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An examination of housing segregation in Malmö,
Sweden: the roles and responsibilities of different
actors in finding solutions.

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“I think that it’s shit that Malmö Stad can’t provide it, or like that Sweden can’t provide it. And the problem is that we can, but we decide that we don’t want to. Because it’s not a priority.”

Kajsa Sörman, 2017

Abstract

Spatial segregation and unequal access to housing has been recognized as a problem in Sweden for the past several decades. The increasing influence of neoliberal policies on the Swedish housing market has made segregation and social disparities a challenging obstacle in the development of Malmö. This has characterized a shift in the traditional system of the Swedish welfare state. Through a qualitative examination of the realities of segregation in Malmö, a case study was conducted to highlight the roles and division of responsibility various actors have in finding solutions to segregation. Respondents were selected based on their position in the government, participation within the civil society, and their position as a resident of Malmö, and were asked to discuss the various roles each of these three categories of actors plays in solving segregation as well as the perceived level of responsibility each one holds. All of the respondents recognized the severity of segregation, and the consequences it has on the capabilities of those who are marginalized from the housing market. It was observed that the role different actors play in finding solutions depends on the responsibility each one has. The government holds a legal responsibility due to the structure of the welfare-state in Sweden, while the civil society takes a voluntary role based on social responsibility. The role of the individual becomes compromised due to the market-driven tendencies of the Swedish housing market, and the support they can receive from the government or the civil society depends on the form of marginalization they experience. Through these observations, it can be concluded that the role the government plays is fueled by financial capital and the civil society plays a role that is supported by social capital. Overall, increased cooperation and dialogue is needed amongst the actors so that more concrete and sustainable initiatives are made toward decreasing segregation in Malmö.

Keywords: housing provision, spatial segregation, urban marginality, Malmö, post-welfare state, civil society

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List of Abbreviations

AUM Advanced Urban Marginality
PWS Post-Welfare State
RWH Refugees Welcome Housing
OECD Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
NGO Non-Governmental Organization
CSO Civil Society Organization

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1. Introduction

Systematic segregation, whether clearly defined through top-down policies, or implemented by the mindsets and actions of civil society, has been an obstacle toward development since humans first became mobilized. Commonly understood as the practice of keeping those from different social, economic, or ethnic groups separate from each other, the concept of segregation in an urban environment has always struck me as contradictory. Cities are often celebrated as being a melting pot of different backgrounds and identities, which highlight diversity within one geographical space. However, the organization of cities into sub-sections of different classifications of people threatens to undermine that aspect of urban life.

The city of Malmö, Sweden exemplifies this contradictory reality of urban demography. Flows of immigrants from Eastern Europe and the Middle East throughout the past few decades have corresponded with a restructuring of Swedish urban planning, and have together led to the social geography of the city being influenced more greatly by market forces rather than city planners (Heeg, 2012). Based on previous studies addressing the effect of neoliberal policies on the housing market and urban development of Malmö (Hedin, Clark, Lundholm & Malmberg 2012; Baeten 2012), this study will aim to add to that field of research by looking at the current housing market in Sweden in relation to the social geography of the city, and by examining the different roles and responsibilities various actors throughout the city have in finding solutions to the growing issue of housing segregation.

Spatial struggles are key topics throughout the field of human geography. As unequal development becomes a greater issue throughout the world's cities, examining the dynamics amongst those actors at the forefront of these issues is vital to find solutions to the inequalities present in the urban environment.

2. Context of the Case

This section will provide an overview of the context of Malmö, Sweden in relation to topics explored in this research. A brief explanation of the Swedish housing market will be described, as well as important historical shifts in housing policy which have played a role in determining the current social geography of Malmö. This chapter will also introduce the civil society of Malmö, and the role that particular community organizations have in shaping the social dynamics of the city.

2.1 The Swedish Housing Market and its effects on demography

Sweden presents an interesting case for an examination of contemporary formations of spatial segregation within urban contexts. The city of Malmö particularly exemplifies this as a city which once fueled the working-class movement and the creation of the Swedish model of social-democratic welfare, but has more recently become a precedent for the neoliberalization of Sweden's urban framework (Heeg, 2012). With large scale advocacy on behalf of the middle class for a comprehensive welfare-system, Sweden has done well with maintaining old social-democratic values

while embracing the ascent of neoliberal politics; except for when it comes to housing (Lindblom and Rothstein as cited in Hedin, Clark, Lundholm and Malmberg, 2011; Robertson, 2014). A housing sector based on use value rather than exchange value has traditionally been a core foundation of the Swedish welfare model, however there has always been some degree of organization based on private ownership (Larsen and Lund Hansen, 2016).

This fits into two alternatives; the first of which is referred to in Sweden as *Bostadsrätter*, or cooperative dwellings. Cooperatives function on the basic principle of membership in which members buy use-rights to a dwelling and pay a monthly fee, and all the members of the organization own the property collectively (Larsen and Lund Hansen, 2016). The second alternative is a system of common housing referred to as *Allmännyttan*, which was established by the dominating Social Democratic Party in the early 1900s and was distinguished by housing that was available for everyone, and based on non-profit principles of fixed rent no matter who you are or where you live (ibid). Common housing is mostly owned by individual municipalities through municipally led housing companies (ibid). These two forms of housing ownership dominate the market in all major cities and have become cornerstones of the welfare model, however it explains the decline in private-rental housing that has occurred in Sweden (Table 1), and represents a clear separation between housing and other forms of welfare within the Swedish system.

This decrease in rental accommodation paired with political reforms during the 70's, 80's, and 90's is one of the most influential conditions which shapes the social geography of Swedish cities, and in this case Malmö. Influences from neoliberal policies motivated a change in perspective on behalf of the Swedish government which lifted regulation of cooperative prices and shifted cooperative housing toward being commodified (Larsen and Lund Hansen, 2016). This caused a dramatic increase in housing prices which can be seen in Figure 1. Furthermore, through these new reforms, public housing companies which are owned by the municipalities were now meant to operate on market principles (Hedin, Clark, Lundholm & Malmberg 2012). As a substantial consequence, the social geography of Malmö began to shape itself based on the economic capital of individual residents, and plans for urban development projects have turned to private firms which operate far away from providing equal access (ibid).

The effect that this shift in housing policies has had on the demography of Malmö can be recognized as a division amongst economic classes. A representation of the income distribution amongst the major districts of Malmö can be seen in Figure 2.

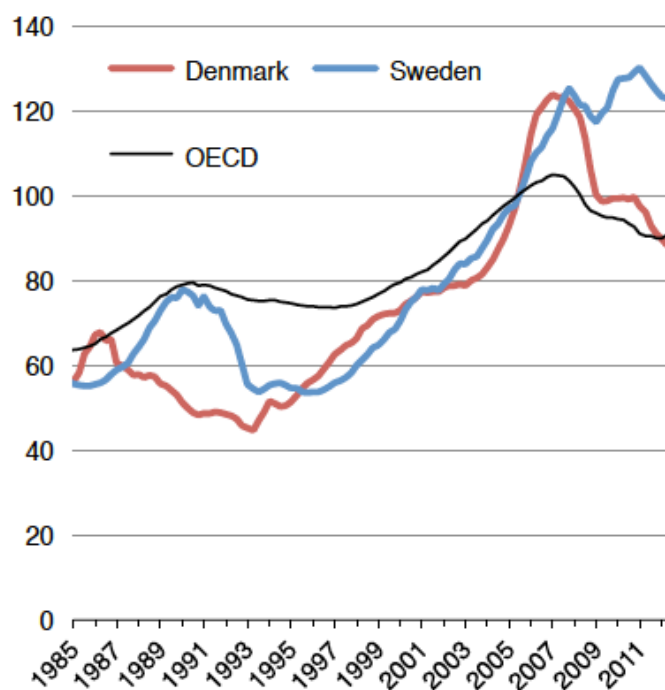
Social polarization and housing segregation operates on the ability or inability of a city's residents to gain access to housing. When housing policies focus on for-profit principles rather than equal access, social polarization materializes, and geographic patterns of segregation form as those with less capital gain less access to all parts of the city.

Table 1. Tenure Structure of Swedish Housing 1960-2011

| PER CENT OF ALL DWELLINGS | 1960 | 1980 | 2000 | 2011 |
|---------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| OWNER OCCUPIED | 34 | 41 | 39 | 41 |
| COOPERATIVE (BOSTADSRÄTT) | 9 | 14 | 17 | 22 |
| PRIVATE RENTAL | 43 | 21 | 21 | 19 |
| COMMON (ALLMÄNNYTIG) | 14 | 24 | 23 | 18 |

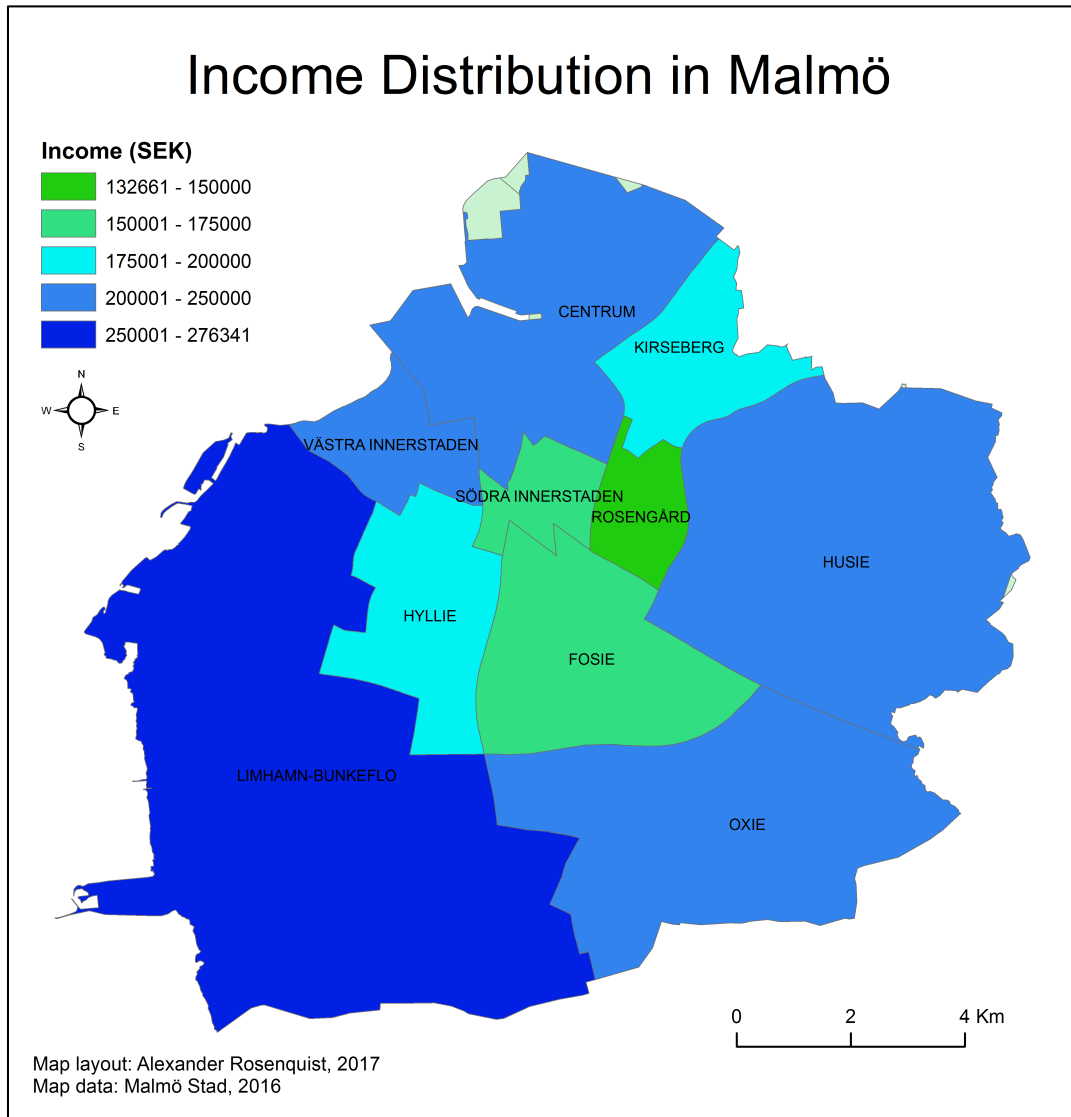
Source: Bengtsson as cited in Larsen and Lund Hansen, 2016

