It was MKB. MKB wanted to present what could be done in this area.And nothing has had happened after that project. Jan Gehl always wanted to be part of this, but they didn't do much afterwards. However, this project showed the importance of public space of this kind of residencial area. Jan Gehl Architects has major influence on our (Swedish) planning as well, but we haven't really used that principle.....but i think i was important work for MKB as a company, to show externally how important this thinking was, because it has external message for outside about their principle. It was easy for us to work with them (Jan Gehl) because we understand same kind of planning - so i think it was a good thing.

So our main goal is the lane that increase connectivity in the north-west part of the area. We believed that the distance people feel is more mental level. And the low status of the area - economic problems, education levels are low. Especially the schools have the problems that so many new pupils are continuous coming and out - the teachers have to think about how to deal with it, that might be different from other Swedish schools where students are born here.

Interviewer: The mobility of people are quite intensive, then?

Yes, people start to come here first and after few years they move to different part of the city for better flat and so on. People (outside of Rosengård) tend to say that they don't have many things in Rosengårds and they lack many things - yes, that might be true, but in my opinion these people speak where nothing is really changing - these people don't have sympathy for people who move and have to adapt the new society. It gives an identity for people. Most people here want to defend this area actually - there is particular quality of city life here that other areas of the city don't have. Some people say it's dark and horrible, but it's actually not so bad.

Interviewer: Could you talk about the decision making process? How about the inhabitant's involvement?

I think we use dialogue process much more here compared to other part of the city. It was hard to make people involved - I worked a lot for this. We worked with another department of the municipality (park and street department). For instance, there was this lighting festival - different kind of lighting were moving around many places in the city. It also came here in Rosengård, next to the Bazaar. We went outside and put the different kinds of light on the street as an art project, and we spoke to people. There was a light that is really big and had many colors - so it came back after the festival and this lighting is in use now.

(.....) Talking about the technical details of the project (...)

We also wanted to make the first publish square in front of the bazaar. We got money from EU. Now they have a space to gather, and celebrate Ramazan now for instance (the interview was conducted during Ramazan). When there is a soccer game, they put a screen outside and watch together. So I learned a lot how to engage with people from this project.

Well, one more thing about the participation. When the level of the project get bigger, it's difficult and sometimes too much for people to answer these questions and engage with it. Especially in a neighborhood like this with high mobility - these people might not live in the same place anymore in 5 years, you know? It's also a bit dangerous. These planning happen within long time span. We ask people but i might never be realized.

People living in this area activate the area. The city is about people using (emphasized) the space rather than building - like us - the space. So we always need to communicate; what are we doing here, what would be nice to have here, and what would happen here, and try to find a solution together in physical way.

Interviewer: Is there any active local association that works together in physical planning?

Not so much now. There are many NGOs engaging with education and integration, but not so much about the physical planning because nothing is happening here so much. We have to wait for the owners to start changing something here until we start working with inhabitants.

We want to have the mixed kind housing here, different kinds of housing.

And just the fact that something is going to be built is important for inhabitants as well - so that they can start dreaming and they have their opportunity to work with. Well, the wish of most of the people living here is to bring real Swedes into this neighborhood. Some people were already living here from the beginning, and now young people started being interested in this area, but still most of the Swedish people are unwilling to come here, because there are afraid of something. If we start building new, good flats, it's a good start for something else.

Interviewer: I'm curious about your perception of diversity. My topic is multicultural planning, which is the physical intervention in the neighborhood with high concentration of 'immigrant'.

"Do we plan in another way?" - This is the question in this kind of planning, right?

Interviewer: It has been quite popular in some part of Europe. Sort of celebration of diversity and try to promote the cultural/ethnic differences.

I don't think we have that so much in Sweden (Malmö). This (pointing at the picture of street lighting) is the only example I think - because it looks quite North-african to me, maybe Morocco? And I think this is the only example in Malmö - there is not so much non-Swedish in its form. We actually do hesitate to do like that.

This is quite interesting discussion.

Superkilen is important in symbolic level - but it's superficial. It doesn't mean that it's close to people's everyday life. I heard that they don't want poor area in the inner city in Copenhagen. They hired architects and made the parks and fixed the areas surround it - but people moved out. The poorest moved out. And then they don't reach the goal, the natural mix of people.

But we also have many segregated areas in mental level - but it's not easy to make the builders to create the social mix without forcing poor people to move out.

The difference between Copenhagen and Malmö probably lie on this approach. Also the political situation we have in both cities are quite different - they way we talk about this stuff when Danish and Swedish planners meet. Danish talk about Ghetto, immigrants as homogeneous people. But we try to be more open - even though it's been difficult especially after the new arrival of immigrants this autumn - probably too much immigrants - so we had to close the border as you know. Danish people are saying to us that we are too kind and too open and so on... we have different attitude.

Interviewer: So Swedish planning doesn't really focus on diversity?

No, not very much! Because we want to mix - because we want the city that is mix - but this is not mix area at this moment. And also when it comes to physical structure - it can be really one sided. That's the problem.

So we want to plan it in a way to make the area a magnet. Other people from other part of Malmö want to move in, visit. And the Bazaar has been one of these spots. It's quite small scale - but MKB calls these projects as architectural acupuncture (針治療) like a needle that is small but has effect on the whole body. Architectural acupuncture is their key, and i think it has made a lot of differences.

Interviewer: Why Rosengård doesn't have symbolic meaning as multicultural, whereas Mallevangen has been labelled as 'the most colorful area' of the city?

People who own the shops here live in rosengord. Probably the reason is the central square. It's in the center and the commercial possibility is bigger. And people living in this area are mostly students, and young people like this kind of multicultural atmosphere.

Rosengård and Mallevangen are well connected.

Actually we are going to have a station in the north part of Rosengård, which I think will make another big step for further regeneration. For instance, MKB wants to make this multi-purpose building with shops and so on - which i don't think it can happen soon because it's quite expensive!

Interviewee 2: Anders Dahlback - Urban Planner/Landscape Architect @ Malmö Municipality

Date: 8 June 2016 13:00 (duration:60 mins)

Place: Malmö, Sweden

Interviewer: could you explain a bit about your work and the project you've been working on?

The project started in 2013. We got funding from EU and also the Swedish government agency called delegation for sustainable cities. The application had many goals and objectives - one of the objectives is people's behavior and transportation. No so much cars and we wanted to have more bikers and pedestrians. Also we needed to do physical intervention to the neighbourhood that can actually be the next initiative.

Rosengård is actually quite close to the inner city. However, you take a car to go there, you need to take a highway and it feels like you are going to suburb. It's sort of mental distance. The project on bicycle path (in Swedish it means more like 'stream' - so like a stream of people's movement) has been quite important. What drives people is the interaction with other people.

In that application 2 meeting places and one activity space for young people - whatever that means - were initiated. Also there was one urban gardening project as well. So to get the neighbourhood involved - to have dialogue between inhabitants, we had the light festival. There were many lighting festival which was meant to get people outside in the neighbourhood. We got a lot of people came out from the neighborhood, and the dialogue was open - because we didn't have single agenda. We openly asked where do they go, where do they not use normally. We had a lot of ideas came out from people afterwards.

One thing that I realized was the fact that people were project tired. They felt that they had already said what they wanted even before - sort of like 'why don't you just built it. you guys asked the same thing 5 years ago and nothing happened'. It's really hard to do public project because we are always dependent on the politicians. When we asked politicians, they also wants to know what we are building and we need to ask people as well. It's very hard, because if we have a dialogue too soon, there is a big risk that that project won't happen because of the funding, or we have dialogue too late, people think there is nothing to say anymore because it's already decided. So it's always about the balance.

It was difficult with dialogue - because most of them don't have background of urban planning. They don't know what they haven't seen before. But they can talk more about what's already there. If we just look about the result of the dialogue, it was all clear that the neighbors is lacking soccer pitches and playground. So the young boys wanted to have the different things that girls did - some girls wanted to have H&M to move to Rosengårds for instance. The answer from the dialogue was a symptom that there was no attraction for young women in this area to use the public space. Because of this result, we shifted our focus from 'young people' to 'young women'. We, as a middle aged public servant don't really understand the need in the neighbourhood without dialogue.

