

**Active Citizenship and Ethnic Associational Networks in the Multi-ethnic
Neighborhoods of Holma and Kroksbäck:
Policy Strategies and Barriers to Foster Social Capital.**

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Master Thesis in Built Environment (15 credits)

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Cover Page:

‘Kroksbäck viewed from Kroksbäcksparken’; photo taken by the author, 2013

All photographs are taken by the author in 2013

Summary

Social sustainability and sustainable communities are strongly linked to the concepts of social cohesion and social capital. Social capital arises through social networks, active citizenship, community volunteerism and taking part in social networks, which may be family, friends or associations. Through a high level of social capital, social cohesion can be fostered in communities. This is the aim of current urban policies, as cities nowadays struggle with high degrees of social segregation, fragmentation and polarisation. In an urban context these problems become visible through deprived neighborhoods, which are physically and socially isolated from the urban core. This phenomenon often goes hand in hand with ethnic segregation. These problems also emerge in Scandinavian cities, like the city of Malmö in southern Sweden. This paper will thus show what kind of policies are undertaken by the municipality to face social exclusion and to support active citizenship in the neighborhoods. This will be demonstrated with the aid of the case of the neighborhoods of Holma and Kroksbäck in the southern fringe of Malmö. In these neighborhoods, dominated by immigrants from the Middle East, former Yugoslavia and Albania, the level of trust is low and social capital is eroded. Ethnic associations thereby play an important role as the voice of local residents in collaboration with the municipality. Some examples of successfully facilitated actions by citizens' participation in urban development by local residents- and barriers which occur will be analyzed.

Key words:

Social segregation, public participation, active citizenship, ethnic minorities, social capital, social cohesion, associations, social networks, institutionalization, urban social policies, trust, democratization

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1. Introduction

1.1 Sustainable Development

The mainstream economical policy is still dominated by the belief, that human well-being and prosperity are reachable through a globalized trade and industry. Sustainable development is questioning this approach. It was gradually established after the Second World War and combines environmental and socio-economic concerns. By realizing that our current economical system has failed to decrease poverty and environmental degradation within countries and in a global context, sustainable development calls for a new form of economy and thinking. In 1987, the commonly acknowledged and most famous definition of sustainable development was given in the report 'Our Common Future' written by the World Commission on Environment and Development, also known as the Brundtland Commission (Hopwood, Mellor and O'Brien, 2005, p. 39). In this document, sustainable development is described as a "development that meets the needs of the present without jeopardizing the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." (WCED, 1987, p. 59; in Hopwood, Mellor and O'Brien, 2005, p. 39). The emphasis is put on human development, equity in benefits and participation in decision-making. "The development proposed is a means to eradicate poverty, meet human needs and ensure that all get a fair share of resources – very different from present development. Social justice today and in the future is a crucial component of the concept of sustainable development" (Hopwood, Mellor and O'Brien, 2005, p. 39).

1.2 Sustainable Communities

The attention towards sustainable development by the cities rose due to the fact that in the year 2008 more than 50 % of the world's population lived in cities (Moriniere, 2012, p. 435). Furthermore the urban proportion of the world's population is predicted to increase to 61% until 2030 (Jenkins, Smith and Wang, 2007, p. 52). The European Union launched a document in the year 2005 called the 'Bristol Accord', which focuses on 'sustainable communities' and defines them as "places where people want to live and work, now and in the future. They meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, are sensitive to their environment, and contribute to a high quality of life. They are safe and inclusive, well planned, built and run, and offer equality of opportunity and good services for all" (ODPM, 2006, p. 12; in Dempsey et al. 2011, p. 290). The concept 'sustainable city' got well known and gained notable political momentum worldwide. Internationally awarded best practice examples in Europe are hereby amongst cities like Amsterdam, Barcelona and Malmö (Pitts, 2004; Urban Task Force, 1999; Dempsey et al., 2011, p. 290).

Less attention has been put in defining social sustainability in disciplines of built environment in literature. Most related are the overlapping concepts of 'social capital', 'social cohesion', 'social inclusion' and 'social exclusion'. Here the main focus lies in "strengthening civic participation and localized empowerment via social interaction and sense of community among all members/residents" (Putnam, 2000; Mitlin and Satterwaite, 1996; in Dempsey *et al.* 2011, p. 289-290). These concepts encompass norms of reciprocity, social networks and features of social organization (Dempsey, 2011, p. 293).

Sustainable communities thus contain “social interaction between community members; the relative stability of the community, both in terms of overall maintenance of numbers/ balance (net migration) and of the turnover of individual members; the existence of, and participation in, local collective institutions, formal and informal; levels of trust across the community, including issues of security from threats; and a positive sense of identification with, and pride in, the community” (Dempsey *et al.*, 2011, p. 293-294).

In different social settings amongst individuals, families or communities, social capital has a direct impact on social cohesion within a neighbourhood (Dempsey *et al.*, 2011, p. 294). Forrest and Kearns (2001, p. 2126) urge that social interaction and integration vanish more and more in present times. Contemporary societies are continuously developing towards further fragmentation. Stigmatized areas are one outcome of polarizing and fragmenting cities. Deprived areas are traditionally associated with poverty, ethnic origin or immigrant status (Wacquant, 2007, p. 67). “Even the societies that have best resisted the rise of advanced marginality, like the Scandinavian countries, are affected by this phenomenon of territorial stigmatization linked to the emergence of zones reserved for the urban outcasts” (Wacquant, 2007, p. 68).

It becomes crucial for local governments to use communities as a tool of social policy “linked to notions of active citizenship, individual responsibilities to community and especially participation in paid work [...]” (Worey, 2005, p. 486). There is the need to find new ways of management by governance. These are consensual and grounded on collaborations between the private sector, public authorities and civil society representatives. “The emergence of governance mechanisms, instead of hierarchical government policies, makes the issue of citizenship crucial [for] the redistribution of wealth that allows inclusion of all members of society in the mainstream way of life of society [...]” (Stigendahl, 2010, p. 29).

Keeping the concepts of social capital, social cohesion and local decision-making in mind as stated above, the city of Malmö and its neighborhoods Holma and Kroksbäck will be presented as the setting of this case study.

1.3 Sustainable Communities in the Context of the City of Malmö, Sweden

The City of Malmö (Figure 1) underwent a dramatic development in the last 15 years. Once being the “seedbed of Swedish urban working-class movement” and the “Swedish social-democratic model” the city changed its fabric and function (Baeten, 2012, p. 22): Through the building of the ‘Öresundbridge’, which connects Malmö with Copenhagen, the city became an important junction and the only permanent connection hub between Scandinavia and the European mainland (Malmö stad, 2011, p. 4). After the decline of the maritime industry, the former industrial harbor area ‘Västra Hamnen’ has been converted and upgraded into a modern and partially ecologically sustainable residential and office area. It furthermore includes the highest residential tower in Scandinavia, the ‘Turning Torso’. The opening of the university in the year 1998 was a further important part in this structural change and determined the future path of the city – towards a science and service centered modern urbanity, which is opening up for global metropolitan competition and neoliberal planning (Baeten, 2012, p. 22).

Besides these ‘positive’ transformation processes, which made Malmö internationally well known as a ‘sustainable city’ in a more ecological perspective, Malmö did not become popular for social sustainability. After the population declined from 265,000 (1970) to 229,000 inhabitants in 1984, the city faced a huge stream of immigrants from the Balkan countries and the Middle East, beginning in the early 1990’s and still ongoing and thus underwent a rapid multiculturalisation (Baeten, 2012, p. 31). About 92,000 (30%) residents of the 305,033 (year 2013) inhabitants are born abroad. 10 % of the residents in Malmö are born in Sweden, but have an immigrational background (Malmö Stad, 2013).

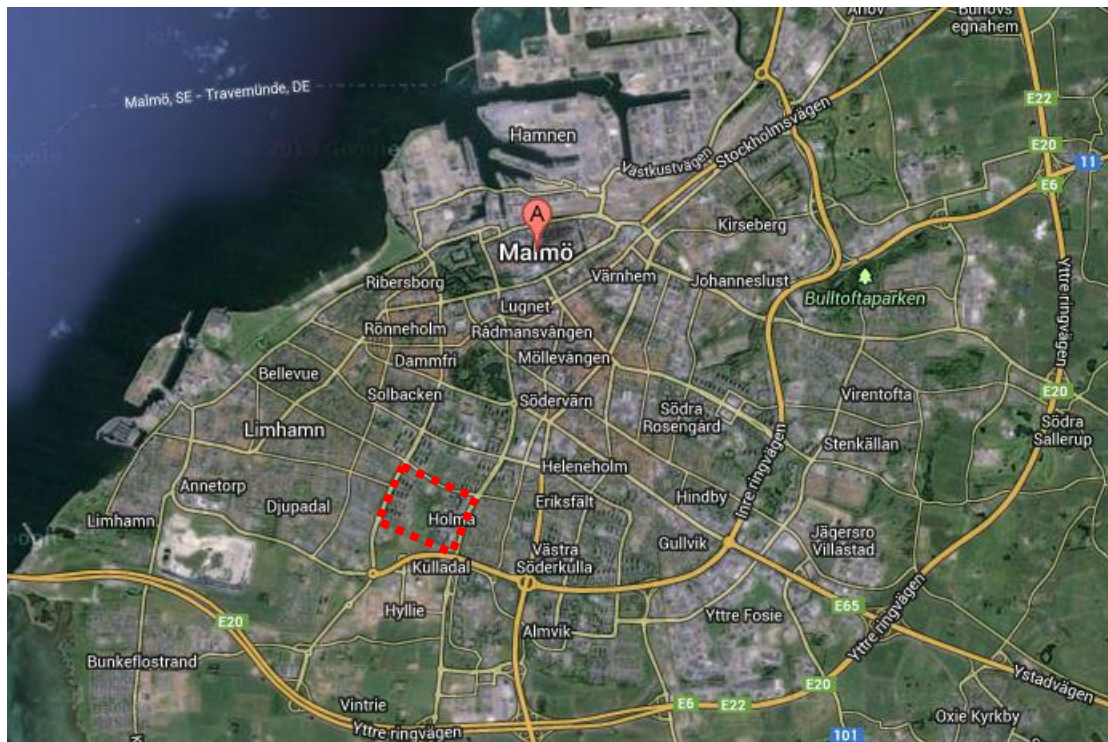


Figure 1: Malmö and the neighborhoods of Holma and Kroksbäck (marked red) (source: <https://maps.google.de/maps?hl=de&tab=11>)

Many of these immigrants, which are partly refugees from war countries, end up in one of the Million Program areas in Malmö. “The Million Program was a very ambitious national housing project with the aim to construct a million new dwellings between 1965 and 1974, as a response to the then miserable housing conditions in Swedish inner cities” (Baeten, 2012, p. 30). The government was successful with this plan and built modern and well-equipped apartment blocks in the outskirts of Malmö. Due to the monotonous and sterile architecture and the out of town location, these modern residential areas soon suffered from out-migration from those residents, who could afford moving. These areas often underwent a repopulation with immigrants, particularly refugees. Some areas became transition zones for immigrants, like the neighborhood of Rosengård. The increased multiculturalism and the concentration of immigrants in Million Program areas triggered xenophobic reactions and medial attraction (Baeten, 2012, p. 31). Reinforced by national and international media attention the ‘concept of Rosengård’ became famous as a problem area and therefore overshadowed Malmö to be a city with social problems. However Rosengård is only one of several Million Program neighborhoods, such as Holma and Kroksbäck in the district of Hyllie, where social problems

also arise (Malmö Stad, 2011, p. 5). These deprived neighborhoods are lacking social cohesion and are characterized by “poverty, high levels of unemployment, overcrowded households, low housing standards and despair. In such areas, the frustration and tensions are often easily felt” (Stigendahl, 2010, p. 13).