Figure 1. Real housing prices in Denmark, Sweden and the OECD area, 1985-2012 (2005=100)



Source: OECD as cited in Larsen and Lund Hansen, 2016

Figure 2: Income Distribution in Malmö



2.2 Civil Society in Malmö

A lot of attention has been given to the realm of civil society throughout the past few decades. Disappointments regarding state-led development have led to the materialization of various ‘non-profit’, ‘civil society’, or ‘independent’ groups and organizations in response to issues such as environmental degradation, human rights, and global health (Salamon et. al., 1999). While there is a large amount of diversity amongst these types of organizations, they all share common features such as an institutional presence and structure within the context they operate, political separation from the state, lack of profit distribution amongst their managers or owners, and they are fundamentally self-governing (ibid). For the purposes of this research I will distinguish them into two categories; Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). The way I personally define them is the way that I will refer to them throughout the following research, and that is based on their level of operation and their level of connection with the state or local authorities. NGOs will refer to organizations which are much more established professionally

than CSOs and operate on a larger scale with more connection, mainly through financing and contacts, with the local, regional, or state government. In contrast, a CSO refers to an organization that, despite their age or level of establishment, operates on a more local context than an NGO, and focuses their operations more on their own terms due to lack of financial or cooperative ties to authorities. It is important to note that these are not dictionary definitions of what NGOs and CSOs are, and that the classification of any organization is much more complex than this conceptualization. Furthermore, to refer to both NGOs and CSOs I will use the umbrella term, 'community organizations'.

Regardless of their classification, community organizations hold an important position within the development agenda of most of today's societies. In the case of Malmö, the presence of community organizations is noticeable; both in the sense of well-known NGOs such as the Red Cross, Save the Children, and Doctors Without Borders, to more locally operating CSOs like Asylgruppen and Refugees Welcome Housing. Malmö's history as a working-class city also presents a favorable environment to the operations of community based initiatives and organizations. The capacity of the nonprofit sector to rally private initiative in support of public issues is something that can be seen visibly throughout the context of the city. Their position of being outside of the market and outside of the state allows them to represent a unique role by harnessing the social capital present in the civil society, and to use that resource to address societal issues that are ignored or undervalued by policy makers. (Salamon et. al., 1999).

Despite this presence, the potential of community organizations as a viable partner toward development in Malmö is hindered by both internal and external dynamics. NGOs and CSOs embody only one side of the development agenda; that of intentional aid grounded in specific projects (Bebbington, 2004). This presents challenges related to different perspectives toward when, where, and what interventions an organization implements. Furthermore, it can be argued that community organizations have the potential to further encourage uneven development due to the external social, political, and economic geographies which surround them, indirectly impacting the decisions they make (Bebbington, 2004).

Internally, community organizations face challenges found in one of the core principles of their operation; volunteer based work. Constant staff turn-over and fluid movement of volunteers cause challenges in the sustainability of many less established CSOs, and additional difficulties in collaboration with other actors due to the lack of fixed contacts (Lindenberg and Dobel, 1999). In addition, external relationships with other actors play a decisive role in the effectiveness of their initiatives. With weak contacts to other community organizations, the capacity of a single entity to implement their projects is considerably less than if a strong network amongst organizations was established (Bebbington, 2004). However, a connection exists in the relationship and structure of the networks between organizations and the geography of their resources and interventions (Lindenberg and Dobel, 1999). Differences in perceptions on behalf of organizations which cooperate can lead to an uneven distribution of their resources, and promote patterns of uneven developmental aid (Bebbington, 2004). Though, the extent that this occurs is dependent on the political and economic environment of the context a community organization is

operating within (ibid). If an uneven political ecology exists, then the context and characteristics of the intervention will be adapted to the realities of that specific space.

Despite these challenges, community based organizations represent a strategy toward development that is somewhere in between sole reliance on the market and sole reliance on the state (Salamon et. al., 1999). In the context of Sweden today, where the retreat of the government in regulating certain markets such as housing is causing noticeable social disparities, community organization is a viable solution to decreased state involvement (ibid; Jessop, 2002). Though the core nature of NGOs and CSOs as being independent from the state or the municipality means they hold little power in terms of policy making, the abilities of civil society to mobilize the citizens of Malmö has made large contributions toward building the social capital of the city.

2.2.1 Refugees Welcome Housing

Among the community organizations which operate in the context of Malmö is Refugees Welcome Housing (RWH). Acting as a branch of the larger international organization by the name Refugees Welcome International, RWH works with matching refugees and newly arrived immigrants with local individuals or families who are looking to rent out a room in their home. Among the aims of the organization is to increase solidarity within Swedish society when it comes to asylum rights and the inclusion of refugees and new arrivals. While the organization has only been in operation in Sweden since 2015, they have already made a strong impact in the context of Malmö by providing an alternative to the housing struggles experienced by asylum seekers.

In relation to this research RWH presents an interesting example of the different forms civil society can take when it comes to developmental work. The operations and size of the organization classify it as a CSO on the local level, but in terms of the international Refugees Welcome network, it fits more into the classification of an NGO. However, even in the context of Malmö, RWH has qualities of an NGO due to a recent cooperation with the municipality.

Throughout this research RWH will be referred to several times. This is due to fact that I had access to the operations of the organization through an internship position this past Spring. During my role as intern, the projects implemented by the organization along with the aims of their operation acted as inspiration for this research. The work they do helped solidify my conceptualization of the problem of segregation in Malmö, and exposed me to the different initiatives various actors were a part of, as well as the dynamics between them. While RWH has been an important influence on this research, the inferences made through this study are not limited to the context of this organization.

3. Motivation and Aims

3.1 Motivation for this Research

My motivation for this research comes from my observations of the social geography of Malmö, and the socioeconomic differences that exist throughout various areas of the city. Loosely inspired by my own previous research which explored alternative

solutions for integration, and my participation in the civil society organization RWH, I have noticed that Malmö is starkly divided by numerous dimensions. Among these are ethnicity, class, culture, age, and financial status, and as a resident this division is clear. Geographical separation presents challenges to the development of the city, and as it seems to be becoming more and more spatially divided, I have begun to think more critically about the reasons why the social geography is organized in this way, and what is being done about it. It can be determined that the overall aim of this research is to examine the current social geography of Malmö, and to explore potential solutions to geographical segregation.

3.2 Specific Aims

First and foremost, it is imperative to understand the concepts used by policy-makers, city authorities, and the residents themselves in the construction of the organizational patterns of the city (Wacquant, 2008). This angle of approach seeks to examine those internal forces which create segregation and the current patterns of Malmö's social geography. It is important to clearly distinguish between what I mean by internal and external forces. Internal refers to the factions of society which will be examined. So, in the case of this research the internal forces which affect the construction of uneven social geography and segregation include Swedish authorities (on the national, regional, and local levels), civil society organizations, and the residents of Malmö. The point of departure for this angle of the research will include the use of qualitative data in the form of various interviews, ethnographic observation of the case, and analysis of discourse relating to local housing policies and social initiatives. Through this, I hope to address the question of:

How is housing segregation and the uneven social geography of Malmö constructed and addressed by different factions of society?

The second angle I will take to address the issues of segregation in Malmö follows an analysis of the various actors working on urban social development, and how they are addressing the uneven social geography of the city. This will build on the understanding formulated from addressing the previous question while going further into examining how the division of responsibility for provision of equal access to housing is being addressed by different actors in Malmö. This aim will be formulated through an examination of:

What is the division of responsibility on behalf of different actors towards finding solutions for geographical segregation in Malmö?

Both questions pose different requirements for the way I will approach answering them, which will be discussed further in the Methodology section. The first, which seeks to examine the current context of Malmö regarding how the social geography of the city has been constructed, will look at the ways that housing segregation exists and the different policies which support it. Through this I will be able to formulate a clearer understanding of the case being studied.

The second question requires a different approach. By exploring the division of responsibility in terms of housing provisions, I need to examine the different actors involved in the problem, and how each of them are working to find solutions. Through this perspective, I aim to highlight the distribution of responsibility between the state, the civil society, and the individual in terms of providing equal access to housing and reducing segregation in Malmö. The purpose of these aims is to highlight why housing segregation exists in Malmö and what can be done to fix it.

3.3 Purpose of the Study

By examining the ways that segregation manifests itself in a specific context, insight can be made into the forces which induce uneven development of certain geographies. Through the lens of one context, the findings from this study could contribute to a more sustainable model of urban development that could influence improved policies for the sustainable city (Haughton, 1997). Spatial segregation infers gaps in the political, economic, and social forces which construct the urban environment, and leads to patterns of uneven development throughout space (Van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998).

Within the purpose is the aim of contributing to the way the field of human geography views the current state of segregation in a given context, and how more even patterns of urban development can be implemented. While patterns of spatial segregation are inherently contextual, the way certain forces create it, and the approaches different countries take towards finding solutions depend on political, social, and economic factors on both a micro and macro level (Van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998). With increasing globalization of today's world and a vast network of transnational development initiatives in the form of NGOs and international development agencies, the factors which are pertinent to the creation and solution of social issues in Malmö may hold relevance to similar issues in different contexts (Haughton, 1997; Lindenberg and Dobel, 1999).

In addition, the ability to promote a wider perspective of the factors pertinent to that explanation may lead to insights into the ways policies and initiatives are implemented in relation to place. While the purpose of this research is partly to examine the role of the government and the civil society in this regard, individual initiative, experience, and all the elements of human capital are obviously important (Squires and Kubrin, 2005). Understanding the opportunity structure of residents throughout the spectrum of urban environments requires complementing what we know about individual characteristics with what we are learning about place in relation to the international perspective of development (ibid). Inequality cannot be understood outside the context of geographic space, and without understanding inequality uneven development will not be solved.

4. Boundaries of the Research/Delimitations

4.1 Conceptualization of Marginality

Throughout this research, spatial segregation is seen in strong connection with the concept of specific populations being marginalized compared to the greater society. To convey a clear understanding of what this means within this research, a conceptualization of marginality is needed. As pointed out by Nshimbi (2009), many discussions on marginalization use the concept but rarely define its meaning concisely. Rather, most scholars attribute the indicators and characteristics of marginalization as a composite understanding of what the concept actually means (Nshimbi, 2009).

To provide an overarching definition of marginality I refer to Gurung and Kollmair's (2005) framework of the concept as a condition of subjectivity of particular people, communities, or areas under the socio-economic, environmental, political, or physical conditions of the society they live in (as cited in Nshimbi, 2009). In addition to being a condition, Gurung and Kollmair (2005) also point to marginality as a dynamic process which is receptive of the changing socio-economic circumstances of the system surrounding it (ibid). This aspect corresponds to Wacquant's (1996; 1999) conceptualization of advanced marginality as an ongoing process that is reinforced by the social and economic structures of society, and is further supported in Mehretu et al's (2000) typology of marginalization which seeks to summarize the various forms of marginality and the forces which induce them.

