

The background of the entire page is a dark red aerial photograph of the Angered neighborhood in Gothenburg, Sweden. The map shows a dense residential area with various street layouts, including some curved streets and larger open spaces. The text is overlaid on this map.

# Invisible Beauty

**Analysing the relation between area attractiveness  
and social sustainability in Angered**

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**Master of Science Thesis  
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## Abstract

The Swedish Million Programme was an ambitious government project that aimed to create one million new dwellings in ten years during the 60's. Some of these dwellings were built in tall apartment blocks made of precast concrete, that were erected in suburban areas with strict urban planning standards, in a true modernistic perspective. Although these areas did not represent the majority of the types of construction done then, the grey buildings turned into the image of the program in people's minds.

During the 80's, with the arrival of the first wave of asylum seekers to Sweden, these areas started receiving many immigrants. In Göteborg, the neighbourhoods of the district of Angered are examples of these areas.

Today, Angered is mainly inhabited by people with foreign backgrounds. The area is stigmatized and suffers with low educational and economic numbers, and social and spatial segregation.

The aim of this work is to understand this phenomenon and investigate alternatives that could turn the area more attractive, a measure that could alleviate or even mitigate the current stigma.

A theoretical framework based on four themes (Area Based Policies, Attractiveness, Neighbourhood Effects and Sustainable Urban Magnets) was conceived and used as a tool for analysis of the current situation of the area and discussion of possible measures that could enhance the attractiveness of the neighbourhoods.

The results of this work are recommendations – both infrastructural and political - that can be used by both decision-makers and community to improve the district.



## Acknowledgements

This work is the result of a whole year of dedication. During this time, I was extremely lucky to meet fantastic people on my way. This thesis has a bit of all of them on it, and I want to take a moment to thank all that were involved in one way or the other.

First, I am very grateful to my examiner, Jaan-Henrik Kain, for his extreme patience, kindness, understanding, “nitty gritty” comments and ideas. This thesis was my first attempt in reasearch work and an extremely challenging process for me; without his guiding hand I definately would not have succeeded.

A big thanks also goes to the teachers in the Center for Urban Studies in Hammarkullen, especially Jenny Stenberg and Pål Castell. My time there proved to be essential to this work. I must also thank Raul Carrasco for all the support and help.

I am also grateful to all my interviewees, that gave their precious time to talk to me and taught me so much in simple conversations. I must also thank Susan Runsten, Pia Fagerberg and Pär Abrahamsson from Utveckling Nordost, and Wenche Lerme and Jan-Ake Ryberg from Vision Angered, for receiving me and providing material and information. I hope my thesis can be somehow useful in their future work.

This thesis is not just the product of a year of hard work; it also marks the end of an unforgettable period of my life. Two years ago, I left my job, my family and the extremely hot northeastern Brazil, to cross the world and continue my studies in the cold Sweden; looking back now, I have no regrets.

I must thank my beloved parents, José Wilson and Maria Irene, as well as my dear sister Bárbara, for making this possible and supporting me through all the journey. Even though they were scared for having me alone and so far away, they never stopped giving me courage. Thanks for believing in me.

My stay in Sweden was far from lonely, though: I had the pleasure to meet the greatest people I could imagine. I will be forever grateful to the Bratt family - Thomas, Henriette and Sigrid - for receiving me in their home with so much warmth.

I must thank the fantastic teachers I met in Chalmers, especially Lena Falkheden and Lisa Åhlström. There I also made wonderful friends from all over the world; some came and went soon, some are still here but will also depart, and some will still be here for me if I get to stay. It is impossible to list all without forgetting anyone, so I just want to thank all of you for the company, the fikas and the memories.

Finally, I must thank my dearest, Herman Strand Lilleng, for the English corrections, edition, reading, comments, encouragement, company (even from afar) and all the love. I hope this work can be the bridge that will finally bring us together.

## Definitions

### *Million Programme*

A program created by the Swedish government that took place between 1965-1974, aiming to create 1.000.000 new housing units to fight housing shortage. Today, some of the areas created during this program are facing social problems. A more in-depth view of this topic is presented in chapter 8.

### *Host community*

The original population of the place, and usually, the majority population. In the scope of this study, ethnic Swedish inhabitants.

### *Minorities*

Smallest percentages of the population. Generally, those “different from the norm” either by social, economic or ethnic aspects. In this work, the word “minority” usually refers to the visible minorities in general, without ethnic differentiations.

### *Visible Minorities*

Minorities that carry marks that make them recognizable either by race, culture or other factors, turning them more susceptible to racism or intolerance.

### *Invisible Minorities*

Minorities that can visually “fit the norm” and are more difficultly recognized.

### *Suburbs*

Differently from the American suburbs definition (wealthy areas with neighborhoods filled by enormous houses and extremely car dependant), the Swedish use of the “suburb” word carries a negative connotation. It refers to the areas created during the Million Programme, with characterless landscapes filled by tall pre-fabricated buildings. Usually located in a certain distance from the city center. Once occupied by the Swedish working class, today they’re known for having immigrants as the majority of its population and carrying the stigma of being poor and

violent areas.

*Minority Enclave*

Physical areas populated in majority by a single minority group. The preponderance of a language different of the official can be noticed in the most closed ones, as well as the minority's social standards. A common example are the Chinatowns.

## Preface

My first time in Angered made me reflect for a long time. One employee of the Center for Urban Studies in Hammarkullen - Mr. Raul Carrasco from Chile - lead me through a visit in Blå Stället, a cultural equipment in Angered Centrum. He introduced me to an Uruguayan friend that works there, and for a good half an hour all I heard was Spanish (They were also trying to be polite and help me understand their conversation, due to the similarities between Spanish and Portuguese, my mother tongue). In the café I heard Persian music; in the corridor many girls covered their heads with hijabs; the message boards were filled with advertisements in many languages. Somehow, that place felt completely foreign but at the same time very familiar to me. It was not full, but it was quite vibrant by itself: loud voices, color, music.

More than half of the inhabitants of the Angered district are either foreigners or have foreign descent, according to data from the municipality. A simple look around in the streets of Hammarkullen is more than enough to confirm this.

I had been living for close to two years in Göteborg, but had never been to Angered before – and I am an immigrant, just like those people. That made me wonder: What led those people there but not me? Why didn't I ever visit that place? We hear much about social tensions in the area, and in this case I would make the assumption that its separation from the urban network plays a big role in accentuating the problem: I haven't been there because I didn't need to go there specifically, and it was also too far.

Fact is, when you live near the city center, you don't hear about Angered much (except for people's comments, that usually carry some stigma), and you also have no reason to go there if you're not a commuter – leaving the neighborhood to work in the city center, for example. Considering that the district's neighborhoods have a lot of potential (the Hammarkullen carnival attracts people from all over the city and the natural environment of the area is a stunning source of pride of the inhabitants), I could see



some aspects that if improved, could turn the region more attractive.

Right after my first contact with the area, I wrote down some questions:

- *Is this area capable of turning into a node of interest in the city, attracting more inhabitants and visitors?*
- *Which specific characteristics of the area could be used as assets in this matter?*
- *Which factors can be a barrier to this kind of development?*

And that is how the idea for this work was born. These first, tentative questions touch the problem of the perceived distance of district, something that could co-produce the social tensions that affect the area.

However, that was just the very start.

## Thesis outline

This thesis follows a pre-determined structure. It is comprised of an introduction, followed the presentation of the societal problem that is the object of this study and the subjects relevant to understand its context. (Chapters 2 to 4).

The societal problem leads to the finding of the research problem in chapter 5; from it, the research questions were formulated. The adequate methods to answer these questions are presented in chapter 6.

In order to create a support for the analysis of the research material, a theoretical framework was built (Chapter 7). The actual research material is presented from chapters 8 to 10, formed by historic, demographic and human perspectives of the area in question.

In chapter 11 the material is thoroughly analysed. Discussions about the findings of the work and their ability to answer the research questions are presented on chapter 12. Chapter 13 concludes this work.

At the end of most chapters (and some subchapters) a small summary describes the most relevant points of the text.

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An aerial photograph of a city grid, showing streets and buildings in shades of brown and tan. A large, bold white number '1.' is positioned in the upper right quadrant of the image.

# 1.

## Introduction





## 1. Introduction

Segregation is a very multi-layered concept. Maybe the first meanings that come to mind have social, ethnic or racial overtones, due to the strong impressions formed by historical conflicts through time. In other hand, it can also relate to labor market, gender, age, space and many other scenarios.

But looking at the world through the eyes of an architect, what could segregation represent? How does the built environment cause or mitigate segregation?

Architecture creates places that can bring people together, at the same time that it can have the power to separate – these actions have roots on the intent of the designer. However, built spaces are given life by the people that use them. Spaces are transformed, adapted, expanded, and evolve through their life cycles.

In a greater scale, so do neighborhoods and cities, albeit in more complex processes. Each new piece of the land is set by different actors with different ideas. These ideas can result in interesting, attractive areas - or bundles that sometimes do not dialogue very well and create segregated spaces. Detailed, thoroughly thought out concepts that once seemed revolutionary can end up failing on tough tests – like the passing of time and human interactions - while many places that were born almost in an organic way prove to be perfect places to live, socialize and integrate.

Bringing this line of thought to a more concrete, urban context, it is possible to look at Göteborg and identify many integrated and segregated areas. The city center is formed by closely-knit spaces, and it is almost impossible to delimit its borders. Look at Angered though, and the extreme opposite can be seen: not even its own neighborhoods are connected, and the whole area feels like another city, being so detached from the center. Created during the Million Programme<sup>1</sup>, the area designed like an utopian solution to many urban challenges has failed on its original intent.

1. An extensive explanation of the Million Programme will be presented in chapter 8.

It is also interesting to notice that the spatial character of these areas can somehow also reflect its social image. While the center is a positive lively mixture of people and activities, Angered suffers from the stigma of being violent and unruly; many times, the immigrants that are the majority of the area's population are blamed for this status. Can they really be blamed? Which factors make these two spaces so different? How to add Angered to the inclusive, positive network that grows from the city center?

To understand the area's spatial problems, there is also a need to identify which social problems are affecting the region. The following chapter will describe key concepts that will enable a better reading of Angered's situation.

The findings of this work can be of use of policy-makers, politicians and planners involved on the development of the municipality of Gothenburg in order to achieve a better understanding of the area and its problems and finding guidelines on where and how to improve the district.

An aerial photograph of a city grid, showing streets and building footprints. A large, white, bold number '2.' is overlaid in the upper right quadrant of the image.

2.

**Societal Problem**

## Three in four Rosengård children 'live in poverty'

Published: 12 Mar 2012 10:35 GMT+01:00  
Updated: 12 Mar 2012 10:35 GMT+01:00

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EDUCATION

# Falling school results in immigrant areas



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### Svårare för invandrare att få jobb

Publicerad 2009-03-12 07:19



**Diskriminering och bristande nätverk stoppar utrikesfödda akademiker.**

Utrikes födda akademiker har sämre chanser på arbetsmarknaden än svenskfödda – men utbildning lönar sig ändå för alla. Det framkommer i en rapport från TCO som publiceras på torsdagen. Studien visar också att om det inte fanns någon diskriminering borde de utrikes födda exakt ha en

Magnus Helgren

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### Invandrare "risk" i hela landet

Publicerad 23 december 2009 | Uppdaterad 23 december 2009

Det är inte bara HSB i Skåne som klassat invandrare som en arbetsmiljörisk i sina listor. Checklistan har använts av arbetsbolag i hela landet i minst tio års tid, skriver Metro.

... utan även missvisande och arbetsmiljön.



## 2.1 - Background - Integration & Segregation

Integration issues can frequently be spotted in the news nowadays, especially in Europe. Reports about high amounts of unemployed immigrants, abuse of the welfare system, religious tension, racism, cultural clashes and the consequent rise of right-wing political parties with anti-immigrant policies, among others. These can also be largely noticed in the Swedish media (Image 1). A quick search for “immigration” on Sveriges Radio site (a Swedish independent public media company that also publishes news in English) returns headlines such as:

*“One on three young immigrant jobless”*  
*“Falling school results in immigrant areas”*  
*“Anti-Immigrant Feelings in the South?”*  
*“Religious conflict increasing in Sweden?”* (SR, 2012)

It is interesting to observe how the perception of the immigrants in Sweden has changed over time. The country started receiving immigrants during the XII century - mostly Germans, who came to work and trade. (Jederlund, 1999) However, most of the immigrant population was Nordic, mainly Finnish then. (Borgegård, Håkansson and Müller, 1998)

During the 1950's, Sweden received many refugees from east Europe. Germans were also a strong - and needed - source of labor: At that time, 20% (1.2 million people) of the population of Sweden emigrated to America, generating a huge need for workers. (Borgegård, Håkansson and Müller, 1998; Jederlund, 1999). During the 1970's, a large number of refugees also came from South America.

Nowadays, Sweden is receiving an influx of refugees from the Middle East; however, the situation has changed. With the economic crisis, it became more difficult to both immigrants and swedes to enter the job market; the refugees thus depend on social benefits and assistance, and find difficulties to integrate. This created pressure and discontentment towards this population. (Jederlund, 1999)

Image 1. Headlines.

*“From an historical perspective, Sweden has been transformed in a very short period from a relatively homogeneous country into a multiethnic and multicultural society. This development has enriched Sweden in many ways but has also created tensions and problems. Individuals, organizations, public agencies, political parties and the responsible politicians at all levels are thus under greater pressure to deal with integration issues in a new, more energetic way. Today, it no longer focuses as much on immigration and immigrants, but instead on integration and the “new Swedes”. (Jederlund, 1999:30)*

## 2.2 Integration and Segregation in the Urban Networks

This difficulty of integration can also reflect in the urban distribution of the population. Some communities - with different levels of integration with the rest of the local society in a social context - can end up by physically closing themselves into a specific area, sometimes even in an involuntary manner.

These areas can turn into remarkable and interesting new spots in the urban network, peculiar places that provoke curiosity and interest, that lure people into visiting and discovering more about that population. Examples can be found around the world: the Chinatowns found in many cities such as London or New York are original, unusual landmarks that offer different attractions, cuisine and culture. In São Paulo, Japanese, Libanese and Italian neighborhoods are also exciting places visited by the local population and tourists as well.

However, there are examples of areas that turned into ghettos, completely disconnected from the surroundings. The disconnection creates small fortresses without walls, where the different is seen with doubt both from who is inside or outside. This kind of area can possibly be extremely prejudicial to the urban network of a city, and can cause problems that go far from just a merely spatial issue. To make this notion clearer, there are many examples.

In France, the banlieues are areas located distant from the city center, populated by immigrants and characterized as areas with high unemployment, dependency on social assistance and violence. In Brazil, the population of the favelas<sup>2</sup> suffer from the same stigma and lack of integration of the migrants from other parts of the country. However, there life, health and safety conditions are publicly known to be lower than the ones found in the European suburbs.

2. Favelas are the famous brazilian slums.

In Sweden, the region of Rosengård in Malmö is frequently perceived by the society as a problematic area, and is also a neighbourhood with a high





percentage of inhabitants with foreign backgrounds. And as previously mentioned, the study area of this work - Angered, located in the city of Göteborg - is also known as an immigrant zone, and has to fight the stigma of being unsafe and poverty ridden.

It became clear to me that physically segregated communities are not always a problem – they can have economic and cultural strengths that benefit the whole. But from the moment that they turn into isolated, disconnected ghettos, the result can be the opposite; the social consequences of that isolation are a problem that can affect all the society.

Before understanding the relations between spatial segregation and integration processes in Angered and the particularities of the area, the concepts of segregation and integration must be discussed further. They will be expanded in the following chapters.

Image 2. Chinatown and favelas, interesting areas x guettos.

## Chapter 2 - Summary

Sweden faced transformations in its populational composition in a very short span of time. A change in the character of immigration - from relatively small work immigration to a bigger wave of asylum seekers - contributed in the creation of societal tensions.

Many multicultural societies found ways to deal with these matters in an urban context; however, the present situation in Sweden is not exactly positive. Segregated, deprived suburbs are now stigmatized as immigrant areas. One example of these areas is Angered, subject of this study.

An aerial photograph of a city, likely Los Angeles, with a red overlay highlighting a specific urban area. The red area is roughly rectangular and covers a significant portion of the city's central and eastern parts. The rest of the city is shown in a lighter, natural color. The red area contains a dense network of streets and buildings, with some larger structures and open spaces visible. The overall image has a dark red background, and the text '3.' and 'Segregation' is overlaid in white.

**3.**

**Segregation**

### 3.1 - What is segregation

The meaning of the word “segregation” is a separation of some sort, usually in a negative tone. However, the concept is very dense and multilayered, concerning different aspects. In Sweden, racial, ethnic, spatial, economic and residential segregation are frequently recognized as problems found in the Million Programme areas such as Angered, as it will be presented further on. It can be said that all these aspects are connected, even if the cause and consequence relation between them isn’t always clear; it is also impossible to single out a sole culprit for the problem.