With different policy programs (Storstadssatsningen 2000-2007 (English: Metropolitan program), Vålfärd för Alla 2007-2010 (English: Welfare for all)) the city of Malmö is aiming to foster democratization and participation for a social cohesive and inclusive urban environment (Stigendahl, 2012, p. 17-23). The current Områdesprogram (English: Area program; 2010-2015) is focusing on encouraging participation, citizen’s action taking, co-creation, social innovation and the upgrading of the physical environment. This is being conducted in order to tackle social problems like poverty, unemployment, lack of education, and security in five areas. The neighborhoods of Holma and Kroksbäck both together constitute one of these areas (Malmö Stad, 2011, p. 4).

1.4 Research problem and aim

The neighborhoods of Holma and Kroksbäck both are one of the Områdesprogram areas in Malmö. This program has the aim to foster social sustainability. To do so, it is of utmost importance to involve local residents into any kind of participatory development processes, in order to include them into the Swedish society. As stated above, exclusionary and segregational tendencies are high in these neighborhoods dominated by residents with immigrant background and public participation is rather low. There are approaches, where Hyllie Stadsdels Förvaltning (local district government, in the following named Hyllie SDF) tries to foster bottom up initiatives from local residents.

The overarching research problems which Hyllie SDF is facing therefore lies in the addressing of the social fabric, the participatory governance approach of the city of Malmö and the barriers of participation. To show how the relation between the local public authorities and the local residents currently works, the following questions will be answered in this thesis:

How do social networks, active citizenship, collaboration and public participation processes look like in Holma and Kroksbäck?

Which role do local associations play to foster social capital and social cohesion?

How are incentives and policies undertaken by the municipality, to encourage social capital implemented and do they work?

Why is the trust towards the public hand and public incentives amongst residents in the neighborhood low?

1.5 Previous Research

The following papers and authors shall give a brief overview of the existing academic literature for the relevant concepts of social capital, collective action and participatory governance.

The most influential work on the concept of social capital stems from Bourdieu (1986), Putnam (1993) and Coleman (1988) and is used in current academic and policy debates. In *Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital* (1988) Coleman puts the focus on the family structure and the role of social capital in it, whereas Putnam (1993) elaborates in *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* democracy matters in relation to social capital with the example of Italy. Amongst many other publications in one of his most famous pieces *The New Forms of Capital* Bourdieu (1986) connects social capital to networks in family, class or political party. In *Social Cohesion, Social Capital and the Neighbourhood* Forrest and Kearns (2001) further describe the importance of social cohesion in the neighborhood and thus link social capital and social networks to a locality in an urban context. In his article *The Effect of Ethnic Diversity and Community Disadvantage on Social Cohesion: A Multi-Level Analysis of Social Capital and Interethnic Relations in UK Communities* Laurence (2011) illustrates the social capital and social cohesion in relation to ethnic diversity by using community examples in Great Britain. In a Swedish and especially Malmö context, Stigendahl (2010 and 2012) elaborates the significance of social capital and social cohesion on a local, municipal level. Mentionable publications are *Cities and Social Cohesion. Popularizing the results of Social Polis* from 2010 and *Malmö – fran kvantitets- till kvalitetskunskapsstad. Ett diskussionsunderlag framtaget för Kommission för ett socialt hallbart Malmö* from 2012.

Jacobs wrote 1961 in her book *The Death and Life of the Great American Cities* about the impact of social networks in poorer neighborhoods in cities and therefore shows consideration for neighborhoods and their self-governance. Furthermore collective action problems and inactivity regarding the decline of public goods and common pool resources were addressed by Olson (1965) with his work *The Logic of Collective Action: public goods and the theory of groups* and Hardin (1968) with the famous essay *The Tragedy of the Commons*. Ostrom (2011) evaluated the overcoming of collective action problems and the managing of common resources without governmental incentives by means of self-organized, cooperative natural resource management regimes. Amongst others the article *Crowding Out Citizenship* (2011) explains, how public incentives can support or suppress collective action. Furthermore Foster (2011) explains in her article *Collective Action and the Urban Commons* the successful collective management of common urban resources by groups of users without government coercion or taking over by private institutions. This article also highlights the importance of the support of public authorities to overcome free-riding and coordination problems.

2. Methods

Through conversations with representatives from the city of Malmö it became apparent, that the issue of public participation in urban development processes in the neighborhoods of Holma and Kroksbäck is filled with hurdles: It is characterized by less people participating at meetings with the local public authorities from Hyllie SDF. Taking this information as a first clue it was decided to choose this area as the object of study: Therefore a trustful relation that relates to public participation processes and active citizenship between residents and public authorities is the chosen field of study for this paper. It has been selected based on rising awareness and actuality of this topic in academic discourses and administrative practice. For

the city of Malmö the issue of public participation and civil involvement are cornerstones in its sustainable development agendas, such as the Områdesprogram (Malmö Stad, 2011).

2.1 Case Study with a Grounded Theory Approach

The chosen object of study is a case, which in depth focuses on contemporary phenomena encompassed in a real life context (Yin, 2009, p. 18). The research method was designed explanatory, considering the development of Holma and Kroksbäck is being analyzed “over time, rather than mere frequencies or incidence” according to the appearing operational links (Yin, 2009, p.8). To gain insights and an overview of the field of study, existing related academic literature was reviewed (Bryman, 2012, p. 8). By reviewing existing theoretical concepts and current digression, it was possible to ask precise questions.

The hereby used method approach is based on the concept of ‘grounded theory’ (Bryman, 2012, p. 26, 387): Qualitative data was collected as foundation and starting point by utilising the theoretical concept of Ostrom (*Crowding Out Citizenship*, 2011; see chapter 3). New insights were gathered into the case through the collection of data in form of qualitative interviews in this deductive approach. The theoretical framework had to be adapted according to this new information, which changed it into a more inductive research approach. This weaving forth and back between theory findings in the whole research process is called ‘iterative’ and characterizes the concept of grounded theory (Bryman, 2012, p. 26, 387).

2.2 Empirical data: Semi-Structured Qualitative Interviews

Qualitative interviews were the source of primary data collection, as the main intention was to gain detailed and valuable answers as well as to receive each interviewee’s point of view (Bryman, 2012, p. 470). The iterative process of theory refinement is elementary in the grounded theory approach. The style of semi-structured interviewing, which is open ended and discursive, gave the possibility to gather additional or complementary information (Bryman, 2012, p. 472). By using a semi structured interview method, a list of questions was created considering all necessary topics covered. In this flexible interview style those questions that were not included arose during the conversation based on statements the interviewee made (Bryman, 2012, p. 470). This was a good opportunity to ‘dig deeper’ into certain topics or individual views. The interview partners were chosen with the intention to show a broad picture and to receive an insight of the interlinkages and relations between the different stakeholders. Members of the Afghansk Kulturförening were interviewed, as they belong to an ethnic minority, are engaged in an association and live in Holma and Kroksbäck. They are active citizens and represent the residential point of view. Employees of Hyllie SDF were interviewed to receive the view from the public authority’s perspective. One member of the Non-Profit-Organization Rädde Barnen was chosen as an interview partner, to receive the intermediating and external role of a non-public institution. With the project leader of the youth club Flamman, another associational and critical point of view towards public incentives could be collected. To receive more detailed information in the participatory processes in the neighborhood, the former ‘Brobyggare’ was consulted.

Interviews done for this paper:

Employees of Hyllie SDF:

- Linda Johansson: Planeringssekreterare Hyllie SDF
- Tove Öljansdotter: Planeringssekreterare Hyllie SDF

Local residents:

- Hamid Thurabi: Leader of the Afghansk Kulturförening; resident in the neighborhood
- Moshafiqa Popal: Employee at the Infocenter in Kroksbäck; member of the Afghansk Kulturförening; resident in the neighborhood
- Taher Azizi: Initiator of Låxhjälp at Kroksbäckskolan; member of the Afghansk Kulturförening; resident in the neighborhood

Diverse actors in the area:

- Rafi: Project leader and social worker in the youth club Flamman; resident in the neighborhood
- Hussein Sadayo: 'Brobyggare' in Holma and Kroksbäck
- Joel Velborg: Employee at the Non-Profit Organization Rädda Barnen

2.3 Limitations of the Study

In the scope of this thesis only a limited amount of stakeholders were interviewed in the short time frame. Therefore it was not possible to draw a complete picture of the local situation and relations within the area of Holma and Kroksbäck. Interviews with association members were exclusively held with members of the Afghansk Kulturförening, which is the biggest and strongest association in Holma and Kroksbäck. In order to draw a complete picture, representatives of other associations should have been interviewed. Many interview requests were left unanswered and therefore it was not possible to involve other associations in an interview. Even though the position of chosen interview partners might be subjective and biased towards certain topics, this was the best possible attempt to give an objective understanding of the relations between different stakeholders (municipality, residents, association members). As the research is based on qualitative interviews in one specific area, the aim is not to show a generalized overview of neighborhood interrelations. There might be similar results existing from other neighborhoods, but the hereby shown results are not replicable (Bryman, 2012, p. 405-406).