In summer we had a workshop where many young women with middle east background (who were born in Sweden and also some Swedish background). They started having their own dialogue to talk with others. They

thought that they didn't want to decide what people 'should' want - they wanted to know what kids wanted, what elderly wanted. Well I don't think that would have happened if the boys were doing this!

Interviewer: What did the boys say about the project then? Were they supportive or not?

There were actually quite supportive. There were some boys within the organization, but because girls were more dominant in that group, they sort of faded out.

Interviewer: Ok.....could you talk about the design?

The girls did it. They gathered the thought of what they wanted - and they I made the final technical planning.

(.....) Talking technical details about the projects (.....)

Interviewer: So it's been quite bottom-up initiative and collaborating process, as I understand.

Yes, but somehow it's been governed by us. When it comes to buildings, there are many regulations, technical things, law...so even though it's really collaborative and very much involved everyone, but we also have to govern in a way.

Interviewer: Interesting. And what interests me most is the fact that this project hasn't really been focused on immigrants - multicultural character of the neighborhood. There are some political/academic discourse that sort of stigmatize the area as 'ghetto' - but you haven't really focused on this point, but on young females. What's your idea about multiculturalism and how do you define diversity, how these aspects matter for your work?

It's a big question. I think often we talk about Rosengord, the focus has been sort of strange. Rosengård has many problems, but there are also some other neighborhoods that have similar problems as well, even when they have dominant ethnic Swedish population. The problem in these area is the young people without job and having no future prospect.

When we look at Malmö, one says that Malmö is a diverse city because there are many languages being spoken, and so many people with different background. But when we look at the different past of Malmö, you give a different picture. It's segregated. So Rosengård need to be integrated with Malmö itself.

The problem is that, for instance, if i go to US or Japan, i probably love to like close to Swedes because it's easier. So I understand people in Rosengord that they want to live together.

As a urban planner who built buildngs and meeting places, I don;t really care where people used to live, where they are from. Becasue I believe people have same basic need when it comes to public space.

Well... but there are some differences on the behabiour of people. In Sweden, if something is broken on a street, people call public suthority ask them to fix because they pay tax for this (For instance, if you have a horse, someone might demand the city to built a hourse path across the beach!).

The idea is built upon the idea that you as a citizen accept that city works for you. I think this is Swedish mentality in deep down. However in Rosengord this mentality doesn't really work in this way. Probably people who just arrived from Rebanon or Iraq for instance have sort of distance between government.

(.....) Talking technical details about the projects (.....)

Interviewer: Could you compare the development of Rosengård and Mallevangen? Why it has been labelled as 'the most colorful part of the city' whereas Rosenard is not branded in that way?

Yes, that's really strange. Mallevangen is very much more dangerous than Roesengard. There is hardly any crime in Rosengård. Mallevangen is still quite cheap, and there are many bars and restaurants..Mallevangen also has strong working class identity. Traditional working class value that added multicultural aspect such as restaurants, cafes, butchers, vegetables... it gives the feeling for young people that you are part of multicultural feeling, but you don;t really have to take any risk for that. The identity of Mallevangen has been really strong and old (it was also like that when I was 15...) and attract hipsters. There are so many meeting points and young people love there, because if you are alternative, you don;t go to the city centre, you go to Mallevangen.

For some strange reason, Rosengård has caught the eyes of media. Fox news came into the neighborhood and made documentary.. I don't really know why. The media has been quite problematic.

Interviewer: Do planners have to react to the increasingly diverse/multicultural society through urban planning?

I think most of the time it's about the employment. It's hard for someone who doesnt speak Swedish to get a job. So there is not so much to be done when it come to physical planning - it's hard to plan.

I think we shouldn't really focus on people's cultural background. Because i think it's not interesting somehow. If we look at sweden, I have a lot in common with girls who worked together in the project in Rosengrads rather

than some men in northern part of Sweden for instance. People are very easy to fall into group thinking. If we are not really aware of it all the time. Groups thinking of Swedes Planners - sort of like all the people in one neighborhood has same identity and belonging to the neighborhood.

We are quite project oriented - so after the project is done, we have to switch to another project. We don't really continue working on the project afterwards. So I hope people don't think that we are all done with that neighbourhood, because it's not!

Interviewee 3: Finnur Sverrisson - Little Big Malmö

Date: 17 June 2016 13:00 (duration: 90 mins)

Place: Malmö, Sweden

Interviewer: What is your background? How you started this project?

I have been always interested in marketing. I started my first business when I was eleven. I've always been a worker for everything - I was kindergarten teacher, I was a carpenter, and a marketer i've been a bit of everything, but I'm not a expert of anything.

I started to be a part of education program called kaospilot, which started Aarhus (Denmark) but took place in Malmö university. It's all about project management and process design. My interests has been always in marketing and psychology. How can i create events and conferences that are purely about experiences of talking with new people. I'm in charge of organizing the events and conferences. I started some companies/companies in the past as well.

I got this idea of 'little Big Malmö' - makin Malmö the most international city in the world. I got denied from the city (the municipality) - and I was really pissed about that. The cost budget was way too high for them, so i waited 7 years - and nothing happend. So we decided not to take any money from the government (public) at all and attempted to do the first cloud-funded city development project. It's NGO.

We decided to tackled the 'problem' (emphasized) of multi-diverse character of the city. The common idea is that the companies have to take the responsibility for the situation that is in the city right now - like we have to hire people with different ethnic background and so on. But I think it's negative thing. Instead of seeing the positive side of it, it's focusing on the negative side of the city. We wanted to put different things together and create something completely new - which is good for business and good for culture. Doing something really 'positive' side of the city has been our focus for the past few years.

So there are three focus; International , national and local. To put Malmö on the (world) map, make the city visible in the international media and community. Nobody knows about Malmö, even though there are so many

cool things happening here. Also the transformation of the city has been surprising too. This is not a same city. I moved here 14 years ago. It's drastically different and it's surprising. And in the national level, we want to change the perception of the city. Because right now Malmö is represented just like Chicago - you know, a problem city with shooting and bombing and so on. The crime rate in Malmö is actually lower than other cities in Sweden - it's just it's much more written about it. There is nothing positive written about Malmö, especially in the Danish media. So we wanted to change the perception of the city from the bottom - from business communities and local communities, which then lead to the third focus; local level. Malmö towners have to proud of their city, and also their background as well. I'm an icelandic person - I'm proud of my background, and being a Malmö townner. But i am not Swedes. I have a Swedish citizenship but i never swing a Swedish flag and celebrate national holiday.

More than 40% of Malmö towners have foreign background. But they never should be forced to behave like Swedes. Of course there are many basic principle that is to respect people - but other that, what is behaving like Swedes, really? I asked kinds in Rosengård 'who in here is Swedes'? Two or three kinds raised their hands. But most of the kids have Swedish citizenship. So what is to be like Swedes? To eat pickles, celebrate Christmas, and speak perfect Swedish? All the kids there spoke Swedish, even with the accent. I told them, if you have a Swedish passport, you are Swedish as well. I asked the same question again, and all of the twenty kids raised their hands. However, it's sort of wrong question as well. Because in a way we forced them to answer that they are Swedes, even they don't feel like they are not. I came back to the same school few weeks later and asked: "who here is Malmö townner?" - then EVERYONE raised their hands! They apply their knowledge of the city - like Zlatan, lovely green spaces. So while accepting their background and identity themselves as Malmö townner is a cool thing. To celebrate their own background and being able to ask 'where are you from?' - even though there are some people asking "why are you asking that (where are you from)". Because I am genuinely interested in the background!

They have to proud of their city - and being able to the city from other people's eyes. No one knows that Rosengård is the best female league in football. I don't care about the football but I love that people love about it. Malmö is really really green city as another example.

Why not building new pre-school or helping homeless people?