This conceptualization formed by Mehretu, Pigozzi and Sommers (2000) outlines two primary forms of marginality; *contingent* and *systematic*. Contingent marginality refers to individuals or communities who are put at a disadvantage due to the inequality which results from the competitive dynamics of a free-market economy (Mehretu et al., 2000). Systematic marginality is created by non-market forces of social bias, and creates disadvantage through socially constructed forms of stigmatization and prejudices towards individuals or communities (ibid). Additionally, two derivative forms of marginality are described as *collateral* and *leveraged* marginality. Collateral refers to marginalization of an individual or community based on their geographical proximity to other communities which are contingently or systematically marginalized, and leveraged marginality refers to the experience of contingent or systematic marginality due to weakening bargaining power in the free market because of economic stakeholders seeking cheaper, alternative labor (ibid). For a more descriptive representation of Mehretu et al's classification of the four types of marginality see Appendix 1.

For the purpose of this research, the primary typologies which will be applied are contingent, systematic, and collateral marginalities due to their correlation with the theoretical frameworks I have applied to the data. This will be elaborated further in the section titled Analysis. Furthermore, it is important to note that the individuals or communities who are subjected to these forms of marginality do not fit under defined characteristics or indicators, but are described as those who are less inclined to effectively navigate the socio-economic factors of the contemporary global political-economy (Mehretu et al., 2000) However, in the context of Malmö, it is often the case that those who experience these forms of marginalization to the greatest extent are foreign-born residents belonging to minority ethnic groups or those who have arrived as refugees. As mentioned by Mehretu et al (2000), this is the case on both the local

and global level, and is representative of the claim that marginality is a complex condition which takes in several causal factors such as social, political, economic, and cultural conditions. All in all, marginalization is thus seen to reflect a situation where certain populations and communities experience declining participation, representation, and opportunity in the environment in which they live (Nshimbi, 2009; Wacquant, 1996).

4.2 Geographic Delimitation

For this research, I have chosen to focus on the city of Malmö, Sweden. In the context of Malmö, the eastern (Öster) and southern (Söder) districts of the city are more heavily populated by residents who are either first or second generation Swedes who typically fall on the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum, while residents in the western (Väster) districts and the city center (Innerstaden & Norr) tend to have higher incomes and are more ethnically homogenous (Rosenquist and Shekh Mohamed, n.d.). Due to this pattern of social distribution, Malmö presents an interesting case regarding the concepts of housing segregation, and how it materializes in a country which is experiencing critical shifts in their economic and political policies while simultaneously undergoing rapid changes to their ethnic and social demography. While some of the collected data can be applied to Sweden as a whole, it was important for me to narrow the scope of analysis to only the context of Malmö. This was done to limit the size of the study due to time and resource restrictions.

In Figure 2, a visual representation of the city areas of Malmö is shown. Directly following in Table 2, is a breakdown of the major districts and which city area each is situated in. These are shown to display the spatial geography of the city, and to illustrate the patterns in which segregation exists.

Figure 3: Map of city areas of Malmö



Source: Wikipedia, 2010

Table 2: Areas and Districts of Malmö

| <i>City Area</i> | <i>City Districts</i> |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>Norr</i> | Centrum, Västra Hamnen |
| <i>Innerstaden</i> | Södra Innerstaden, Västra Innerstaden |
| <i>Väster</i> | Limhamn-Bunkeflo, Hyllie |
| <i>Söder</i> | Fosie, Oxie, Möllevången, Holma |
| <i>Öster</i> | Rosengård, Kirseberg, Husie, Segevång |

Created by: Alexander Rosenquist, 2017

Note: Only districts which were mentioned in this research are listed in this table.

4.3 The Welfare-State regime and welfare provision in the sense of housing

An important boundary of this research which needs to be discussed is the definition of welfare, and the conceptualization of the welfare-state which will frame the theoretical framework of this study. Different cultural and structural configurations of the welfare-state throughout the world make the generalization of what classifies a welfare-state regime rather difficult, especially when considering the wider set of concepts which influence various policies in different countries (Gough, Wood and Barrientos, 2008). However, for examining the structure of the welfare-state in the

context of Sweden, Esping-Andersen's (1990) characterization of welfare regimes will be applied. Through this model, the social democratic Swedish welfare-state follows an institutional matrix of market, state, and family based principles of social protection which places marginal roles of responsibility on the family and the market, and central focus on the state as the main provider of welfare provision (Gough, Wood and Barrientos, 2008). This will be explained further in Section 5.1 which dives deeper into Esping-Andersen's conceptualization of the welfare-state.

However, a clearer focus on what is referred to in this study as welfare provisions needs to be established. While the way a welfare-state provides social support, protection, and services is just as diverse as the various ways different countries structure their welfare regimes, the dominant emphasis is on labor markets and social protection services such as, but not exclusive to, education and universal healthcare (Gough, Wood and Barrientos, 2008). For this study, welfare provisions will strictly be used in reference to the provision of equal access to housing, and the ability of individuals to acquire housing in all areas of the city, whether that be through collective or individualized forms of welfare. Collective forms of housing provision refers to housing included in welfare, while individualized forms refer to housing as an asset which is provided by the capabilities of the household (Robertson, 2014). This was determined to narrow down the scope of what was examined under the broad category of welfare-provisions. Because this research is focused on the spatial segregation of Malmö, it was deemed relevant to target housing as the main indicator of segregation by being a clear marker in terms of where a person lives. While other forms of welfare provision such as education, health services, and job security influence mobility throughout the city, I do not feel they are significant enough determiners to examine the existing and ongoing patterns of segregation in Malmö.

5. Theoretical Framework

The aims of this research will be addressed through the conceptual framework of neoliberalism as a strategy which generates advanced urban marginality in the post-welfare state. To focus the scope of the framework of neoliberalism, the concept will be explained throughout the following subsections in conjunction with the two more narrowed theorizations of the Post-Welfare State and Advanced Urban Marginality.

5.1 Post-Welfare State / System Change

The way that I will discuss the concepts of the Post-Welfare State (PWS) theory in relation to my research will be through the lens of a neoliberal perspective.

It has been recognized that neoliberalism¹ is neither consistent or universal in its effects and applications throughout different contexts, and has experienced various shifts in its institutional form, political rationality, and economic and social consequences throughout the past few decades (Peck and Tickell, 2002). In the

¹ "Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices" (Harvey, 2007).

context of the Scandinavian welfare model, the influences of neoliberalism have shifted the agenda from clearly defined principles of universalism of social rights, to one focused more strongly on finance and the accumulation of capital (Beaten, Berg and Lund Hansen, 2015; Esping-Andersen, 1990; Peck and Tickell, 2002). One could view the restructuring of the welfare state as an adaptation to the liberal global economic climate, and the deregulation and liberalization of economic transactions across borders (Jessop, 2002; Peck and Tickell, 2002). This ‘roll-back’ of the routine forms of state intervention seen throughout traditional welfare state regimes is often characterized as a partnership-based form of governance on behalf on the market and the government, and typically involves selective transfers of state capacities in the hopes of ensuring a smoothly-run world market (Jessop, 2002).

When looking at the different arrangements between the state and the market amongst welfare regimes, welfare-state variations tend to fall into three categories of regime-types (Esping-Andersen, 1990). The first, and perhaps most influenced by liberal market-state relations, is the ‘liberal’ welfare state; exemplified most commonly by the United States, Australia, and the UK. Through this model, means-tested assistance dominates, and universal transfers and social-insurance policies remain modest in the aim to cater mainly to low-income, state-dependent, and working-class citizens (ibid). Social reform is bounded by liberal work-ethic norms and state encouragement of the market, either passively or actively through private subsidies, resulting in strong entitlement rules, class dualism, and social stigma against welfare recipients (ibid).

The second regime-type is the ‘corporatist’ welfare state, which was created to cater to the new ‘post-industrial’ class structure in nations such as Germany, Austria, France, and Italy. Through this model, market efficiency and commodification never had dominance over social rights, so private insurance and occupational fringe have marginal presences (ibid). However, class and status differentials remained predominant, and ensured that corporatism was the underlying basis for a state structure which could step into the role of welfare provider if the market failed. Though, the state’s emphasis on upholding status means that its ability to redistribute wealth and promote equal social development is insignificant (ibid).

The last welfare-regime type is the one in focus throughout this research. The ‘social democratic’ regimes of Scandinavia are traditionally dominated by the principles of universalism and the hopes of promoting high standards of equality. This is achieved through a mix of decommodified and universal programs such as insurance, health, and education systems in which manual workers and white-collar employees share the same level of benefit (ibid). In contrast to the other two regime types, equality is ensured further by the aims of socializing the costs of providing for a family. It’s in this aspect that the social democratic model of the welfare state creates a peculiar fusion of liberalism and socialism (ibid). By providing the bulk of the welfare provision, the aim is to relieve stress from the family’s capacity for providing support, and therefore promote individual independence as opposed to reliance on the family (ibid). As a result, the state takes on the responsibility of child care, elderly care, and care for the disabled, which in turn services family needs and allows for all members of the family, particularly women, to choose to work or pursue individual goals rather than tend to the household (ibid).

While the regimes of Scandinavia may be predominantly social democratic, it is not to say that they are immune from liberal influences, and as mentioned previously, the model they hold is subject to the inclusion and adaptation of various liberal and social democratic policy changes. This is where the theorization of the PWS comes into fruition, especially in the case of housing and geographic social polarization in Sweden.

The structure of the welfare-state as an institutional matrix of market, state, and household forms of social provisions means that the outcomes of welfare are continuously shaped by the different class coalitions within each of those contexts (Gough, Wood, and Barrientos, 2008). An important quality of welfare regimes in this regard is the system of welfare stratification used to structure the distribution of welfare provisions amongst classes. When studied in the past, the equalizing capacity of various welfare regimes has differed dramatically with more liberal welfare states such as Germany and France having stratification systems with limited effects on redistribution, while the regimes of Scandinavia having much more substantial results (Esping-Andersen, 1990). The effects of stratification are molded by specific 'political settlements' which define the shape of welfare state regimes; such as the Great Depression and World War II (Gough, Wood, and Berrientos, 2008). Typically, the shaping of stratification from these types of influential political settlements tends to strengthen the existing institutional matrix of welfare regimes (ibid). One could argue that the heavy implementation of neoliberalism throughout the Thatcher/Reagan years could be considered a contemporary 'settlement' by dispersing and institutionalizing free-market policies on a more global scale (Peck and Tickell, 2002).

Swedish embrace of this political settlement is what turns me to adopt the theory of the PWS toward the issue of housing segregation in Malmö. Led by the Conservative party in the early 1990's, the Swedish government moved housing responsibilities away from the state, and nullified legislation which prevented housing from being distinguished from any other commodity (Hedin, Clark, Lundholm and Malmberg, 2011). Abandonment of social housing responsibilities on behalf of the state has led municipal housing companies to operate on market principles in accordance with profit generation, and abandon the core universalism of the welfare-state (ibid). While the effects that the embrace of market values has had on the housing situation in Malmö will be discussed further, this exemplifies the concept of the PWS. The prefix 'post' does not mean to declare that welfare policies from the state have ceased to exist, but rather a shift in the system away from the original formulation of the social democratic welfare state model (Beaten, Berg and Lund Hansen, 2015). Post-welfarism, as illustrated in the case of housing in Sweden, is the tendency of the state to act on the relationship between capital and welfare by moving towards an organization of welfare provisions which are more in line with market principles as opposed to universalism (ibid). The clash between the values of the neo-liberal state and the welfare-state, and how they manifest together to create the post-welfare state is illustrated by Harvey in:

“The fundamental mission of the neo-liberal state is to create a ‘good-business climate’ and therefore to optimize conditions for capital accumulation no matter what the consequences for employment or social well-being. This contrasts with the social democratic state that is committed to full employment and the optimization of the well-being of all its citizens subject to the condition of maintaining adequate and stable rates of capital accumulation.”