3. Theory

In the following chapter, the theoretical concept of this paper will be illustrated. The theories will be used as a lens to review the setting of Holma and Kroksbäck from a certain perspective. They will set also the frame for the analysis of the empirical findings in the ‘Analysis’ chapter 5. In the sixth chapter ‘Discussion’ the empirical findings will be interpreted according to the theoretical concept.

3.1 Multiethnic neighborhoods as a construct of social networks

According to Forrest and Kearns (2001, p. 2130) a neighborhood is not just a territorially bounded entity, but a construct of social networks, that overlaps. “It is these residentially based networks which perform an important function in the routines of everyday life and these routines are arguably the basic building blocks of social cohesion—through them we learn tolerance, co-operation and acquire a sense of social order and belonging” (Forrest and Kearns, 2001, p. 2130).

Social cohesion is defined as “a state of strong primary networks (like kinship and local voluntary organizations) at the communal level [...], capturing the extent of connectedness and solidarity in communities, as characterized by a set of attitudes and norms that includes trust, a sense of belonging and the willingness to participate and help” (Lockwood, 1999; Kawachi and Berkman, 2000; Chan and Chan, 2006; in Laurence, 2011, p. 72).

Social capital is defined as “those features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions” (Putnam, 1993; in Laurence, 2011, p. 71). It taps those “features of social life—networks, norms, and trust—that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives” notions of interaction, social networks, and most importantly, their level of interconnectedness.” (Putnam, 1995, p. 156; in Laurence, 2011, p. 71).

These interactions are the essence of collaborative services and allow for everyday life in a neighborhood to be based on local collaboration. By sharing space and equipment, using and establishing community services for example for children and elderly people in short local distances, the social fabric will be strengthened. (Jegou and Manzini, 2008, p. 29).

Nevertheless there is a recognizable increase of neighborhoods with a concentration of disadvantaged people (Forrest and Kearns, 2001, p. 2133) and these neighborhoods tend to be ethnically diverse (Laurence, 2011, p. 71). “Disadvantage is posited to heighten perceptions of powerlessness and mistrust, undermining levels of interaction and thus lowering social capital. Disadvantage is also predicted to have a pejorative effect on interethnic relations, where competition for scarce resources can lead to ‘interracial material competition’ or ‘social identity threat’” (Laurence, 2011, p. 71).

There is a lack of “necessary ingredients” which support a social cohesive development in these disadvantaged multiethnic areas (Forrest and Kearns, 2001, p. 2133). Chen *et al.* (2006; in Laurence, 2011, p. 72) state, that a high amount of social capital does not necessarily lead to a high level of social cohesion. Cohesive communities based on ethnicity or religion can exist next to each other. In this case, “the stronger the ties which bind such communities the greater may be the social, racial or religious conflict between them” (Forrest and Kearns, 2001, p. 2134). Putnam (1993, 2000; in Laurence, 2011, p. 72) hereby describes the bridging

and bonding dichotomy in highly ethnically segregated areas. These areas may have a high amount of bonding capital but only few interethnic ties.

Laurence (2011, p. 71, 73) describes the negative effect of increasing heterogeneity on social capital, by arguing that diversity reduces the total amount of network interconnectedness. It furthermore lowers the levels of trust and reciprocity. Even though the interconnectedness and interaction is lower in diverse areas, it will be more interethnic and will therefore contribute to an improvement of interethnic relations.

It is not only the neighborhood itself, which is crucial for socialization and integration in a city but also the perception of the neighborhood, for example like residents from other neighborhoods, institutions and agencies also play an important role in the perception of these areas. Identity and the contextual role of a neighborhood are strongly tied together (Forrest and Kearns, 2001, p. 2134). This creates a cognitive map of neighborhoods with either a good or bad reputation (Forrest and Kearns, 2001, p. 2135).

3.2 Policies to foster social capital and strengthen social cohesion

Given the above explained social fabric in multi-ethnic neighborhoods, there are two reasons, why social capital is of interest for current policy debates. Firstly, social cohesion is seen as a bottom-up process founded upon local social capital, rather than a top-down process. Secondly the interest in the term 'local community' is currently high (Forrest and Kearns, 2001, p. 2138). According to Forrest and Kearns (2001, p. 2139) a neighborhood decline is accompanied with a decline in social capital. This is pictured by disrupted and weakened networks, eroding familiarity and trust by population turnover and policies and initiatives implemented with the aim to reverse the decline "in a context of community disengagement and disillusionment". These problems enhance urban poverty, unemployment, and crime and drug abuse. In order to overcome them civil engagement and reciprocity are necessary (Forrest and Kearns, 2001, p. 2139). According to Burns and Taylor (1998; in Forrest and Kearns, 2001, 2140) self-help and reciprocal aid are facilitated by a multiple set of "loose ties and mediating community organizations" in local neighborhoods. These activities are being promoted by urban policies. When the trust into public authorities declines, this kind of self-governance offers an alternative and a potentially cheaper way of dealing with topics like social exclusion or regeneration (Forrest and Kearns, 2001, p. 2140). It is necessary to design complex, polycentric orders that involve both public governance mechanisms, private market and community institutions that complement each other. These orders offer a point of approach instead of relying on the state as the central top down substitute for all public problem solving. Reliance only on national governments crowds out public and private action taking (Ostrom, 2011, p. 12-13). In order to support bottom-up activities it is necessary to develop innovative governance tools and a tolerant environment (Jegou and Manzini, 2008, p. 34).

Society can be seen as a construct of social networks, which are an important form of multi governance, characterized by collaborative actions to achieve a network outcome (Jegou and Manzini, 2008, p. 40). It would not be possible to strengthen the community capacity, regional economical development or to solve problems of crime individually (Provan and Kenis, 2007, p. 230). Governments as designers and facilitators of participatory governance "[...] have the growing responsibility of actively participating in [social networks], feeding

them with their specific design knowledge: design skills, capabilities and sensitivities that partly come from their traditional culture and experience, and are partly totally new” (Jegou and Manzini, 2008, p. 40).

Additionally Putnam (1995, p. 71) argues, that a membership in an association is a form of social networking and therefore increases social trust. In a survey in 35 countries he found, that “social trust and civic engagement are strongly correlated; the greater the density of associational membership in a society, the more trusting its citizens. Trust and engagement are two facets of the same underlying factor - social capital” (Putnam, 1995, p. 73).

“From a policy perspective, however, it is necessary to break down the concept of social capital into constituent domains, or manageable elements, in order to move from abstraction to implementation, both in terms of identifying phenomena which might be subject to purposeful change and in constructing a set of measures which can be monitored and (where appropriate) quantified” (Forrest and Kearns, 2001, p. 2140). Prejudices can be reduced and cohesion can be increased by sanctioning and creating a stage, where different groups, such as ethnic associations or individuals contact each other at an equal status in terms of common goals (Allport, 1954; in Laurence 2011, p. 85).

3.3 Supportive Policies create trust and foster active citizenship

Policies should “encourage the growth of social capital (especially ‘bridging’ social capital) in diverse areas (for example, creating opportunities and incentives for formal volunteering, involvement in local civil renewal activities, informal volunteering) could play a vital role in fostering both trust and tolerance” (Laurence, 2011, p. 85). To encourage those who are motivated to solve problems, public institutions need to offer support (Ostrom, 2011, p. 9). “External interventions crowd in intrinsic motivation if the individuals concerned perceive it as supportive. In that case, self-esteem is fostered, and the individuals feel that they are given more freedom to act, which enlarges self-determination” (Ostrom, 2011, p. 9). Ostrom (2011, p. 12) found that many rules are based on transparency in self organized resource regimes, “that individuals know each other and will be engaged with one another over the long term. In other words, the endogenously designed rules enhance the conditions needed to solve collective-action problems” (Ostrom, 2011, p. 12). [...] “Institutions that enhance the level of information that participants obtain about one another are essential to increase the capacity of individuals to solve collective-action problems” (Ostrom, 2011, p. 9).

3.4 Oppressive policies create mistrust and crowd out citizenship

Motivation sinks, when people feel, that their own self esteem and self determination is affected. If people perceive external interventions as controlling, the intrinsic motivation decreases. “In that case, both self-determination and self-esteem suffer, and the individuals react by reducing their intrinsic motivation in the activity controlled” (Ostrom, 2011, p. 9). “Intrinsic values are important sources of citizens' motivation to participate in political life by volunteering to do community service, finding solutions to community problems, and paying taxes” (Ostrom, 2011, p. 10). According to Ostrom (2011, p. 12) external interventions postulate that specific skills or knowledge are needed to overcome collective action problems. Furthermore, professional planners are needed to tackle complex problems, to design policies and to implement them.

Rewards have a negative effect on motivation as they tend to forestall and undermine citizen's ability for motivation and taking responsibility for self-regulation. "When institutions - families, schools, businesses, and athletic teams, for example - focus on the short-term and opt for controlling people's behaviour, they may be having a substantially negative long-term effect" (Deci et al., 1999; in Ostrom, 2011, p. 9).

The citizens are becoming "passive observers in the process of design and implementation of effective public policy" (Ostrom, 2011, p. 12). Citizenship in this sense is lowered to vote every few years for competing political parties. Residents are then expected to "sit back and to leave the driving of the political system to the experts hired by these political leaders" (Ostrom, 2011, p. 12). To have one central authority that is responsible for designing rules is grounded on the misbelief, that only a few rules "need to be considered and that only experts know these options and can design optimal policies [...]. There are thousands of individual rules that can be used to manage resources. No one, including a scientifically trained, professional staff, can do a complete analysis" (Ostrom, 2011, p. 12).

3.5 Policies as long term experiments, which have to be remembered

Policies should be designed endogenously to solve collective problems and should be adapted to the specific situation of an area. They should be considered as experiments, which can be changed or corrected, as there will be always the possibility of errors due to human limitations (Ostrom, 2011, p. 12). "Some redundancy in the design of rules for well-bounded local resources (or communities) encourages the considerable experimentation that is essential to discover some of the more successful combinations of rule systems" (Ostrom, 2011, p. 13).