This is privately donated money from people who want Malmö to be the best diverse city, best cultural city. There is another amazing organization in this city that's dealing with homeless. This organization is amazing. Well, they were working also when the refugee crisis was at peak. We also started our project around that time, but it was not really a good PR time. So we waited for few months and re-launch the project in December. One of the member asked 'If we have done this project 6 years ago, how would be welcomed by people at that time?' ... so it is a long term process. We would have handled in entirely different way. But still, our project is all about marketing. So I want market the city and what the city can be in the future. So that's why I organized many international conferences in the most international city in the world (Malmö), And I want to build the new society that my daughter to grew up in international environment. I met the first black person when I was six in iceland (for me of course, because there have been some black people there as well). He was pretty famous because he was black. I learned the word 'kawaii' in Japan when people looked at my daughter because she is white and has big eyes. I also felt that in India - we were all white dudes and Indian people looked at us uncomfortable. And I knew that they have never seen the white people before - so I thought 'come and ask me'! I'm not more different

than you guys are. So we sat down together and we had Indian tea! Openness and celebration of 'gift' (emphasis) to be able to ask 'where are you from' is something really worth giving to the entire city. So this is what we are trying to do in :Little Big Malmö.

Interviewer: Do you have any target audience?

No, all the Malmö towner! It's not so much outspoken, but it is true that there are anti-racist side of the city. So I want everyone to appreciate this diversity as much as I do. We divided the cost of the project - the cost of the project is 21 million Swedish Kronor - by 6 million are cost coverage and so on - by the population of people. It's 16 Kroner each. So technically you can buy the share. Everyone can buy the share.

So if we have to attract the talent in Malmö, we have to build the context. People don't move only because of their work anymore. People move because of their work and context. We have to create this context then. People gather with this really simple idea of creating the most international city in the world. The best city in the world that are paying for diversity.

We are sponsored by a Hotel. We are going to have 'the most international Hotel night'! IKEA also has similar internal marketing strategy as well. I also met a pizza guy who wants to make the most international pizza in the world! I love that idea!! A girl who does my girlfriend nails - if she can incorporate style like Asian style, European style, American style and all kinds of different styles for everyone, it's really cool.

Interviewer: It's nice that Malmö, as a small city, not like London or New York, has many diversity.

Yeah, and it's happened to be like that. It was never designed in this way. The wonderful thing is that Malmö has 179 nationalities, and Lund is getting more international just because Malmö is here.

Interviewer: Copenhagen also has ambition to be the most diversity city in the world. What do you see the connection of Malmö and Copenhagen?

I really think Copenhagen did Malmö wrong. They called 'Oresund region' for a while, but they changed it to 'greater-Copenhagen', which is great for Copenhagen, but it's horrible for Malmö. This is also one of the reason why we started this project - you know, putting Malmö on the map. Copenhagen is Copenhagen, Malmö is Malmö. I love Copenhagen though, but living in Malmö feels like I'm closer to the world - thanks to the best airport (Copenhagen Kastrup airport) in the world.

Interviewer: Copenhagen is good at branding itself, and Malmö is sort of marginalized?

Yeah, and the main thing about it is that they had this identity before the Oresund region - they were already proud of being Copenhagener, and they had strong identity about that. It's sort of like New Yorker - you know. Living in Italian vilage, living in China town, Polish village but we are all New Yorker, that's sort of identity. Malmö didn't have this kind of strong identity.

Malmö is one of the happiest city in the world 4th most innovative city, third best music hall....and on, there are so much quality here.

Interviewer: Now you mention about the connectivity with Copenhagen. What do you think about the border control? And migration policy? How does it affect for people and urban development of Malmö? Especially you focus on business, so is there any difference between big economic players and people with less opportunities?

I hate it, it feels like something was taken out from me. It's one of the most most international city, but it's not welcoming at all.

Denmark is really bad about migration. Once the border control wasn't there before, they loved our project - so they contributed with a lot of money. Pure private citizens of Denmark love Little Big Malmö, because we are going to the opposite direction that some part of Danish people hate. It was great, we want more of that.

We have this question about how do we define diversity at that point. Nationality, gender, sexual orientation, or is it about work? My colleague even wants to eliminates passport! Because passport is something to define you by a piece of paper that limit your mobility across the borders. It is defined by religion, law, or language, or gender....? I think it should be about pure mentality and respect. If there is a person who is from different place and speak different language, that parson might be helpful for translating, trading and establishing business and so on.

Interviewer: So you think diversity is an asset that has value.

Hell ya! But i call it background rather than diversity. Everybody has a background. Someone asked me when i was having a lecture about this project, that 'is there anything wrong about being Swedes?' My answer is no. I am just saying everyone's background is fantastic.

We had this big festival that involved everybody in the city. We took it as the opportunity - and organized food party. We encouraged everyone to bring their own food outside and have picnic. And they should bring the nationality of dish they cook. So if you are Swedes and cook something from Japan, that's fine, but we hope that most of them do the dish from thier own home country. We can taste the different pallet of the world.

Interviewer: What kind of people participate?

I'm in responsible for organizing and technical thing about the conferences and events. I am not interested who is talking and what they are talking about in that conferences. Im interesting in creating mechanisms to encourage people to talk to each other. I want to create platform.

Interviewer: Let's go back to the issue of diversity. The concept of diversity has been quite popular, most of the time positive way, in the planning practice. I like that you talked about background rather than mere nationality - could you elaborate more, and what do you think about incorporating this idea into urban development and planning?

Yeah....people become more of your background. I am more icelandish here in Sweden more than when I was there. It's about mindset. And from marketing point of view, it's quite selling and attractive. But what is home, really? Is it where you feel like, where do you call home? It's really complicated issue. I think everything is about respect.

Interviewer: I understand, I like your approach. What do you think about incorporating your idea into urban design, for instance? Just like Superkilen from Copenhagen, or 'cultural Casbah' in Rosengård. What if you can make a building, what if you can make a park - do you think you would incorporate your idea into physical form?

I think it's about framework.

It's tough to know everything about the design, you know - what does Japanese park look like, what does German park look like ... do they all have same function and design?

Should we celebrate all the diversity of the city, or do we celebrate just some of the diversity? So for me, i would look up in the sense of let's make a framework, and we accept we behave like this in this neighborhood - yes, but within that framework, what i do varies. I can behave like exactly what i want to behave.

We actually have this idea: that is a pure celebration of background diversity of all the country that is a flag park. We actually bought 2 hundred and 8 meters polls, which are putting up in the western harbor, we're just waiting for the building improvement. And we're going to rise the flag of all the nationalities that Malmö has, and 23 polls that are empty. There are 23 nationalities that are missing in Malmö. When a guy from Brunei moves to Malmö, we celebrate that and raise that flag. If somebody move out, we have to take down the flag. So it's the pure showing, symbolic gesture of celebration of pure diversity. We can also use gay flags for instance.

But we are facing difficulties - that is the migration office. They have to follow the rules. We waited 8 months instead of 8 weeks. I don't understand why it's this hard to get people move across the country. It's easy to move dogs, but not human beings, who can actually contribute to a society.

Framework that i was talking about earlier - in sweden, you know, yes, you are know allowed to kill anyone, you are not allowed to rape, etc... there are some laws and rule that define what you are not allowed to do, which is pretty much the same with some other countries. But we also have this welfare system and so on. That's probably the reason why some people are complaining about the immigrants - as tax stealer.

But only the cost for the Swedish society for an immigrant is education of language - aside from that, that person is a pure asset for the city. There are also some other educations that we need to consider, but comparing to the benefit we can get from migrants, the cost is quite cheap. It's really a cheap problem that I don't understand why some people are complaining about. Immigrants are the most profitable people in the city.

Interviewee 5: Malin Martelius - Director of Coexist Malmö: Safe and security department of Malmö municipality

Date: 22 June 2016 9:00 (duration: 45 mins)

Place: Malmö, Sweden

Interviewer: Could you tell me a bit about yourself? How long have you been working in this project and what is your approach?

I've been working at this municipality for almost 13 years, and I've been in this unit (safety and security unit) for 7 years. The municipality consists of 24,000 inhabitants and we're kind of policy advisers to the rest of the city and the municipality. I am physcologist from the beginning, and not working on the individual level, but more strategic overall level. Now my title is a safety and security coordinator.

Interviewer: How this Coexist Malmö has started?

It started September 2011. It was this national government unit that contacted me. It's called SST - they give money to the faith communities. Not the Swedish churches though, because we already pay them from the taxes - there are this big organization called Swedish Church, you are sort of part of this if you are born in sweden. To other faith communities, they need to meet the criteria to get the funding from the national level. A person from that unit called me and he said that he has this assignment to make the faith communities to get closer to the public society.