(Harvey, 2006; 25)

5.2 Advanced Urban Marginality

Materializing as an effect of the concepts which make up the theorization of the PWS is the theory of Advanced Urban Marginality (AUM). Building on issues such as geographical relegation, societal opinions towards different classes, and spatial patterns of poverty, Wacquant (1996) has coined a theory which can be applied across the spectrum of Western society, and arguably societies around the world which implement liberal economic policies. In conjunction with the materialization of the PWS alongside the influx of neoliberalism, AUM refers to, at the core, an entrenched system of rising inequality fueled by the expansion of the capitalist economy. This significant shift in economic policy led to a disconnection of certain neighborhoods from the core areas of the city. Characterized by territorial stigmatization, spatial alienation, and the fragmentation of marginalized populations, the theory of AUM puts a name to a pattern of spatial segregation seen in most major cities throughout the developed world (Wacquant, 1996). Among the distinctive features of advanced marginality which Wacquant (1999) proposes are the growing internal heterogeneity of labor, the functional disconnection of neighborhood conditions from macro-economic trends; territorial fixation and stigmatization; spatial alienation and the dissolution of place; the loss of a viable hinterland; and the symbolic fragmentation of marginalized populations. (Wacquant, 1996)

Largely influenced by a Marxist framework for explaining the relationship between the economic system of society and the social and political structures which exist, AUM expands ideas such as class struggles, commodity fetishism, and ideological superstructures to a spatial dimension (Nayak and Jeffery, 2011). Referring to uneven development as a hallmark of capitalism, the theorization of urban marginality builds on other Marxist-inspired sociologists and geographers who claim that space is a vessel for capitalist modes of production, and that disproportionate urban development is an inherent geographical expression of the inequalities and contradictions present throughout the structure of liberal and neo-liberal economic strategies (Smith in Nayak and Jeffery, 2011: 86; Harvey, 2006; Wacquant, 2008).

An example of this, as pointed out by Wacquant as one of the most concerning attributes of this theorization is that it is growing directly alongside the collective wealth of First World countries (Wacquant, 1999). If you look at cities such as Hamburg or New York City, arguably among the wealthiest cities in Europe and North America in terms of concentrations of millionaires, both cities happen to have the highest incidents of public assistance recipients and homelessness (ibid). How is it that one geographical space could have such a stark difference regarding the socioeconomic status of its residents? Wacquant points to the contradictions of

capitalism in its promise to usher both personal success and well-being, and overall social harmony (Wacquant, 2008). By emphasizing competition and the idea of 'opportunity', neoliberal hopes of full employment and sustainable development are undermined by the stratification of labor (Harvey, 2006; Wacquant, 2008). Those with university education or predisposed access to capital gain access to a more durable job market, and those without technical or professional skills are threatened by 'deproletarianization', or the expulsion from the wage labor market by computerization and automation influenced by the prioritization of productivity over universal employment (Wacquant, 1999).

These trends widen the gap on the socioeconomic spectrum, but the framework of AUM not only explains socioeconomic marginalization but also the geographical stigmatization of certain areas associated with poverty (Wacquant, 2007). Referred to as enclaves of relegation, advanced marginality concentrates itself into specific areas of the city which become increasingly isolated from the rest of society due to class and economic boundaries (ibid). Initially formed as a consequence of the economic order of capitalism, the stigmatization of these areas gets reinforced through the attitudes and perceptions of those living on the outside which are then translated to the attitudes of the residents themselves. These consequences support the use of the qualifier 'advanced' by highlighting how this trend is not behind us, but is in fact being constantly reinforced by the social and economic structures of contemporary urban contexts (Wacquant, 1996).

This aspect is perhaps one of the most crucial concepts of this theoretical framework, and is especially important to consider in regards to the future development of contemporary societies, both in the West and the global South. As noted by Smith (1990), the uneven development which results from capitalism takes place at different scales. And while the scale expressed throughout the framework of AUM can be mapped on a local scale as differences between neighborhoods, the same concepts can be applied to the divisions between the global north and parts of the global south (Smith in Nayak and Jeffery, 2011). Furthermore, back on the local scale, the disconnection between marginalized neighborhoods from the national and global economies will continue to worsen (Wacquant, 2007). This can be viewed in combination with the theory of the PWS. As the state stratifies the responsibilities of welfare provision, neoliberal reforms shift the protection felt by the working class which traditionally came from the state, to more of an individualistic responsibility (Esping-Andersen, 1990). This translates back to one of the core factors which influence the theorization of AUM. Residents of cities who lack sufficient welfare provision on behalf of the state, while simultaneously being subjected to the uneven socioeconomic realities of capitalist society, will face continuously reinforced marginality.

Lack of support from the state can be connected to another important aspect of AUM which is the disappearance of a viable hinterland as a means of economic fallback or relief. Traditionally, when working-class people living in the city became unemployed due to economic crisis, there was usually the option to retreat home to a rural village, communal safe place, or even the country of emigration (Wacquant, 2007). However, in the contemporary environment of today's cities, residents of excluded

neighborhoods have a harder time relying on the traditional back support of family networks and kinship relations, especially those who don't originate from the country they are living in. In the case of Malmö, the areas commonly referred to as areas of relegation or 'no go zones' in the eyes of wider society, have population percentages of nearly half the residents being born in a country outside of Sweden (Region Skåne, 2015). For these people, often they arrived in Sweden due to war, crisis, or dangerous circumstances in their homelands, and may not have the opportunity to return in times of economic hardships. In addition, the clash of cultural ideals towards the role of kinship in your life can create a conflictual struggle in the balance between the societal values in your new home and your personal connection to family and social support networks created from your cultural upbringing.

Differences between cultures in terms of the role kinship has on providing personal support could be an important factor toward the creation of marginalized areas with high concentrations of foreign-born residents. Before the establishment of the welfare state and in countries where there is a weak government or lack of welfare provision, people depended on and still depend on family connections to provide welfare for themselves. However, in the case of Sweden and much of the Western world, governments which took a stronger role towards providing welfare allowed for greater mobility amongst the population, and people began to feel more comfortable leaving their family for opportunities in different places (Wacquant, 2007). While in the case of Swedish-born people, this migration may be representative of driving from the country to the city, for a person who is not from Sweden, the shift in location is much more dramatic and results in a much more detrimental separation geographically and emotionally from the people left behind. This separation is representative in the theory of AUM as loss of the hinterland (Wacquant, 2007). In the case of a native Swede it may refer to the personal struggle between pride of providing for yourself or retreating home to your support network, but for a person who came to Sweden as a refugee or a labor migrant, the option to return can be virtually impossible. The social networks throughout society which have traditionally played the role of providing support tend to get depleted when matched against the societal values of capitalistic accumulation. From the perspective of a person raised in a society where the fundamental mission in life is to accumulate capital, the fact that economic hardships may await you is inevitable, but your familiarity with the system and its societal institutions prepares you with more resilience against economic or social marginalization. However, from the perspective of somebody who comes to Sweden with the image of arriving in an equal and open society, their unfamiliarity and lack of establishment in the context almost immediately marginalizes them.

While macroeconomic policies may have created the environment for advanced marginality to materialize, the social change that came out of capitalist industrialization is one of the core factors which attribute to the sustained geographical paradigm of this theorization (Wacquant, 2008). The replacement of traditional social bonds by impersonal connections rooted in competitive motives and commodity relations has led to a resurgence of capital accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2006; Wacquant, 2008). This is meant to refer to the commodification and privatization of various aspects of society which, rather than redistributing wealth and minimizing inequality, enforces a Darwinian societal model reflecting a world where

the strongest, fittest, and most competitive individuals will have the capacity to succeed (Harvey, 2006). Included in these practices of accumulation is the privatization of land and the conversion of various types of land ownership to strictly private, commodification of labor and suppression of alternative forms of production, and the monetization of exchanges and taxation (ibid). This economic model increases social inequality, which in turn fuels neo-liberalism even more. Inequality amongst classes is necessary to encourage the entrepreneurial spirit and innovative competition that would ultimately result in economic growth (Harvey, 2006). If certain individuals failed, often because of personal or cultural reasons, it is widely seen as a failure on behalf of the person to enhance their own human capital rather than a lack of competitive strength due to deeply rooted social, economic, or political marginalization (Harvey, 2006; Wacquant, 2008).

These attitudes from the rest of society are a core factor which leads to the geographical stigmatization explained by AUM. Through the commodification of housing, residents with lesser means or in lower classes are forced to seek housing in areas which fit their economic capabilities. This creates concentrations of various groups of society in particular locations throughout the city, and establishes recognizable geographic division between ‘us’ and ‘them’. Stigmatization fueled by attitudes of the poor as people who are lazy, unambitious, or incompetent evolve from ideas directed toward individuals, to perspectives relating to whole groups of individuals, and eventually to the areas which house those groups of individuals. Furthermore, with politics and media dominated by the upper-class, these ideas and perspectives continue to be reinforced into the mainstream society, creating seemingly permanent labels for those areas of the city where crime, drug-use, and homelessness are supposedly rampant (Harvey, 2006; Wacquant, 2008).

An important point of departure when applying this theoretical framework to my research can be expressed through a remark made by Wacquant:

“If new mechanisms of social mediation are not put in place to reincorporate excluded populations, one can expect that urban marginality will continue to rise and spread, and along with it the street violence, political alienation, organizational desertification, and economic informalization that increasingly plague the neighborhoods of relegation of the metropolis in advanced society.”
(Wacquant, 1996: 123)

6. Methodology

The methods chosen to address this study have been constructed in relation to the aims of the research, and were influenced by my two main research questions:

1. *How is housing segregation and uneven social geography constructed and sustained in the city of Malmö, Sweden?*
2. *What is the division of responsibility on behalf of different actors in society toward finding solutions for geographical segregation?*

The nature of these two questions and the specific aims each of them represent pose different requirements for the way I will approach answering them. The first, which seeks to examine the current context of Malmö regarding how the social geography of the city has been constructed, will look at the ways that housing segregation exists and the different policies and actors which support it. By using an ontological perspective, I will apply an objectivist standpoint to view the social geography of the city as an external and objective reality which influences the people surrounded by it (Bryman, 2012; 32). Through this I will be able to formulate a clearer understanding of the case being studied, and the dynamics which make it relevant, independent of the actors involved.

The second question requires a different approach. By exploring the division of responsibility in terms of housing provisions, I have chosen to take a constructivist standpoint which examines the different actors involved in the problem, and how each of them are working to find solutions. By adopting this standpoint, I am able to look directly at the actors which play a role in creating the social geography of Malmö, and the level of organization that exists amongst them (Bryman, 2012).

My use of theory has also been crucial to the research design of this study. From the beginning, I have applied a deductive approach which has meant that the theories which were discussed throughout my theoretical framework played a large role in my conceptualization of the segregation problems which exist in Malmö, and the ways I will address studying them. Merton (1967) states that the relationship between theory and social research from a deductive standpoint should allow the theoretical knowledge to guide the empirical inquiry (Merton, 1967 in: Bryman, 2012; 24). However, as I conducted my research, the inferences I made through deduction from my theories influenced later changes and viewpoints made throughout the data collection process. Therefore, while my point of departure was based mainly through a deductive approach, my relationship between my theories and my research has also influenced a hybrid process of abductive inferencing (Reichertz, 2010). This refers to a process which fits somewhere in between more traditional approaches of deductive and inductive reasoning. Abduction inferencing doesn't aim to generate new knowledge or simply support or defend existing knowledge, but is rather a strategy for reconstructing the order of how we look at social realities and the problems that arise from them (Reichertz, 2010). Therefore, an abductive approach seeks to arrange the data found through research in an order which best solves the problem. This process is fitting for this research in that abduction is something we all do when trying to produce answers to 'what happens next'. It's a combination of previously developed data and our attitudes towards the development of our own knowledge, and fits appropriately with the other aspects of this research design.