Danuta Biterman and Eva Franzén (2007) published a paper on residential segregation in Swedish metropolitan areas, with a focus in the three main cities (Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö). They mention that it is common practice to relate social and geographical distances, and that it’s also difficult to understand ethnic and socioeconomic residential segregation separately. Their analysis on the status of segregation (from an economic and ethnic point of view) during the period of 1992 to 2002 concluded that:

- Swedish central districts were occupied mostly by Sweden-born wealthy or integrated inhabitants.
- - The foreign-born population occupied deprived or not so attractive neighborhoods, especially members of minority groups. However, if compared to the totality of the population, these groups were small in size.
- The Swedish-born population left the poorest areas of the city; smaller, “nonvisible” immigrant communities tend to do the same. The bigger and more “visible” immigrant communities stayed. They affirm that it is possible to identify a trend of ethnification in these areas, in a manner that cannot be explained by socioeconomic aspects.
- The proportion of poor people increased in these areas; in Göteborg, it almost doubled. The youth of this minorities is in school, however those in working age “were either unemployed, drawing disability pensions, on sick leave or claiming social assistance.”
- Most immigrants or internal migrants move to these neighborhoods

as an “entry point”; many move away shortly after, however many of the newly arrived immigrants tend to permanently stay.

- The “visible immigrants” replaced the poverty-stricken Swedish inhabitants and “invisible immigrants” in these areas, augmenting ethnic segregation. Economic segregation and ethnic segregation became hard to separate.

This study only confirms what is observed and felt day-by-day in the Swedish society. It was made almost 10 years ago; the current situation might be different, but it is safe to assume that segregation is still extremely noticeable and possibly more aggravated.

Confirming Biterman and Franzén’s study, Åsa Bramå (2008) perceives segregation in Göteborg as a separation between what she refers as the “host population” - that is, Swedish people - and immigrants. However, she also points out that not all immigrants are affected by segregation.

*“This finding gives additional support to the idea put forward in other Swedish studies, that there exists a hierarchy among minority populations (...) lower-status minority populations are directed towards the lower-status minority enclaves, while higher-status minority populations are directed towards the host communities.”(Bramå,2008).* Those would be the “invisible immigrants” mentioned in Biterman and Franzén’s studies. Bramå also mentions that there are apparently no signs of absolute enforced clustering in Göteborg, that is, immigrants were able to choose where to locate themselves.

However, she also concludes that there is a tendency for the immigrants that inhabit said enclaves to spread in different areas after some time, but the speed of this process differs according to each ethnic group. Also, this rate of spread is too slow when compared to the natural growth of the local population and the arrival of more immigrants, thus perpetuating spatial segregation.

Also, unlike in many places, the “minority enclaves” of Göteborg are not constituted by people of the same ethnicity only; these areas are actually very multicultural, with immigrants from various countries. Inside these areas there can exist an ethnic separation; but in a larger scale, they are mixed (this can be easily noticed in Hammarkullen, where smaller areas, streets or even buildings are known for having inhabitants from the same origin.). This is also pointed out by Biterman and Franzén, exemplifying that there is no such thing as a Chinatown in Sweden.

### 3.2 Spatial Segregation and Urban Segregation

As mentioned before, the word “segregation” can express diverse types of separation; in common use, the context of its use is frequently related to social, ethnic or economic aspects, aspects that are quite elusive and need deeper reflections. The word itself can also encompass a tangible, palpable character: physical separation, division of parts, splitting of a whole. This character better relates to the concept of spatial segregation.

Spatial segregation could be simply defined as the relation between separated spaces. In an urban perspective, that would mean that streets connected to an important avenue would not be considered segregated, while a small dead-end street connected to other secondary streets probably would; that would not be necessarily a problem if specific aspects were contemplated (probably quiet streets would be perfect for housing while terrible for commerce, as an example.). Spatial segregation is based in a concrete condition, and can be analysed by itself. (Vaughan, 2007)

By simply looking at a map (Image 3), it is obvious that Angered is segregated from Göteborg in comparison to the other neighbourhoods of the city. The question is how this fact could add to an understanding of the area’s situation.

*“Where then and how does spatial segregation become a social problem? The answer seems to be: when spatial segregation becomes extreme and loses its cultural form, as, we conjecture, happened in some of the experimental 20th century social housing areas. When this happens, society and space are no longer interacting on the familiar terms of a spatialised culture, but in terms of a raw confrontation between new forms of space and an absent spatial culture.” (Vaughan, 2007, p.224-225)*

*“Segregation in the urban context is about separation, a separation of people as well as a separation of activities and functions; it is very difficult to understand such separateness without considering space as shaped*

*and structured by built form.*" (Legeby, 2010, p. 4)

In this work, it is needed to have another dimension on top of the pure concept of a divided space. The dynamics between activities, functions and the lives of the people living there constitute much of the scope of this work.

According to Legeby (2010), studies in urban segregation focus strongly in residential and housing segregation in detriment to an analysis of the public space. Her conclusion is that understanding residential segregation leads to knowledge on how people are spread in the city; but if the intent is to understand relations between people, an urban point of view could bring better results.

*"An urban landscape characterized by a prominent segregation in public space, reveals disrupted spatial relations within and between neighbourhoods. Such disrupted spatial relations separate different scales of movement (i.e., short distance movement from long distant movement) and separate neighbours from each other as well as from people in general."* (Legeby, 2010)

Legeby's study also finds out that spatial segregation does not occur only in deprived areas; that can be noticed in Göteborg for example, as the southern suburbs can also be classified as spatially disconnected.





Image 3. Both Angered (marked on the north of the map) and Askim (south) can be considered spatially segregated. However, the living and social standards of both areas are drastically different.

### 3.3 - Causes of Segregation

According to what was presented, the suburbs of Göteborg are publicly known as “immigrant” areas. This presence of “minority enclaves” (Bramå, 2008) in these areas can be explained by various reasons, like preferring to stay in a neighborhood with people from the same origin, not knowing the Swedish housing market or the presence of more affordable housing for a population that has a lower income.

Recently arrived immigrants also tend to prefer to move to areas where they be free from harassment or feel adequate (Bowes and Sim, 2002, in Bråma, Andersson, 2010). For that, they prefer to stay between equals, even if they also might want to live in a more ethnic mixed environment (Fosset & Warren, 2005).

It might be difficult for immigrants to find correct information about the Swedish housing market; this information frequently comes from their social networks (Siksjö & Borgegård, 1989 in Biterman & Franzén, 2007). Ethnic steering<sup>3</sup> is also able to influence household spatial distribution; immigrants are usually pointed to “adequate” areas by real estate agents (Bråma, Andersson, 2010). This view correlates to the fact that housing and real state agencies might select which kind of information a certain population group should receive (Sivers & Magnell, 2005 in Biterman & Franzén, 2007), and that landlords fear that their properties might lose societal status and monetary value over time if occupied by “inadequate” tenants (Biterman & Franzén, 2007).

In another analysis about housing market segregation (this time in Uppsala, Sweden), Bramå and Andersson (2010) found out that immigrants usually occupy rental housing while the Swedish inhabitants have cooperative housing or their own flats.

With the rise of housing market prices, immigrants end up “locked in” to this situation.

3. Racial / Ethnic Steering refers to a practice in the housing market that consists in mislead or advise renters or buyers into moving in specific «adequate» areas according to their race or ethnicity. Usually done in order to preserve the value of areas with strong presence of the host community, that could drop with the presence of the minority groups.

### 3.4 - Consequences of Segregation

There are positive aspects in the fact that community bonds are formed between people that share the same background:

*“Living in a neighbourhood where social and cultural practices are familiar reduces the initial stress of having to operate in a culture that is foreign, and provides a buffer against feelings of social alienation (Miyares 1997). In addition, ethnic communities may play an acculturative role in helping their members adjust and fit in to the host society (Kivisto 2001). The positive effects of residential concentration accrue from the presence of specific facilities and institutions that are geared to the needs of the ethnic community. Moreover, an ethnic neighbourhood provides the basis for a strong social network, which gives people access to all kind of resources (ranging from emotional support to information about employment and housing). Within some ethnic communities, these strong networks also form the basis for the success of ethnic entrepreneurs.” (Bolt et al, 2010:177)*

However, a social problem occurs when these communities get socially and physically isolated. Social and spatial segregation relate to each other deeply.

*“The closer that people live to each other, the greater the potential for more social interaction and less social distance. Therefore, physical and social distance tend to be mutually reinforcing with the result that spatial segregation is both a measure of and an influence of social distance.” (Murdie & Borgegård, 1997).*

*“...a hierarchical and segregated urban structure facilitates isolation, an isolation that can either be a product of choice (sometimes referred to as an enclave) or a product of coercion (sometimes referred to as a vulnerable area). From a social segregation perspective, both these outcomes could be argued to be equally unfavourable, since it risks reinforcing polarisation and increasing social distances in society at large.” (Legeby, 2010)*

This fact is of extreme relevance for the inhabitants of the suburbs. Being disconnected from the urban centers and from the host community turns practicing their language skills, participating of the city's social life or creating connections a very difficult task, thus turning proper integration complicated.

Also, when a neighborhood receives a large (or too little) quantity of inhabitants with the same profile – elderly, young or immigrant, as examples – this tends to create an unbalance in public services and resources, creating problematic areas. (Biterman & Franzén, 2007). These problems tend to evolve and leave the infrastructural and economic sphere and turn political. The results can be seen on the news: intolerance, disrespect, blaming minorities for problems that concern everyone, racism and even the rise of right-wing, anti-immigrant parties.

According to Bramå, the migration flows in Göteborg occur from the minority enclaves in direction to the host community, but there are no signs of the opposite. The study mentions that a way to break this pattern would most likely be done by the immigrants (moving into other areas through time), because the Swedish pattern of movement tends to avoid the immigrant areas. (Bramå, 2008). This also configures “white self-segregation”, something that is almost never seen in a negative light in the literature. (Bolt et al, 2010)

However, to move towards the host community the immigrants need sufficient income, or else their freedom of movement through areas is severely limited, as mentioned in the former section. Immigrants have problems finding employment in Sweden, even if sometimes their educational levels are higher than the ones of Swedish citizens.

Reasons may vary, such as lack of Swedish language skills, difficulties in building a contact network that leads to jobs, cultural differences and prejudice.

The success of an immigrant in the Swedish job market depends on where he/she comes from and how he/she got to Sweden (Zink, 2002). Unemployment also hinders their opportunities of meeting people outside their circle, for example.

Finally, concerning housing, the living conditions of the inhabitants of these suburban areas are usually not as good as the ones found in the more central neighborhoods; and with less economic power, they are also not likely to have their needs taken in consideration. (Boverket, 2007)

Sweden's integration policy was released in 1975. Its pillars are equality, freedom of cultural choice, cooperation and solidarity (Jederlund, 1999). As we have seen, equality still hasn't been achieved.

## Chapter 3 - Summary

Segregation can be defined as a separation of many sorts, as social, ethnic, economic, urban or residential.

In Biterman & Franzen (2007), it becomes clear that the Swedish metropolitan areas, including Göteborg, are segregated in many aspects: Ethnic Swedish inhabit the central areas, and immigrants are usually located in periferic, less attractive areas. These areas saw an increase in their deprived population.

Another interesting finding is that in Sweden, immigrant areas are extremely mixed, with inhabitants from diverse countries - unlike the ethnic enclaves found in other countries (like the Chinatowns present in many cities).

Spatial segregation, residential segregation and urban segregation are extremely connected and might be used with the same meaning by some authors; however, each of them have certain particularities.

The segregation problematic in Göteborg can have many causes. A need to be together with people who have the same roots can lead the newly arrived immigrants to this areas; however, ethnic steering, although not officially admitted, can also collaborate in pushing certain populations to specific areas.

The lack of knowledge of the Swedish housing market, as well as its own configuration can also be one of the causes of segregation.

The consequences of this problem can be positive: bonds formed between persons with the same background can help in the adjusting in a new society, as well as inserting the newly arrived in a social network.

However, the social and physical isolation of these communities can have negative effects for all the society, such as the separation between “us” and “them” that ends up in racism, intolerance and stigma, difficulty to integrate due to social distance (through language and contact barriers), unbalance in the distribution of public services, and more.

An aerial photograph of a city, likely New York City, with a red overlay indicating a specific area of interest. The red area is a large, irregular shape covering a significant portion of the city's central and eastern parts. The rest of the city is shown in a light, faded color. The red area includes several large, rectangular blocks and some smaller, more irregular shapes. The overall appearance is that of a map or a satellite image with a red highlight.

4.

Integration





## 4. Integration

*“Integration and segregation are not black and white.” (Boverket, 2007).*

The concepts of integration and segregation are usually seen in a causal cycle model: segregation causes lack of integration, while lack of integration causes segregation. However, segregation and integration are not direct opposites.

It is hard to properly define integration, though. An interesting view of the subject is brought by Castles (2002): in the host communities, many times integration can be understood as a process where the newcomers should ignore their cultural baggage and just adapt themselves in their new reality. This would be an one-way process that results in what is known as assimilation, not integration.

*“Although the desirability of integration as a two-way process may be publicly acknowledged, the expectation is that most of the adaptation will be undertaken by the minority ethnic population.” (Philips, 2010:211)*

On the other hand, the literature sees integration as a two-way process in which the host population also has to play an important role, providing ways for integration to happen and opportunities for socialization - and in this, democracy is a strong force.

Democracy guarantees that the immigrants should be treated as equals, and for that, allowed to keep their own cultural identities. (Castles et al. 2002) Like that, integration could be defined as a process in which an immigrant keeps his/hers own cultural and social particularities while still participating in the host society. (Berry, 1980 in Castles et al. 2002) Some authors prefer to use the term inclusion instead of integration, as it represents an addition to society, instead of an adaptation.

Integration can take form in various spheres: social, cultural, spatial, decision-making, labor market, housing market and so on. Although they

Image 4. An American suburb and Brazilian suburb.

are related, spatial and social integration are of utmost interest to this work, due to their relation between each other and to the urban networks.

One can live in a state of spatial segregation from the community, and still be integrated to it in many forms (like the Americans that live in rich suburbs, who are undoubtedly socially and culturally integrated to the American society). Alternatively, spatial proximity does not mean automatic inclusion. To be properly included in the society, one should be able to interact with others, comprehend the social norms and feel part of the whole.

The Handbook on Integration (2007), published by the EU for use of “policy-makers and practitioners”, contains several practices in different areas that are believed to increase integration. It mentions that the main goals to achieve integration, as seen by the EU, are *“the elimination of inequalities, and the acquisition of competences”*. (EU, 2007).

Among many areas, the handbook has a section dedicated to urban issues. It refers to the deprived areas (usually spatially segregated), suggesting that *“Policy targets for deprived areas should be compatible with citywide planning, and urban concepts should privilege the building of ‘bridges’ between city districts. Any inequality in service provision across different areas should be addressed as a priority.”* (EU, 2007).

It also highlights the importance of urban regeneration, the use of public buildings and areas as spaces for developing a community, and the need of involving groups of inhabitants in participatory processes.

## Chapter 4 - Summary

Integration and segregation are not direct opposites. Integration is a process in which the parts adapt and accept each other, in a democratic manner that guarantees that both can keep their own traits and authenticity. If only one of the parts does so, the result is not integration, but assimilation.

Integration can also be understood in many aspects: social, economic, spatial and so on. These aspects do not always follow the logics of segregation. Socially integrated communities can be spatially segregated, while spatially integrated areas can still be socially segregated.



An aerial photograph of a city with a red overlay. The red area is a large, irregular shape that covers a significant portion of the city's central and eastern areas. The rest of the city is shown in a light, faded color. The red area contains various buildings, streets, and green spaces, suggesting a complex urban environment. The red area is roughly bounded by the city's center and extends towards the right edge of the image.

**5.**

**Research Problem**

## 5. Research Problem & Research Questions

After the literature review, it became clear that spatial segregation, although being a real and relevant problem, is only one of the many factors that contribute for social segregation; social segregation seems to be by itself a strong barrier to any improvements in the area.

Ethnic swedes usually live in the central areas or in one-family housing suburbs, while the visible immigrants live in the deprived suburbs (like the Million Programme developments), that are characterized as multicultural areas. There is a lack of social and physical contact between both populations, resulting on segregation.

Although there is a vector of movement of immigrants from the suburbs in direction to the center, this movement is slow and not strong enough to cope with the imbalance of the population. Another problem is that there are no signs of movement in the opposite direction – swedes show no interest in moving into those areas, in a type of “white self-segregation” (Image 5). There can be reasons for that, as lack of infrastructure, stigma or even racism.

Changing the pattern of those movements obviously relates to the concept of integration previously presented. Being that integration was conceptualized as a two-way process in which both populations have to make efforts in order to obtain success, it would be interesting to find ways to stimulate a movement towards the suburbs to support the integration policies goal.