On the national level, this (public initiatives for faith communities) already, but on the local level we still needed to develop forms to collaborate with the faith communities. I have wanted to do that for long time, so when he asked me I said yes. To work with that, I need to understand more about human rights, and especially the freedom of religion in cities.

So we sat down with around 40 representatives from the local faith communities in Malmö, which he had found. So we met them in this day, and i wanted to meet them again, so i invited them to talk about safety and security issues in Malmö. The first day when the national government organized the first meetings, they did that in the different part of Sweden, but it was only Malmö that took a step further to invite them once again about our city. So on the second meeting, it was actually them who wanted to continue meeting each other and have dialogue for the city.

Because lots of questions can be controversial between different faith communities. And I predicted that. So instead of working on the differences, I chose to work on the issue that we all can agree on. We live in the city together, and we wanted it to be safe for everyone for our kids and everyone in Malmö. So our goal was to work for a safer Malmö, with respect to the freedom of religion. We can not do everything, but we can make them safer, from the security point of view. And that everyone could agree to that.

We have continued to promote the freedom. If there is any friction between the communities because of the politics - because you sometimes dress political conflict into religious conflict. And we tried to sort things out. But when it comes to only religion, the conflicts weren't so visible, conflicts are always political. So Coexist Malmö doesn't work for the political form. We work for the city, for the people living here. So when it comes to conflicts around the world, we keep working on our city as much as we could.

So we organized the first event. Well, to be honest I don't really like the idea of events, because they don't give influence for long term. But when we gather the representatives from the faith communities and told them that we wanted to do this event, they decided to do that during the Eurovision contest. They said that they wanted to show to the world - because a lot of article in Malmö are saying something like 'you can not be Jewish and live in Malmö' - you know, there are some people with anti-semitic framework. So we wanted to give a press another picture - yes, we can coexist in Malmö. And this idea came. They baptized (laugh). Eurovision is sort of superficial party thing. At the same time, we wanted to show that the religious communities can party as well, while having some serious discussions. They were dancing, singing songs, and also talked about heaven and hell, religion and sexuality, equality - we also talked about if it's problematic to be religious in the workplace or school and so on.

I am telling this because we had a huge consequence and influence from this event. We had this huge tent in the middle of a square. These representatives are really talented! They were answering many kinds of questions from the audience. So we developed this experience into a concept as we call it 'ask religion'. For instance, the representatives can go to schools and the kids can ask many kinds of questions, anything that they wonder. And they do it together - Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, Jewish communities. They go out for them together! Visually, it's nice to see the kids. They never seen that before. It's a really nice way of saying we have to coexist, and we have to do that through dialogue. We don't have to make consensus about everything, but we can have dialogue.

Interviewer: Is there any big friction between the representatives, or it has been rather peaceful dialogues?

It's always very peaceful. Because we managed to build the strong relationships between the actual persons within the group. They have known each other for more than 4 years now. When something happen in the world, that might - or will - affect Malmö, because in Malmö global conflicts travel really fast, and since we have the whole world in Malmö, we have to deal with the world. We do it all the time, when something happens, we can work together and we can solve the problem 'in Malmö'. Does it affect us, as a human being and a group? No. We have to stand up for this and this, and what happened in some other places.. - it might be a problem but we have to stick together anyway here in Malmö. They are doing really great job here.

Interviewer: So I guess you have nice reaction from inhabitants?

Yeah, it's really hard to reach out. It's a medium-sized city, but i think communicating with people through network is tough. It's not the government who gives all the information. You don't reach everyone, but when you reach, wouldn't have reached by governmental (public) sector's information. So it's an informal kind of communication.

And we do that for all kind of things, not only the global conflict. But let's say I have some security information that i would like to share and put it on a newspaper, the one i want to reach don't read that paper.

Interviewer: I understand. Could you tell me a bit about racism in this city? I know that Malmö is a tolerant open city, but there is no single place on earth that doesn't have any problem, is it?

Yeah, we also have a lot of problem. There is of course a problem of right wing movement, and that comes to another big assignment that is govern democracy against extremism. I worked with that a lot. But in the international agenda, the problem is on "the religious extremism" - I do that with air quotes. But i think you have to see that in the system. If you have a strong right wing movement, like we have had attacks by them in Malmö - there was a person who shot a lot of people who were not born in Sweden. So what i meant by the system is that, If the environment is no welcoming, it affects the sense of cohesion, and might force people to leave Sweden and become fighter in the end, and risking life and so on, for instance. So we need to see far-right / far-left / religious extremism within a broader system. They don't survive in vacuum. We try to see in that way.

We have Swedish democrat, which is the big party in Malmö. It's the third biggest party representative in the city Hall. And we have this vocabulary, and we are trying to reduce all these things. Have you heard about the new regulation that was decided by the government few days ago? It was a back day for a people who applied to come here. And that encourage the right wing movement as well. Malmö might be an open city, but challenge comes with that as well.

Coexist Malmö might be very small project, compared to other initiatives that against racism at this moment.

Interviewer: Yes. At the same time, Fighting between far-right movement and religious fundamentalism is an obvious part of racism that we can see. But there are also many small scale every life racism that we can see on the street.

Absolutely. How Muslim young women are treated in their everyday lives is terrifying. There are bullying, harassment - there are even physical abuse, not only the verbal harassment. That's one of the big challenge for us.

Interviewer: does coexist Malmö also deals with this kind of everyday life racism as well?

We are going to have to deal with that in more direct way. Maybe we need an funding from national level that is against the racism...Coexist Malmö doesn't work if there is already a problem. Is for prevention. There is this prevention triangle and coexist Malmö is based on social establishing level - trying to 'promote' (emphasis) the rights. That's one thing. And then when it comes to criminal act, we need some other action as well. Coexist Malmö wants to build a society with people in Malmö. When it comes to hate crimes, hate speech - we have to other things. The identity is to work 'for' (emphasis) the human right. There are many angles and aspect when we want to work in this issue, and you can't deal with all of them all together.

Interviewer: I am curious about their religious buildings in this city - such as their offices, Mosque, Church, Synagogue and their location for instance. I remember there are two mosques in Malmö?

No, there are 40 mosques in this city actually. But you can't see them - most of them are hidden. It's also because of hate crimes - they are anonymous.

Interviewer: I went to the Islamic Center of Malmö - which has big mosque architecture that we can recognize as it is.

Yes, there is also another one. But a lot of the big mosques are in the (former) industrial areas. And they are huge.

Interviewer: Why is that?

It's cheaper. And it's huge. It's good to have it here when you want to gather many people. But of course, these areas are not as beautiful as city center.

Interviewer: Is there any other religious buildings, such as synagogue?

Yes, a synagogue is right outside from here - so it's in the center. And churches are everywhere. There is actually a Buddhist temple - but you can't see that it's a temple at the moment - it's a huge house. And they are building it step by step when they find funding. But there are not so many Hindu people here in Malmö.

When we had this event, we rent a bus and we went around all these places all together! And we were drinking tea and eating cookies. It was really nice. I don't know anything about the content (or these religion) and I don't need to. Because we are not working with theological issues. What is important is that they exchange these theological issues, but I don't understand the content. I learned a lot about the basics - such as what people are not allowed to eat and so on. I became more interested in the religion - but i don't think i need to know everything about the content, because for me, these representatives are important people, like representatives of NGOs, who can help the city. And they said that they also need a neutral core that connect all the communities together.

Interviewer: What is going on at the moment, in the middle of refugee crisis?

The refugee crisis last autumn - we called each other in the middle of the night. We have now this strong relationship. And there was one religious community who said the city might be affected by that like Brussels attack and Paris attack. We also have to talk about that, because there might be some security issues that we need to concern. If the right-wing movement want to attack as a revenge... it might happen. We also need to think who would be the object of suspicion. The islamophobia is growing. Every time the attacks happen somewhere in the world, younger Muslim girls are attacked.

Interviewer: It's a shame. And especially in Sweden...it used to be the most open country.

Yeah, until yesterday (indicating government's decision to put stricter refugee policies one day before, 21 June), or until 4th January. It's a national shame that we need to put a border control between Copenhagen, for instance. We are proud of the open border. Most of us.