Clarifying the viewpoints which influenced my research from the beginning helps me support my choice in research questions, as well as the methods which I used to address them. Throughout this section I will introduce my research design, methods of data collection, data analysis, and my positionality as the researcher. Further I will reflect on the role those choices have made on my research, as well as any ethical considerations which came up and any weaknesses involving validity and generalizability.

6.1 Research Approach

The aims of this research are not only to examine the realities of housing segregation in Malmö, but to also explore the ways that different actors in the context are working and interacting to find solutions. Influenced by Bryman and Burgess' (1999) three commitments of qualitative research design, I have chosen qualitative methods to better understand the natural setting of Malmö, and to explore the role that different social structures have on the reality of the city (as cited in Scheyvans and Storey 2003; 57). Furthermore, through this approach I can explore subjective concepts in much greater depth than if I were to quantify them into numerical data (ibid).

From my case perspective, applying a qualitative approach allows for the possibility to observe small nuances in the opinions of different actors, and discuss how each of these has a role in the construction of Malmö's social geography (Punch, 2005). Choosing a qualitative research approach also reflects my personal relationship with the context being studied. Bryman (2012) mentions a weakness in qualitative research often lies in the unclear reasoning for why a particular research area or research question was chosen, but in the case of this research my personal connection to the context and positionality as a resident of Malmö presents clear reasoning as to why I have chosen to focus on this case as opposed to another (Bryman, 2012; 405). However, qualitative research has often been criticized for the influence the researcher's own biases and perceptions has on the study itself, and how those may affect the transparency of the data collection (Bryman, 2012). With this said, I was aware of these concerns throughout my research process, and will explain in detail my methods of data collection in order to keep this research as transparent as possible.

6.2 Research Design

Due to the nature of my research questions I opted to conduct a single case study. The emphasis throughout a case study is often to conduct an intense examination of the context being researched, which has allowed me to apply data collection methods such as participant observation and unstructured interviews (Bryman, 2012; 67-68). Using this research design was the most appropriate choice for this research. Due to the aims of examining how different actors in the context of Malmö are interacting amongst themselves requires a research design which can recognize the complexity of the social and geographic dynamics of the chosen case (Bryman, 2012).

However, a downside which comes from the use of a case study design is the lack of generalizability. This is due to the inability to replicate the conditions and circumstances of specific times, people, and places into another study (Punch, 2005). A possible solution to the question of generalizability for this research can be found in further distinction of this research design as a representative case study. The rationale for adopting a representative case study goes beyond the aims of intense examination, and uses Malmö as a potential representative for similar contexts outside of this particular case (Bryman, 2012; 70). This could be a motivating factor for the extension of this study, as the circumstances of a context are constantly evolving, and therefore the findings of this research may not be relevant to the exact same case at a later time. Furthermore, the concepts which are explored in this research such as the

division of responsibility for the provision of welfare can be applied in more context specific ways in other cases, and a certain degree of generalizability may be applicable for cases which have similar political, economic, and social dynamics as Malmö.

6.3 Data Collection

The methods I used for data collection consisted of a combination between ethnographic overt-participant observation and semi-structured interviews. These were chosen based on my choices to conduct a qualitative case study, and as my positionality as a resident of Malmö. I will now explain in more detail about both methods, explain my motivation for choosing them, and describe the processes used while collecting my data.

6.4 Ethnographic Participant Observation

The tendency for ethnography to allow the researcher to let the subjects of the study construct their own information was a major influence on the choice of this method for my research (Scheyvans and Storey, 2003; 65). Ethnographic approaches tend to be ‘actor-oriented’ and require a comprehensive understanding of the context from the subject’s point of view (ibid). The aims of this approach are very much conducive to the aims of my research; however, a traditional ethnographic study entails long periods of submersion and active study, and is unrealistic for an undergraduate dissertation. For this reason, I have chosen to adopt Wolcott’s (1990) conceptualization of a *micro-ethnography* (as cited in Bryman, 2012; 433). Through this form of ethnographic study, I chose to focus the bulk of my participant observation on a particular aspect of the research; my time as an intern with the community-based organization RWH. By doing this I could submerge myself in an organization working specifically towards finding housing solutions for marginalized residents of Malmö. This organization played an important role in the materialization of this research, and at times acted as a gatekeeper which introduced me to key concepts, ideas, and informants. Additionally, my role as an equal member of the group is what characterizes this method as overt-participant observation, which refers to my full involvement in the operations of the organization while remaining transparent to the group about my position as a researcher (Bryman, 2012; 441).

While my time of participation at the organization can be characterized as in-depth and submersing, the length was only for a few months and therefore qualifies this method of data collection as a *micro-ethnography* as opposed to a full-scale ethnographic study. The field notes which were taken throughout this period will play an important role as a supplement to my personal experience in the field. These may range from brief notes taken on my phone in the middle of conversation, in-depth field notes taken at the end of the day, or notes taken during official activities conducted by the organization. All my personal reflections which were written down played a large role in motivating my initial conceptualization of the problem I chose to research, as well as acted as a springboard for theoretical elaboration of the data collected through semi-structured interviews (Bryman, 2012; 447).

6.5 Semi-Structured Interviews

The second method I used to collect my data was semi-structured interviews. This was done to gain a better understanding of individual perspectives of the housing situation in Malmö, and what they think about the responsibilities of different actors. In preparation for the interviews, several open-ended broad topic questions were created prior to the interview appointment. Interview guides were constructed to act as a point of reference for myself as the interviewer (Bryman, 2012; 471) However, these prepared questions were mainly guidelines for myself to refer to as the interview went on, and the interview process remained flexible as myself and the interviewee were free and encouraged to pursue other topics which were interesting to the conversation (ibid). This method of data collection was particularly attractive to me regarding the overall aims and research design of the study. Semi-structured interviews are helpful towards understanding the participant's view on the context being studied, which is in line with the ontological position this research takes (Bryman, 2012).

6.6 Sampling Techniques

Due to the research aims, purposive sampling was used to sample participants in a strategic way which was relevant to the research questions (Bryman, 2012; 418). With this sampling technique in mind, I aimed to gain respondents which represented the three separate actors I established as having the most responsibility for providing access to housing; the state/municipality, the civil society, and the individual/family. A secondary sampling technique I used was snowball sampling, which was used in combination with purposive sampling and allowed me to use my initial interviewees to access further respondents I felt would be complimentary to my data (Bryman, 2012; 424). Kajsa Sörman (RWH Local Coordinator in Skåne) acted as my key informant and gatekeeper. Through her, and in combination with my involvement with RWH, I gained access to all my other respondents.

In total, I managed to conduct five independent interviews. A table with each of my respondents and their roles can be found in the appendix, as well as my interview guides used for each interview.

A potential problem which is often faced by qualitative research projects is the difficulty of establishing an appropriate sample size (Bryman, 2012; 425). Various criteria exist which all depend on the circumstances of the study, and while different opinions state different rules of thumb for the number of samples you need in relation to what type of research you are doing, there is general consensus that the sample size is large enough when saturation is achieved (Bryman, 2012). However, saturation of the data is subjective on behalf of the researcher and varies depending on the theoretical approach taken (ibid). For the purposes of this study, I felt that a sample size of five with at least one respondent representing each actor was suitable for the time and size constraints. With this said, a more in-depth study may be beneficial in terms of increasing generalizability by applying a larger sample size.

6.7 Data Analysis

The data collected through semi-structured interviewing was recorded on my iPhone and later transcribed for future reference and analysis (Bryman, 2012; 482). Data which was collected throughout my time of participant observation was recorded through personal notes on a variety of mediums such as notes on my phone, computer word documents, hand-written notes, and photographs, and were stored together for further analysis. From these physical resources the data was coded for themes which represented the respondents' views towards housing segregation in Malmö, and the role of various actors in finding solutions. These themes were viewed in connection to the theoretical frameworks of the PWS and AUM, and used to structure my empirical analysis based on how the themes were represented by each of the actors. Important quotes from my collected data were used to exemplify this process of analysis. Throughout the data collection process, and throughout my analysis I was aware that my understanding is subject to my own personal biases, and that this may have affected my empirical analysis (Bryman, 2012). The next section will explain further my considerations in terms of my positionality and ethical concerns throughout the research process.

6.8 Positionality and Ethical Considerations

While it is important to critically reflect on your research design and methods, it is also important to reflect on your own role as the researcher throughout the research process (Bryman, 2012; 39). By doing this I will be able to ensure more transparency for this research. However, I am aware that my views and biases were constantly present, and no matter how neutral I attempted to be it is impossible to keep those out of influencing the research process (Sultana, 2007).

My perspective on the research subject was influenced by my role as a person who has grown up in a neoliberal society, and who has had their ideologies and observations constructed by the values and realities of an environment which functions on neoliberal values. It is because of this positionality which leads me to connect the influences of neoliberal policies with the structural changes that have occurred in Sweden regarding housing provision and other welfare services. As briefly mentioned before, I am a resident of Malmö, and have been for three years prior to this research. I also remained an active member of the NGO Refugees Welcome Housing after my involvement as an intern with them. These factors as well as my role as a local university student have influenced my positionality as a researcher due to my level of inclusion and familiarity with the subject context. Due to this positionality, I had a relatively easy time gaining access to vital and additional data for this research such as official documents about the demography and housing geography of Malmö, information concerning collaborations amongst RWH and other NGOs and the city, and numerous informants.

To remain honest and transparent throughout the entire research process it was important for me to disclose my various roles to all of those involved. This means that the members of RWH were aware of my role as a researcher throughout my participation. Furthermore, any respondents who were used in my data collection which I gained through the organization were asked to separate their view of me as a

representative for RWH and think of me only as a researcher (Rose, 1997). While this was discussed with each interviewee, I cannot ensure that my positionality as both a member of RWH and an independent researcher did not affect the empirical data generated from those interviews. In addition, this separation was important to distinguish for myself, and was a challenge throughout the beginning phases of the research process as I attempted to determine how I needed to act as both a member of the society being studied, and the one who was doing the studying (Sultana, 2007). It is imperative that this distinction was made due to the aims of the research as attempting to understand the roles of providing housing amongst different factions of society. However, my positionality and connections to more than one of those factions was also extremely beneficial toward gaining a more well-rounded perspective of the subject and my data. Despite my attempts to separate my various degrees of positionality, it is important to note that there is always a degree of bias on behalf of the researcher which affects the research (Scheyvans and Storey, 2003).

Certain ethical considerations were also made. My position as a member of RWH or as the researcher were never used to intentionally influence a person's participation in my study, or to convince somebody to allow me access to information (Rose, 1997). Additionally, all my interviews always began with confirmation of consent on behalf of the respondent to participate as well as the discussion of confidentiality and anonymity.

My positionality had a large influence on the choice of this subject for my research. While an outsider could also have conducted this study with potentially less biased perspectives, I believe that my cultural understanding of the context provided me with a beneficial vantage point. However, my findings and empirical analysis are my own interpretation of the problem and the case, and I do not claim that the findings of this study are absolute.

6.9 Limitations

The subjectivity of this research is something that could be viewed as a potential limitation in terms of the generalizability of the findings. However, due to the nature of the research questions and the scope of the study being focused on a particular context, the methods which have been applied are the most appropriate, and present a greater amount of benefits when compared to the lack of generalizability.

Furthermore, due to the time and size limitations which exist for an undergraduate dissertation, the capabilities I had concerning depth of topics were restricted. This opens the door for possible further research which dives deeper into the concepts of housing provision, different forms of segregation, capitalism and its effects on welfare structuring, and the exploration of these topics on different scales such as Sweden as a whole or on the European level.