This work started with the following questions, based on my previous understanding of the topic:

- *Is this area capable of turning into a node of interest in the city, attracting more inhabitants and visitors?*
- *Which specific characteristics of the area could be used as assets in this matter?*
- *Which factors can be a barrier to this kind of development?*

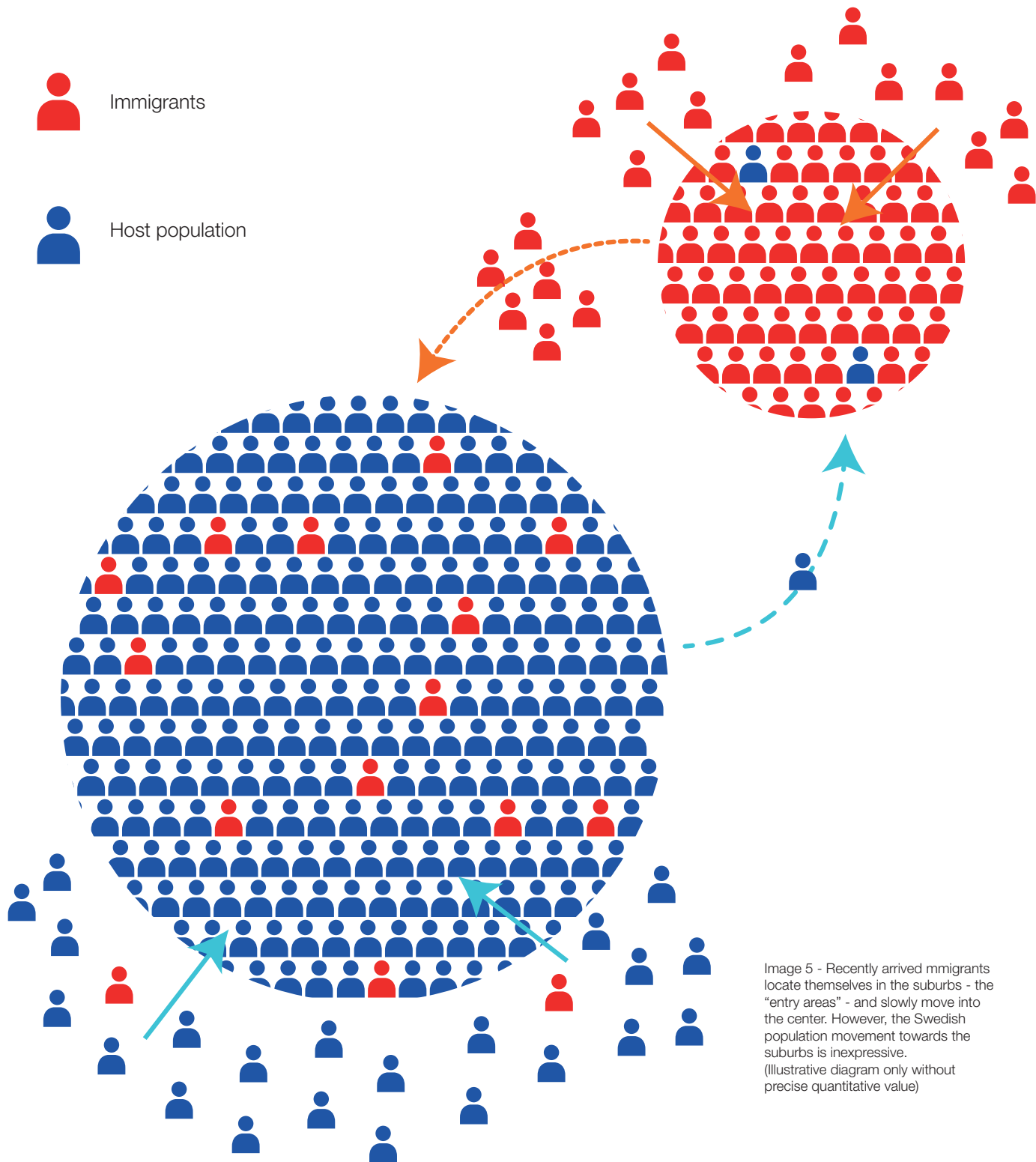


Image 5 - Recently arrived immigrants locate themselves in the suburbs - the "entry areas" - and slowly move into the center. However, the Swedish population movement towards the suburbs is inexpressive. (Illustrative diagram only without precise quantitative value)

The original idea of creating an attractive node in Angered is relevant. However, the problem in question has many layers, and needs an effort from different types of professionals to be mitigated. It is important to find out what is the role of the architect/urban planner in collaborating to solve the problem.

With that in perspective, it seems sensible to rewrite the initial research questions.

*1. In what way is segregation linked to the social and spatial relations between the Angered community and the center of the city, and vice versa?*

*2. What could be done to turn an area that is at the same time spatially and socially segregated into an attractive node, not only for the minorities that live there, but also for the host population, thus collaborating on bringing a halt to the segregation cycle?*

*3. What recommendations can I point out? What is the role of my profession in these processes, with which characteristics of the area can I work with?*

Answering these questions may help in understanding the dynamics between both areas and what is needed to integrate them in a socially sustainable form. The following pages will describe how these questions can be answered through this work.



# 6.

**Method**

## 6. Method

To achieve answers to these research questions, there was a need of understanding not only the area dynamics, but its relation to all of the city and its historical context. In *Architectural Research Methods* by Linda Groat and David Wang (2002), case studies are a good practice when "... the context of the case becomes virtually inseparable from the definition of the case itself"(Groat, Wang, p.349). A case study enables the use of various sources of information. In this case, data can be collected from the municipality and district authorities, literature, visits and interviews.

However, this study aimed to understand how segregation affects a urban network, and there are not many channels to precisely measure it in an planning perspective. (Legeby, 2012). Because of that, this work was conceived as a case study built in different parts that lead to the others.

The first step of this work was an extensive literature review, in order to develop a theoretical framework that can support the analysis of the findings and contribute with in the discussion of the research questions. Texts ranging from geography themes to spatial syntax were studied, and four specific themes were selected to guide this work: area based policies, the concept of attractiveness, neighbourhood effects and sustainable urban magnets.

With a solid theoretical framework, it was clear which kind of data would be needed to answer the research questions and understand the background, context and present situation of the area. This data included reviews of the statistics of the area (Statistik Göteborg / Göteborg Årsbok and other sources), research of its historical background, talks with the municipality representatives and collection of recent and future plans of local interventions from the municipality. Many visits were also carried out in different periods of the day, in order to understand the character of the different neighbourhoods and their particularities.

This data was analyzed by the angle of the theoretical framework. Tentative answers to the first question could be drawn, as a picture of the area in

different aspects (physically, socioeconomically, educationally and so on) was formed. This picture is strictly based on an official view, though; a deeper understanding about what the data represents came during the next step.

Understanding what the area is according to its population was a longer phase that depended on interviews in order to form a picture of what it means to live in Angered in a community sense. People of different backgrounds were interviewed, as students, immigrants and long time residents of the area. It was important to direct these activities in a sensible way, trying to make people express their feelings about the area itself, and how these feelings change according to the person's social, economic and ethnic backgrounds. During this phase, information about physical particularities of the area that could contribute to the image of the place was collected.

With the results of this step, answers to the first and second questions could be tested, as both the perspectives of the local population and of the municipality will then be visible.

All this information made it possible to elaborate a picture of what are the current "attraction areas" in the city and in the Angered district, according to what is felt by the population; this led to the answer of the third question, presented on the form of urban magnets. It was of extreme importance to understand which areas are source of pride for the community, and which areas need to be developed. Again, these areas are not supposed to be "physically" attractive (although they might as well be); what needed to be understood was the overall feeling towards them.

This enabled the comprehension of what else could be implemented in the Angered, and what future developments are recommended. Based on that, directives that could orient further developments in the area were elaborated. It is not the aim of this work to generalize the case in order to form a theory; this would need a deeper research in another, higher level. The general outcome of the study will possibly be specific for the

study area only; however, the study on how a physically and socially segregated community relates to a bigger area can probably be applied in other cases.

To sum it up, this work started with a theoretical base - a literature review that generated a theoretical framework. This framework was used in the case study, analyzing the data collected in the empirical step of this work - that involved observation, interviews and visits. The result was a collection of the assets found in the area and an analysis of the area based policies in use. With this, it was possible to discuss the research questions; each method was specifically used as described in the matrix below.

## Methods x Research Questions Matrix

	Question 1	Question 2	Question 3
Literature Review	●		●
Data Collection	●	●	●
Interviews / Visits		●	●

1. In what way is segregation linked to the social and spatial relations between the Angered community and the center of the city, and vice versa?
2. What could be done to turn an area that is at the same time spatially and socially segregated into an attractive node, not only for the minorities that live there, but also for the host population, thus collaborating on bringing a halt to the segregation cycle?
3. What recommendations can I point out? What is the role of my profession in these processes, with which characteristics of the area can I work with?



7.

Angered

## 7.1 - History of Angered

### 7.1.1 - The Million Programme

The 60's are known as "the record years" in Sweden. It was a period in which the country was subject to a high growth; Göteborg was not any different. Companies, factories, the ports and shipyards expanded; and to deal with this expansion more workers were needed. (Hansson, Wrigglesworth,2005)

However, after World War II and with the migration from the population from rural areas to the city and from other countries to Sweden, there was a grave housing shortage; to find accommodation for this population was a large problem.

The Million Programme was a countermeasure to this hindrance. It was a government policy that aimed to mitigate the housing shortage with the construction of one million new dwellings in ten years, all over the country. It was a very ambitious goal, and also a very ambitious project: new norms to construction were created, with better standards and modern techniques. These norms helped in increasing the housing standards of the nation. Before that, many houses still had external bathrooms or had insufficient space for a family (Schulz, 2011). Loans were given to companies that promised to build cheap housing if they could control technical aspects (Hansson, Wrigglesworth,2005), and to families, to buy their own one-family houses. The intent was not to build social housing, but housing for everyone. (Schulz, 2011).

In this period, the iconic tall "miljonprogramme buildings" were built: With a modernistic, functional perspective, the buildings were constructed with pre-fabricated modules, with very precise calculations done in order to make the construction fast, clean, modular and practical. "Adapting architecture to production became the order of the day, and for architects it became a challenge to design building systems – 'kits of housing blocks'." (Hansson, Wrigglesworth,2005). Even the streets between buildings had their sizes calculated to be large enough that



a construction crane could drive through to continue building (Schulz, 2011).

This perspective was also applied to the urban space. Definite areas were separated by their use, spaces were displaced in a gradient from traffic intensive areas to green zones and a maximum walking distance of 1000m between public transportation stops was aimed for.

However, not all the newly created dwellings followed this pattern. Many one-family houses were also created in the same period as part of the program, as well as shorter (3 to 4 stories) buildings that did not require a lift.

Another interesting point is that, while it did reach the goal of creating one million new homes, at the same time many old dwellings were demolished. In the end, there was an increase of around 650.000 homes in the country. (Borgegård & Kemeny, 2004).

With the oil crisis in 1973 and the fact that the population growth did not increase as much as forecasted, the program came to an end. The goal was met; however, some areas were not finished according to the plan.

Nowadays some of the iconic miljonprogramme areas all over the country – as Rosengård in Malmö, Rinkeby in Stockholm or Angered, in Göteborg - are publicly known as problematic, dealing with social problems and segregation.



## 7.1.2 - The Creation of Angered

Originally, Angered was a separate municipality. Göteborg's municipality bought pieces of land in both Angered and the municipality of Bergum across many years, and ended up adding both to its territory during 1967 (Image 6).

By then, it was expected that the population of Göteborg would be twice as big by the end of the century; already suffering from housing shortage, the city had to take a countermeasure. With that, Angered turned into a satellite district, built between 1968 and 1972 during the Million Programme.

The new district would house 130.000 inhabitants and offer 70.000 jobs, a monumental ambition (Image 7).

The district's neighbourhoods were placed around tram stops, in a "pearl-like" fashion. The fact the area is characterized by hilly terrain and nature contributed to make it separated, though. (Hansson, Wrigglesworth, 2005)

*"Hjällbo when new was a popular place to live – it was regarded as both green and central, and at Hammarkullen community life thrived from the onset."* (Hansson, Wrigglesworth, 2005)

With the oil crisis of 1973 and the large amount of empty apartments in the district (the population did not grow as expected), the expansion of Angered came to a halt, and much of what was planned was not built (Image 7). This resulted in large undensified and unfinished areas.

If at the start of the project the new suburbs were quite popular, after some time the Swedish inhabitants started looking into living in other areas - the southwest of Göteborg expanded vigorously in the same period – possibly as a reflex of the subsidizing of the construction of one family housing during the million programme - and immigrants moved into Angered, following the dictatorships in South America in the 70's and the wars in the Middle-East and Africa, more recently.

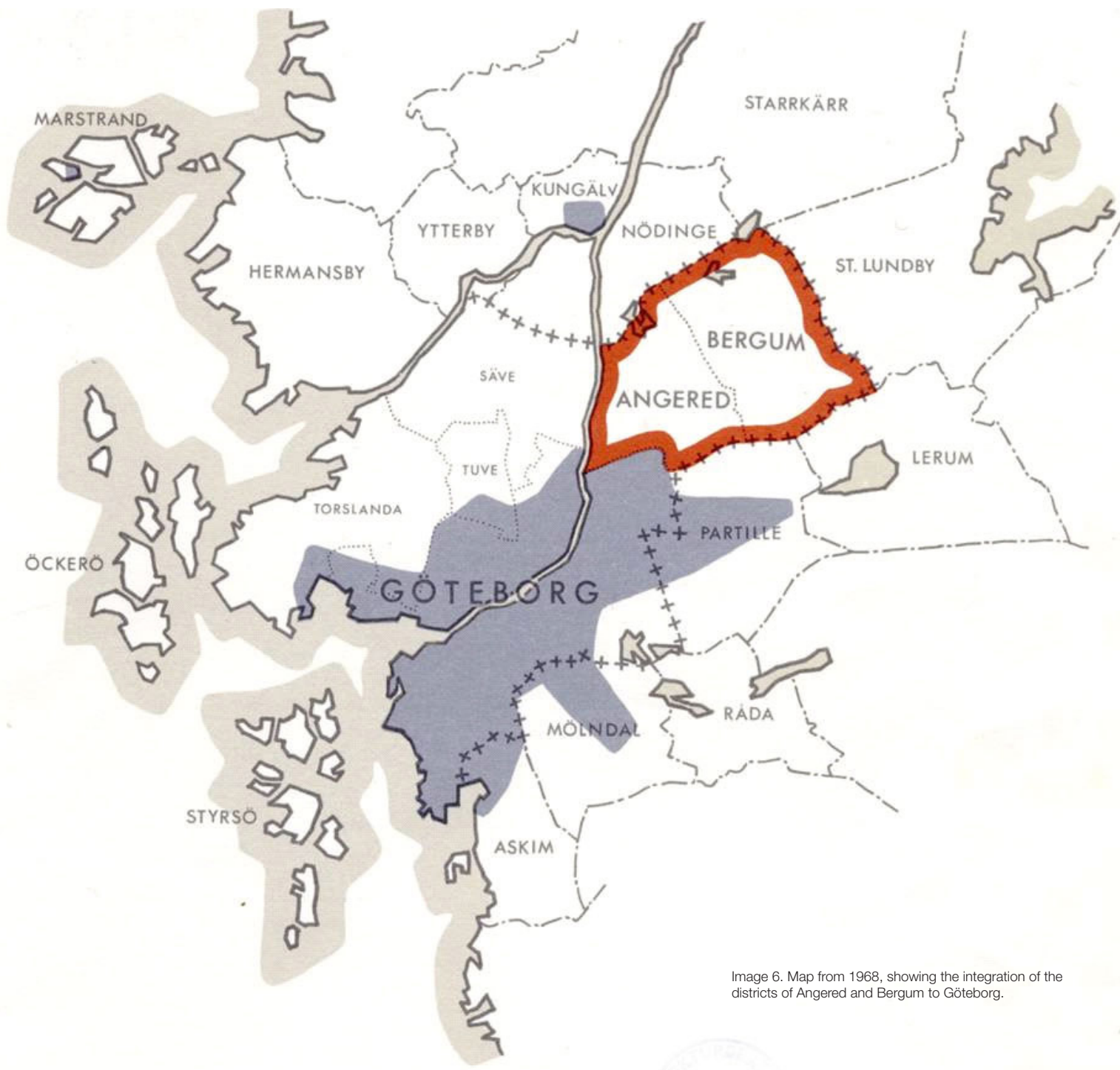


Image 6. Map from 1968, showing the integration of the districts of Angered and Bergum to Göteborg.

Nowadays, the area is stigmatized, seen as unsafe, dirty and problematic by the general public. However, the opinion of the people living in the area often reflects a different reality.

In 2011, Angered turned into a district (stadsdelsförvaltning, SDF), as a junction of the districts of Gunnared and Lärjedalen.