Hillgren *et al.* (2011, p. 172) state that policy makers "often do not have a long term commitment in the projects and the superficiality of some proposals due to the fact by ignoring the evidence and field experiences, designers tend to 'reinvent the wheel'". It is therefore necessary to critically question existing social policy (Hillgren *et al.* 2011, p. 172) and to make use of the results of pre-existing experiments for improvements in policy making, in order to achieve a long-term social transformation. The process of 'infrastructuring' focuses on a long term commitment and provides an open-ended design structure without predefined goals or fixed time lines. With this process, the involved stakeholders are able to create a trustful relationship and to achieve social change (Hillgren *et al.*, 2011, p. 178). It is of utmost importance for them to be remembered as an organizational memory in policy making institutions. Knowledge is socially constructed and cognitive systems and memories are shared by organization members (Cousins and Earl, 1992, p. 397). This provides the ability for an organizational learning process. By developing and sharing cognitive systems and memories by members of an institution, organizational actions are improved. Therefore, learning occurs when new constructs get integrated into existing cognitive structures (Cousins and Earl, 1992, p. 401). An organization has to value reflection and evaluation of previous work and thus has to provide time and resources. To memorize research processes, an organizational memory has to be established (Cousins and Earl, 1992, p. 413).

3.6 Policies and rules for public participation have to be institutionalized

According to Fung (2004, p. 101-131; in Denters and Klok, 2010, p. 585-586), there are several theoretical perspectives, which undermine a low participation in deprived

neighborhoods: Besides the above described lack of social capital, there is a lack of incentives for residents to participate, necessary personal resources are not given, a political culture that discourages minority groups and a lack of skills and knowledge of potential participants. Given these reasons, participation is quite low in deprived neighborhoods. This may result in participation becoming unrepresentative and unequal (Denters and Klok, 2010, p. 586). Informally addressing residents with a personal invitation is an approach to avoid a biased mobilization through citizens' self-organization.

Denters and Klok state (2010, p. 586) that a lot of former experiments with citizen governance were suffering from under-institutionalization. Rules, which guarantee a well ordered decision making-process, were missing. "Governance arenas, not only those focused on welfare issues, are often chaotic, rules [are] not properly defined, power distribution [is] uneven [and] information [is] lacking. Therefore the main features that seem to emerge are ambiguity and a lack of transparency in decision-making responsibilities" (Stigendahl, 2010, p. 29). A proper institutionalisation is crucial, "because a set of clearly specified participatory rights and procedural rules might convince potential participants that their active involvement would make a difference and that the results of their participation would be taken seriously. Thus adequate institutionalization might be seen as an important mobilizing factor for participation in citizen governance" (Denters and Klok, 2010, p. 587). Transparency in communication can be created by informing the participants "about the participatory opportunities and about the general structure of the participation process" (Denters and Klok, 2010, p. 590). By hiring an "independent and experienced community worker", who is in charge of organizing and chairing of the meetings the municipality can ensure, that the outcomes will truly represent the participants' opinions. The community worker as the "process facilitator" is thus responsible for informing residents about the sessions' outcomes (Denters and Klok, 2010, p. 588).

4. Setting

4.1 Holma and Kroksbäck

The neighborhoods of Holma and Kroksbäck have been built in the scope of the Swedish Million Program, which lasted from 1965 until 1975. Kroksbäck was one of the first areas, which were built in this program, Holma arose later in 1971 (Malmö Stad, 2009, p. 9-13). Both neighborhoods are situated in the south of Malmö in the district of Hyllie. The recent modernistic development around the new train station 'Hyllie' and the shopping mall 'Emporia' are located south of both areas. Holma and Kroksbäck are dominated by high rise buildings, large green areas and the Kroksbäcksparken, a big park with artificial hills, which separates the two neighborhoods (Figure 2).



Figure 2: Area of Holma and Kroksbäck (source: Malmö stad, 2013).

Holma has 3,838 inhabitants whereas Kroksbäck has 4,825, of whom about 47 % in Holma and 41 % in Kroksbäck are under the age of 30 (in whole Malmö 39,1%) (Malmö Stad, 2009, p. 9-13). The neighborhoods are characterized by a multiethnic population structure, a high unemployment rate, social exclusion and therefore a lack of taking part in the Swedish society. Informal organisational structures and ethnic associations play an important role in these neighborhoods. There are two Afghan, one Arab and one Albanian association amongst others (10 to 15 in total). About 72 % of the population in Kroksbäck and 75 % in Holma

have an immigrant background. Nowadays, the population is dominated by immigrants with their origins mainly in former Yugoslavia, Albania and Middle East. Compared to Malmö city with 38% in total, the amount is much higher in Holma and Kroksbäck. Furthermore the average level of education in Holma and Kroksbäck is below the merit of whole Malmö. The average income per person for both neighborhoods (Holma: 85,489 SEK; Kroksbäck: 119,597 SEK) is below the average income for whole Malmö (131,052 SEK) (Malmö Stad, 2010, p. 18). The majority of the population lives in 'Hyresrätt' (rental) apartments (Holma 64 %; Kroksbäck 65 %) in two or three room apartments (Holma 72 %; Kroksbäck 80%) (Malmö Stad, 2009, p. 9-13). Due to the high amount of extended families, the problem of overcrowded housing is serious.



Plate 1: View of Kroksbäck with Kroksbäckskolan in the front (from Kroksbäcksparken) (source: author's foto).

Holma and Kroksbäck are in their structure similar to many other areas established in the scope of the Million Program in Malmö and Sweden (Plate 1). Segregation tendencies are high, which amongst others are shown by the population structure, overcrowded housing and unemployment. Through the street structure and the inadequate connection to the rest of the city, the two neighborhoods are isolated (Malmö Stad, 2009, p. 17). Given the lack of businesses and shops, the neighborhoods have the character of sleeping towns (European 11, 2011, p. 6). Parallel to the goals of social sustainable development, the city therefore aims to upgrade the physical environment (Malmö Stad, 2009, p. 17-33): The Kroksbäckskolan which offers education from preschool classes until the ninth grade, will be replaced and rebuilt. The existing housing stock will be densified with new buildings and the street- and public transport system will be better connected to the rest of the city. Another big project is the building of a swimming pool in the south of Kroksbäcksparken between Holma and Kroksbäck and 'Nya Hyllie' (new development area south of Holma and Kroksbäck). It will

be the biggest family oriented swimming pool in Malmö. The planning processes of the new swimming pool were accompanied by two informative public meetings in order to create a dialogue with residents and to get new ideas from the participants.

To address the exclusion related problems, such as a lack of social capital and trust, poverty, crime and unemployment and to foster social capital and sustainability the city of Malmö launched several programs in the last decade:

4.2 Storstadssatsning 2000-2007

The Storstadssatsning (English: Metropolitan program) was a national policy, which had the aim to offset the structural inequalities, that exist nationally, regionally, and locally in order to reduce segregation and increase growth. The objective to reduce segregation was related to raising employment in socially disadvantaged neighborhoods, reducing welfare dependency, strengthening the position of the Swedish language and creating conditions for pupils to achieve the primary education. Further aims were increasing the amount of higher levels of education among the adult population, increasing district attractiveness and security, improving public health situations and increasing democratic participation and empowerment of the vulnerable residential areas. All municipalities who signed this agreement together with and Malmö, were equipped with state funds. Malmö signed agreements for four neighborhoods: Hyllie, Fosie, Södra Innerstaden and Rosengård. Each district was responsible for local actions (Stigendahl, 2012, p. 17).

4.3 Välfärds för Alla 2007-2010

The program Välfärd för Alla (VFA; English: Welfare for all) was launched to ensure that all residents of Malmö have a good welfare, allowing a good standard of living. It furthermore tried to ensure an increase of the function of Malmö together with Lund as a growth engine for Southwest Skåne, Skåne and the Öresund region. Focusing on democracy and participation, children and youths, workshops were held and seminars were planned and implemented by the districts that already participated in the Storstadssatsning (Stigendahl, 2010, p. 20). This also meant, that the researchers, who were already involved in the Storstadssatsningen program, took part in the VFA program.

Changes are needed in both attitudes and organization in order to achieve a radical improvement. It furthermore requires continuing operations to extend VFA the greatest possible way. Unfortunately these efforts undertaken with the seminars did not become a project that was outside all else. The VFA action plan was approved in the municipal council in March 2004 and was revised in 2007 as a result of the outcome in the municipal elections of 2006 and the changing political composition (Stigendahl, 2010, p. 21).

4.4 Områdesprogram 2010-2015

In March 2010, the city of Malmö took the decision to develop social sustainability in the city. In this process the main goal was to include and integrate all residents to make them part of welfare system. The reason for this decision was the fact, that health and welfare is not equally distributed amongst different groups of the population and between different areas of the city. With the Områdesprogram (English: Area Program), the local district administrations are responsible for tackling the challenges of social sustainability. Besides Holma and

Kroksbäck, the areas of Seved, Lindängen and Herrgården are part of this program. Through the development of these areas the main aim is to strengthen the city's social life. According to Malmö stad (2011, p. 3) the whole city's resources are mobilized in order to reach this goal. The emphasis lies on public dialogue and co-creation, youth focus, innovation, entrepreneurship, partnerships and physical upgrading.

In Holma and Kroksbäck a local working group, which was established in Hyllie SDF, worked mainly in April and May 2010 on the local aims of the program. This group involved representatives from all city departments and MKB Fastighets AB (originally Malmö Kommunala Bostads AB; municipal company responsible for public housing in Malmö (MKB, 2013)). The group mapped out specific interventions and assessed the strengths and challenges of the two neighborhoods. A first information event for residents and several study visits (Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Gothenburg) completed the start-up period (Malmö stad, 2011, p. 14). The quintessence of the group's activities highlighted, that the physical planning and development of an area is a very strong engine to create social sustainability and that serious public participation processes are essential for a socially successful physical planning. Given the physical upgrading and local public participation processes, the welfare and property values will rise, which thus will lead also to an economically sustainable development. Furthermore new labour and employment projects could establish in the area.

The Områdesprogram's idea is to work like a 'greenhouse': To grow 'plants' and to seed them in different departments for sustainable long-term projects (Tove Örjansdotter, interview, 2013). The program will end in the year 2015. Besides physical developments like renovation of façades, the upcoming building of a residential angular house with commercially used ground floors or the above mentioned swimming pool, there are several facilitated projects, which have the aim to strengthen and to increase public participation: Two Infocenters – one in Holma and one in Kroksbäck - were established. Besides being meeting places, these centers are based on the initiative of local residents and have the aim to inform residents about current developments in their neighborhood. They are functioning as a link to all public institutions. Thus, local residents are able to get in contact with the Swedish public system close to their homes. The people working in the Infocenters are immigrants and also live in the neighborhoods of Holma and Kroksbäck. Another residential initiative, which got fostered within the scope of the Områdesprogram is Läckakuten. It is an after school / homework help service in Kroksbäckskolan that was started and is run by a young resident with Afghan roots.