7. Empirical Analysis

The following section will present the empirical data collected through interviews with respondents. In connection to the specific aims and research questions, the first sub-section will explore the reality of housing segregation in Malmö, and the attitudes various respondents have toward the way it materializes in the context. The following three sub-sections will break down the roles and responsibilities of each of the three actors. This is done in three separate parts; the government, the civil society, and the individual, and uses quotations to highlight the opinions of different respondents towards the actor that is being addressed in each section.

Throughout the analysis, connections to the theoretical framework will be made by highlighting important concepts that arose through the data. In addition, my own thoughts and perspectives will be used as a bridge connecting the themes expressed in the quotations, and introducing my personal conceptualizations of the content.

7.1 Segregation and Marginalization

Through the empirical data, it can be understood that housing segregation does exist in Malmö, and that it has potentially negative effects on the social development of the city. Most of the respondents interviewed for this research pointed to a clear division within the social geography of Malmö. It was an important concept brought up by Mouhamad (2017), a coordinator from Malmö Stad, when we discussed some of the problems the municipality recognizes in Malmö when it comes to housing issues.

“Segregation is a big problem. Like if I were to ask you who lives at Västra Hamnen or at Limhamn you will say Swedish people. If I say who lives at Möllevången or Rosengård you will say people of other nationalities. So it’s very obvious that segregation is a big problem. It creates us and them, and that’s not what we [Malmö Stad] are looking for.”

The concept of ‘us and them’ was one that presented itself often throughout the data, and is also one which Wacquant (1996, 1999) claims lies at the foundation of the processes of AUM. When we link Wacquant’s theory to the way segregation is shaping the social geography of Malmö, it is clear that the division of ‘us and them’ is following the same boundaries which were outlined throughout the theory, and is affecting the way that certain residents are able to experience and access the city. Segregation based on housing opportunities supports the processes of AUM, and the way that the housing market is constructed in Sweden leads to a clear representation of both contingent and systematic marginalization.

Fueled by economic capabilities and geographic location, the housing segregation which exists in Malmö limits the ability of certain people to gain equal access to housing in various parts of the city. An illustration of the limited access marginalized populations feel is given by Alqumit (2017), a refugee who is currently in the asylum process, as he speaks about his ideal place to live within Malmö.

“I want to move to Malmö, yeah, I want to be like in the city... and I know it’s impossible to live in Västra Hamnen... it’s too expensive, like deadly expensive!”

This perspective of certain areas of Malmö was presented numerous times throughout the data, and represents a consistent system of contingent marginality based on the inability of particular individuals to access areas of the city due to the dynamics of the free market.

Kajsa (2017), and active member of civil society, further addresses this pattern of marginality based on economic inequality:

“I think the big problem here is inequality between people... It is very clear that there are areas where, uh, rich people are living, and those areas will continue to, uh, like in Limhamn now they are building these apartments down by the water... and it’s going to cost millions to live there, and the young kids who have been growing up in Limhamn will probably be buying apartments there with their partners.”

This illustrates a general lack of access on behalf of entire populations of the city to certain areas. When we compare this reality to theories the PWS and AUM, it supports the claims made throughout those frameworks that a relationship filled with contradictions exists between the economic and social structures of capitalist free-market economies and the social ideals of the welfare state.

Contingent marginalization created by disadvantages navigating the market is a clear consequence of the segregation in Malmö. However, systematic marginalization which is created out of non-market forces of social bias is another example of the way segregation negatively affects a society. This socially constructed form of stigmatization towards individuals or communities which is described throughout the theorization of marginalization was particularly relevant to the empirical data I collected.

This is represented in the way Alcqumit refers to a specific area of Malmö called Rosengård.

“...you know, only Middle Eastern people live there and stuff like this... they feel isolated... like the community like did isolate you and put you into a box.”

This reflects a common perspective towards this part of the city that was expressed by every one of my respondents. As was described in Kajsa’s earlier comment regarding the area of Limhamn, people who are classified as ‘local’ or of mainly Swedish heritage often live in western and central areas of the city, while those who are mainly foreign-born tend to live in areas on the eastern and southern edges of Malmö. This pattern supports the construction of social prejudices towards the people who live in those areas, and creates a form of marginalization that goes beyond disadvantage due to economic inequalities, but disadvantage due to an individual’s physical position in society.

“I think that where you live definitely can change what possibilities you have...especially when we have very segregated areas...”

Emma’s (2017) comments on the role she believes geographic location plays on a person’s capabilities reflects this concept of marginalization based on space. She goes further to explain that in areas such as Rosengård, large waves of immigration

corresponded with economic decline, and as a result the newly arrived residents settled in the most affordable and available areas.

“...when I moved to Skåne in ‘95, 75 percent of Rosengård, the apartments were empty. They were tearing down buildings because people, the population had gone down and so on, so there were a lot of empty apartments there. And when new waves of immigrants have come to Sweden in different forms, of course you move into an apartment that’s free... and then of course you get clusters of nationalities, which is not strange at all...”

This illustrates the idea that geographical segregation and urban marginality are supported and continually reinforced by the social and economic structures of capitalism. It goes further to express that this pattern is on-going through a connection between the reality described by Emma and the classifications of marginalization which are applied to this research. Residents of areas such as Rosengård chose that space based on availability, and due to the characteristics of a market society, those spaces continue to be chosen by people who have similar economic and social conditions as the people who live there.

It can be inferred through the data that the housing segregation which exists in Malmö today is a consequence of the liberalization of the market, and a shift in the government’s perspective of housing to something that should be subjected to free market-forces. Kajsa (2017) comments on the role that the market has on creating segregation.

“...housing is hard. It’s a big problem in many places, but also more with privatizing like uh property and land and stuff... it’s cheaper to get contracts in cheaper parts of the city, and so that’s where you will go.”

In reference to the theory of the PWS, this aspect of the Swedish housing market creates a social geography that is determinant on economic factors as the leading influence when it comes to personal decisions regarding where a person will live. By commodifying space, the city becomes stratified on the same basis as the social class system, and those with specific economic capabilities will concentrate themselves in the most valued areas while those with less means are forced to find housing in spaces which have a lower economic value. A more direct connection to this pattern and the PWS theory can be seen in Medhi’s (2017) opinion of the way society, but more specifically the government, views the housing issue in Malmö, and why it continues to be reinforced.

“I think the authorities are perceiving it by the demand is high, the offer is low... we view housing as a market, offer and demand. We do it, it is discrimination, it is marginalization, it is like, uh, alienation of specific groups.”

This idea of the way certain actors in society are viewing the role themselves and others have in creating this problem leads to the second aim of this research which is directed at examining the different roles particular factions of society play in finding solutions to housing segregation. To look at those roles, it’s first important to look at the perceived level of responsibility each actor has in solving the problem, however to break this down into simpler terms, the following will be separated into three sub-

sections referring to each of the three actors when it comes to finding solutions to housing segregation in Malmö.

7.2 The Government

The role of the government is mentioned numerous times as being expected to have the bulk of responsibility. This is consistent with the structure of the welfare-state in the Swedish context, and is represented by the views of the government itself, the civil society, and the individual.

However, the role the government is able to take in the context of Malmö is affected by the current relationship between the Swedish welfare system and increasingly liberal economic policies. The reality of the government perceiving housing as a commodity bounded by market principles greatly inhibits the role they have in finding concrete and sustainable solutions. When asked about the priorities of the municipality when it comes to assisting marginalized people with housing, in this case refugees who move to Malmö after receiving their residency permits, Mouhamad (2017) mentions that financial aspects are the main concern.

“Our target group... they do not make a lot of money... they have to find, some, some economically, how do you say it, affordable houses or apartments. They are in the segregated areas. Because, it’s cheaper to rent that apartments. It’s easier because it’s cheaper.”

Most of the apartments the municipality has been able to find for this target group are located in ‘segregated’ areas such as Rosengård, Segevång, and Holma, and while the authorities recognize that this reality exists, a common response was often:

“I do think the economy is a thing you have to have in mind always... it all depends on how much you have in your pocket.”

This form of operation on behalf of the government is further illustrated in the way the Swedish housing market is constructed, and the way the municipality of Malmö interacts with that market. As stated previously in the context section of this research, public housing companies which are owned by the municipality have recently been encouraged by the state to operate on market principles and for-profit motives. Furthermore, when many of the companies which control the housing options in Malmö are owned by the city, it is easy to determine that the theorization of the PWS can be applied to the way the authorities are handling the housing market in Malmö.

“Segepark is owned by another department in Malmö Stad called Stadsfastigheter. They are the ones managing these building.”

Segepark is a housing complex located in the area of Segevång which is managed by the municipality and offers housing for the target group mentioned previously by Mouhamad. While this facility is owned by the municipality, and presents an example of some of the concrete initiatives the authorities have done to assist marginalized groups with housing solutions, the geographic location of the complex supports the patterns of segregation which exist in the city. However, in reference to concepts of the PWS which note a shift in the priorities of the government, the city of Malmö seems to place economic gains over the possibility to provide sustainable solutions for

this target group. This is represented by Mouhamad's (2017) mention of the future of the Segepark housing complex.

"We have to leave Segepark by the end of 2017. Because they are going to sell the place to other people that are interested... So they're going to tear it down."

This highlights a complicated reality when it comes to the authorities who hold stake in the Swedish Housing Market. Although Segepark is an existing solution for housing issues experienced by some marginalized people, the tendency for the company Stadsfastigheter to sell this complex for economic gain is an alarming reality when examining the municipality's priorities. Furthermore, the fact that this company is owned by the city opens the field for questioning over the public-private divide of housing provision in Malmö, and whether it is only the 'housing companies' which are operating on market terms, or also the municipality. While this can be used to support the connection between the PWS theory and the operations of the government in regard to the housing market, it doesn't mean that the municipality doesn't recognize the responsibility they have towards holding a major role in finding alternative solutions.

"So we, need, we must to have an alternative to our tenants. So in this case we've ordered modules that we are gonna place on the whole city, and they will have a share."

This is a proposed solution that the city is working on in response to both the issue of finding housing, and the issue of segregation. While the modules he mentions would be temporary solutions, and would only be available to the target group of this project, it shows a recognition on behalf of the authorities that not only is there a segregation problem, but they have a role in fixing it.

"What I think, I think, I think they [the municipality] are looking at the integration process. It won't benefit us to put all these people in a certain area because it will just pour more oil on the segregation."

The government's role as it is expressed by Mouhamad exemplifies the complicated relationship between welfare states and the free market that is discussed throughout the PWS theory. It seems that the city of Malmö is still trying to distinguish their own role in accordance to the capabilities that they have while confined to national political and economic shifts.

7.3 The Civil Society

Although the municipality's role seems to be greatly influenced by market principles, it can also be inferred from the data that this does not negatively impact their initiatives towards finding solutions outside the capabilities of the government. Mouhamad (2017) acknowledges the limitations put on the role of the municipality towards finding solutions to housing segregation, and the benefits that being open to cooperation with other factions of society could have in regard to finding solutions.

"...they [civil society] have resources that we don't have...they can do things that we can't do. We've got to go by the law so to say, Refugees

Welcome can basically do what they have in mind, they don't have to follow a certain law that we have to do working in the municipalities."

This acknowledges the boundaries that the government has when trying to find solutions, and presents a connection to the positives which can be found in the structure of community organizations. CSOs and NGOs can basically operate on their own terms, and have more flexibility when it comes to finding alternatives. Therefore, they have the potential to gain higher levels of success in terms of being creative with finding alternative solutions. The fact that the city recognizes this and is acting on that quality of civil society is a positive sign towards cooperation amongst the two actors.