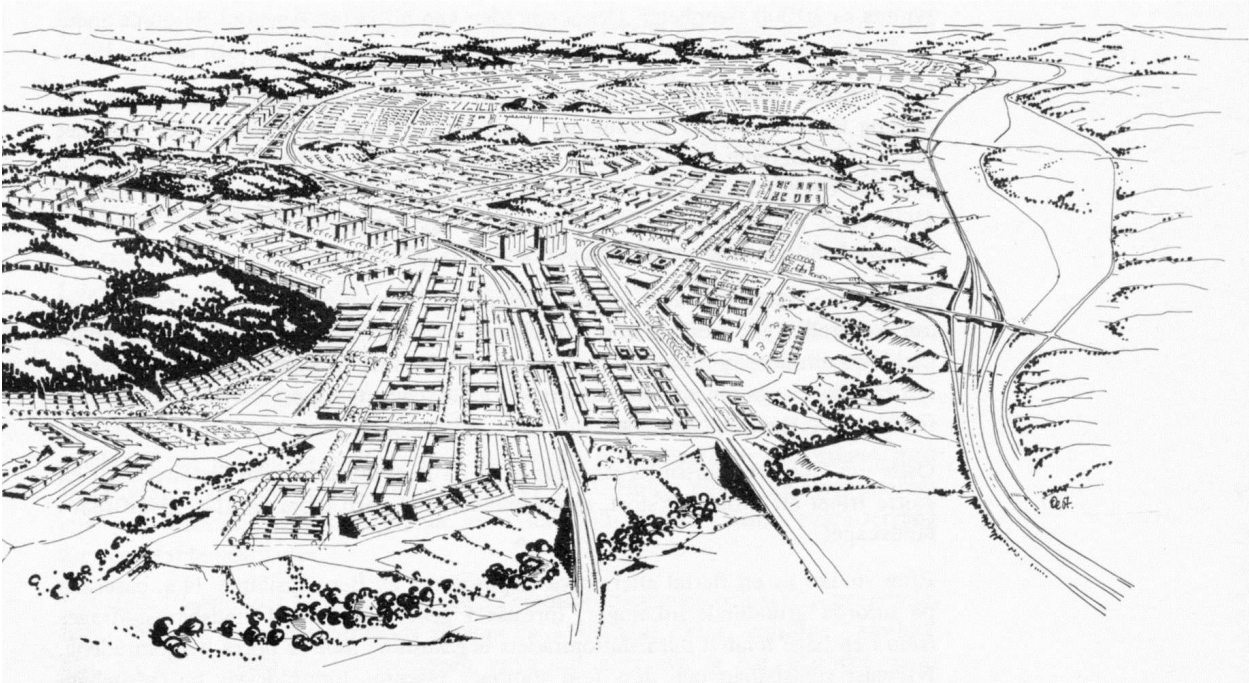


Image 7. A perspective of a completed Angered, 1968.



Image 8. Masterplan for Angered, from the 1968 plan. In black, in the center, the area that was actually built.

## 7.2 - The Neighbourhoods

The Angered district is formed by the million programme neighbourhoods of Hjällbo, Eriksbo (1966), Hammarkullen (1968), Gårdsten (1969), Lövgärdet (1970), Rannebergen (1971) and Angered Centrum (1978)<sup>(image 8)</sup>. Linnarhult, Agnesberg and Gunnilse are also part of the district, but have a different structure - mostly formed by houses and villas – a smaller and different population (mostly ethnic Swedish) and higher economic status. Because of that, they are often not regarded as a part of Angered.

The million programme neighborhoods of Angered are quite homogeneous, sharing many traits: High rise (up to 8) floors, strong presence of immigrants and citizens with immigrant background, low economic standards, social problems and disconnection from the urban textile.

Angered Centrum was built to be the hub that connects all districts. From Angered, the neighborhoods that cannot be reached by tram (Angered Centrum is the last stop) are connected by buses. Most of the big stores and services are located there. There are also located the Lärjeån valley and Blå Stället, the biggest cultural center of the district.

Hammarkullen distinguishes itself from the others for the strong presence of associations in the area. Hammarkullen is also home of the biggest carnival of Sweden, held every year in May, one of the few occasions in which the district receives visits from people from all over the city. There you can also find the only underground tram stop of the whole city.

Gårdsten had a strong bad reputation, being considered one of the worst neighbourhoods of the whole country. It gained new recognition after receiving improvements and changes to its buildings – the Solhusen building gained solar panels to generate energy for heating and green houses <sup>(image 9)</sup>. In 1997, Gårdstensbostäder, a housing company owned by the municipality, was founded. This company had the goal of transforming the area by engaging its inhabitants, creating jobs and investing in the community overall. It also caused polemic when it instituted rules for the renters, as having a minimum income and not depending on social



Image 9. The district's map and the neighbourhoods



Image 9. A million programme block in Gårdsten and a montage showing its retrofitting.

welfare. These rules were put in practice as a measure to incentivize social mix in the area.

Lövgärdet and Rannebergen are located next to the Vättlefjäll natural reserve, one of the biggest ones in the city, and visited by the population of all over the district.

## **7.3 – Statistics**

### **7.3.1 - Population & Age Distribution**

In 2010, a total of 48.308 persons lived in the Angered.

The population of the district of Angered is predominantly adult, with its majority formed by persons with ages from 30 to 44 years (21,1%) and 45 to 64 (23,2%). The neighborhoods follow this division mostly proportionally, with some exceptions.

The age structure of the district is overall comparable to Göteborg's; however, there can be spotted a bigger number of young population and a smaller amount of young adults. Some specific subdistricts present sharp distortions to this trend, though: Linnarhult, Bergum and Gunnilse have an extremely low young adult population when compared to Göteborg, while having an expressive percentage of adults and elderly persons. Hammarkullen, Hjällbo and Eriksbö have a bigger amount of children and young adults than Göteborg.

Projections to 2015 estimate that the district will have an overall increase of 4,5% on its population, with a decrease in number of teenagers. Between all subdistricts, Gunnilse and Bergum will have the biggest increments, with 7,5% and 6,7% more inhabitants, while Agnesberg, Hjällbo and Rannebergen will have the least increments (0,4%, 1,9% and 2,1%).

### **7.3.2 - Immigrants**

In the whole of Angered, 48,7% of the citizens were foreign-born; around

2/3 of the foreign-born individuals have Swedish citizenship. In Göteborg this rate is of 22,4%. When compared to the whole of Göteborg, the district of Angered has an extremely high percentage of inhabitants with immigrant background: 69,0%, against 29,9 in the total of the city. By immigrant background its understood that the individual is an immigrant or a Swedish individual that is a descendant of an immigrant.

The main countries of origin are Iraq (9,4%), Bosnia-Herzegovina and Somalia (both with 3,4%), Finland (3,0%), Poland and Yugoslavia (both with 2,9%). 18,9% of the inhabitants come from various other countries not listed individually. Between the subdistricts, Gårdsten, Hjällbo, Hammarkullen and Lövgårdet present the highest numbers of foreign-born individuals, with 60,8%, 59,9%, 57,0% and 55,4% respectively. The other subdistricts have less than 50% of foreign-born individuals; the lowest rates can be found in Gunnilse 15,9% and Bergum (12,9%). In Gårdsten, 82,9% of the population has an immigrant background; in Gunnilse, only 22,2%, a percentage lower than the one found in the entire city.

### 7.3.3 – Income

The medium income in the area is 170.000kr per year; Göteborg has a medium of 243.200kr. The lowest medium incomes are found in Hammarkullen (131.300kr) and Hjällbo (132.200kr), while the highests are found in Bergum, (274.100kr) and Gunnilse (269.800kr). It is interesting to notice that areas with strong presence of foreign born individuals have the lowest incomes.

19,8% of the families in the district of Angered need income support, against 6,8% in Göteborg. In Hammarkullen this applies for 32,2% of the families, the highest percentage of the whole city.



### 7.3.4 – Unemployment

13% of the inhabitants of the district are unemployed, opposed to 7,4% in the whole city. The highest taxes of unemployment are found in Hjällbo (15,9%), Lövgärdet (15,6%) and Hammarkullen (15,2%). Of the unemployed population of Angered, 15,2% are born abroad and 9,3% are born in Sweden; in Göteborg, this figures are of 12,5% and 5,4% respectively.

## 7.4 - Angered today: The inhabitant perspective

To give this work a human perspective, some interviews were made. However, due to language barriers, the amount of interviews was not enough to support a through analysis of the area solely based on them. They can illustrate some general views of the district, though.

The interviews were held in an informal manner, using a preset list of questions to guide the discussion. The interviewees were free to expand their thoughts in any matters.

The first topic of discussion was about the feelings towards the area. Most of the interviewees like living in the district, for different reasons. Some moved into it by choice, and not for a lack of options; some were born there and see no reasons to move.

*"This is the best place in Göteborg where I could live."* (Hammarkullen citizen, Swedish background, Interview, 2012)

*"I like to live where the world is living, being surrounded by swedes is monotonous."* (Hammarkullen citizen, Swedish background, Interview, 2012)

*"I like living here, it's very pleasant. I like just being able to take my bike out and go out...it's so close to the nature, it's good to just go biking around..."* (Gårdsten citizen, Swedish background, Interview, 2012)

*"It's a very fascinating place. When we moved here we just stayed in this area, in this houses, but when you walk around it's a different place... the feeling, it's like a small city, like the countryside. It's very different, it has this beautiful nature...you have lots of different spots, places, and feelings in a quite small area."* (Hjällbo citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

*"I like living there because I love the nature. It's very near the lake, so we can rent a canoe, and we can walk in the tracks. I love the nature."* (Lövgärdet citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

*“The queue here is shorter. It’s a great apartment, big, cheap – we could never live this big and this cheap as we do now by the city center.”* (Hjällbo citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

*“I think people living there are very satisfied.”* (Lövgärdet citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

One of the main needs of the neighbourhoods seem to be services and meeting places; most of them are concentrated in Angered Centrum.

*“There isn’t a lot to do socially. We don’t have a café. And if for some reason the tram doesn’t work you’re stuck here.”* (Hammarkullen citizen, immigrant background, Interview, 2012)

*“Some things could be better. Like the shops, we could have a really good café, there are plenty of things that are needed in this area, like the library is very small, but people... the people here can’t afford to buy books so they need the library and so on. It looks really dirty in some places, that could also be better. For me personally it doesn’t matter much.”* (Hammarkullen citizen, Swedish background, Interview, 2012)

*“We have this really nice new second hand store. I miss this small stores, like...I wonder where all the people go...it’s like in Hjällbo you sleep, and you go to another part to work. It’s not so alive, and it’s a very very small center. I want to go around, and look around...”* (Hjällbo citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

*“Yeah, some nice small stores, I wish the library could be a bigger meeting point, like a cultural center or something...like Hjällbo has a lot of potential with all these people from all around the world, like Blå Stället in Angered. I discovered that place, it has a lot of activities, it’s a great place, with poetry sessions, theatre, lectures...”* (Hjällbo citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

*“We don’t have an ATM machine, a pharmacy...except that, we have a Vårdcentralen, grocery store...”* (Lövgärdet citizen, Swedish background.

Interview, 2012)

*"I never see my neighbours. We live so close, but... You could think that when you live so close together you'd meet each other more, but it doesn't happen."* (Hammarkullen citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

Going against the stigmatized image of the districts, the inhabitants do not feel unsafe in the area, generally speaking. However, some have seen unpleasant occurrences taking place.

*"I feel safe here. There's no particular problem. The only time I felt unsafe in Hammarkullen was in the elevator in the tram stop – and I was alone! It was just so silent, what if someone entered?"* (Hammarkullen citizen, immigrant background. Interview, 2012)

*"(I feel safe)Most of the time, yeah. In the middle of the night, sometimes. In some places the lights are really bad. There are lights, but they're bad."* (Hammarkullen citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

*"One time I was offered drugs here in the square, so yeah, sometimes you see things going on, but it's not common...but I think Hammarkullen has way worse reputation than the reality. I know in the past Hammarkullen has lived up to this reputation, but not now, I think."* (Hammarkullen citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

*"I had a friend who lived here. We moved here first, and they got this apartment here but they were afraid to move here, but we said no, there's no problem, Hjällbo isn't like everybody says, this people are so nice'– because we felt that when we moved here. Then he moved here and had lived for 2 and a half weeks, then he got robbed and hit...so, it happens a lot of shitty things. It's like waves. Sometimes you're afraid, and then you notice nothing happens, and then something happens again, and you get afraid again..."* (Hjällbo citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

Social segregation is apparent, and disturbing even for ethnic Swedish people. Inhabitants of the district often feel they do not belong to the

Göteborg's society.

*"I think it's easy for me to live here. I mean, I have to walk 1 block to get to the shop, 1 block to the gym, and 15min to the center. It's comfortable... It's a pity that it's so segregated, for both sides. Sometimes we're in Angered and people look at my boyfriend and say "oh, a swede" - but we are in Sweden! I think he feels observed. That feels weird."* (Hammarkullen citizen, immigrant background. Interview, 2012)

*"I saw a woman saying "I don't think we can be together, Goteborg and Angered". That's not good. I'm a Göteborgare. My kids are. Why do they want us not to be?"* (Hammarkullen citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

*"I've been in the church too, sometimes, but even that is very segregated... just white, Swedish people in the choir...I know the church does a lot of social work. Some people in Hjällbo don't have anything, paperless people...I know the church does a lot of work with this people."* (Hjällbo citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

*"Hjällbo was built in the 60's ,so there's these people that lived here since then, and all the immigrants that arrived later...it's like there's a crack between these people. There's old people, immigrants and the students that come here because it's cheap...I think as swedes we separate ourselves from the others, like we're not the same group so we don't... maybe it doesn't feel like 'our Hjällbo' or 'our area'."* (Hjällbo citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

*"I heard some moms saying "don't go to Majorna! It's not safe there!"* (Hammarkullen citizen, immigrant background. Interview, 2012)

*"One time I was discussing with my friend that we talk so much about segregation at school, and we feel we know about all the segregation and the discourse, but if we - that are educated - don't do it, who will do it? The people that know about it should do it and be an example. We have to smart small by ourselves."* (Hammarkullen citizen, immigrant background. Interview, 2012)

*"They've never been here, but they have an opinion about it. They don't know it."* (Lövgärdet citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

Concerning spatial segregation, some infrastructural demands were also brought up, especially related to the transportation services. Generally, they were classified as good, though.

*"It feels it's very far from the city, Göteborg ends at Gamlestaden, then there's this long way with only industries and just transport, it's like it's no city and then....a random tram stop."* (Hjällbo citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

*"Some people walk to Orienthus, and that could be faster than taking the bus, although it's far."* (Hjällbo citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

*"I wish they had a stop in Willys in Gamlestan, but they don't want to make a stop there because then they can't put a fast track. I don't care about the fast track, I want to shop! I wish they put a stop there, because everything would flower up around it. But maybe it could be a problem to Angered, would be another center."* (Hammarkullen citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

All of them tend to stay in the Angered region, leaving for the city center only for specific needs (education or work), or non-nature related leisure (cinema, theater).

*"I do my shopping in Angered, but buy small groceries things here. I bought some clothes in Angered and some in the center. Now there's a nice new clothes shop in Angered."* (Hammarkullen citizen, immigrant background. Interview, 2012)

*"No, I don't go to the center often, just when I need. Sometimes to Järntorget, to drink."* (Hjällbo citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

*"I go to the city to shop and have meetings, that's the only thing."*  
(Hammarkullen citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

*"If I need to go to the pharmacy, I go to Angered, to Lindex, I go to Angered. If I have the shop I need in Angered I go there, if not I go to the city."* (Hjällbo citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

*"I go to the city 3-4 times a week to meet friends or buy something"*  
(Hammarkullen citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

*"In Angered. I don't buy the regular stuff in the city. I buy in Hammarkullen to support the stores and the local businesses. Also because of the socializing thing, it's nice to go to your neighbourhood store."*  
(Hammarkullen citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

*"I shop in Ica Maxi in Angered and Willys in Gamlestan too."* (Lövgårdet citizen, Swedish background. Interview, 2012)

## 7.5 - Segregation in Angered

The most easily noticeable kind of segregation Angered suffers from is spatial segregation. Angered was a separate municipality until 1967, when it was incorporated by Göteborg. The district is located far from the city center, and the space between these two areas is not dense enough; this generates a sense of disconnection in the urban textile. As a comparison, the city of Mölndal feels more connected to Göteborg than the Angered district, in an urban sense (curiously, one of the Göteborg's tram lines connects Mölndal to Angered, the line 4).

It is easy to reach Mölndal; by walking in the Guldheden neighborhood, you can cross the boundaries of the city without even noticing, showing how much integrated Mölndal is to Göteborg's urban network. The same does not apply to Angered – the only practical ways to reach the district from the city center are either by car or public transportation (Images 10 and 11).