5. Analysis:

In the following chapter the key features from the interviews conducted in the scope of the collection of empirical data will be given and analysed. The empirical material enhances information about the multi-ethnic social fabric of the neighborhoods, municipal policy incentives to foster public participation and existing barriers of civil involvement.

5.1 Associations as a fundamental part of social cohesion in the neighborhood

During the qualitative interviews with people being involved in the development of this area it turned out, that associations (in Swedish 'förening') play an essential part in the cultural and

integrative life in the neighborhood. They are important for the ethnic minorities by offering a platform to meet, to gain information about public activities and to gather together to talk about the members home countries. Also younger groups with immigrant roots, born in Sweden, go there in order to find some form of culture, they can identify with. Three of the eight interviewed people, are members of the Afghansk Kulturförening (English: Afghan Cultural Association). The engagement of these three individuals in the collaboration with the city of Malmö is no coincidence: The Afghansk Kulturförening is the only formal association in Holma and Kroksbäck and with over 400 members it is also the biggest and strongest. Besides organizing leisure time activities, it deals with the integration into Swedish society. The association stands in close connection to the Hyllie SDF, initiated the Infocenter in Kroksbäck in the scope of the Områdesprogram and organized amongst others a job fair in collaboration with Arbetsförmedlingen (Swedish: Employment service). Thus, it gives people the possibility to get in touch with the public authorities.

5.2 Associations as a loose unconnected network of actors:

There are several other associations, which are of informal character as opposed to the Afghansk Kulturförening, which is the only formal. There are approximately between ten and fifteen active associations in the area (Linda Johansson, interview, 2013). Hyllie SDF communicates formally with the associations through several information letters per year, but the exchange of information is not mutual. There is little information about the informal association's activities. Besides the Afghansk Kulturförening, there are others such as the Afghansk Akademisk Förening (English: Afghan Academical Association), the Albanian women association Eleonor and the Arabic women association Aktiva Kvinnor i Hyllie (English: Active Women in Hyllie) as the major associations in the area. As mentioned above the Afghansk Kulturförening is the largest association in Holma and Kroksbäck. Linda Johansson (interview, 2013) from Hyllie SDF states,

" since they are a formal association, it's convenient for us to work with them, but of course all the other groups need support as well. We often have discussions concerning who do we support and why, and how we can cooperate with informal groups and what they can contribute with in the collaboration" (Linda Johansson, interview, 2013).

Malmö Stad knows about the existence of the other informal associations, but collaboration mainly takes place with the Afghansk Kulturförening being the only formal association in the area. These unbalanced relations between Malmö Stad and formal and informal associations are also reflected in the monetary support. The following quote shows that it is necessary to be a formal association to get funding:

"To become a Swedish förening you need to register formally and attend trainings, and many don't want to do that. But since it's a way for them to apply for funding, some of them choose to adjust to the Swedish system and register. But then they need to have a strong leader and a good organization. In a way it's difficult because we talk about föreningar, but they are not formal föreningar. At the same time it's not fair to call them informal groups" (Linda Johansson, interview, 2013).

5.3 Public participation in the neighborhood: Example of the planned swimming pool:

The idea of having a swimming pool in the area exists for more than ten years. It was an idea, which came up in the local community of Holma and Kroksbäck. For the planning of the

swimming pool and the area around it, Hyllie SDF and Fritidsförvaltningen (English: Leisure administration), Stadsfastigheter (English: Management of properties for schools, child care, elder care, culture and recreation in Malmö), Stadsbyggnadskontoret (English: City planning department), Kulturförvaltningen (English: Culture administration) and other parties organised two meetings. In the first meeting, the plans of the swimming pool were explained, with an ongoing discussion and panel discussion, where around 50 residents took part. The architects were also joining the meeting and listening to the suggestions, which had been made by the audience. Questions had been raised about, what is needed: the entrance fees, the general affordability and also about the opportunity for Muslim women to swim and attend the area. The suggestion by the attending residents, to implement a separated changing room and bath room for Muslim women and other groups who want to swim separately, was taken into consideration in the further planning by the architects (Linda Johansson, interview, 2013).

“...for example at the first meeting, when we discussed the opportunity to swim separately...that was one suggestion that came from the community and the architects thought about it and actually planned after it. ..That is also one result. That will hopefully lead to that more women will be swimming [...] if you are a woman you don't have to swim with others. They can actually go from the changing rooms to the pool without any insight” (Linda Johansson, interview, 2013).

The attendance for the second meeting was lower. Approximately 20 people from the neighborhoods joined to discuss the further planning procedure. One reason might be the fact, that this meeting was more formal than the first. It was a part of the formal samråds (consultation) process, in which the municipality has to publish the detailed plan of the project for the community as well as to ask for suggestions.

5.4 Brobyggare as a direct form of reaching residents:

Another reason for the higher attendance in the first meeting of the planning process of the swimming pool is the use of a link worker, a 'Brobyggare'. This person is responsible for the direct contact with the residents, to spread information and to gather and to prepare residents for public meetings, like the ones for the swimming pool. By meeting the people face to face where they live, in bus stations, in front of supermarkets or in laundry rooms, the link worker succeeded in Holma and Kroksbäck in building a relationship and trust with the local residents. In his work with the community, the contact and relation to key persons was essential for the link worker. According to Hussein Sadayo (interview, 2013), one of the link workers in Holma and Kroksbäck, key persons are local residents with a high social reputation.

“Key persons were very important to me. I was working in one street there [Holma and Kroksbäck]. So they told me there's a man here, an old man and he has a big family...43 persons. So I discovered there are 6 or 7 sons and daughters and they are all married. If you would like to succeed in this street you have to contact him. I did not smoke but he smoked...so I was sitting with him and was talking and smoking with him. He introduced me to his family... This is a key person to me. He has a social status. [...] So [contacting] key persons was another important method to collect people. Through them I can mobilize and collect many people” (Hussein Sadayo, interview, 2013).

5.5 Examples of active citizenship

5.5.1 Läxakuten

Läxakuten (English: homework help) is a coaching service for pupils with low grades offered at Kroksbäckskolan. It was initiated by Taher Azizi, a student at Malmö Högskola with Afghan roots, who grew up in Holma. Taher is a member of the Afghansk Kulturförening and got in contact with the public authorities, when he was a child.

“When I grew up, I started to study here in Malmö Högskola, I started to realise that it was need for more ...not only Afghans, I wanted to help others also. It was when I decided to come in contact with Områdesprogrammet. [...]. I know Anto Tomic [coordinator of the Områdesprogram in Holma and Kroksbäck] since I am a little child. He worked in Holma Aktivitetshuset. I was involved in the ungdomsrådet [youth council] Hyllie and Anto was in charge of it at that time. Thats how we got to know each other” (Taher Azizi, interview, 2013).

The following quotation shows the collaboration between the Hyllie SDF and the Afghan Kulturförening.

“When the Områdesprogrammet started he called me and the afghan förening, because I was working there. So I got more and more involved and they had some ideas how to develop the area. I came with the proposition to help the school. I saw it like it was the most important thing. If we help the children, the children will help the society in a long term. If we will give the children a good education, they won't go the criminal way” (Taher Azizi, interview, 2013).

Taher's motivation and initiative got fostered by being involved in the Afghan Kulturförening and being in touch with the public authorities for a long time. This long term relation could be seen as a trigger for starting his initiative. In the scope of the Områdesprogram Taher now gets paid by Hyllie SDF, but due to his initial motivation to help children in his area the payment plays a rather subordinate role. The following statement shows that being paid for six hours a week also limits his engagement, even though there is a need for more action.

“...It was good, but not as good as I wanted it to be because it needs much work and I have not so many hours from the stadsdelförvaltning to work on it. I get paid 6 hours per week. In the beginning, when I planned the project I had no payment. But when the activity started in the school, I started to get paid. I would maybe also have done it without payment, because I was so involved in it at that time. I have actually said to stadsdelförvaltning at that time...when I needed one more teacher, because it was very many pupils in the beginning...I said that you can take off my payment and give it to another teacher. So there can be two teachers. But they said it's ok, we can have two teachers and you get paid. [...] It's not the money, that counts. To be here and do this means a lot to me [...]. That's why I started from the beginning” (Taher Azizi, interview, 2013).

Furthermore the limited amount of resources led to a decrease of attendance of pupils.

“There are approx. 15-20 children / week. It's not so much, but ok. In the beginning it was really much, because it was something new. They [local residents] also had a lot of hope. But there are only one or two teachers. So there are a lot of children who don't come continuously” (Taher Azizi, interview, 2013).

5.5.2 Infocenter

In the beginning of the Områdesprogram in Holma and Kroksbäck, the local administration started to gather local residents to discuss issues, which should be addressed in the program. In these discussions, a group of women, who were working and engaged a lot in the neighborhoods stood out. They initiated a contact and information point for general services,

the 'Infocenter'. Its aim is to bring public services into the neighborhood and to create a link between public authorities and local residents. Amongst others there is one person from Arbetsförmedlingen working in the Infocenter for some hours per week. Thus, residents do not have to go to the inner city of Malmö to reach Arbetsförmedlingen and find easy access via the Infocenter. The Infocenter got established with help from Hyllie SDF. At the beginning the Infocenter was merely open in the evenings, but is now fully open every day, as the communication and work with other institutions is only possible during regular working hours. It took one year to establish the Infocenter and another year to evolve it and to make it partially self-governed. At present, one woman who is being coached and supported by Hyllie SDF in terms of administrative work and the use of open resources (Swedish public system) is employed full time in the Infocenter in Holma. The Info Center in Holma is not run in the scope of the Områdesprogram any longer (Tove Örijansdotter, interview, 2013).