However, the civil society as its own independent actor creates an interesting connection to the PWS theory. While numerous movements and organizations exist within the context of Malmö, it is important to mention that without the embrace of neoliberal economic policies, the role of the civil society may not even exist. Unlike the government, the role the civil society plays in terms of the segregation issue, and any other social issue, is completely voluntary and influenced by a lack of involvement from the authorities.

"And so I would say that first when I started to like engage in things it was not because I believed there was things the government couldn't handle or managed and we needed to like cover-up for their fuck ups or whatever, or their lack of ambition and responsibility. But now I definitely see it like that."

This remark made by Kajsa (2017) represents the difference between the responsibility held by the government versus that of the civil society.

"I think it's the most beautiful thing ever that people are like just deciding that they are not happy with the way things are, and just like doing something about it and taking on the responsibility that they don't have, no one gave it to them they just took it on themselves."

The willingness on behalf of the civil society to take on a portion of the responsibility combined with the municipalities desire to search for new alternatives has led to a fresh wave of cooperative efforts between the two actors. Despite the reasons why responsibility has shifted, the role the civil society is playing is notable when it comes to the initiatives they implement. CSOs and NGOs present such an interesting angle towards finding solutions, because they took the responsibility upon themselves rather than having it put upon them through a system of laws and political structuring. Medhi (2017) supports this by expressed a critique of the role the government can potentially have toward finding solutions.

"Because they [the government] do have the responsibility according to law, to represent what are the different solutions and facilities."

While the municipality does offer these types of initiatives in the form of providing information and access to support through government agencies such as Arbetsförmedlingen (The Employment Agency), and Försäkringskassan (Social Insurance Agency), there is no centralized agency which exists solely for housing issues. Mehdi (2017) criticizes the ability of the government in this aspect, especially regarding finding solutions to the housing problem.

“I think one of the problems, since you mention housing and municipalities, is information... it’s very difficult to know what are the rights, housing rights, and what are the possibilities offered by the municipality.”

This is one aspect in which the civil society has played a complementary role to solving the issue of marginalized communities gaining better access to the housing market. Mouhmand mentions an organization called Ibn Rushd Södra, and the role they take in this aspect.

“We have a cooperation that our tenants will go on workshops at Ibn Rushd that will help them learn how to search for apartments at Boplats Syd... I mean this organization won’t do any miracles... but they will give them the tools to search for apartments.”

This cooperation between the municipality and Ibn Rushd creates a solid alternative towards increasing access to housing on behalf of marginalized residents of Malmö. However, it doesn’t directly address the issue of segregation. Another initiative provided by the civil society is from the organization RWH, which operates by matching refugees with Swedish individuals or families who would like to rent out a room in their home. This presents a sustainable alternative towards housing for marginalized individuals, while also addressing the problem of segregation by arranging accommodation which is often located in areas of the city where they may otherwise not have access. The organization has been in operation independently, but has recently created a cooperation with the municipality. Kajsa describes the arrangement mainly as a way for the municipality to disperse their own responsibility for finding housing solutions for refugees. The following quote is a brief account of the conversation she had with the organization’s contact person from Malmö Stad.

“So if we [Malmö Stad] could start by having a cooperation with you [RWH], because I hear that you need a lot of things, and we can probably offer many of those... Ok Malmö Stad, but what do you want in return? And then he was like, I don’t expect anything, but there’s 120 people living in this place in Segevång, and it’s 700 more coming...as soon as they move out they are not our responsibility anymore. So then when they move out it becomes someone else’s responsibility.”

The transfer of responsibility expressed here can be directly connected to the PWS theory, and a shift in the government’s perspective of their own role. In addition, this relates to the idea of the civil society acting as a substitute for decreased involvement of the state when they need to choose between market-driven and socially-driven interventions. This is a main topic of critique when it comes to the perspectives the civil society has towards whose responsibility it is to find housing solutions that lessen segregation. One example of this builds on the topics expressed earlier by Medhi (2017).

“...coming from the municipality... we are not solution driven... and I think it’s very much this fear of if we say what is available, a lot of people will ask for it.”

This refers further to the lack of personal responsibility recognized on behalf of the government, and that rather than finding sustainable solutions, the city of Malmö tends

to withhold their own capabilities with the incentive of sustaining resources. Perhaps even riding on the expectation that civil society will inevitably pick up the slack. This is further supported by Kajsa (2017).

“I think that it’s shit that Malmö Stad can’t provide it, or like that Sweden can’t provide it. And the problem is that we can, but we decide that we don’t want to. Because it’s not a priority.”

However, despite the critiques both Kajsa and Mehdi have towards the role the government plays in solving the problem, the civil society lives up to its reputation as being a solution-driven, creative contributor which presents a viable complementary role towards finding alternatives. This is represented through Kajsa’s (2017) objective perspective of the cooperation amongst the government and the civil society.

“...we can continue doing as we are doing it now and it hasn’t been working very well, or we can try this really really interesting idea which has been working here and here and like arguing for it, and then of course you know I don’t believe that like politicians or companies are doing bad things on purpose either. I just think that there is a lot of pressure.”

She remains critical of the role the municipality has played so far, but continues to be positive to the prospect of cooperation and dialogue amongst the two actors. Medhi (2017) further exemplifies this by criticizing the way the municipality has responded to the civil society in the past.

“Well if there is a general problem, it is that the decision makers, or the policy makers are not listening to civil society in general. I don’t think, in this particular case, civil society is being seen as a resource, but instead being seen as groups that are interfering with the authorities work.”

However, he also remains constructive by mentioning:

“...it is the state that is having that responsibility, but it would have been interesting to see other forms of reception that is provided by civil society. Um, because civil society are method incubators... I would have wished some sort of task forces, task groups that are, ok let’s put all these authorities together and try to find some sort of simplified method, simplified packages, or alternative methods. Including civil society as well, in the decision making.”

Medhi (2017) uses these concepts of cooperation also in reference to the potential role civil society could have, regardless of whether the authorities are involved or not.

Um, if we take the civil society in general. Like we have one of the largest organizations in Sweden with the largest membership base is the um, rental contract holder organization... Hyresgästförening, that is like a huge advocacy group for rentees, tenants... That would have been very interesting to have those groups having a social responsibility, taking their responsibility in the housing crisis to provide, let's say a share of, of their membership, or a share of their

housing units that would be allocated specifically to groups that do not have it.”

This demonstrates how although the civil society has the potential to play a large role in finding solutions to the unequal distribution of housing, there is still work which needs to be done to harness the full capabilities of those resources. Furthermore, Medhi (2017) calls for a shift in perspective of behalf of all actors when it comes to the role they play.

“If we perceived housing as rights, as a human right, as a fundamental right, we would have had that analysis, but if we view housing as a market, offer and demand, then we only see it as well the demand is high the offer is low.”

Despite the inevitable influence the role of the economy plays on the capabilities of the civil society to provide solutions, a crucial aspect which distinguishes the position they take in relation to the problem is their larger ability to view the problem from the perspective of the individual.

7.4 The Individual

While both the government and the civil society play a crucial part in ensuring equal access to housing, the role of the individual in creating solutions can also make a significant impact on the experiences of particular people. In reference to the PWS theory and the conceptualization of the welfare state in the context of Sweden, among the purposes of the welfare system is to promote individual independence. Originally this was done to decrease reliance on family networks by preventing the exhaustion of the family's ability to support its members. This has created a cultural characteristic of Swedish society which lessens the role that family has in an adult's life. Emma (2017) mentions the way that this aspect of growing up in a welfare state has influenced her own life, and her relationship with her family.

“...the Swedish values is, or at least my generation of the Swedish values was, as soon as you finish high school you move away from home. And if you don't your parents will start charging you rent. And, and you're, alone is strong... and, they're good and bad, because I can see, I mean there's a lot of great things about having a 'close' network that lives close to you and can help you... but when it comes to integration I think it's better to not live in a community.”

This illustrates the effect that the welfare state has had on the responsibility of the individual and their family regarding support, and increases the responsibility of the state in terms of supplying those types of provisions. However, it has already been uncovered that in the Swedish context, the government does not provide the same level of assistance towards housing as it does to other welfare provisions. This aspect of the Swedish welfare system, particularly after shifts towards more neoliberal policies, has the potential to increase patterns of segregation within Malmö. For residents who come to the city as a refugee or an immigrant, the support of the government in terms of helping them find housing is either non-existent, or as we have already seen, feeds into the existing social geography. For this reason, those who come to Malmö from cultures which place higher degrees of reliance on the family will then rely either on family members who already live in Sweden, or on those who come from the same

culture. Furthermore, as we have seen, immigrant populations tend to concentrate in certain areas which are subjected to social stigmatization and high degrees of segregation from the rest of the city. Therefore, a newly arrived individual is automatically subjected to a degree of systematic collateral marginalization. This preserves the need of reliance on the family felt by these populations, and consequently undermines the responsibility of the state towards finding solutions to segregation as these individuals may seek out less assistance from the government.

Kajsa (2017) supports this by mentioning a potential effect family has on the capabilities of the individual to find housing, and how that may affect the responsibility of the government.

“...people who are coming to Sweden as migrants and are having a family member or someone staying here, they move in together with that person rather than going to a Migrationboard’s camps.”

While this presents the existence of an important support network, it doesn’t do much to combat patterns of segregation, but could in fact promote it. Additionally, it could affect the way the government views their own responsibility, by making their role at times inferior to the role of the individual’s own networks.

However, for those individuals who do not have any sort of familial support or a lack of support from the state in terms of finding housing, the civil society then presents a viable safety net. Alqumit (2017), a current refugee in the asylum process who lives outside of Malmö, spoke about the role that civil society has played in making his experience finding housing more manageable. Throughout my discussion with him he described the processes he went through to find housing as a refugee, and he claimed that he has had a relatively easy time finding housing and establishing himself in Malmö as opposed to others he knows in similar situations.

“But for me, having friends and you know working and exhibiting... I guess I’m privileged because I work with 5 organizations... you get to build new contacts, meet new people, making new friends, be in society, you know.”

It’s through these organizations and contacts that Alqumit was introduced to the organization RWH, which helped him move out of the forest of northern Sweden, and into Malmö society. In this sense, civil society has not only filled in as a substitute for the lack of initiatives provided by the state, but also for his lack of support from family. However, Alqumit still represents the theory of AUM even though he has received help from the civil society to become more included in society. The fact that he lives outside of Malmö supports the claim that marginalized people are often pushed to the peripheries, and experience less access to the city than other people.

“I want to move to Malmö, yeah. I want to be in the city... it’s true it’s not far [Skurup], but still you’re remote, you know.”

While Alqumit doesn’t have any family in Sweden, he also presents an interesting perspective to the role the family plays when it comes the increasing an individual’s personal capabilities. Even if you’re family isn’t there to support you, the role they play in helping you to support yourself is also important. In the case of this respondent, his family’s methods of raising him led him to rely on himself as a source of support, and this has helped him to have an easier time adjusting to life in Swedish society and

avoiding some of the realities of marginalization or segregation. But not everybody has this experience, and for those who didn't have family support growing up and don't have it today, that's where the state and the civil society need to step in. This is supported by the way Alqumit (2017) discusses his relationship to his family, even though they live in Syria and not with him in Sweden.

“I was raised in a family that was always chasing more stuff, and reaching the things that you want to do... I believe that you shouldn't wait for anything... I want to do something.”

The concept of personal goals was something that came up frequently throughout the empirical data in relation to the role that the individual has in gaining equal access to housing. Emma (2017) describes the influence that an individual's desire to be a part of society has on their role in housing segregation.

“...those who want to be integrated and they say I have come to Sweden and my aim is to be speaking Swedish, and I want my children to grow up here, and my grandchildren and so on. Then I think where you live has a lot... but um, there will be groups of people who are refugees, or are even immigrants who know that this is not where I want to end.”