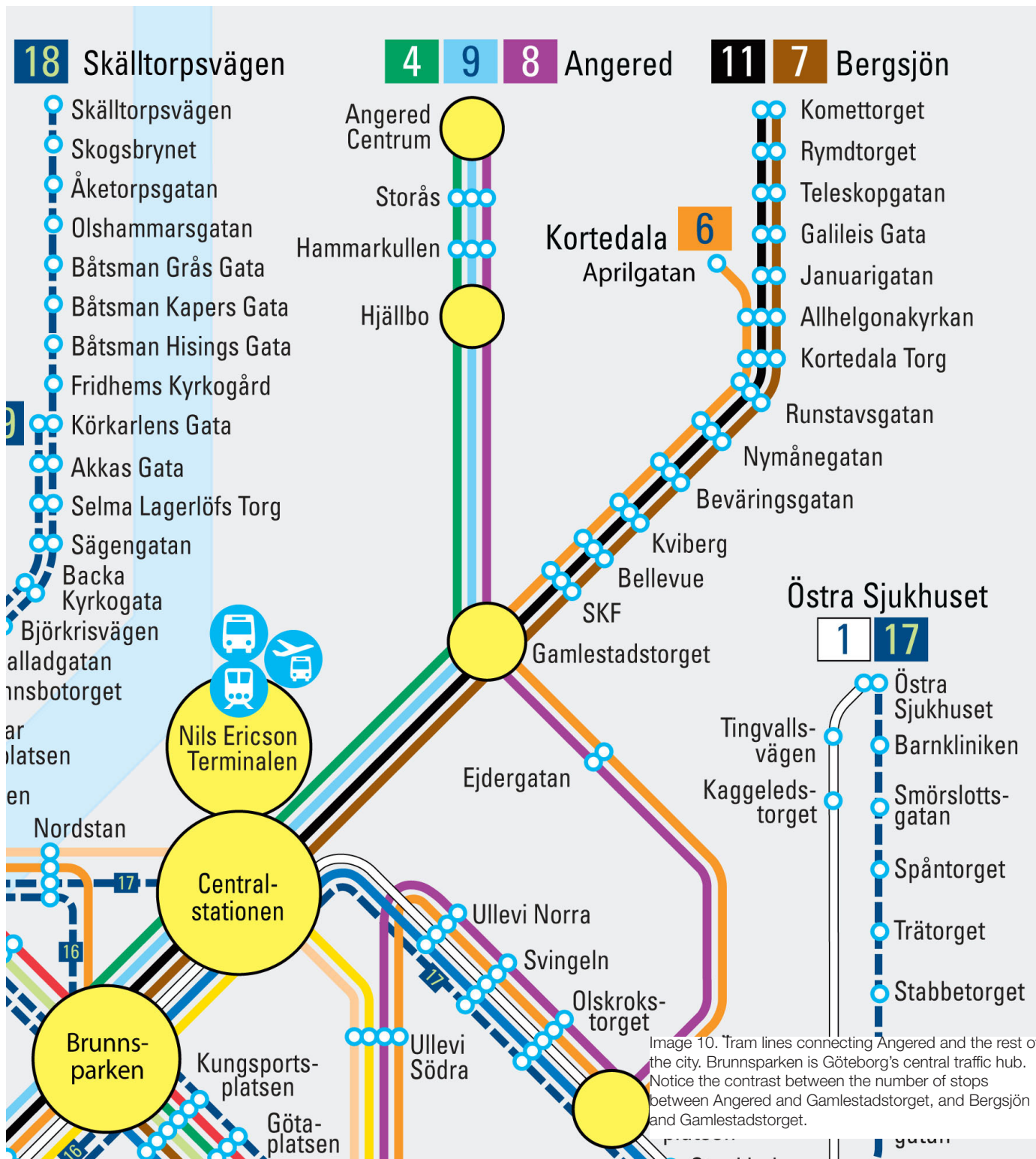
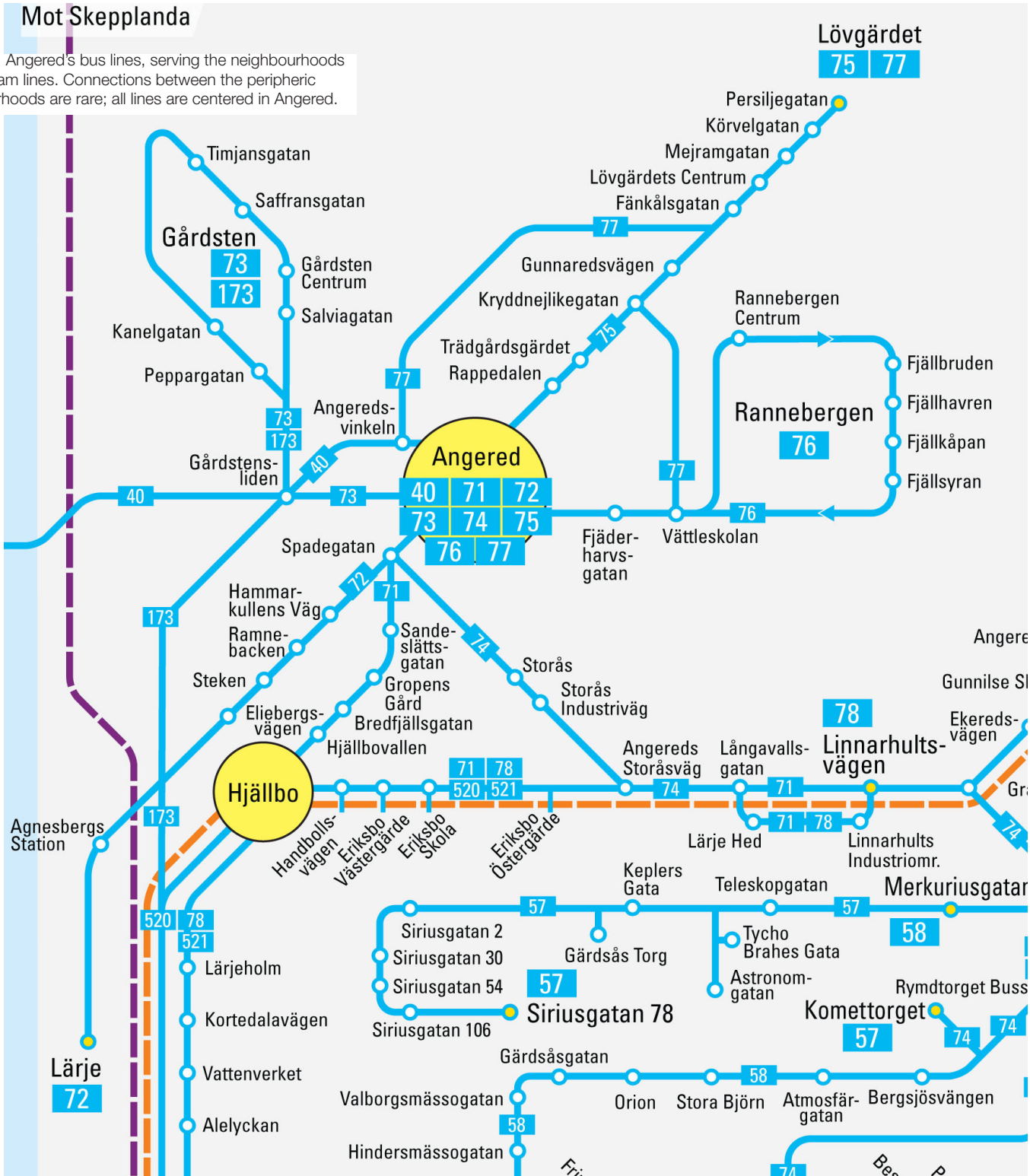


Image 10. Tram lines connecting Angered and the rest of the city. Brunnsparken is Göteborg's central traffic hub. Notice the contrast between the number of stops between Angered and Gamlestadstorget, and Bergsjön and Gamlestadstorget.

# Mot Skeplanda

Image 11. Angered's bus lines, serving the neighbourhoods without tram lines. Connections between the peripheric neighbourhoods are rare; all lines are centered in Angered.

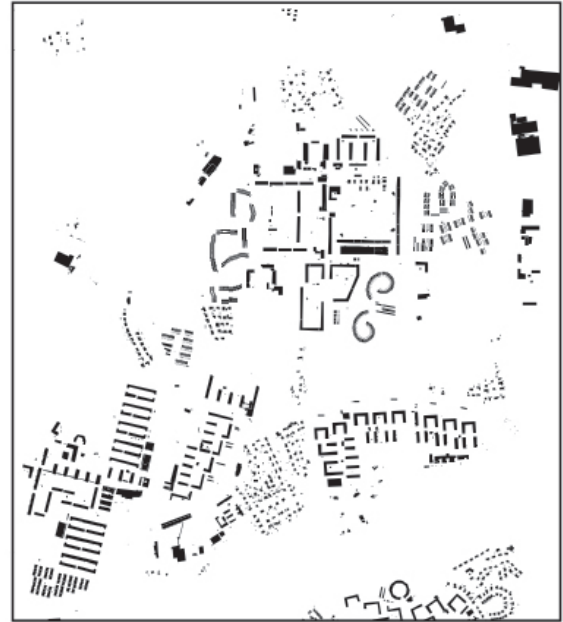
Invisible Beauty - Analyzing the relation between area attractiveness and the commu



### 1. Göteborg center



### 3. Hammarkullen



### 2. Frölunda



### 4. Gårdsten and Lövgårdet



Image 12. Göteborg's center (1), Frölunda (2), Hammarkullen (3), Gårdsten and Lövgårdet (4), for comparison.

## Chapter 7 - Summary

Angered was created as part of the Million Programme, and originally designed to have humongous dimensions. Although popular during the first years, the population growth was superestimated, the original design was never concluded and the population moved away. Immigrants started moving instead, and according to the statistics they form the majority of the population of the area today.

The area suffers from stigma, but the inhabitants have positive opinions about the area overall. However, complaints about lack of services and segregation are frequent.

The segregation can also be physically noticed in the urban network in all scales. The district is segregated from the rest of the city, the neighbourhoods are disconnected between themselves, and the neighbourhoods are not dense, creating a negative feeling of emptiness and distance.



8.

**Theoretical Framework**

## 8. Theoretical Framework

The research questions previously presented deal with themes that can be assessed in many different forms. In order to analyze the material collected, there is a need to find theoretical framework that can orient the research towards possible solutions.

During the literature review, three relevant topics were identified: The neighborhood effect theories, the attractiveness concept, and area based policies. They will be further explained in the following sections. By the end of this chapter, their role in the answering of the research questions will be further analyzed.

## 8.1 - Area Based Policies

There are some strategies that could improve the urban segregation situation. Some examples are improving the transport infrastructure to connect the suburbs to the central areas in a faster and optimized manner, or the densification of the zones between the suburbs and the city center in order to create a stronger urban textile. However, after analyzing the points that were brought up before in this work, one could ask if physical interventions only would be enough to bring segregation to a halt.

Improved areas can turn attractive to external investments, boosting local economy. A greater economy would generate more jobs; and with new workers, new inhabitants may also move to the area. This would potentially increase the cost of land and housing. However, if the local population was a natural part of this growth, these issues could potentially be easier to solve. But as is apparent from the literature studies, immigrants have many obstacles to entering the job market, like keeping up with the housing system, adapting to the language and, after all, integration. *“Equal access to employment opportunities is a key prerequisite for achieving equality in the housing market”* (Ekberg & Gustaffson, 1995, in Murdie & Borgegård, 1998.). If the host community expands towards these areas to occupy the newly created jobs and housing, most likely the immigrants would be forced to move away – this phenomenon is known as gentrification. The negative issues tend to persist, they just change their address.

Andersson & Musterd (2005) expose three different types of policies that deal with area problems. The first aims towards improvement and expansion of education and employment opportunities; the second intends to attract “role models” to the designated area. The third is a “reverse” policy, where you displace the people of a deprecated area to a more successful one.

According to them, the first one was in practice in Sweden; schools located in poor districts received more resources and funding than others. However, it is interesting to notice that right now there is a plan to close schools in the Angered area, in order to cut back on costs.

The second policy relates to the already discussed neighbourhood effects, and aim specifically towards housing and urban planning projects. There are definitely clear advantages to an immigrant-heavy neighbourhood getting an infusion of people from the host community. An increased mix of population can expand social connections and promote integration. However, there must be a balance, in order to avoid the expulsion of one population by the other.

The third policy is a popular measure in the United States. It consists of expanding the social networks of people, placing them in different areas and in contact with other people of different socioeconomic standards, in order to elevate their own.

What is clear is that physical interventions can be helpful, but they are not enough. To promote real change, they must come accompanied by social interventions that enable the local population to make proper use of them. Strengthening the communities seems to be an effective way of improving their attractiveness and turning them socially and economically sustainable.

However, Musterd and Andersson (2005, 2006) point out that it is not efficient to adopt one kind of policy only, as the problematic issues are interrelated and should therefore be dealt with on several fronts, instead of focusing all resources on a single countermeasure. If the problems are not attacked at different points at the same time, one solution for an area may create a bigger problem in another sector.



### 8.1.1 - Social mix and gentrification: The case of Vesterbro

Area-based policies in underprivileged areas were applied by some countries in order to raise the standards of the respective zones, with different results. An example can be found quite close to Göteborg; in Copenhagen, Denmark.

The information about the Vesterbro case comes from the article “Gentrification – Gentle or Traumatic? Urban Renewal Policies and Socioeconomic Transformations in Copenhagen”, by Henrik Larsen and Anders Hansen (2008). In it, the authors describe the Danish district of Vesterbro, an area commonly associated with prostitution, drug dealing and marginalization in the past, albeit being located in a central area, close to the central train station of Copenhagen.

It has been an area inhabited mostly by immigrants and worker-class inhabitants, and it is one of the poorest districts in Copenhagen. This area was subject to an urban revitalization program that brought drastic changes to the district, made in different steps and focusing on the social dimension of the planning process. The program aimed to promote improvements in the existing buildings alongside alternatives to solve the social problems of the area, seemingly understanding the *“interdependence of the physical and the social in urban policy”*. (Larsen, Hansen, 2008, p. 2438).

An interesting part of the municipality plan for Vesterbro is that the gentrification of the area was predicted, accepted and even subtly desired. *“There should be created more dwellings which can attract those population groups that currently are underrepresented in the district, and simultaneously ensure that both the young and the elderly can stay in the district through the creation of youth- and elderly-friendly housing.”* (Copenhagen Municipality, 1990, p.633 in Larsen, Hansen, 2008, p.2439).

Measures to combat the issue were rent rebates (already required by law) and the setting of a maximum rent price per year, causing some debate inside the city council.

The project was successful in revitalizing the area. Still according to Larsen and Hansen, the old buildings have been renovated internally and externally, urban ecology projects have been implemented and infrastructural improvements were done.

However, the economic and social profile of Vesterbro also changed, now being occupied by higher class businesses and well-off citizens; the original inhabitants of the area dispersed into other locations, such as Sydhavn. Even though the rent rebates kept the original inhabitants in the area for a period, after some time they ended up moving to areas with lower standards. There is also a trend of change in the housing market, from a rental based profile to a cooperative-owned profile, something that nowadays is close to a privately-owned status.

*“As we have seen, this was from the outset a highly ambiguous policy. On the one hand, it was clearly stated that the project should “take its point of departure” in the conditions of the pre - renewal inhabitants. On the other hand, however, it was also established that the urban renewal should result in a “social uplift” of the district. This could be read as a policy aimed at the existing inhabitants, but in combination with the municipality’s policy to attract “those population groups” that were “underrepresented in the district”, “social uplift” was actually sought through an infl ux of stronger socioeconomic groups. We can only interpret this as a classic ‘social mix’ policy.” (Larsen, Hansen, p. 2445)*

In this case, the urban improvements to the area and the posterior social mix ended up causing gentrification. In the words of the authors, *“the gentrification of Inner Vesterbro conceals ‘traumatic’ consequences for individual people and more broadly for the city as a socially just space; that is, a city which is not homogenized according to the logic of neoliberal space economies, but embraces the marginalized’s right to the city”.* (Larsen, Hansen, p. 2446).

The example of Vesterbro was brought up as an example of Area Based Policy that was based in physical and social actions, and collected good

results at least from an spatial perspective. However, the social gain was questionable; the social incentives had results on a first moment, but gentrification still happened in the end, in a discreet, “gentle” form. One can assume that the problematic situation only changed places.

The social mix policies are strongly criticized in Gary Bridge, Tim Butler and Loretta Lee’s book. “Mixed Communities: Gentrification by Stealth?”. In this book, other examples of social mix actions are presented and discussed. Their conclusion is that policies should aim to improve the conditions for the deprived members of society, instead of promoting the spatial mobility of the ones in a more comfortable situation, while hoping that the arrival of this new population could fix the situation.

*«...Give priority to upward social mobility of the incumbent population in working-class neighbourhoods, rather than the promotion of the spatial mobility of middle-class newcomers - that is, fighting poverty, discrimination and social insecurity rather than moving the poor.»* (Criekingen in Bridge, Butler & Lees, 2011 p.183)

*“We feel that gentrification cannot be considered a process that is to be managed, harnessed, or twisted into a positive form of urban development.”*(Lees, 2008)

This creates an enormous challenge for the urban planners: to promote physical developments in an area, while diminishing gentrification processes. However, Lees (2008) points out that well-organized communities have fought back gentrification, protecting their territory and avoiding displacement; at the same time, these communities still should want their area to have a good urban traits and standards. They just do not want to be moved away, either subtly or in a forced manner.