Interviewer: How does the migration policy affect the integration/diversity policies?

I am a little critical about the word of integration - because it means that you have to be me, you know? Being who they are... but the point of coexisting. WE don't want them to be who they don't want to be. Well, there should be some kind of rules to set how to interest these issues, but they should be basic.

Diversity issues - they hurt! They hurt you personally. You are going to be hurt or offended by someone being different than you. But it's not going to kill you!

We have this hand-shaking debate in Sweden a couple of month ago. There is a Muslim woman politician who didn't shake a hand with a journalist. And it became a huge discussion. But my opinion is that, it's not like she didn't say hi to him! And same goes to the dominant Swedish discussion that says that we are on the threat! We are not! People say hello in different ways all over the world! And that's what i mean, it's going to hurt. And if you don't get an explanation, you're going to feel insulted in some way. But if you get an explanation, you can go on with it. You do that, I do this, we are both strange, but we live together. We have to be curious to each other and also accepting each other. It's going to hurt. But if we keep dealing with that, we're going to come out as better country.

They (indicating mind-closed Swedes) also have to look at the mirror - who am i, what is my norm, have i thought of my norms, which is not neutral, regulates my behavior?

What we need to think about now is people who can't reunite with their families because of regulations. It's hard to go through all the integration process if you don't see future with your family in the physiological way, and social way.

Interviewer: I like when you said 'it hurts', because it really does, doesn't it. Instead of erasing all the differences, your approach is more toward coexisting with differences. Now, diversity is actually the concept that I've been dealing with in my research. In the national level, all the European countries are getting exclusive for 'strangers' - at the same time, when we look at the local, city level, the term diversity is getting positively recognized and getting popular. Copenhagen is a good example - the city has an official objective to be the most diversity city in Europe.

(Interrupting) yeah, as long as they integrate, right? (In Copenhagen)

Denmark and Sweden are REALLY (emphasis) different how to deal these things. We really do (differ). They have very exclusive picture on who is going to get permission and stay in Denmark. You have certain criteria when it comes to language, and this and that..... Unfortunately we might be getting there in that direction....but we haven't been like them.

Interviewer: Copenhagen talks a lot about diversity. For instance, they talk about ghetto.

(Interpreting) They do, they do.

Interviewer: What is your approach to diversity issue?

At this moment the diversity is kind of dividing. I try to look at everyone as Malmöbor - a citizen of Malmö.

Interviewer: A person who I interview called it 'Malmö towner'

Yeah! And that's who you are, if you are here. You can be here for a week, you can be here for the rest of our life, you can make a stop here for a couple of years, but during that time, I want everyone to be citizens of Malmö. You can feel that.

I see lots of people excluding themselves, saying that I am not Swedish. But you're Malmöbor, right? What are you then, you can be whatever you want, but you are Malmöbor. You have to be interested in who you are. What do you need, and what does the city need, and how can you contribute? That's how I see things. We have to make 100% 'we' (as an identity of Malmöbor) - that has to be the goal. It is for the city. You do things for yourself, but you still do for the city, as long as you don't hurt yourself or others.

So I don't see it as ethnic, religious thing - it's a big 'we'.

And again, it hurts.

You don't have to like everything. You can do whatever you want. And the limit - that is the norm. We can change laws but it takes time.

There are for instance conflict between freedom of religion and religious norms and so on -It's solvable - but it hurts.

We have to do it, otherwise you are going to be divided, and it's going to be polarized.

Even the right-wing movement has to be 'we'. How do we do that with young, angry men? Feeling exactly the same as foreign fighters in Syria. They the same mind set - black and white, we and them. We have to stubbornly say no to that. It's 'we'. You can have your opinions, but you can't commit crimes. You can't act on it.

Interviewer: Sort of establishing broad sense of 'we', right?

Exactly. And also democracy. Democracy means...just huge. The content of democracy contains the power to destroy democracy itself.

Interviewer: I understand. Let's shift the focus to urban renewal project, especially the one in Rosengård. Do you know anything to talk about the district?

Yes of course, that's one of the city district that i know something about. And it interests me because it's in so many ways stigmatized in negative ways, which also make the inhabitants in Rosengård very strongly connected and identified with that area.

Not on the more physically urban planning, but identity issues and communities...they are interconnected.

Interviewer: Yeah - for instance, there is this project 'spices from Rosengård'

Yeah, Lena (the project director/founder) used to be part of coexist Malmö as well.

Interviewer: What do you think about this project?

I think that one way of saying that everyone can contribute. It can be spices...well.... I like this project, but there is also this exotifying.. view... maybe it's not only that project. This is about lifting women. We also have that in Yalla-trappan - it's a women's cooperative which hire only women from ... and Rosengård. This is not NGO, it is a company - hiring women who have never worked in Sweden before. This is something to be really proud of in Malmö. They have collaboration work with IKEA, which is quite difficult to do. But the local IKEA really liked the idea: which is sustainability and human rights.

Yalla-trappan is not exotifying women, i think. Because it takes mother's' competence seriously. What can they do - they can cook for instance, then they start restaurant. It's not subsidized anymore, so it's financing by itself. The number of mothers in these neighborhood is growing of course, and it's nice that they make their own money. If you don't have language skills, if you don't have eligible paper for education, it's hard to get a job in Sweden. But these women make it possible for a lot of others. You're hired.

Interviewer: So it's economically sustainable. It's interesting.

Yes it is. I really like this project – I can even cry (laugh)

And yeah, Malmö is a small city, but there is strong citizen's movements - they have demonstration in front of this city hall, and it's hard to have right-wing activity here because there are always movement against it. It's really alive city - with citizens who can gather instantly a bit after someone post something on Facebook and say 'no' or 'yes'.

Interviewer: Yeah, I understand Malmö is a great city. Thank you so much for you time!

Interviewee 4 :Tatjana Ristovski - Internationella Kvinnoföreningen i Malmö**Date: 21 June 2016 10:30 (duration: 30 mins)****Place: Malmö, Sweden**

Interviewer: Could you tell me a bit about yourself? How long have you been working here, and what is your approach to this organization?

I was just assigned to be a director of this organization last September, but I have been a member for a while, because I'm an entrepreneur. There is a network of entrepreneurs with foreign background. I was born here in Malmö, but my parents are from former Yugoslavia - balkans. I thought it was a good opportunity to connect the network with other members that have foreign background and also entrepreneurs. This is how I got engaged in this organization. But it's also because I've been interested in issues of people with foreign background, and the way we establish the issue here in Sweden. I myself am a second generation -I don't like that expression though, because it's like second generation of immigrants - well, emigrate is a means of active act, it's a verb. And it's impossible. But if you are born in Sweden, you can't inherit the act of what your parent did. So for me calling them as "second generation immigrants" is stigmatizing by itself. So I think we need to start using the different expression and definition for them. Because it feels like if you use the word, you don't belong in some way. The definition by itself.

I've been also interested in integration, and in which way people would come here, and born here, and what makes it different for those who establish, and those who do not establish that as well. And of course, I've been always interested in women's rights. Because women are an important engine for integration. So these are the things that are the top interest for me.

And I think that industry is not separated from the rest - the governmental sector. So we need to correlate the public sector and private sector. It's important because we need to have a pluralistic approach. And look at the individual as a product of all these sectors in some way.

They asked me to be a director of this NGO, and I was like 'yes of course!'. Because I think that we can do a lot. And also the fundament of this organization is very interesting, it started 1970s and has long history, by women who came here as labour immigrants. Economical immigrants. Because Sweden needs a lot of labour so they recruited people in Europe. The factories were growing, the production was expanding. A lot of people from Balkans came - Balkans, Turkey, Greece, Italy to Sweden. You can also see that the deal for that people at that time was going back to their countries. Their plan was that as well - both by governments and people themselves. But there are some people who started having life there. There are children who were born here, raised here, and ended up living there - but their idea was still going back to their original countries someday. There were here physically but not mentally. That created a situation of individuals.

My parents met IN Sweden. They were from Urban places in Serbia and Macedonia and well educated. They had modern lifestyle back in their countries. But when they came to Sweden, the country was not well prepared. The buildings were not nice, infrastructure was not well organized. So my parents were quite surprised by that (laugh).