This could have negative consequences on the success of various initiatives implemented by the different actors. Both the civil society and the government could present potentially successful alternatives to housing which could solve the segregation issue and equalize the social geography of Malmö, but if the individual that those initiatives are aimed to are not interested in participating then those projects will not be successful. This has the possibility of greatly determining the roles of the other actors and the level of inclination they present towards creating new solutions.

Despite this reality, the municipality and the civil society continue to propose alternative solutions for those who are interested in living in an area which is less segregated, but are at a disadvantage due to varying degrees of marginalization. One thing that was clear throughout my discussion with Mouhamad (2017) was that the main role the municipality attempts to have is to increase the capabilities of the individual in regard to navigating the housing market.

“We help them with insurance, we help them sign up on Boplats Syd, we are there as a support.”

This same motivation is present throughout the civil society, but is more grounded in the ideals of social responsibility as opposed to political or legal responsibilities.

“...they are the ones who need to speak about what needs to be done, rather than me who doesn't actually, like, face the problem speaking on their behalf... the best thing we can do as an asylum rights movement is fucking celebrate all of those initiatives, and like push them forward and say that we support them and stand behind them.”

Kajsa (2017) mentions the enthusiasm of social movements and community organizations and the role it plays in providing support for other members of society. These same ideals of social responsibility are also evident in the actions of the state

through the existence of any form of assistance on behalf of the government. Emma (2017) claims that this is possible in Sweden,

“Because we are um, a country that takes responsibility for the refugee situation.”

This can be seen in regard to not only the refugee situation, but any social problem that exists. No matter what conflicts may arise amongst the initiatives implemented and the attitudes amongst different actors, each of the respondents who contributed to this research expressed optimism for the future. However, regardless of the driving forces influencing an actor’s perceived level of responsibility, the role each one has towards finding solutions is an important contribution to solving the overall issue of housing segregation in Malmö.

“We have the capacity to do it, we can.” - Medhi (2017)

7.5 Discussion

Based on the empirical data it seems that the division of responsibility that each actor holds can be divided regarding those who are collaterally marginalized and those who are systematically marginalized.

Collaterally marginalized people can gain a larger amount of support from the government due to the nature of their resources being based in economic terms. This includes physical housing; however, this is often in areas where housing is cheaper therefore leading to further systematic marginalization based on geographic location. This also includes other forms of support which decrease the effects of having less financial capital on their position in society, such as language classes, workshops aiming to help them gain skills at finding jobs and searching for housing through various government agencies. Perhaps this can be connected to the fact that much of what the government does is based on their financial capabilities and the economic benefits compared to economic risks. Those who are more systematically marginalized can rely more heavily on the civil society. This is due to their focus on support that is more rights-based and centered on social work values rather than economic principles. Because of this, community organizations place more value on work that addresses social dynamics and the way that those patterns enforce marginalization and segregation.

Throughout all of this, there will always be a certain degree of responsibility on behalf of the individual which can be materialized through personal initiatives or support from family and other social networks. This is based on the social principles which lay at the foundation of both the welfare state and the economic structure of capitalism. The formation of the welfare state is based on principles which promote individual achievement, and capitalist ideals support nothing more than personal acquisition with the aims of attaining the most comfortable life possible. While Sweden may be experiencing a bumpy transition from one method of social and economic development to another, it is clear from this data that all three of the examined actors present different roles in relation to their own responsibility of ensuring equal access to housing.

8. Conclusion

The aim of this study has been to understand the realities of housing segregation in Malmö while also exploring the different roles and levels of responsibility various actors have towards finding solutions. The way that segregation has materialized in the case of Malmö was viewed through the theoretical frameworks of the PWS theory and AUM. By utilizing this point of view, I could better understand the structural aspects of the Swedish housing market in relation to the political, economic, and social realities of the context. An abductive approach to the problem allowed me to take inferences made throughout my theoretical frameworks and apply them to the empirical data in a way that made sense to my own conceptualization of the research. During four months of ethnographic participant observation I collected five interviews with individuals who represented each of the three main groups of actors I was examining; the government, the civil society, and the individual.

Based on my own observations, previous discourse, and data collected through the interviews, I was able to gain a clearer understanding of the ways segregation exists in Malmö, and the consequences it has on society. For example, a major factor which exacerbates housing segregation is the adoption of neoliberal economic policies when it comes to how the government interacts with the housing market. Housing provision based on market principles as opposed to human rights organizes the city by social class, and promotes exclusionary tendencies by promoting stigmatization and marginalization upon those associated with specific areas of Malmö.

Throughout my analysis and discussion, it was observed that the roles and responsibilities different actors hold in terms of solving the issues of segregation depend on several factors. First, the role an actor takes is affected by the responsibility that they have. In terms of the government, this is constructed legally, and therefore they have an obligatory level of responsibility regarding finding solutions. Because of the neoliberal nature of the housing market in Sweden, this often materializes in the form of a financial responsibility. However, due to the traditional role of the state in terms of welfare provision in Sweden, civil society puts a certain degree of social responsibility onto the government. This affects the role the government plays. In contrast, the civil society takes a voluntary position when it comes to the responsibility they hold in the issue, and acts solely on a self-induced sense of moral and social responsibility. However, the responsibility experienced by the civil society is connected to the theory of the PWS in that civil society acts as a substitute when state involvement prioritizes market-driven over socially-driven interventions.

The individual will always be at the center of the segregation issue. In connection to the theoretical framework, housing segregation generates varying degrees of marginalization on behalf of certain individuals. When an individual is marginalized they are placed at a disadvantage in relation to the rest of society. This is where they are likely to turn to alternative sources of support such as the government or the civil society. However, the role each of these actors play can be connected to the types of marginalization a person experiences. Those who are contingently marginalized from gaining access to housing can gain more support from the government due to higher levels of financial capital. While those who are systematically marginalized have better opportunities receiving support from the civil society due to their resources being heavy in social capital.

To conclude, the roles and responsibilities each actor holds in this issue is far from black and white. There is need for achieving a higher level of dialogue between the various actors in Malmö so that the resources available to each can be utilized to a greater extent. Increased collaboration and structure amongst the initiatives employed by the civil society and the state would play a large role in reducing housing segregation and the disparities it creates in the urban environment.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Summary of the four types of marginality

Table 1. Summary of typology of marginality.

| Types of marginality | Scale of Analysis | | |
|----------------------|--|---|---|
| | Macro | Micro | In situ |
| Contingent | Core/periphery disparities on account of distance decay, cultural barriers to diffusion, and market imperfections | Central city abandonment and marginalization by suburban hedonism (hedonistic metropolitan enclaves) | "Gated" or "walled" communities within urban neighbourhoods to maintain desired and uniform housing stock and other residential characteristics. |
| Systemic | Core-periphery disparity resulting from hegemonic (antagonistic and dependency driven) development process | Hegemonic containment of inner city neighbourhoods (red-lining, outcast ghetto) | Segregation: racial, ethnic, cultural, class-based, age-based (restrictive residential covenants). |
| Collateral | Regional negative contagion effects (negative externalities) from systemically marginalized people on those who do not share the same vulnerabilities (development loans, FDI, etc.) | Subregional negative contagion effects (negative externalities) from marginalized people on those who do not share the same vulnerabilities (inadequate social and economic infrastructure, pollution, institutional decay) | Small-area negative externalities experienced by people who reside in marginalized neighbourhoods but do not share the same vulnerabilities (predicament of early gentrifiers). |
| Leveraged | TNC-led "downward wage leveling", outsourcing, subcontracting, union-busting using systemically marginalized low-wage labour pools in LDCs | Metropolitan housing stock turnovers due to differential market bidding between low-income and high-income households mediated by real estate establishments (arbitrage in housing markets) | Real estate manipulation of local housing markets by using arbitrage in block-busting and similar changes in diverse neighbourhoods |

Source: Mehretu, A., Pigozzi, B. and Sommers, L. (2000)

Appendix 2: Table of Respondents

| <i>Respondent</i> | <i>Specific Role</i> | <i>Position Amongst Actors</i> |
|-------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| <i>Kajsa</i> | Local Coordinator for RWH | Civil Society |
| <i>Emma</i> | Resident of Malmö | Individual |
| <i>Alqumit</i> | Resident of Malmö in the asylum process | Individual |
| <i>Mouhamad</i> | Coordinator for Malmö Stad | The Government |
| <i>Medhi</i> | Coordinator for Noak's Ark | Civil Society |

Appendix 3: Interview Guide Kajsa

- Can you describe your position in civil society and the different activities or initiatives you are involved in?
- What prompted you to become involved in community organizations?
- Is there a large amount of interest amongst the civil society in Malmo regarding housing solutions for immigrants/refugees?
- How responsive or collaborative is the municipality or the government in regards to community based initiatives?

- What are the policies implemented by the government in regard to housing for refugees and immigrants in Malmo?
- How important are networks (personally and professionally) toward the quality of work your organization is able to do?
- Do the networks of the people using the services of your organization affect the type of people you are in contact with? Do you believe that those with more personal contacts would be less inclined to participate in community groups for assistance?
- Is there any correlation or trend in terms of which parts of the city more people are engaged in your organization? Either as volunteers, or as hosts?
- Is geography a concept that your organization takes into account throughout it's work?

Appendix 4: Interview Guide Emma

- What motivated you to become engaged in the work that Refugees Welcome does?
- How visible is the work of community organizations in the Refugees Welcome movement in Malmo?
- What sort of implications do you believe came out of this living arrangement? [a refugee in your home]
- What is the general perception in this neighborhood about refugees living here?
- Would it be difficult for the municipality to gain support amongst the community for establishing a refugee camp in the area?
- How engaged is your local community in the Refugees Welcome movement?

Appendix 5: Interview Guide Alqumit

- First can you tell me your story? A little bit about your background, and why/when you came to Sweden?
- Where did you live when you first arrived in Sweden?
- What were your opinions about the way the Swedish authorities handled your housing?
- What motivated you to begin searching for alternative housing?
- How were you introduced to Refugees Welcome Housing?

- What have been some of the most beneficial outcomes from living with Linnea?
- Can you describe your network in Sweden? Friends, family, etc, and how important that is to you?
- What has been the role of community organizations/civil society on your life in Malmo?
- In terms of making you feel welcome and included in Malmo, which has played a larger role, the state or the civil society?
- Do you feel unwelcome or excluded from certain areas of the city? Has living with Linnea changed the way you feel?

Appendix 6: Interview Guide Mouhamad

- First can you briefly the housing market in Malmo, and the different private and public actors which are involved in housing provision?
- What are the city's capabilities for providing housing for refugees and asylum seekers?
- Which department handles finding housing for newly arrived people in Malmo?
- Where are public housing facilities for refugees located?
- How does the city determine where refugee housing will be located?
- Would the city consider locating refugee housing in the city center?
 - Are there any public housing facilities in the city center already? Where are they, how many people live there? Why aren't there any there already?
- Does public opinion influence where housing for refugees gets established?
- Does the city own the buildings which house refugees?
 - If not then who does?
- Does the city offer incentives for residents of public housing to leave the area in which they live. Such as activities in the form of community programs or job opportunities.
- How willing is the city to cooperate with community organizations in regards to housing alternatives, and how common is this?
- What is your opinion on the claim that recently, more asylum seekers are standing up to claim their rights, and are more proactive in finding alternative solutions to provisions given to them by the government?

Appendix 7: Interview Guide Medhi

- What is Noak's Ark, and what role does it play in the lives of the people who receive help from it?
- What kind of initiatives does Noak's Ark participate in?
- What other actors/entities does Noak's Ark cooperate with?
- Does Noak's Ark have any cooperation with the municipality?
- What is the relationship between Noak's Ark and the rest of civil society?