With that, one can conclude that a way of dealing with matter is by making the community part of the development process, as it will be shown in the next section.

## 8.1.2 - Participatory Processes

Nowadays many governmental programs around the world are proud to announce that their policies include the participation of the citizens. In theory, this would be a way to improve actions by listening and learning from the ones who are going to be affected by them, by engaging in a productive discussion where both sides present their demands, needs and constraints, in order to reach positive results for all.

However, these participatory processes can be carried out in many ways. Frequently, the fact that the government announces that a certain action was executed with citizen participation can be read as popular endorsement for a project, even though many times the citizens barely have just a secondary impact, if at all. *“There is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power need to affect the outcome of the process.”* (Arnstein, 1969)

Citizen participation can have different levels. A very famous model that illustrates these levels is the Arnstein’s Ladder (Image 13).

The level of citizen participation increases from bottom to the top of the layer. On the bottom (1 and 2) are practices considered “participative” by some, but that are de facto non-inclusive. According to Arnstein, they *“describe levels of “non-participation” that have been contrived by some to substitute for genuine participation. Their real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programs, but to enable powerholders to “educate” or “cure” the participants.”* (Arnstein, 1969)

The processes described on steps 3,4 and 5 informing, consultation and placation, refer to processes where the citizens are able to discuss, “hear and be heard”. However, at this level there is no guarantee that this discussion will indeed be reflected in the decisions or in the project in question. Arnstein points out that step 5 allows for people to give advice, but the decision of using this advice is still in the hands of the powerholders.

From there and up, the power of decision of the citizens increases – by

partnerships where negotiation can occur (6), delegated power, where citizens can make decisions (7) and citizen control (8), a full decision-making position.

However, a planning process cannot be entirely guided by citizens needs only; the technical knowledge and the work of professionals is indispensable. The question is how to unite the citizens' opinions and the planners visions in a balanced manner, in order to obtain fruitful results.

Peterman (2004) presents two approaches for this challenge; to insert communities into the planning process through advocacy planning or collaborative planning.

Advocacy planning instigates inclusion and promotes full participation by citizens, both in the making of plans and on their execution. In this process, the community organizes itself, and with the help of professionals (that can come from the university, as an example), elaborate a viable plan and present it to the stake-holders. This plan is a confrontational weapon that can be used to promote a discussion and further negotiation, as an alternative to plans that come from the top down. However, the sole existence of the plan does not mean it is going to be put into practice.

*“Advocacy planning provides citizens with technical resources, giving them tools with which to compete with other interests. But it provides no mechanism to ensure that citizen voices will be listened to and their plans given fair consideration.”(Peterman,2004)*

Collaborative planning is a process where different stake-holders and community try to find a common solution together. Here, the professional acts as a mediator of the process, providing insights to break loopholes or different solutions.

*“Collaborative planning gives all voices equal weight and allows for a variety of community viewpoints. It is a levelling process as long as stakeholders sit ‘at the table’. However, once they leave, previous power relationships rule.” (Peterman,2004)*

From a previous experience, Peterman adds that a group formed of many entities related to an area had a strong voice when their interests were the same as the stakeholders. However, when they differed, the group was not taken in consideration.

Both approaches are not completely successful; however, a mixture of both could have results, according to Petterman. *“Collaboration is useful, perhaps necessary, because it can build relationships between stakeholders and give citizens a forum in which their ideas and opinions can be heard. Yet advocacy and confrontation remain important options for use by citizens and their organizations.”*. (Peterman,2004)

Peterman suggests that whatever is the approach chosen, there always must exist a “creative tension” atmosphere between stakeholders and the community; this tension would provide the fuel to keep the community present in the discussions – *“we will work with you as long as you work with us, or else...”*.

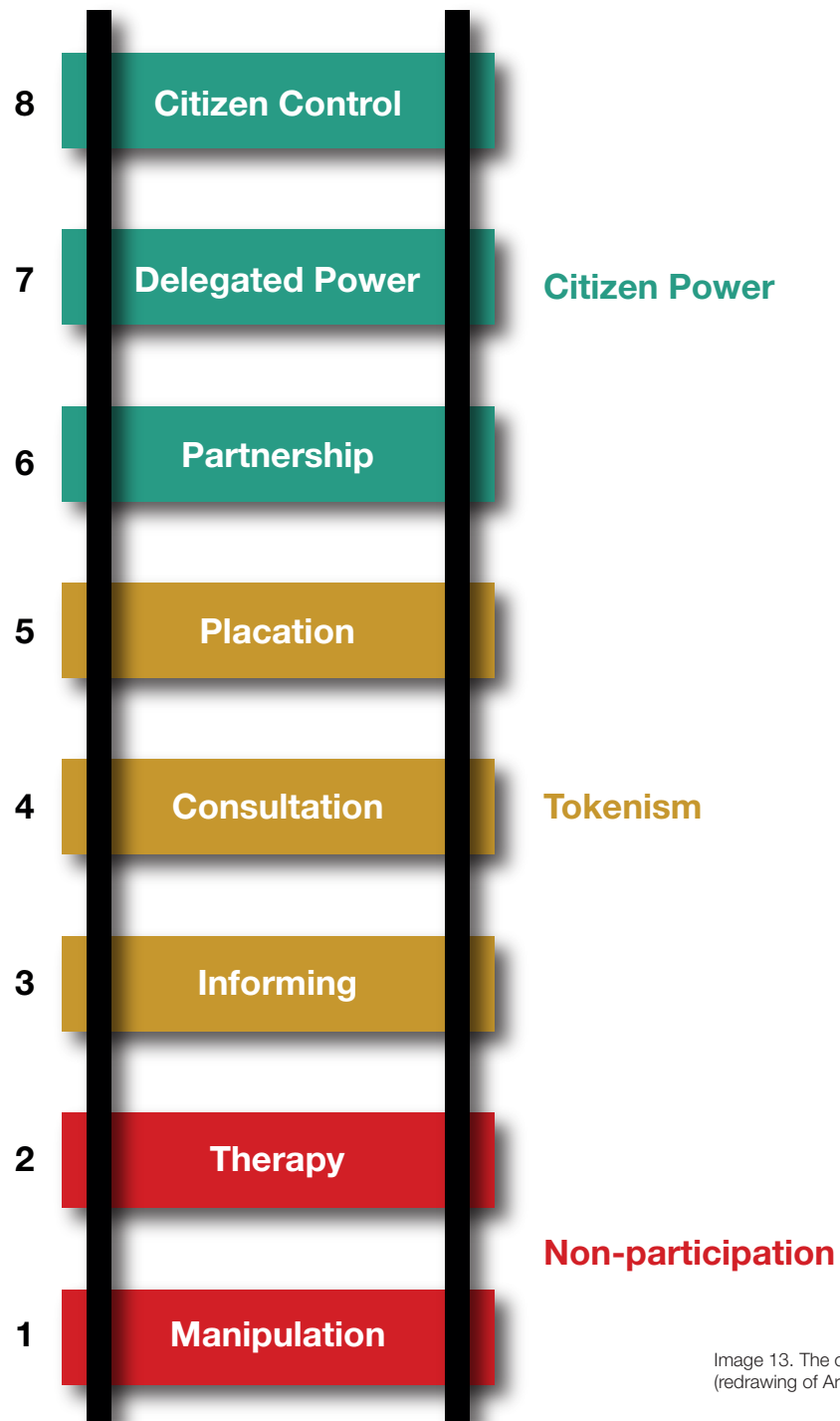


Image 13. The citizen participation ladder.  
(redrawing of Arnstein, 1969, p.216)

## 8.2 – Attractiveness

In order to answer how Angered could be made more attractive, we must first know what “attractiveness” means in this context. The common interpretation of “attractiveness” is an intuitive, personal concept, often related to beauty or power of attraction, depending on the context it is used in. It’s usually assumed to be highly subjective, without any set measurement. In this work, it refers to general qualities that a place might have and that are powerful enough to attract people to a certain place. These qualities comprise a broad spectrum of categories: they can be social, historical, physical or even immaterial assets.



## 8.2.1 - Reflections on place attractiveness

When thinking about “attractive places”, one can instinctively picture touristic spots or areas that define a city; famous places with a power of attraction so strong that they can even draw attention from people on other continents. For example, it is unlikely that a tourist visiting cities like Paris, France and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil would ignore icons like the Eiffel Tower or the Christ the Redeemer statue. However, some tourists would be content in only seeing such spots from afar; others would even ignore them completely. Tourists visiting a town for the second time can have completely different interests, and can even be attracted to lesser known areas.

Some tourists choose to discover places like a local inhabitant, ignoring the famous attractions. The local inhabitants also have a different relationship to their city, and their spots of attraction may be completely different. Using Rio de Janeiro as an example one more time, it is publicly known that a carioca hardly visits the Christ statue – unless he/she has guests from elsewhere visiting. The beaches are very strong points of attraction though, used not only by the citizens but by national and international

tourists. However, leisure tourists would not be so attracted to, for example, an educational area in the same way an inhabitant would – unless it had inherited qualities like good architecture or an interesting historical background. There is even a recent trend of guided visits to the favelas showcasing their cultural lives and landscape views, proving that even places without obvious qualities can be of interest for a specific niche of people.

Neighborhoods can also have a specific attraction potential by expressing character; business districts, historical sites or even “trendy” areas have the power to attract people by their functions, even without noticeable spatial qualities.

The inhabitants of a city may have different needs, and thus are attracted by different qualities: quality of life, services (schools, hospitals, shopping

areas), good environment, good connections and affordable housing. In an even smaller scale, different household configurations may also have different needs, like traditional families, unmarried youth, students or elderly people.

To understand the concept in a deeper form, literature studies are necessary. In the next section, different views of what configures place attractiveness are presented.

## 8.2.2 - Attractiveness - What has been done so far

The existing studies concerning attractiveness come from tourism, business, urban planning, environment and behavioral perspectives. It is important to note down that none of the studies try to actively define attractiveness, acknowledging that and the use of the term is relative to the context. Instead, they focus in measuring or understanding its causes and effects. Some research brought up methods to measure place attractiveness, either in a touristic context (Formica, 2002 and Hu and Ritchie, 1993) or in a migration context (Fotheringham, Champion, Wymer and Coombes, 2000). Regression analysis and mathematical models supported by interviews were used in these studies. On the other hand, it is not in the scope of this work to accurately measure the attractiveness of Angered or its surrounding areas, as this would encompass an entire study of its own.

In his study of place attractiveness and its relation to migration, Thomas Niedomysl (2006) presents two ways that can be used to better comprehend the subject: Assumption-based place attractiveness and Statement-based place attractiveness. The first is logically based on assumptions. In his example, he suggests that a place that grew in population in a higher scale than others in a certain time span can be assumed to be also more attractive. However, it is also pointed out that such assumptions have to be further examined and take specific criteria in perspective before actually being taken in consideration (in the example, what caused the population growth? A baby-boom, for example, would not explain attractiveness.).

Alternatively, statement-based place attractiveness is closer to a common assumption of the term “attractiveness”, in which personal and positive opinions and attitudes towards a place define its power of attraction; “there is no right or wrong”. These statements also must be understood in their own context in order to avoid wrong conclusions. Also, because the data is based in personal statements, many factors should be considered when analysing the material: some people tend to say what the researchers possibly would want to hear - or what is supposed to be “correct”, not their own actual opinion. However, even

with its flaws, measuring attractiveness through statements seems to be the logical method. *"In fact, it may seem impossible to try and understand something as personal as what people consider as attractive without hearing it from individuals themselves (either directly or indirectly) and trying to understand their situation."*(Niedomysl, 2006).

Lekwa, Rice and Hibbing (2007) researched community attractiveness in a small/medium size American community context (in the state of Iowa). Their aim was to understand how the social and physical qualities of the Iowa communities related to their attractiveness.

In Iowa, it became apparent that the most attractive communities had civic-minded, wealthy, educated and religiously active citizens.

However, as a community grew bigger, the civic aspects also grew to be more important to its attractiveness, while population, education and wealth decreased in relevance - smaller communities showed the opposite. Based on that, they also observed that policies and measures that aim to increase attractiveness in an area usually invest in "tangible projects", physical manifestations that could increase desirability, instead of trying to create "civic mindedness" among the population. (Lekwa, Rice and Hibbing, 2007).

Another study concerning social attractiveness was done in Russia, by Boris A. Portnov (1997). His research concerned five Siberian cities, aiming to understand how the social attractiveness of the urban physical environment related to existent qualities of the environment, and how the views on what is attractive differed between the citizens and professionals. It was identified that professionals care more about spatial qualities than the citizens, who take services, social development and environmental aspects into consideration instead. It was also noted that some communities that lack some particular qualities still manage to have a high level of attraction due to the social aspects of this community.

Li, Holm and Lindgren (2009) find similar results in their study, done in a Swedish context. According to them, "The analysis reveal that spatial

demographic factors are the most important, and that regional labour-market factors are the second most important socioeconomic factors for attraction. Combined with the spatial dimension, vicinity and demographic factors are the biggest contributors to place attractiveness”. Another interesting point they discovered was that local services are not vital to the attractiveness of a place, as long as these services are easily accessible by transport somewhere else, within a reasonable timeframe. This can be questioned in this work; a frequent complaint heard from the citizens of Hammarkullen, during interviews made by Chalmers students in a course in the neighbourhood, is the fact that supermarkets and health clinics can only be found in Angered Centrum (accessible by a 5 minute trip with the tram).

Another relevant point was also brought to attention: the fact that ethnic segregation is definitely related to lowering place attractiveness, as people with high incomes try to avoid areas with a high concentration of citizens with immigrant backgrounds.

By analysing the literature listed previously, it became clear that according to research, place attractiveness is more related to socioeconomic aspects than to the physical, constructed environment. However, what are the essential factors that have the power to enable this “magnet” characteristic of attractive places?

*“...attractive places trigger positive population development or the opposite, that is, that large populations make some places more attractive than others? The answer is mainly a question of interpretation, but the empirical analyses suggest that causation works in both ways.”* (Li, Holm, Lundgren, 2009).

*“Attractive communities, for instance, probably attract more new businesses than unattractive communities, and attractiveness may even influence civic-mindedness. For the most part, however, we think that the causal paths run from the sociodemographic, economic, and attitudinal factors to attractiveness.”* (Lekwa, Rice, Hibbing, 2007).

The research points out that investing in the manifestation of a powerful “community feeling” can be more effective than deploying physical interventions into the environment. However, it’s also important to consider if physical interventions could help in building these bonds, both between people and other people, and between people and the physical location.

### 8.3 - Neighborhood Effects

There is a string of theories that believe that neighborhoods can have an influence on the opportunities and social mobility of its inhabitants, called the neighborhood effect. The idea that local groups' behavior can influence individuals is not applied only in social and urban subjects; there are studies in economy, voting patterns, geography and many other subjects that bring this same concept to test. The origin of the idea appeared in the book «The Truly Disadvantaged» (1987), by William Julius Wilson; however, traces of the concept appeared even before that in other forms, dating as far as 1925. (Sampson,2008)

Many of these theories can be applied in some way to the Angered district. One of these effects is stigma. Generalizations are made based on the commonly accepted image that the neighborhood has among the citizens of Göteborg, and this image can interfere with the lives of the inhabitants on a personal level. Many times, this image is fictional or outdated, but still it persists in the minds of the people. Andersson and Musterd (2005) discuss this fact, pointing out that the image of such a neighborhood can cause harm if important actors, such as large businesses or government officials, make their choices based on it, like redlining practices (when areas are considered risky to invest in).

Hammarkullen fits this example: it needs to be densified and land has a lower cost compared to other areas of the city; however, no companies are interested in building or expanding in the area, even though they are fully aware of this opportunity.