In October 2012 a second Infocenter opened in Kroksbäck. This center is still supported within the Områdesprogram. Moshafiq Popal, an engaged and socially active Afghan woman, who is in charge of running the center is also involved in the Afghansk Kulturförening and has been living in the area of Holma and Kroksbäck for 13 years. The following statement of Moshafiq Popal shows the previously explained functions of the Infocenter:

“There is a sewing evening, at Tuesday we have a meeting place for elderly women who meet. Every Thursday there is a guy from arbetsförmedling coming to talk with people.[...] For example there was a woman coming who asked first, what is going on in Info Centre. Then I gave her the information about the Infocenter. She showed up and signed in at Arbetsförmedlingen here and said, that she will tell her family and friends also to come. There are a lot of people who need help. They are very happy about that they know where to find information. Because it is very close for people in this area. We just opened the last winter. And probably not everybody knows. But the weather was bad and people stay at home. Maybe then there will come more and more” (Moshafiq Popal, interview, 2013).

In the above described example of 'Läxakuten' it was due to the close connection between the Afghan Kulturförening and Hyllie stadsdelförvaltning, that the engagement of Moshafiq Popal, a local resident was considered, fostered and facilitated.

“I started school [here] ... I got a lot of friends. They told me that I am very social. In school I did an internship. I will always help people. I am also engaged in the Afghan Kulturförening. I asked Hamid, the leader, that I would like to work. I said to Ann Schmid [Hyllie SDF], that I would like to have a job with elderly people. After some months she said, that I will get a job. But I searched for a job on my own. In December I got employed.” (Moshafiq Popal, interview, 2013)

5.5.3 Flamman

The youth club 'Flamman' (English: The Flame)) at the area of Kroksbäckskolan exists since 1998. It was founded by a group of youngsters, which gathered together. They contacted Hyllie SDF in order to propose a place for young people to meet (Rafi, interview, 2013). In comparison to the examples of citizen led services of Läxakuten and Infocenter, which were established in the scope of the Områdesprogram, Flamman exists much longer. The basic expenses for the facility and two employees are paid by the municipality, the rest is done voluntarily or funded by other project related sources.

“It is a förening as well and we have been supporting them annually since a couple of years. But they also volunteer” (Linda Johansson, interview, 2013).

Rafi (social worker and project leader at ‘Flamman’) and his colleague have very good bonds to the youths, because they worked here already with their older brothers or relatives. So the trust is given and is high. They follow the youth, from childhood to adulthood. Their work is also recognized and appreciated in Malmö and in Sweden: Flamman won the Malmö integration price in the year 2007. The youth club has collaborations with the police, Arbetsförmedlingen and the school. Flamman works together with these public institutions on its own initiative. According to Rafi (interview, 2013), none of the officials comes to the club in order to collaborate or to help. There is also envy amongst people in the neighborhoods, given the fact, that the youth club receives permanent subsidies from the municipality.

“There are a lot of jealous people, who think that we are prioritized in gaining subsidies. There are a lot of people who ask, why do we get the money? But we put an effort on ourselves” (Rafi, interview, 2013).

5.6 Barriers of a successful public participation

5.6.1 Lack of democratic structures

The above described incentives are examples where residents could be activated and participation and active citizenship took place. This picture is nevertheless incomplete. There are many crucial matters, which hinder a broad citizen involvement.

The public participation process in the example of the swimming pool started with a first meeting, where 50 people took part and continued with a second meeting, where the numbers of participants declined to around 20 people. The second meeting enhanced the detailed plan for the future development in the area. A topic that ordinary people can hardly follow. Another reason, which is more crucial and is a result of the first one, is the lack of a link worker who gathered people for the second meeting. There is a need to pre-educate residents, which show a willingness to attend these public meetings. This takes a huge effort and a lot of time, which is not given in the municipality as Tove Öljansdotter (interview, 2013) states.

“We cannot work with people as intense as with Moshafiq. Not many people can get that. [...] It takes too much time” (Tove Öljansdotter, interview, 2013).

The reason for this step could be found in the lack of democratic structures and a lack of trust in the Swedish system in the area. This is shown by the two following quotations.

“You need to build trust with the people in the community and then if they come to your events you need to give something back. And then you need to find a relationship. It depends who you ask, in terms of whether people think that they have an influence. A lot of people don’t even know about their rights. They don’t know that they can choose schools for their kids, they don’t know that their elderly can have care at home” (Linda Johansson, interview, 2013).

“People don’t want to participate. Many people with migrational background think they are less worth than Swedish people. There’s a big black hole in these neighborhoods: no knowledge about democracy. It is a structural problem: People give up the system because they don’t get in” (Joel Velborg, interview, 2013).

One crucial matter hereby also is the existing language barrier, which makes it hard for immigrants to enter the Swedish society and system. Furthermore the multi-ethnic

neighborhood has a bad reputation as a place of danger and crime, which makes it even harder to integrate as the fluctuation of ethnic Swedes in these neighborhoods is low.

“It’s a lot about give and take and you need to work on relations with the community[...] I think it’s a lot about who you are, as employed as well. It’s important to go out and meet the community, you need to get to know the area. It’s not easy because when I come out to the community I can for example meet a group of Muslim women who cannot read or write...and you need to meet them in their environment, you need to respect them and you need to behave properly. Maybe a lot of employees are afraid of the meeting with the community? Because they are not comfortable with meeting these groups- you need to speak in a very simple Swedish, you need to communicate in a very simple manner. You cannot be afraid. A lot of people don’t want to go to Holma and Kroksbäck, ‘because it’s dangerous’” (Linda Johansson, interview, 2013).

There is the need to create a trustful relationship in the area, which Hussein Sadayo, the link worker in the area successfully gained. He searched the direct contact to the citizens, a method that was appreciated by the residents. A relationship, which is based on fear and distance can hardly lead to a trustworthy relation. As Hamidulla Thurab, the leader of the Afghan Kulturförening states, the municipality should consider employing people from the area to reach an integrative development in the multiethnic community.

“Older employees don’t want to come to the area. To change something, one has to employ people from the area” (Hamidulla Thurab, interview, 2013).

5.6.2 Top down governing by the municipality

Besides all the above mentioned efforts to support bottom up ideas from the grassroots level, the majority of the interviewed experts still described the attitude of the municipality to be taking top down decisions as one big hurdle in terms of a successful citizen involvement, as Joel Velborg (interview, 2013) from Rädga Barnen explains.

“The Problem in Hyllie is that the public institutions couldn’t reach the residents. It took over the responsibility to deal with collective issues but is not good in that [...] Changes in addressing people’s interest are needed. People have to trust into the system again and the system has then to be prepared to deal with this trust” (Joel Velborg, interview, 2013).

Rafi (interview, 2013) from Flamman describes, public authority is not properly meeting the needs of the local residents. According to him, there is a big ‘glapet’ (in English: gap) between public authorities and residents. In this case, he especially refers to the younger and disadvantaged younger generations, who are joining the youth club Flamman. He sees the public authorities in another world, not communicating and addressing, what is needed.

“All of those umbrella programmes are all governed from above: the politicians already have their ‘dogs’ sitting. The residents are not heard. The problems of drugs, crime, poverty, unemployment, exclusion are huge. The public authority is in a different world [...]. They think the kids have to behave, but they should come down to earth to face the real problems. A lot of the staff there is very old and youths don’t talk to these people either. There’s a lack of understanding and communication.” (Rafi, interview, 2013).

When it comes to public participation processes the above mentioned lack of communication between public authorities and local residents can be found again. One mentioned reason is that it is more convenient to let people participate, when decisions about certain developments in the neighborhood have almost been made.

“We let people in too late into the process. It’s not real participation. It’s more convenient to do things on your own to think first on your own and then it’s already half decided and then to ask do you want a red or blue colour on the wall [...] we at the municipality already have a plan...and we know what we want. And then we just ask what kind of colour do you want?” (Tove Öljansdotter, interview, 2013).

The gap between public authorities and the local community and how public incentives are perceived is shown by the following quotation. By putting actions on residents, citizens perceive it as undermining their self-dependency and self-confidence.

“One of the responsables from the Hyllie stadsdelförvaltning told the newspapers, that he arranges busses to take all unemployed to Arbetsförmedlingen. We are not so stupid. We know where Arbetsförmedlingen is. The people all have been there, but it’s the most hated place. People go there, but nothing happens. It doesn’t change anything” (Rafi, interview, 2013).

5.6.3 Active Citizenship: Grassroots initiatives – facilitated or created?

“I have not seen so many projects..Just Läckakuten, Infocenter’ in Holma and then in Kroksbäck...I haven’t heard about other projects” (Taher Azizi, interview, 2013).

This quotation explains, what has been experienced during the empirical research phase: It turned out, that Läckakuten, the two Infocenters and the youth club Flamman are the only mentionable examples of institutionalizing grassroots ideas of citizens and facilitating of active citizenship. This might be explained by the above shown barriers of public participation: residents organize their own activities in their associations, democratic structures are lacking in the multiethnic neighborhood and citizens lose trust into the public authorities and become passive observers. The communication between them is insufficient and decisions are made in a top down manner.

Furthermore by supporting actions of citizens through payment, the municipality controls citizen’s actions. One example is the above described project Läckakuten, where Taher Azizi, the initiator of this service started his work without payment and is now paid by Hyllie SDF in the scope of the Områdesprogram. According to Tove Öljansdotter (interview, 2013), paying citizens for being active for the city of Malmö is being discussed a lot at Hyllie SDF. The question arises, whether paying citizens for running projects is supportive or counterproductive. Tove Öljansdotter (interview, 2013) states that payment generally kills motivation and engagement.

“It kills the engagement to be paid. If you pay me, you owe my time, it’s up to you what I do. To gain long time participation you don’t need payment. We are paying: One guy gets paid to lead the group ‘Ungdomsråd’. He had the idea and came to us. He’s the organizer who runs it. It’s a weak organization, because it’s just his project. People he gathers around help him, not more. The inequality in power comes from that we’re paying him. We said you are the leader. You can gather people. He got that job to gather a group which was already existing. [...] I think we tell him too much in which direction to work. We are giving him tasks. This is the projects coming up, can you organize it? Because we pay him, we can do that. [...] In autumn there was a big project called ‘Fem kamp’. We gave them [Ungdomsråd] the tasks to organize. It was good, because they had something to gather around. They became a team. That was the good part. The bad part was that maybe they wanted to do something else. The engagement and motivation gets killed by getting paid. It’s my spare time and I want to decide, what I want to do with it” (Tove Öljansdotter, interview, 2013).