At that point the governments were also building new areas - million programs. And of course, those who just arrived in Sweden, ended up living in these new apartments in those areas. So what happened was that, there are area of lots of people with foreign background living in the new areas, and they all had jobs. But the problem was that, when the children were born, the kids also went to school in the same area. And in these schools they have only 1 or 2 Swedes, and the rest have foreign backgrounds. Which creates a special subculture. I was raised in Rosengård, so I'm talking about my own experience also. So the problem was not because their parents were unemployed, no. They had jobs. But the problem was that, they didn't have any contact with society with majority. Just living in Rosengård, or another segregated areas. Even in 70s and 80s it was discussed as a big problem, because ...I meant, it's not like it was rough, problematic situation, we can't compare with Brooklyn in NY for instance. But what happened is that since you don't have that contact with the majority society, you create your own vision of the country you are living in. So what is typical of children with those segregated areas is, when you ask them, where do you come from, they don't usually say the country where their parents came from. The first instinct, when people ask them who they are, they say we are foreigners. That means, you don't have strong identity that is connected to your parents background. You don't have an identity by being apart from this society. It's an identity by being different. That creates the great feeling of alienation. And feeling that you 'have to' have an identity - so some people even add accent in Swedish, even they don't have any accent. So it has so many tales.

So what I'm reacting on is, based on what we see from 70s and 80s, we still have the same politics regarding to immigration and immigrants as we had in the 70s. So they are not adequate. They can't use the same policy for guest workers in 70s to the people who were born here. And most of them focus on unemployment and so on, but it's just a small segment of very small part of it. Because that's not the whole problem.

We have 72 nations among our members in this organization. And most of the members are from these segregated areas of Malmö. But we say, strategically, we need to be in the center, within zone 1. Because women, they need to get out from the ghettos. They need to come to center to be a part of the city, not just some part of the city. And there is also children in these segregated areas don't see beach!! They only have to take a bus, you know. It's hard to be separated. They are mentally separated.

Interviewer: I understand. So you don't live in Rosengård anymore?

No no no no. And that is typical for people in these segregated areas. So people with less resources, they move in. but as soon as they have strong financial situation, good education and skills, they move out. So people who live in these areas, they are vulnerable. They are the ones with the lowest income of Malmö, They are the ones with the lowest skills of their language, and as I said, it's ok for the grown-ups, but children who are born here, and raised here, they are raised in the same problems that they should have solved already! Because the schools are the mirrors of the segregated area.

Interviewer: What is your opinion about the recent urban renewal of the area (Rosengård)? They are making parks, public spaces, cultural center.

I think it's good that they are investing it. I think it's because here in Malmö and whole Sweden is a modern city. This is not just investing in the segregated areas, we are investing in whole Malmö. So I think for the politicians, they don't have any options. Because (14:11) they are investing in harbors, centers and everything. But also ..., Rosengård. They are all part of Malmö. So it's natural that they need to invest. This is a trend that is all over. It's not like they are doing something special. This is something for the whole inhabitants of whole Malmö. But what I think is important is that, when you have parks and greens and all that, you feel good and it's nice by research. But that is like the polish from outside. You need to change things from the inside also, which means, I feel that you need to have school which reflect society. Every second or every third of children in Sweden have foreign background, that needs to be reflected in the schools. There are schools with 99% Swedes, and others with 99% foreign background. That creates the different segments. So you can polish anything you want, you can create gold in the street or something, that's one change, but that's not what they need, They want to be connected to the society.

Interviewer: Absolutely. Going back to your organization, I understand you are organizing many workshops, classes. Based on the website, you also have focus on business, don't you? You also mentioned entrepreneurship. Could you talk more about this?

We are working on different things. We have studies circles, with teams. There are almost 200 people coming here every week - it can vary from basic Swedish, and other skills. This is a place for women to get some knowledge for the society where they are living in. We also have different projects that's funded by Renova, and other governmental institutions. So our projects can look differently. Right now we are working on the projects that is an agreement with Malmö, where the aim is to help women with foreign background to join the labor market. So what we did there is to be able to reach the goals that we have, having 20 women with foreign backgrounds, and 20 mentors, and it will lead to the jobs. But the reality of Swedish labor market is that - by the way I am also a member of the association of business owners - I know that all the parameters and all the statistic researches that they do say that

99.6% of all companies have less than 15% employees (of ethnic background??). So it's really small and micro problem. The foundation of Swedish industry is that (this is like the rest of Europe, so it is not unique), , and also what Swedish entrepreneurs say is that, third biggest obstacles for girls is that they have to come with the right competence. At the same time, we know that they have a lot of competence, lot of skills, but the areas are quite far away from each other, so people with skills who come to Sweden, professionals, there are not presented within adequate arenas. The business owners don't know that these competence already exist, and people with competence, they don't know how to get to the business owners. We need to approach directly with the business owners - to see what kind of competence they need. Then from their profile, we see if we can match with right candidates. Within this program, it needs to be women, and they need to be born outside of Sweden. We have a great success for that, because we are working so close to the industry. We also have support time for women, not necessary connected to work, but everything, connected to others things - how to establish in the society,

how to interpret cultural code and keys - which is not something that business owners to deal with. So we are like part of that process, we are like a mediator between them.

Interviewer: What has been the main challenge for your activities?

As NGO, the main has been economy. I came from industry and business, and when i entered into the NGO, i realised absurd situation of NGO. When you seeks for support and funding, they say that the project you're going to do cannot correlate the core business, and core activities, so we need to separate that. Also if we save money on a project, then you need to return them! So what they are doing in this kind of system is that, NGO is very dependent on public. It's hard to make a long time strategy. And for the issue of integration, you need to have strategy that is for like 10 years at least. They can't be solved in 1 or 2 years. So we need to work a lot for bunch of small projects.

We are not an ethical organization. We gather women, also Swedish women, almost from all over the world. And we organize many activities with them. But we get only small subsidy from the city, we can't choose the projects that we do that we do very well, to support core business. This is totally crazy. You can't have long term strategy, you can't recruit people that we want with skills, so you are stuck here and there. We are quite important factor for the city, so they also need to realize that we can't have this kind of fundamentals. I know that we are non-profitable organization, that is ok, but then we need to find form for non-profitable organizations, not going into social entrepreneurship. That's something else. Because this is the big trend. Everything is going into social entrepreneurship, yes, but you can;t term everything NGO does as social entrepreneur. Because they narrow the definition of social entrepreneur like in one box, that needs to be in some way connected to production, recruiting people in some kind of labour and so on. I think the definition (of social entrepreneurship) can be much broader. Today the officials don't see it in that way, which means you close a lot of doors for NGO, who don't want to work with recruiting labour.

Interviewer: I see. My last question would be rather abstract. I've been dealing with the concept of diversity. Nowadays so many media and city officials are talking about diversity without any specific definition. From your perspective, if you talk about diversity, how do you define diversity? What matters for you, what kind of diversity is important for this city?

I think what is really the question to ask is what kind of diversity we want.

Because everything is diversity, if you go to a small village in Serbia for instance, it's quite diverse! There are women, men, old and young, handicaps..... so you have it there! So I don't think there is any place that is not diverse. So it's not enough to say that we want to be the most diverse city. The thing is, how do you want to load with a word of diversity? What are we going to load with that, what values? The most important is to ask in which way do I want the city to be diverse? And how is that going to reflect to the city. So we are talking about the values. Because if the values are not really yet incorporated to the city and people, and the ruler of the city, then it will reflect n the city in this way and hide the reflection of today -that we have a segregated diversity, and we have segregated diversity in gender and question of equality. It;s a huge huge HUGE (emphasis) difference

between a girl with a parent from Serbia, living in Sweden in one area (we can talk about Rosengård still!), and a girl living and born in Sweden but with a parents from some other culture who put their culture and religion and so on. That is also the same question. If we talk about equality, how do we value the value and norm of what we load of the terminology of equality, how do we want that to reflect on the city. Nobody can say that we are not equal, yes, in some parts, yes, it's it's diverse, everybody is diverse. It's also depends on who you ask - but it's not so interesting. The interesting part is what we load with the terminology with it, and how do we want it to be reflected on the city.