Another line of thought relates to the social relations of a neighborhood and the nature of these relations. *“A crucial assumption is that when poor people are gathered in large homogeneous concentrations, this will have a negative impact on their opportunities to integrate in urban society. This holds for large sections of immigrants, but also for other households with few prospects of getting ahead.”* (Andersson and Musterd, 2005:380)

For example, it is commonly believed that living in a separated neighborhood

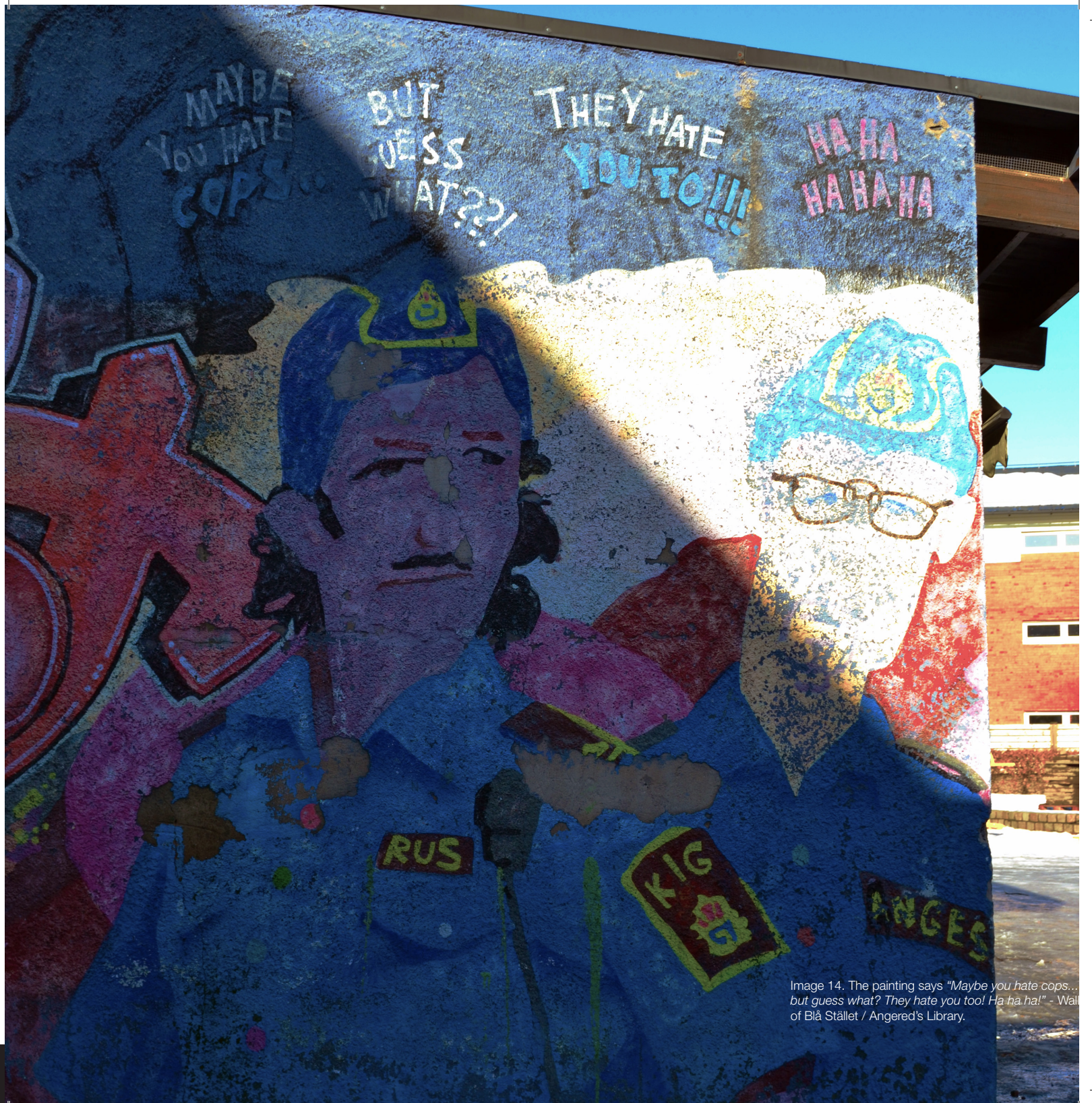


Image 14. The painting says "Maybe you hate cops... but guess what? They hate you too! Ha ha ha!" - Wall of Blå Stället / Angered's Library.



where unemployment levels are high decreases the inhabitants' chances of getting a job, as networking with other unemployed people will hardly bring job offers or further qualifications necessary to secure a job. In addition, the economic growth in these areas is minimal, as there is no interest to invest in places that does not promise to create economical return, thus impeding the creation of new jobs and worsening the situation of the area.

These kind of communal thoughts (not only related to employability, but also many other aspects) end up being viewed as normal, common and acceptable, and thus spread out. This can be a positive fact – no one wants to have a child out of school when everyone else has their child in school, or to have an ugly facade on their house when all the others are looking good, for example. However, negative aspects – like a crime ridden community - can create distorted types of role models for the youth that grow up in these environments (Musterd and Andersson, 2006). Looking at Hammarkullen once more, it is common to find graffiti with hateful messages to the police all over the place (Image 14). A part of the youth group in the community has a negative view of police and authorities – even if sometimes they have no direct reason or cause for this attitude other than a commonly accepted truth in their personal environment.

Although evidence of the existence of the neighborhood effect have not been conclusive, they were also not proved nonexistent and can lead to interesting insights into a community.

## 8.4 - Sustainable Urban Magnets Design Concept

Vancouver-based architect Alan Boniface conceived a design concept towards the creation of Urban Magnets. This concept was applied in the requalification of Granville Island, a former industrial area of Vancouver and now one of the most visited spots of Canada. In his lecture “Urban Magnets: Lessons in Sustainable Place-Making”<sup>4</sup>, this project and the concept are explained.

4. The lecture can be watched online at <http://vimeo.com/36896110>

His idea is that all developments should keep people and their activities as the focus, and the built environment should be shaped around them – “thinking inside-out”. He proposes that five main elements (retail, production, education, events and urban form) should be connected to these activities, to together form a sustainable urban magnet.

With retail comes economic growth and job creation; with local production, a feeling of “authenticity”, self-sufficiency and community inclusion. Education brings ideas and young people to the area, as well as promoting and expanding the magnet activity. Regular events related to the activity strengthen the area’s character, turning it unique. And finally the urban form supports all the elements and differentiates the area from other places.

The example of Granville Island can illustrate the concept. The area’s main activities were identified as food, boats and arts. To turn each of them into a magnet, the aforementioned elements were developed: Granville Island has a food market that sells locally produced food, a culinary school, regular gastronomy events and the urban form favours the visibility of this “food culture” present in the area (restaurants, markets, stores). The area is famous for being a boat marketplace and also a shipyard, there are sailing and diving courses, boat related events and sailing is a common theme in the urban landscape. Regarding arts, you can go there to buy and see artworks created by the area’s artists, an art that is also visible in the urban form. Events and art schools are also very present in the urban environment.

In Boniface's vision, "incomplete magnets" should strive to create all elements to turn sustainable. He also mentions the role of the subcultures in these kind of areas – subculture being groups of people that share the same interests, like bikers, artists, musicians. For him, these groups of people can be an instrument of change for an area.

## 8.5 - The use of the Theoretical Framework

Different topics were brought up in the construction of this theoretical framework; they connect to each other, sometimes obviously, sometimes in a more subtle manner. Together, the material it contains will be of great value when accessing the research questions later in this work.

In the attractiveness sub-chapter, it was shown that a place does not depend solely on its beauty to be attractive. Community strength, economical factors, uncommon activities and even trends can turn a place attractive.

Neighbourhood effects, albeit being unproven, can generate different views of an area and its uses. Instead of analysing an area as it is, the concept invites us to try to understand what a place means for a community on the everyday life.

Attractiveness relates both to how the external and local populations feel about the place in question, while the neighbourhood effects brings us an insider perspective. Both concepts can generate a “real world” perspective of the area.

As area based policies are, most of the time, actions lead by the governing body, they can be helpful to clarify the position of the decision-makers towards the problems of a place, their priorities and weaknesses. They constitute an “official” perspective of a region; however, the participatory methods sub-chapter adds to the knowledge of the area based policies, presenting methods to integrate the community into the official plans, combating the gentrification problematic.

In the end, we are introduced to the Urban Magnets concept, a tool that can be used in finding solutions to the area by using its attractivity potentials and community power.

Neighbourhood effects have a basis in the attractiveness concepts, where strong communities generate beautiful areas (and also the opposite).

This is underlined by the area based policies results; a missing link (good physical aspects without community empowerment, for example) can make area interventions irrelevant. The same can be seen in the Urban Magnets concept: a missing initiative can damage the sustainability of the whole.

To sum it up, the presented topics can give us views of Angered from different angles: the local community, the central city inhabitant and the governmental perspectives.

As explained before, the neighborhood effects existence could not be proved or discarded, so more research is needed in the area. It will be interesting to try to verify its possible negative influence in Angered (question 1), or use its positive aspects in order to support future proposals (2). It is not in the scope of this work to prove or disprove their existence, though, but only observe their possible “symptoms”. Proving their existence would require extensive testing that cannot be fit into the schedule of a work on this level.

By finding ways of building a strong community, the social attractiveness can also be an instrument of change (2). Physical improvements can also improve attractiveness, and maybe spark positive neighborhood effects that can favor the area (3).

According to the Area Based Policies material, social and physical interventions should be implemented together. This must be the guiding principle when elaborating recommendations to the district (3). These recommendations can be supported by the Urban Magnets concept.

## Theoretical Framework x Research Questions Matrix

	Question 1	Question 2	Question 3
Area Based Policies		●	●
Attractiveness	●	●	●
Neighbourhood Effects	●		
Sustainable Urban Magnets	●		●

1. In what way is segregation linked to the social and spatial relations between the Angered community and the center of the city, and vice versa?
2. What could be done to turn an area that is at the same time spatially and socially segregated into an attractive node, not only for the minorities that live there, but also for the host population, thus collaborating on bringing a halt to the segregation cycle?
3. What recommendations can I point out? What is the role of my profession in these processes, with which characteristics of the area can I work with?

# Area Based Policies - Summary

Area Based Policies are a collection of strategies focused in an specific area, usually by the governing power, in order to improve its character. In the scope of this work, strategies to diminish urban segregation processes were discussed.

Three kinds of policies were presented by Andersson & Musterd (2005): one aiming to improve education and expand employment opportunities; the second, attracting “role models” to the area, and the third acting in a reverse mode, aiming to move people from deprived areas to more successful ones. The authors point out that problems should be attacked from different perspectives, thus more than one policy should be used at once.

There is discussion on the effects of such policies; when physical improvements are done without being followed by social actions, an area tends to be gentrified. The case of Vesterbro is presented as an exemple of this phenomenon - an area where the social mix policy was applied, with positive urban results but also a gentrified population. Because of examples like this, social mix policies face strong criticism.

Community participation in planning can be a tool to overcome gentrification. The Arnstein's Ladder of citizen participation was presented, in order to explain differences in participation levels. With that as a basis, the concepts of advocacy planning and collaborative planning were also exposed.

# Attractiveness - Summary

Attractiveness is not always directly related to beauty. Trend, function and character can also make a place attractive, regardless of its spatial qualities.

In practice, professionals give more importance to spatial qualities than the citizens, who frequently give more importance to services, social and environmental aspects of an area.

A strong community and socioeconomic aspects have the power to give an area an attractive status. However, frequently measures to make an area attractive focus in physical assets.

The challenge is to investigate how spatial interventions (that can improve the physical aspects of an area) can also collaborate in creating community bonds.



# Neighbourhood Effects - Summary

Neighbourhood Effects are a group of theories that affirm that the area that a person inhabits can influence their opportunities and social mobility. For example, living in a poor area would affect one's probability of reaching a higher economic status or making contacts with people with better conditions; living between unemployed people would make it harder to find jobs, and so on.

This would happen because the norm of the area, even if negative, would end up being accepted as normal.

The existence of Neighbourhood Effects is disputed; independent of their existence, analysing the area through their perspective can bring up interesting points.

# Sustainable Urban Magnets Design Concept - Summary

Urban Magnets are a concept created by the canadian architect Alan Boniface, in which developments should have activities as the focus and the built environment should be shaped around them. The five main elements of a sustainable urban magnet are retail, production, education, events and urban form. If an area presents all this elements, it has the potential to be sustainable.

Choosing activities already common in area imprints character to the place. The existence of subcultures can also be used as a tool to develop a urban magnet.

An aerial photograph of a city grid, likely New York City, with a semi-transparent red overlay. The grid consists of numerous rectangular blocks and streets. The red overlay is not uniform, with some areas appearing darker than others, possibly indicating specific zones or areas of interest. The overall image has a dark, monochromatic aesthetic.

9.

**Current Area Based Policies**

## 9. Current Area Based Policies

In the moment, the municipality has two main actions for the district of Angered: Vision Angered, a group that aims to set up goals and strategies for the district in long and short terms, and Utveckling Nordost, a municipality owned company funded by EU.

### 9.1 Utveckling Nordost

Utveckling Nordost (Development Northeast) is a company that aims to collaborate towards a sustainable development of the northeast of Göteborg (the Angered district, Kortedala and Bergsjön), by increasing its attractiveness in various aspects: economy, culture, urban environment and communication.

In the economical aspect, the project wants to conduct an investigation in order to verify what the needs are for the small businesses of the area and how it is to own or work in a small business in the area. The project wants to invest in marketing, making the business potential of the area known, and bringing in companies to settle at areas owned by the municipality. A center for small businesses will also be created in Bergsjön.

The cultural investments are focused on understanding how art can be used to bring improvement to the area. In the project, improvements to Blå Stället in Angered Centrum (especially focused on the library and expansion of the entrances) and the creation of meeting places in Bergsjön are planned.

Concerning communication, the project aimed to update the Vision documents for both Angered and Bergsjön, to add a layer with the purpose of unifying the city. It also aims to increase awareness of the fact that the area has touristic potential, with its landscapes and cultural background. An important action in this area is the research to find dialogue and participatory methods that can strengthen and involve the community in the development of the area.

Its urban planning actions are:

- Creation of a route in southwestern Bergsjön with cycleways and footpaths to turn it more accessible;
- Improving the area surrounding Teleskopgatan's tram stop (Bergsjön), to combat the feeling of insecurity of the area and creating a new meeting place at the same time;
- Creation of an art exhibition hall at Hammarkullen's tram stop;
- A tent for events, meetings and talks in the Hammarkullen square;
- The creation of a string of activity centers (aktivitetsstråk) in Angeredstads Park that allows easy access to nature (Lärjeån), the planned ice hall / swimming hall and the cultural center.

## 9.2 - Vision Angered

Vision Angered is a cooperative effort between SDN Lärjedalen, SDN Gunnared, Business Region Göteborg, Förvaltnings AB Framtiden (a housing group owned by the municipality constituted of 11 housing companies), the builders' association in Gothenburg, the County Labor Board, HSN 12 (Hälsa- och sjukvårdsnämnden Nord-östra Göteborg), the business community in Angered, associations, private managers and the traffic, building and real estate committees.

Their aim is to set goals for Angered that should be reached until 2020. These goals concern urban, environmental, social and economic sustainable development for the area.

Their main goals, directly extracted from the *Vision Angered Inriktningsdokument*, are:

Overall Objective:

*Angered should be an integral part of Gothenburg that bears its part of society and the economy.*

### Objectives:

- 70 000 inhabitants in Angered by 2020 (currently 45,000)
- 7000 new homes in condominium and single houses in 2020
- 5000 new jobs in Angered area in 2020
- An employment rate equivalent to Göteborg's
- Areas where children leave school having achieved learning outcomes equivalent to those of the Göteborg
- Safe neighborhoods - safest in Göteborg
- Responsible neighborhoods, in the form of participation and associations larger than Göteborg's area
- Public health as good as Göteborg's

To achieve these goals, the project guiding document affirms that actions should contemplate an improvement of the infrastructure of the area. Another point brought up by the document is the need of enhancing the area's services, housing and meeting places. On integration, Vision Angered believes that the district must be seen as a part of Göteborg.

According to the guiding document, the main factors that can hinder the area's growth are infrastructural: they affirm that the connection between Angeredbron and E20 should be sped up, and Gråbovägen should be improved in order to enable the construction of dwellings. Linking Angered and Bergsjön-Partille through roads is also suggested. Another suggested measure is to develop the public transport in order to support the area's development, as well as densifying the area.

The document also underlines the importance of citizen participation and dialogue for the growth of the area. As examples, the discussions around the Hammarkullen square and Angered Centrum are cited.

# Current Area Based Policies - Summary

Two actions are being applied in the area in the moment. Utveckling Nordost and Vision Angered. Both aim to promote improvements in long and short terms.

Utveckling Nordost is a municipality owned company funded by the European Union, and covers not only the district of Angered but all the northeastern Göteborg (including Kortedala and Bergsjön). It has projects in different areas (such as job creation, marketing and urban environment,).

Vision Angered is a cooperative effort that aims to set goals for the region, in many different aspects. Currently, most of the plans concern the built environment and connections.





An aerial photograph of a city, likely New York City, with a red overlay indicating areas of attraction. The red areas are concentrated in the central and southern parts of the city, following major thoroughfares and commercial districts. The rest of the city is shown in a light, faded color.

# 10.

## Areas of Attraction

## 10. Areas of Attraction and Neighbourhood Effects

In the scope of this work, an attractive area would simply be a space with potential to attract people. This attraction can potentially have varied strengths, from a local potential (attracting people from the neighbourhood only, for example) to national or even international relevance. Attraction areas can be either temporary (such as an event, festival or other happening) or permanent (such as a square, a mall or a market).

The first step of this work concerned visits to the Angered district and interviews with inhabitants, in order to understand what the current situation of the area is. It was important to point out what the current attraction spots are and what could be missing, from their point of view.

### 10.1 - Existing areas of attraction

The following are areas that stood out during the interviews and investigation of the place, being mentioned by citizens or in the news. They are recognized as the current main centers of attraction in the district.

In the next section, each area will be shortly presented and analyzed with the neighborhood effects and attractiveness concepts in consideration.