Rafi from Flamman describes, the public authorities sometimes overtake ideas, when they are good. One example for acting in this way is the Infocenter in Holma, which was initiated by

the association Aktiva Kvinnor i Hyllie. The woman, who was in charge of running Infocenter was involved in the association and was paid by the city of Malmö. It was a collaboration between Aktiva Kvinnor i Hyllie and Malmö Stad. But tragically this women died last year and her follower in Infocenter is no member of Aktiva Kvinnor i Hyllie. So the initial idea which was created by an association was taken over by the municipality.

“Aktiva Kvinnor i Hyllie [...] started the first Infocenter in Holma and they ran it together with us. [...] It is [now] run by Malmö Stad [because] Malmö Stad took over. [...] So it's no longer governed by Aktiva Kvinnor i Hyllie” (Tove Öljansdotter, interview, 2013).

5.6.4 Short term programs and lose of trust

Taking a look at the last decade, there were several programs, with the aim of developing the area of Holma and Kroksbäck. From the year 2000 until 2007, there was the program Storstadssatsning. From 2007 until 2010 the VLA - program took place and by the end of the year 2010 the Områdesprogram, which will end in 2015, started. The first two programs had provided funding in common (Linda Johansson, interview, 2013). Storstadssatsning had the aim to strengthen the social development of the area in general in order to integrate people into work. The second program had the main goal to foster democracy in the area (Husseïn Sadayo, interview, 2013). After these programs ended and after funds completely depleted, many projects died (Tove Öljansdotter, interview, 2013). It was then in the year 2010, when Områdesprogram started and the community lost their trust into politics, due to ending programs and unkept promises (Husseïn Sadayo, interview, 2013).

“So at that time [first program, Storstadssatsning], we succeeded to oblige people. When we called the people (100 people) to gather a meeting, it didn't matter what kind of meeting. They came because we offered them jobs, to their children in schools, free time music and travelling and everything but after that [Storstadssatsning] it was difficult to us with the other programs, because we promised the people there comes much money to find work to them, but they used it in another way and so the people became upset ... I became upset. In the first program we succeeded in any part of work. Especially in political work, we mobilized thousands of people, when politicians came before elections. And after that every time there are unemployed people and many problems in the area ... and politicians promised them a lot of things to do in their area. [...] People participate when you show them something that they need and when you give them something...important things, which belong to their area, to their house, to their children, to themselves” (Husseïn Sadayo, interview, 2013).

The current Områdesprogram now differs from the previous programs. While the Storstadssatsning and the VFA- program had a lot of funding, the Områdesprogram is equipped with only a small amount of finances. The idea is to create co-operations and networks and to individually find external funds for each project (Linda Johansson, interview, 2013). It is a political commitment to face social problems in a way (Hamidulla Thurab, interview, 2013) which is more independent from funding. This program only runs for five years, which is a small amount of time in order to solve social problems in the area. This leaves the question open as to what comes after 2015.

The idea of establishing an Infocenter in the scope of the Områdesprogram is not a new one. According to Husseïn Sadayo (interview, 2013), there previously has been an Infocenter during the Storstadssatsning. This was based on his suggestions to the municipality to have a local information office centrally in the neighborhood. As mentioned above, the program

ended and the financial capital depleted, which led to a closing of this office. Therefore the first reactions about the new Infocenter were rather pessimistic.

“When we opened Infocenter I heard a lot like..ah it’s gonna be closed in two years [...] why care because it will be away anyway. Here’s not much trust in this area” (Tove Öljansdotter, interview, 2013).

The major problem is that the municipality did not use the experience and the experiments in terms of public participation, nor was the dialogue with the residents utilised. Therefore the municipality started from zero with the process of every program (Hussein Sadayo, interview, 2013).

“They neglected the experiments, which we had. Two weeks ago, there was a big conference. I told them that I am very surprised, you are talking about something, which you think is new and you open a new area. You know that Malmö has already a big experience in that. For example we have a ‘boendedialog’ [meeting and dialog with the people] and Hyllie is a symbol in whole Sweden and now we talk about, that we can’t gather...we can’t have a good meeting with the people. Ok we have a method here, why don’t we use it? We have people who have worked with that” (Hussein Sadayo, interview, 2013).

6. Discussion

6.1 Network of ethnic associations as a facilitator of participation and active citizenship

Forrest and Kearns (2001, p. 2130) and Laurence (2011, p. 72) suggest that neighborhoods are a construct of social networks, which are based on cooperation, tolerance and trust. Strong primary networks are the fundament of social cohesion, which is driven by the features of social capital: trust, networks and norms that make it possible to facilitate collaborative action in society and that lead to interconnectedness and a willingness to participate (Putnam, 1995, 156). Considering the empirical findings for the neighborhood of Holma and Kroksbäck we can detect, that there are several active networks in the area, such as the Afghansk Kulturförening, which is the largest association in the area. Two of the three examples of active citizenship - Läckakuten and Infocenter - are initiated by members of the Afghansk Kulturförening. Putnam (1995, p. 71) mentions that associational membership is fostering social trust and engagement, which are two essentials of social capital. The Afghansk Kulturförening is the only ‘formal’ local association, which has the most resources and is the only one collaborating with Hyllie SDF. Their collaboration with public institutions in order to integrate the Afghan minority into Swedish society is, amongst others, one of their key tasks. Thus, it is obvious that especially members of this association had the trust and engagement to come up with ideas to support the neighborhood. Infocenter and Läckakuten are a consequence of this collaboration. From the perspective of public institutions this achievement can be seen as the result of supporting policies in order to face social exclusion and foster self-help against social exclusion (Burns and Taylor, 1998; in Forrest and Kearns, 2001, p. 2140). The interviewed Taher Azizi and Moshafiq Popal are long-term members of the association. They both got in contact with the public authorities, Hyllie SDF, quite early. Taher already got in touch via Aktivitetshuset, the municipal youth house and Moshafiq was involved through educational integration programs. In line with the statement of Ostrom (2011, p. 9), these public policies and incentives were perceived as supportive and thus crowded in citizenship.

The Afghansk Kulturförening is, like mentioned above, the largest ethnic and only official association with over 400 members. According to Hyllie SDF, there are between ten and fifteen active ethnic associations in the area, which are not 'formal' in terms of Swedish law. The interviewed staff from Hyllie SDF (Linda Johansson and Tove Öljansdotter, interviews, 2013) as well as the people from the Afghansk Kulturförening (Taher Azizi, Moshafiqa and Hamidulla Thurab, interviews, 2013) mentioned, that there is no little communication or collaboration between the ethnic associations. They know about each other's existence but nothing about activities. Considering the explanations of Ostrom (2011, p. 12) transparency would increase an engagement. As given in the case of Holma and Kroksbäck, information about each other is missing with only a few exceptions. Especially for Hyllie SDF it is a challenge to collaborate with the other associations, given the fact that they are not formal (Linda Johansson, interview, 2013). In terms of public support it is therefore more convenient to work together with the Afghansk Kulturförening. Furthermore it is hard to get in touch with other associations. Hyllie SDF informs them about current activities but communication and networking is low. There are no meetings held together and thus the Afghansk Kulturförening is more or less the only association collaborating.

This mirrors the situation in the neighborhoods of Holma and Kroksbäck in terms of social cohesion and trust in the area: besides the successful supportive incentives and collaboration with the Afghansk Kulturförening, there is no interconnectedness between the ethnicities and their associations in the area. This circumstance draws conclusions to a lack of trust and involvement. According to Forrest and Kearns (2001, p. 2133) multi-ethnic disadvantaged areas are lacking the "necessary ingredients" for a social cohesive development and therefore for trust and engagement. In spite of bridging, the multiethnic neighborhoods of Holma and Kroksbäck show a high degree of bonding with very few interethnic ties (Putnam, 1993, 2000; in Laurence, 2011, p. 72).

The area of Holma and Kroksbäck is perceived as disadvantaged, segregated and dangerous. This goes parallel to a constant lack of perception of powerlessness, interaction and mistrust is the competition for 'scarce' resources. A way to receive public funding is to become a formal association (Linda Johansson, interview, 2013). Amongst the ethnic associations, there is only one as already described. With the youth association Flamman there is another existing formal association, which is not related to one special ethnicity. In terms of funding Rafi (interview, 2013) one of the association leaders of Flamman mentions many locals who are feeling envious about the youth club's permanent subsidies.

6.2 Municipal participatory policies - top down policies to foster bottom up activities

The city of Malmö undertook and still undertakes a huge effort in empowering and mobilizing residents to participate towards a cohesive urban development. Considering the last three programs which were run since the year 2000 (Storstadssatsning, Välfärd för Alla, Områdesprogram), they all had the key aim to foster democratisation and participation in the disadvantaged neighborhoods.

To follow the words of Hamidulla Thurabi (interview, 2013), it is the right way to go and there is a willingness to tackle social problems in these areas. However, one also has to notice that participation and public involvement is not an easy task and the approaches are still in

need for improvement. Joel Velborg (interview, 2013) from Rädga Barnen mentions that the city took over responsibility for collective activities, but still needs to be better. One example is given with the establishment of the first Infocenter in Holma, which was initiated by the Arabic women's association Aktiva Kvinnor i Hyllie and later on was taken over by the city of Malmö. After this has happened, the association Aktiva Kvinnor i Hyllie lowered their collaboration with Hyllie SDF. Ostrom (2011, p. 9, 12) describes policies, which are perceived as controlling and as a major factor for a decreasing motivation. Moreover citizens become 'passive observers' and let the government take all responsibility.

Some interviewees, like Hamidulla Thurab (interview, 2013) and Linda Johansson (interview, 2013) mention that many employees from the municipality do not feel comfortable to come to the neighborhoods of Holma and Kroksbäck. Rafi (interview, 2013) talks about an existing gap between the public authorities and local residents and Tove Öljansdotter (interview, 2013) describes, how residents are getting involved in participatory processes much too late when decisions have already been made, and people can only suggest, whether something should be "blue or red". These statements show that a certain lack of self-dependency and – empowerment of citizens is expected by the municipality and that a controlling of neighborhood activities is needed. Another controlling approach, which is questionable, is whether a payment of citizens being active in the neighborhood, like the examples of Taher Azizi and Läckakuten and Moshafiqa Popal with the Infocenter in Kroksbäck is supportive or counterproductive. Laurence (2011, p. 85) describes that policies should be designed to increase social capital, which means, that opportunities should be given for residents to volunteer formally and informally and to take part in neighborhood renewal projects. By giving Moshafiqa Popal and Taher Azizi the space and the possibility establish their ideas, Hyllie SDF supported them in a constructive way in order to develop and implement their ideas. But on the other hand the public authorities made their project funding dependent by paying them. Tove Öljansdotter (interview, 2013) questions this method by doubting, that a payment would lead to an increase of engagement. According to her statement, it leads to a decline of individual motivation and creativity as it is the municipality that pays and decides what kind of projects and activities should be undertaken. This matter also corresponds with the statement of Ostrom (2011, p. 9), that public rewards reduce the engagement, as they have the effect to forestall and to undermine the ability of residents to motivate themselves and to take responsibility for self-regulation. By controlling people's behaviour, the long-term effect would be negative.