Interviewer: Thank you so much for your time and contribution!

Interviewee 6: Therese Frykstrand - Manager of Yalla Trappan

Date: 28 June 2016 9:00 (duration: 30 mins)

Place: Malmö, Sweden

Interviewer: Could you tell me a bit about yourself?

I am a manager of Yalla Trappan. I am a social worker in my education, but I have never been working in the municipality - I've been working on the field of working integration and enterprises, and before coming here I was working for homeless people and drug addicts. I had different kind of education, which is good in this kind of place, and my mother has a restaurant for many years, so this is kind of my thing. I also like handicraft as well - so this is perfect for me. I am interested in development process, and I was also studying as social entrepreneurship. I've been working in Yalla Trappan for almost a year now.

Interviewer: I am curious what was the first motivation of the foundation of this company? It started at 2010, I understood. Could you tell me the history?

It started from 2006 by EU funding as a project, not as a company. The aim was creating jobs for women in this areas, who have been in Sweden for many many years, like 20 years, and ever worked - most of them never worked at all. So Christina - a founder of Yalla Trappan - wanted to make the women in this area as role models for children for foreign sellers, integration and working, meeting people and creating isolation and so on. Most of them have a lot of children and work home - which is a sort of isolation.

It was a corporation with a working service company, so the working service sent women to Yalla Trappan during the project. First of all, we were mapping the skills these women have - what have they been doing at home, what are they good at - so we discovered it was cooking, sewing and cleaning. So what do we make it into professional skills? How do we make a company out of this? So after the end of this EU funded project, it started as a working integrated social enterprise! We used the connection and network from the project, and now there are a lot of people and companies want to buy our services.

Interviewer: I guess many women want to take a job here!

Almost every day some women come and ask for a job - but yeah, it's full already!

We also have younger women - as an intern. They have to learn how to work in this kind of business environment.

Interviewer: Could you talk about the collaboration with IKEA? I have heard that your company has many collaboration of IKEA from other actors.

Yeah, they called me - they wanted to sell the hijab in IKEA and they wanted us to make them. I think IKEA internationally has this social collaboration with local - for instance I heard that IKEA in India had collaboration with local people and made cushion cover or something. So I guess IKEA in Malmö also wanted to have this kind of partnership. We made collection of different kind of products. How it works is that - well it was around christmas time - the customers came to the department store, textile department, and women from Yalla Trappan sat there with sewing machines and made the product on demand of the customers.

Every IKEA has a sewing customer service with fabrics. People buy textile and order customized curtains. Normally they send these curtains to the headquarters, and from there to Poland. So the curtain is made in Poland and send it back to the headquarter, and from there to the local department store. The head manager of the IKEA in Malmö like us, so she asked us to make the curtain instead of sending it Poland. In this way it's more sustainable and it takes less than a week.

They also made a studio in IKEA where we can go and work directly at there. It's been almost three months.

Interviewer: Do you also have a collaboration with public sector?

Yes we do, for catering. We deliver lunch every day.

M: Could you tell me about this neighborhood, and your idea for urban development in this area? There have been some small changes such as public spaces, and MKB wants to make this cultural center...

Yeah, I read about the cultural center.

I think it's great of course, but i also think that working is the key for the integration. They make a lot, the municipality is organizing outdoor theaters, concerts and different kind of things especially in summer. It also

makes other people come to this area - not only people who live in this neighborhood, but to get the rest of Malmö here.

Interviewer: And you said the works are the more crucial part of integration?

Yeah, I think so. Especially for women.

Interviewer: What do you think about the negative media coverage of Rosengård? There are some negative perception within media that this part of the city is sort of ghettoized, segregated?

Well, from Yalla Trappan's point of view, it's sort of good thing. When some journalist want to write about something good about this neighborhood, and get attention, we can get more jobs. But of course, what media show about this neighborhood is not only the truth.

Interviewer: I understand. Now, I want to hear your perception of your diversity. The concept doesn't have any official meaning, but many actors and city bureaucracies talk about a lot of this concept. I know that this company does not emphasize diversity as a catchphrase, but it's also an important element of your work I guess. Because you hire people with different background, only people from this neighbourhood. I'm curious your perception and approach to diversity.

We don't use the word of diversity - it's more about humanity. It's more about ... 'we are people'.

Interviewer: I see. What do you think about Multiculturalism then? You don't emphasize the multicultural character of this company?

No. Since we are a company, we just simply have to have the best quality of the products. I think that's why Yalla Trappen has been really successful - we don't brand ourselves as some kind of 'occupation of women in Rosengård', we market ourselves as a company with a good quality - products and services. I think there is a difference.

Sometimes people think that we offer cheap products and services, because it's women and Rosengård and so on, and they think that we get help from the government or something. But we also ways say, this is a company with high quality. The partnerships we have are always companies as well, who understand the high quality of the work, and also want to do more for social sustainability and integration.

Interviewer: It's quite interesting. So instead of defining yourself as 'ethnic' company or something, you think that Yalla Trappan is an independent company as well as other companies.

Yes, indeed.

Interviewer: Do you think it can also be applied to planning practice here? Do you think architects and planners have to have different approach to the neighborhood just because there is more immigrants? Or as you said, it's more about humanity?

Maybe (laugh). I think everything is important, it's not all the things that should be highlighted.

Interviewee 6: Pil Høyer Thielst – Architect @ Lundgaard & Tranberg Arkitekter A/S (Denmark), designed Cultural Casbah in Malmö

Date: 1 July 2016 12:30 (duration: 45 mins)

Place: Malmö, Sweden

Interviewer: Could you talk about yourself a bit, and how have you been involved in this Cultural Casbah project?

I've been working here for almost 8/9 years. I've been working in this project just after we won the competition - and working to make this competition plan into more adaptable plan. We are working for it for a year and half - now it's sort of paused now, because MKB needed to take a final decision to built this, including the surrounding buildings as well. The tower (Cultural Casbah) is not the only thing about this project - this is just the most obvious, prominent part. There are also some lower projects (only 2 for 3 floors), but of course the tower is the most eye catching one. MKB has to decide if they want to take all the projects - it's a long time investment. I understand that it's a big decision and takes time. I don't know how MKB is developing the project, but i think they are trying to put together the business case. They are trying to make sure that they will not be the only one to take risk of the project - well there is always a risk in any kind of investment. Maybe there is already something happening, but i don;t really know what MKB is doing at the moment.

Interviewer: How the project started at the very beginning?

MKB made 'ideal architecture competition' to invite international architecture firms - I think they wanted to provide a vision of how they can transform the area of Rosengård and improving the social aspect of the area. They asked the participants to design a tower - and also small projects surround it. They invited many companies, but we won by this Culture Casbah concept. And then we wanted it to develop further and we won ...(award check)... in 2014. So that was the start of it.

But this vision itself (tower) was already visioned by MKB. They wanted to change this neighbourhood. This is not a typical way of thinking, but very wonderful to think about a building investment. MKB is the owner of a lot of rental apartment of this area. You know, the rest of the city is upgrading, everything is rising, but Rosengård is strange, it's unlike other suburbs - whatever it call the areas - Rosegard is really close to the center of Malmö. So it has been a lot of disappointment for them that the area they own most of it didn't go up. So they wanted to do something, they wanted to make an investment, that would bring the rest of the area as well - which is a fantastic way of thinking. Because we are always like, just waiting for the developers to come. But MKB wanted to do the special, really investment here. They are going to own it in the future as well, that's why they want to take care of it and rent it out again in the future. Raising the quality by this project is good to have emphasis for the rest of the neighborhood. So this whole set-up is quite unique - the building owners to commit and invest by yourself - maybe the value of it might be half of what it has cost, but real investment means uplifting the entire neighbourhood, and this way of thinking about the business case is totally fantastic and unique and out of league, I think.

Interviewer: Even compared to Danish case?

Yeah. It is also unique in a way that we (as architects in general) are not used to think what is the right thing to do. It's not always that architects have possibility to say opinions about social responsibility. Usually we have the exact belief of what should be built, and why. But in this case, we were allowed to enter the whole process of dreaming this up. Because for MKB what is important is not to build 200 apartment. They already have residential apartment. What they want is to increase the quality and heighten the value for the whole area. So there were not interested in all the same structure.

Interviewer: How did you come up with the design of Cultural Casbah? And how the character of the neighborhood has to do with that?

When they (MKB) told about the project to the people in the world (indicating about the competition), they said that this neighborhood is really bad and something needed to be done. I was surprised, because Rosengård is actually quite nice, it's well taken care of, and it's pretty high standard. What is problematic that people who live there have all the same background and all the same income class - but there is nothing wrong about the area or the buildings as such. They belong to the era that they wanted to build cheap, but high quality buildings. The scheme was a lot of same housing in order to build in a short time. But there are some positive side of this scheme. So this scheme - million program - Le Corbusier is probably the ground father of this idea - has many positive aspect and we need to take the positive thing from the existing structure. Not something entirely different, but not totally same as 45-50 years ago either. When you look at the plan and scheme, you can see that there are high, rotational degree of repetition - it can be pre-hub containers on top of each other.

So the idea was to take the existing scheme from 70s and do the same, but hopefully more smartly. In this way that we can see the quality of what is already here! Well, for example, when you build based on this scheme, you get high buildings so that you can get space for green area - you can access to the green area from the front door.

But in this way you get only two cultures - you get a flat grass and high building. We wanted to put more gray zones, such as courtyard - semi-public space.

Another thing is a scale. We wanted to have different scales. So we put this high building, and added many other low scale buildings around it. So you have a great variety. But still, you have a great rational scale of the building system.

Interviewer: And what is going to the function of Cultural Casbah?

This is a entire plan of the Cultural Casbah (showing a map). There is going to be a train station, hopefully. One of the problem of this area is that you can't get traffic! You can't go through the car, but a lot of people do that anyway - so this is what makes the area more unsafe. The idea is that, let's take everything that is there at the moment and compress it - so that everything happens here. If it's a dark area with no traffic, it's unsafe. But if you have slower traffic including bicycles and so on, it would be a more safe place to be!

There are already some project that have done. The bazaar is here, so there are some shops. The idea for the Cultural Casbah is public space all the way up - but of course, there are some questions whether people would really go all the way up to the building with a traditional staircases to buy a cafe-latte? Maybe not. But idea itself is public streets all the way up.

Interviewer: So is this building going to be entirely public, or...?

It's going to be difficult. It's just an idea. We just didn't believe that having everything private without having anything public. So maybe the function of the top is public where people can come no matter who you are, maybe cultural function. But we can't say for sure that people would do, especially in this kind of neighborhood. We really need to get people who live in Rosengård in this project. We can't do like 'oh you live in a ghetto, so we live a giant tour in your backyard! Be happy because the neighborhood is now better'. The design is not a revolution. We just wanted to attribute the way of thinking of back in 70s. Maybe we can just put a building here and it can just grow. So maybe this building is just a beginning and there will be all different things happening in 10 years. Because we don't believe it can happen over night.

Interviewer: Did you have any participation during the design process?

Not during the design process of course, because it was a competition on behalf of MKB. But we have a close contact with MKB, which is a unique company and they have a close contact with people who live in this area. So they has sort of been our ambassador for the people living here. But if the project moves on, it can be a key point that something like this can happen. It's not like one entrepreneur suddenly come and build a tour. You know, if you live in this neighborhood, they are probably ethnically not Swedish, from a lot of places in the world,

and they can't dream of living in anywhere else in Malmö. Because this is they belong in this city. They feel that they have a perfect neighborhood - most of them say that. They don't see the problem, they love it here. But when the family get bigger, there are no alternative for them in this neighborhood at this moment. That's why we design this lower building blocks for the larger families.

There are many types of housings here in this plan, so there they would be more different people come here, with different income, different family types, more generation and ethnic differences.

Interviewer: What is the role of culture here? As it's Cultural Casbah?

You know Casbah? Which has narrow streets and experiences are very compressed. You can experience a lot within a small area, because everything is squeezed together - comprised - you know, part of the city. This is how we thought we wanted to compress the street to create one space where all the life can be happening. We wanted to use the concept within the tour.

Culture. You know, being in Rosengård, there is - maybe it's a bit arrogant to say - but now im trying to say anyway, that you could think that there are lot of unused potential in this area. Because in Rosengård, there are so many cultural being living together without showing it to the city scape. So maybe we wanted to take the unused potential and really wanted to show in the city scape. When you have the picture, and then make it show in the city scape. So al of these millions and thousands of cultures living side by side in the Swedish 70s building schemes that is all the same - which is not the correct building to have when you have so many cultures. Within this Swedish fasade, there are people from all over the world living inside. So while taking the schemes from the existing buildings, we try to have facade that shifts a lot. You see different materials and so on.

Interviewer: Do you have any concrete idea how it can look like in the future if the the many cultures as you are talking take over the space? Are they going to be visible?

This is difficult. So we provide the building system - do you know Eamus hous? They made a building system, and then they could whatever inside to fill out. This is also how we felt - we really felt that when we set it out this vision, maybe the right thing to do is just let it free, even let the people moving in, and complete the facade themselves! Which is a crazy idea and really hard to fulfill in real life, but maybe in a small part it would be possible. It is not architect to think oh this is a nice color and this is a nice proportions, but we put out the scheme and machine that you can live in. Whoever you are, just fill it out. Also the tower, maybe we could just build a framework, and just fill it in in time - that could be an interesting way of thinking.

Interviewer: It is quite interesting idea. It reminds me of the Superkilen - because it's also designed based on the idea of culture that reflect the character of the neighborhood. But instead of putting the detailed objects, you let the building free.

Yes. Space that is left over is the important thing. So these facade - they are only the walls around space! So this is also another way of thinking it. The important thing is to create the space and compress it, and develop the dimensions to create these more private courtyards (pointing at a map on the table). Then it's secondary facade architecture. We try to create a framework that can be inhabited by different cultures - but who are we to express this culture? We need to be a carrier of the cultures.

Interviewer: What is your opinion about diversity? Both Copenhagen and Malmö have been talking about how diverse they are - mostly in positive way. Do you feel like it affect what you are doing - urban planning, and architecture?

True, it's always used as positive term. But...well for instance in Norrbro, people always say that it's so diverse. But I think it's mono-cultural. I think it's the exact opposite. Because if you have these places in the city where there are many people with a lot of different ethnic background than Danish, they sort of lumped together. Norrbro is sort of the perfect example where this is happening. But when you look at it, I think it is a ghetto for students and experts, and this is not diversity to me. I think it is a difficult concept to use as a single objective to make something to be seen that needs to be diverse. Because it is also human nature to always seek after to what looks a bit of yourself. But of course, I also believe that the best cities are where it's succeeding to let diversity exist in some sort of balanced way. But I don't believe that some part of cities that are classically mentioned as a diverse place - but I think very often it's the opposite. Maybe no one ever succeeded to make a true diversity. But I think Malmö is a far better example of this than Copenhagen. Or maybe Berlin is a far better example than Copenhagen. Because Copenhagen is a very neat city really - it's very neat. In Malmö, in this project we always said that, Malmö needs to forget that they wanted to be close to Copenhagen. They should really be something else! We are not like Copenhagen - because they have a potential to be Berlin of the Scandinavia. Because it's so ... diverse (laugh)!!! Compared to Copenhagen's neatness. If it's in Copenhagen you always what to make things beautiful and nice looking and neat. But Malmö can be so much more brutal and ugly in the best sense of the world! But the larger buildings next to small buildings - in Copenhagen there is this urge to control everything for centuries. You can see this in Norrbro - all the buildings with brinks, 5 stories and courtyards in the middle - and street goes like this. Same thing everywhere.

Copenhagen has been really good to sort of protect everything make everything nice. But in Malmö, industrial area is just next to the inner city in the harbor. It could be a giant quality - let them play the role for the rest of the city.

Interviewer: As an architect, what is your design approach to the area with migration-driven diversity?

Sometime demography and population issue is not a question at all - maybe the question is entirely different - it might be about lights, views, whatever. On the other hand there are cases that we need to care a lot about the demography of the place. In each case we always have to look at the quality of the place and try to spot how we can improve the area. Immigrants have been an important segment of the discussion of course, but it's just part of the potential.