Cousins and Earl (1992, p. 413) point out, that it is of utmost importance for organisations to provide time and resources to achieve learning improvements. However taking care managing residents actions and educating them takes a lot of time and effort, which is scarce in practice. Tove Öljansdotter (interview, 2013) explains this in relation to her supervision of Moshafiqa Popal and her work at the Infocenter. This is an intense approach, which is not possible to realize area wide.

A crucial matter in urban planning processes, which the municipality tries to put effort in, is the citizen dialogue. In terms of the planning of the swimming pool in Holma and Kroksbäck, the municipality used a link worker, the 'brobyggare', to mobilize residents for the first public

meeting. Fung (2004, p. 128-131) describes the lack of knowledge and skills of residents about their participation in planning processes. In the case of the swimming pool participation the link worker had the task to pre-educate the residents previously to the meeting with the public authorities. Using a link worker as a 'process facilitator' in participatory processes thus ensures that the resident's outcomes will be truly presented (Denters and Klok, 2010, p. 588). While in the first meeting, the participation was high, with about 50 participants, the second meeting was less successful. According to Linda Johansson (interview, 2013), this occurred due the fact, that the content of the meeting was more detailed and formal and thus it was harder for residents to have an opinion about it. It was a formal act in the planning process, where the detailed plan of the swimming pool had to be published. Another crucial fact for less residential participation is that the link worker was not involved in the second meeting. The effort in reaching residents decreased and the participatory frame used in the first meeting disappeared. Denters and Klok (2010, p. 587) highlight, that the institutionalisation of participatory processes is essential for mobilizing residents. With transparent institutionalised participatory rules, the municipality could show residents, that their efforts and inputs are taken into consideration. However by changing the participatory procedure with not involving the link worker, the municipality lost an ordered process and thus also residential involvement. Given the huge effort of pre-educating and mobilizing residents it comes back to the statement of Cousins and Earl (1992, p. 413). They suggest that time and resources are a necessity for implementing learning processes. In times, where the public investments decline, and the currently running Områdesprogram, which is equipped with less funding than the previous programs, the decreasing level of public incentives can be taken as a result. However, by institutionalising participatory processes and setting up clear regulations about where and when results of public meetings can be found, residents would be able to see, that their suggestions are taken serious.

6.3 Short term programs to achieve long term goals and institutionalize trust

In terms of institutionalising participatory processes in the municipality one has to take into consideration, that the last programs for social sustainable development in the area of Holma and Kroksbäck were always restricted to a certain amount of years. Hussein Sadayo (interview, 2013) hereby explains, that the first program he was involved in lasted for seven years (Storstadsatsning 2000-2007) and the second one for 3 years (VFA-Program 2007-2010). The current Områdesprogram began in 2010 and will end in 2015. As described above, institutionalisation is crucial for establishing a clear frame for residents, showing results and can thus foster a trustful relationship between residents and public authorities. This could also lead to decrease the gap between them. To institutionalize processes as such also means that they last in the long-term. One cannot expect to solve deep rooted social problems with short term programs and funding. Participatory policies therefore should be designed open ended (Hillgren *et al.*, 2011, p. 172) and should be seen as endogenously experiments (Ostrom, 2011, p. 12), with a possibility of change. To lead towards social change a critically evaluation of existing social policies has to occur in order to create a social transformation. For an ongoing flourishing learning process and an improvement in policy making it is thus essential to take experiments into account and to implement them. To keep existing organisational memories in mind and to build on them is therefore crucial (Cousins and Earl, 1992, p. 413). A long-term governing approach is not given in the city of Malmö so far. The

several short-term programs are evidence for this and probably reveal the biggest hurdle towards a creation of a trustful relationship with local residents, an increase of public participation, a social cohesive development and an activation of social capital in general. Hussein Sadayo (interview, 2013) explains that after every program and funding ends, all governmental incentives disappeared and residents did not receive a result of their participation efforts. Each time a new program started, the municipality started to “reinvent the wheel” and neglected the existing experiments utilised in the past (Hillgren *et al.*, 2011, p. 172). Some interviewees (Hussein Sadayo and Rafi, interviews, 2013) mention, that projects like Infocenter and Läckakuten are not entirely new ideas, but existed in similar ways in the past. To point out the example of Infocenter, according to Hussein Sadayo (interview, 2013) there was already a neighborhood office in the area of Holma and Korksbäck in the first program, the Storstadsatsning, which then disappeared due to the end of the funding period in 2007.

7. Conclusion

Cities are facing an increasing social fragmentation and polarisation. Current urban agendas strive for social cohesion and try to foster social capital by supporting policies. However especially in multi-ethnic and deprived neighborhoods where exclusion and segregation is high, social capital is eroding and trust in the local governments is low. Like many other cities in Western society Malmö is also facing these problems, as shown in this paper.

In the case of the multi-ethnic neighborhoods of Holma and Kroksbäck in Malmö, the municipality faces high segregation tendencies of ethnic minorities, exclusion from the labour market, problems of crime, low levels of participation and trust. Implementing several area development programs over the last decade was an attempt by the municipality to foster democratic structures, social innovation, collaboration and thus social capital. The empirical findings, which are gathered from qualitative interviews show the picture of two segregated neighborhoods fragmented in itself, characterized by the existence of more than a dozen ethnic associations not collaborating with each other. Thus, social capital exists in form of associational networks, but it is rather bonding than bridging between different ethnicities. The Afghansk Kulturförening is the strongest and only formal association in the area, which also explains that the local government, Hyllie SDF, mostly collaborates with this association.

In terms of active citizenship, the projects Läckakuten, Infocenter and the youth club Flamman are presented. Hereby Läckakuten and Infocenter are good examples of how the collaboration between the municipality and an ethnic association, the Afghansk Kulturförening, led to a trustful relationship and citizen's action taking. However, by finding only these two fostered projects in the area, one can conclude that active citizenship is, despite all the municipality's policies, still rather low. Further evidence for this circumstance is also given by the declining and low levels of public participation in the case of the Hyllie swimming pool planning process. By using link workers to collect and to pre-educate, the municipality was successful in activating local residents for public meetings and neighborhood concerns. However, the approach turned out to be only for a short term. Methods in communication between the local government and local residents changed and therefore the policy programs also changed. With every ending program, funding depleted and with it most of the projects did the same. Instead of a continuous participatory approach, the municipality started with every program from the beginning. This fact and the inability to show any achievements or results, led to a decreased trust into public policies and the public hand amongst the local residents. A further reason for the decline of trust in the area can be found in the late involvement of local residents in public decision making. Citizens get involved after projects have already been decided. Active democracy and public decision-making is more or less reduced to a formal hearing or consultation process.

There is a thin line between top-down managing and fostering bottom-up actions. By successfully facilitating citizens actions and ideas in the above described examples, the municipality showed their commitment and for supporting bottom-up ideas, social innovation and collaboration, which is also the elementary core aim of the present Områdesprogram. But by controlling and taking over these ideas and thus making them public and by paying the

residents involved, the bottom-up ideas rather become top down activities and public funding dependent.

Generally it can be stated, that the local district government Hyllie SDF faces a constant dilemma: to create trust one needs to show quick results, whereas the creation of long-term and sustainable solutions take time and thus might lead to a lowering of trust.

8. Suggestions

Given these results the following suggestions arise: There are already long-term existing ethnic associations, which arrange and organize activities in the area on their own in the shadow of the initiatives of the city. The associational structure in the neighborhoods should thus be more included into public decision-making processes and collaborations between associations and the local government should be intensified. By bringing all ethnic associations together and supporting them to become formal associations transparency about each other's activities would be given, which could furthermore lead to more trust and an increase of active participation. Besides the ethnic associations one should also consider NGO's and private companies to bring together on one table, as they could play an important part in a social sustainable development of the area.

It is furthermore questionable, whether focusing on the extensive support of few citizens, like the example of Infocenter shows, will have a broader impact in the area. Given constricted resources in time and money, the municipality should moreover create a creative and open environment when facilitating active citizenship, without controlling and rewarding citizen's activities.

People do not participate at public meetings, because the different programs did not deliver the promised outcomes and were only designed for a short period of time. Long-term approaches/programs are needed to foster newly established structures in the public administration as well as in the neighborhoods. However, as long-term programs take time, it is of utmost importance to keep residents updated, to show small results step by step and to create a transparent and trustful relationship between residents and the municipality.

Already existing organisational knowledge in the municipality should be used as a fundament for new approaches. This should also include the use of existing knowledge in the neighborhoods. Employing and integrating people from the community in the local public administration would be another way to achieve this and to decrease the 'gap' which exists between the public authorities and local citizens.

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Appendix

One Example of a Semi - Structured Interview Guideline:

Interview with Linda Johansson, Planeringssekreterare Malmö Stad, 25.04.2013

(As the interviews were undertaken semi-structured, the questions were kept general with the aim to receive more individual inputs from the interviewees. Thus many important issues for this paper arose during the interview, without having explicitly asked.)

- What are you responsible for, what are you doing here at Hyllie stadsförvaltning?
- Could you describe the area of Holma and Kroksbäck in terms of social cohesion?
- Could you explain the general procedure of public participation methods in urban development projects in Hyllie and Malmö? Are they the same?
- What kind of advantages or barriers does exist in terms of public participation in urban development and citizens' action taking?
- In case of the swimming pool: Were the residents being involved in the decision making of establishing a bath from the beginning? Like workshops → residents define, what they need.
- Do you think that residents think that they have influence in development processes so far?
- What kind of activities/methods does Hyllie district undertake to reach local residents?
- Are these methods successful / unsuccessful (in case of the swimming pool planning process)? Why?
- Where there a lot of residents from other parts of Malmö at the meetings?
- In terms of groups / people you don't reach or who don't want to participate: What do you think are the reasons for that?
- What about the associations? Which ethnic associations participate, which not? Could you give me contacts to those who don't participate?