#### 10.1.1 - Blå Stället

Blå Stället is a cultural center located in Angered Centrum. On its premises various activities can be held: debates, movies, presentations, lectures, recreation and gastronomy. The Angered Library and the Citizen's Office (Medborgarkontoret) are also located there. It is pointed out by the citizens as a strong cultural magnet, that receives both inhabitants of the area as well students and guests from other parts of the city.

In the Vision Angered's goals, there is a project to reform the back entrance to Blå Stället, in order to turn it visible from the Lärjean park with ease.

As mentioned previously, Blå Stället acts as a space for community bonding and also as a cultural center with a broader attractive scope. This power of attraction is mostly generated by the events hosted there: obviously special guests or activities generate curiosity in the general public, especially if they cannot be found anywhere else. This is a strength for Blå Stället, as the debates and lectures that take place there have helped in constructing its cultural identity. However, analyzing from its infrastructure only, Blå Stället's facilities can also be found in other places in the city, making it act mostly as a local magnet from this point of view – this is by no means a negative aspect; it is a much needed equipment for the area and serves its purpose rightfully. It is a good example of an attractive space for both its social and physical qualities, a space that collaborates in the creation of a civic identity for the area through culture and education.

From that it can also be stated that the equipment plays an interesting part in reducing the possible negative neighborhood effects in the area. By having quality infrastructure and events, the equipment has an inclusive character, giving the community the chance to participate in the cultural life of the city. Blå Stället is frequently mentioned by the inhabitants as a source of pride for the community.

### **10.1.2 - Angered Torg**

Angered Torg is the main shopping area of the district, located in Angered Centrum.

It contains various types of stores and restaurants, ranging from big supermarket chains to local businesses. According to interviews, it is frequently visited by the inhabitants of all the surrounding neighborhoods for shopping, who prefer to go to Angered instead of other areas in the city.

Right now, its attractiveness potential is the same as any other central shopping area of a small community, acting as a shopping and meeting

space. However, its varied selection of shops and ethnic restaurants could turn it into an attractive spot for the whole city, if this variety was expanded, explored and marketed as a particular asset for growth – using business, trend and touristic potentials as triggers for attractiveness.

Concerning neighborhood effects, the area has a positive presence in Angered Centrum. However, as the bigger businesses of the district are centered there, the smaller neighborhoods feel underprivileged for lacking their own shopping facilities, even if small. It is economically unlikely that smaller areas can support such places, though; a strong integration of these neighborhoods and Angered Centrum could help in mitigating these effects.

### **10.1.3 - Local Libraries**

Mentioned with frequency in the interviews, the local libraries are often installed in adapted rooms of pre-existing buildings and regarded as too small for their functions. The Angered Library is the biggest of the areas' libraries; it is located inside Blå Stället, but currently it has been moved away for a reform of its former facilities.

These libraries are important cultural, small scale magnets that can create communal bonds. Some of them offer homework help for children, language training and movie screenings, while also acting as meeting places that can collaborate in integration efforts. On them, the important “civic-mindedness” mentioned in the Theoretical Framework can be constructed, and the results can reflect on the attractiveness of the whole area.

Access to culture and to community life are important weapons to combat negative neighborhood effects. However, if the infrastructure of these libraries is insufficient or of poor quality, the outcomes could be negative. The quality of the libraries should follow the standards of the other small libraries found in town.

### **10.1.4 - El Sistema**

El Sistema is a music school for children located in Hammarkullen, based on a Venezuelan experience. In the classes, the students are put in contact with classical music, different instruments and visit orchestras. The differential is that the families are strongly connected to the experience, creating a community around the school.

This project has a strong power of attraction. It generates positive interest that outgrows the limits of the district, and can be used as an example of good initiative to market the area: El Sistema has been featured in the local news for its achievements, helping in building a positive image of the neighborhood. It is also a tool for building community strength, from the small familiar nucleus to the bigger neighborhood connections.

It is also a link between the suburbs and the city. There are exchanges between the students and the musicians of the Göteborgs Symphonic Orchestra, favoring inclusion of the students and their families in the society. The project gives the students pride and a feeling of belonging, reducing any possible neighborhood effects; as positive role-models, they can also help in diminishing these effects in their own area.

### **10.1.5 - Hammarkullen Carnival**

The biggest carnival of Sweden, Hammarkullen Carnival, has been held since 1974. Taking place in Hammarkullen once a year, during May, it attracts 50.000 visitors to the neighborhood during the three days of party, according to the organization.

Run by the Karnevalskommittén, immigrant communities that live in the area and volunteers, the carnival consists of a parade with many different groups of varied origins. There is also a fair and many other activities.

Although a perennial magnet, it is strong one, concerning various aspects of the attractiveness concept: touristic, economic, social, historical and

even immaterial. It helped in shaping the image of Hammarkullen in the city, and is probably the only occasion in the year in which many residents of other areas come to the Angered district. It is a strong community bond, also attracting volunteers from other areas to this community, favoring inclusion.

However, there is a discussion of how the Carnival is perceived by the inhabitants of the central town, and how the image it creates can also generate stigma. By inviting the population from other areas to a yearly “exotic” display of other cultures, a situation where “we” (the citizens from the city) go see “them” (the “exotic” local community) is created. The exotic character of the party can be seen as a barrier to integration. However, it is important to mention that the party is not only made by immigrants or people with immigrant backgrounds, and that ethnic swedes also have a strong participation, either in the organization or in the actual parades. An effort to showcase the party as an event made by “all” for “all” instead of “us” and “them” can help in breaking this impression.

### **10.1.6 - Center for Urban Studies Hammarkullen**

A partnership between the University of Göteborg and Chalmers, the Center for Urban Studies hosts teachers, students and researchers in architecture, urban planning, sociology, journalism, cultural studies and more. It has a focus on social sustainability and urban issues, not only in the area, but in the whole of Göteborg.

The Center promotes the first contact with the city’s suburbs for many of its international or Swedish students. The attraction of these individuals to the district is of extreme relevance: when leaving the center after their studies, they act as informal ambassadors of the area in other parts of the city, thus helping in dissolving stigmas and misconceptions. This continuing cycle of new people arriving with the intent of deeply understanding the area and leaving with more positive impressions of the place is the most substantial strength of the center, in a districtal perspective.

It acts as an educational magnet to people from other areas, as stated above, and also in the community, as a place where the local actors converge and share experiences, generating social attractivity. The fact that two higher education institutions also took interest in the area also represents an elevation of the status of the community, and an incentive for the local youth to pursue higher education studies.

The center may also create a negative neighborhood effect to the community, though. The population may feel that the presence of many teachers, researchers and students continuously “dissecting” and investigating the area is depreciative; a “top-down” view from an educated elite towards ordinary citizens, that might feel like they are constantly observed or studied, like an exotic species. The Center has conscience of this, and tries to connect to the local society to make sure that the relation between them stays natural and respectful.

### **10.1.7 - Hammarkullen Folkets Hus**

An association that promotes cultural and educational activities, such as seminars, study groups, courses and movie exhibitions. Its premises, located right by the Hammarkullen tramstop and square, include a large auditorium, meeting rooms and a multi-use room with various equipment for rehearsals or conferences.

It has local attractive power, with actions directed to the neighborhood, working as sort of a counterpart of Blå Stället in Hammarkullen. The attractiveness of the equipment has a social and educational character. The neighborhood effects it can provoke are positive, towards community strengthening and self-respect.

### **10.1.8 – Vättlefjäll**

The enormous natural reserve situated in Lövgardet is frequently

mentioned as a strong natural magnet by the inhabitants of Angered. The lake Surtesjön has a canoing school and rental, and is used for swimming, bathing, hiking (there are two trails – Bohusleden and Vättlefjällsleden), fishing (also ice fishing during winters), bird watching and barbecuing.

It has both local and municipal attraction potential. It is featured in the Göteborgarnas promenadguide, and is known by nature lovers for its fantastic landscapes. It is an asset to market Angered in a touristic perspective as a place of beautiful nature, instead of the almost automatic association with the “ugly” millionprogramme buildings.

As for neighborhood effects, it is an area that makes the local inhabitants satisfied and raises the perception of the quality of the space. It is reported that many immigrants are not used to having a relation with nature, and because of that do not use the area as much as they have the potential to. Introducing the area as a leisure spot can eventually turn it into a meeting point for everyone, promoting inclusion.

## **10.2 - Future and/or proposed magnets**

The following are areas that are currently being built or planned. The analysis tries to predict which impacts they will have in the district, once again with the neighborhood effects and attractiveness concepts as a guiding criteria.

### **10.2.1 - Angered Närsjukhus**

A new hospital will be opened in Angered Centrum during 2014 in order to support the population living in the Angered District and East Göteborg. While the hospital is in construction, smaller clinics are in operation in the area, and will be moved to the new building once it is completed.

Its construction faced problems, as the spaces qualified to receive the equipment were not owned by the municipality and agreements were



difficult to be reached. Finally a suitable area was found. In the same area, housing blocks will also be constructed.

This project will improve the district's self-supporting character, creating an alternative for the citizens in need of medical assistance. Its attractiveness potential is local, serving the surround neighborhoods and region. Its presence may also trigger other investments, collaborating with the economy of the district.

The implementation of such an essential service provider in the area is of extreme importance to raise the sense of belonging of the community. An official investment on this scale tells the society that they have importance and are taken care of, contributing to the reduction of neighborhood effects.

### **10.2.2 - Hammarkullen Square Tent**

The Hammarkullen Square is seen by Utveckling Nordost as an inappropriate space. According to Susan Runsten, the project leader of the company, a project has been made in order to transform the place. However, due to regulations of the EU-fund, the capital available could not be used for such a measure.

Because of this condition, a second alternative was proposed: A portable tent will be acquired. This tent can create a covered space that can host events and generate a meeting place in the square, as well as be relocated according to specific needs.

The attractiveness potential of the initiative is local and restricted to the actual use of the tent; it will also depend on the quality of the events to be hosted there. However, it will give a use to a neglected space, hopefully attracting attention to the area and subsequent improvements.

From that, it can have both positive and negative neighborhood effects. The tent seems to be more a temporary patch than a proper

measure to improve the area: although the initiative has good intentions, the problems in the area will persist when the tent is gone. The non-permanent character of the tent can also give the wrong impression to the inhabitants, appearing more like a “quick fix” than a serious effort to mitigate problems. It will develop the meeting place identity of the square, at the same time, and maybe act as a catalyst for its use.

### **10.2.3 - Hammarkullen Tram Stop Exhibition Hall**

The underground Hammarkullen Tram Stop will be revamped in order to improve the quality of the space by using artistic works, thus transforming the stop into a more welcoming area. These actions will be funded with EU-capital, through Utveckling Nordost AB.

To select the artworks, a contest between professional artists was held. The winners were Frida Oliv and Frida Yngström, with their works “Terra” and “Någon som du”. The other areas of the stop will also be used as an exhibition space, receiving contributions from local artists.

There were disagreements on how the process to choose the artists was conducted. Some preferred to have local artists working with the place, in order to give it a true local identity. The organizers of the selection cited that having professional artists from outside would give the citizens one more reason to feel included in society, elevating the status of the tram stop with works from nationally recognized artists, in a respectful treatment of the place. These are two views on how neighborhood effects could affect the intervention: inclusion in a city perspective, or identification in a community perspective.

The attractiveness potential of a tram stop will hardly be changed due to physical interventions; it is merely a passing-by area. One could argue that people tend to avoid unsafe areas, but this is hardly the case; the Hammarkullen stop is the main access to the neighborhood. Temporal attractiveness can be generated by frequent change of the exhibitions, turning the space more interesting in the long run.

### **10.2.4 - Angered Ice Rink / Swim Hall**

A new project of the municipality, now in the construction phase. It consists of public swimming pools and an ice rink that can be used by the whole population. Its main aim is to attract the local population and engage the youth in the practice of sports.

Both the swimming halls and the ice rink have official measurements, being able to host official competitions; however, there are no places for the audience, making the hosting of events impossible. This makes it clear that the intent was never to give the equipment a use that could reach further than the borders of the district. It is an equipment for the area and not for the city. This was a squandered opportunity to insert Angered in the sport/event life of Göteborg.

It will be a great addition to the district in any case, creating an area with leisure, educational and meeting traits that can have a strong positive impact in the neighborhood and its community.

### **10.2.5 - Angered Stadspark / Angereds aktivitetsstråk**

The Angered Stadspark (Lärjean) is located by Blå Stället and the Angered Gymnasium. It is a natural reserve, mostly used for hiking, jogging and barbecuing.

One of the projects from Utveckling Nordost and Göteborg Municipality's Park och Natur department is the creation of a path of activities - aktivitetsstråk - in the park, to make a connection between Angereds Torg and Lärjean, as well as giving different uses to the area, bringing more people to use the park in various ways.

For this project, three different proposals were submitted by architecture companies. Park och Natur will analyze the needs of the area, and use the proposals together with suggestions made by the inhabitants to come up with a final project.

The proposals include 'stations' with different activities for various age groups, reading areas, and an amphitheater. Another idea is to connect the area to Lärjeåns Trädgarn, which is disconnected from the urban area, and for that reason not used as much as it has the potential to.

From an attractiveness perspective, the creation of the park is very positive in both physical and social aspects. The area is well known, but it definitely could be better utilized; giving it different possible uses can expand its potential greatly. It can also be seen as a starting point to exploration of the other green areas of the district.

Its attraction potential can also cause positive neighborhood effects, by generating more spaces for community building and events. If the final proposal is satisfactory, the citizens will feel proud of the new area.

### **10.2.6 – The Work / Jobs dimension**

It has already been shown that the economic indicators of the area are lower than the average of the city of Göteborg. As seen in the Area Based Policies study, any effort in order to improve the quality of life and conditions of the area has to be done in multiple perspectives; improvements in the built environment need to be supported by a raise in economic and educational aspects of the community to succeed.

One of the goals of Utveckling Nordost was to map and understand the current work market situation in Angered, a task given to Business Region Göteborg, a municipality owned, non-profit company. Their results showed that 65% of the companies of the area have no employees, while only seven companies have more than 200 employees. Many companies become inactive after three years of operation.

The most common businesses in the region operate in trade (21%), construction (13%) and law and economics (12%). 20% of the companies have customers outside Sweden; 70% of the companies expressed a wish to grow.

In their analysis, they came to understand that the biggest advantage of the area is its location, with good road connections. However, the unsafe impression that the area still extrudes is the main disadvantage when attracting new enterprises.

Small entrepreneurs of the area usually need mentoring and expanding their networks. Many times, they find obstacles in understanding the Swedish rules and planning, while also having the language as a barrier. Another problem is the physical configuration of the area: built as a housing district, it is difficult to find buildings with an office profile. The educational level of the population was also an issue. Although companies with specific knowledge needs - like IT enterprises - would be welcome in the area, they probably would not absorb the work force present there, due to its lower level of education compared to the city center.

In the industrial aspect, light industries are the most common. International Färg AB was mentioned as a company with a positive impact, engaged in the development of the area and its community.

Utveckling Nordost's plans in this aspect are to create a new small business center in Bergsjön (in addition to the one already existent in Angered), to promote available land for industries where they could install themselves, and to coordinate business operations in order to build networks, collaborating in the creation of new job possibilities in the region.

# Areas of Attraction – Summary

The current and proposed equipment have the potential of acting as attractive magnets specifically by their social, cultural and educational strengths, mostly with a local scope of attraction.

The current lack of attractiveness of the area when compared to the central Göteborg can be assumed (assumption-based place attractiveness, following Niedomysl) by an external actor as being originated from: The low income of the inhabitants, lower quality and the number of the equipment and services offered in the area, stigma of violence, as well as the physical distance, considered long even with the presence of satisfactory basic public transport connections.

An inhabitant of the area has very different views of it (statement-based attractiveness). According to the interviews held during this work in order to measure the attractiveness of the area by its own inhabitants, the general impression was that the area is fairly safe and calm, although lacking some equipment. The strong presence of nature was one of the most often mentioned qualities. Overall, the inhabitants are happy about living in the district, and do not feel the desire to move away. They seldom visit the city center if there are no work or educational needs to be filled there, and the area fits their basic needs. The civic identity of the area is also seen as having a positive impact in the area: The high number of associations and social projects are seen as a strength. The most negative aspect of living in the area is the stigma and prejudice that the inhabitants face. All agree that the stigma has no factual base to be so strong, and its mostly provoked by the media.

An aerial photograph of a city grid, likely New York City, with a semi-transparent red overlay. The red overlay is a large, irregular shape that covers most of the city's area, leaving some parts of the grid visible. The red color is a deep, dark red. The city grid consists of numerous small, rectangular buildings and streets, arranged in a regular pattern. The red overlay is positioned in the upper right quadrant of the image, extending towards the center and bottom right. The number '11.' is printed in white, bold, sans-serif font in the upper right corner of the red area. The word 'Analysis' is printed in white, bold, sans-serif font in the lower right corner of the red area.

**11.**

**Analysis**

## **11. Analysing and synthesizing across the Areas of Attraction**

### **11.1 - The Landscape of Integration Assets**

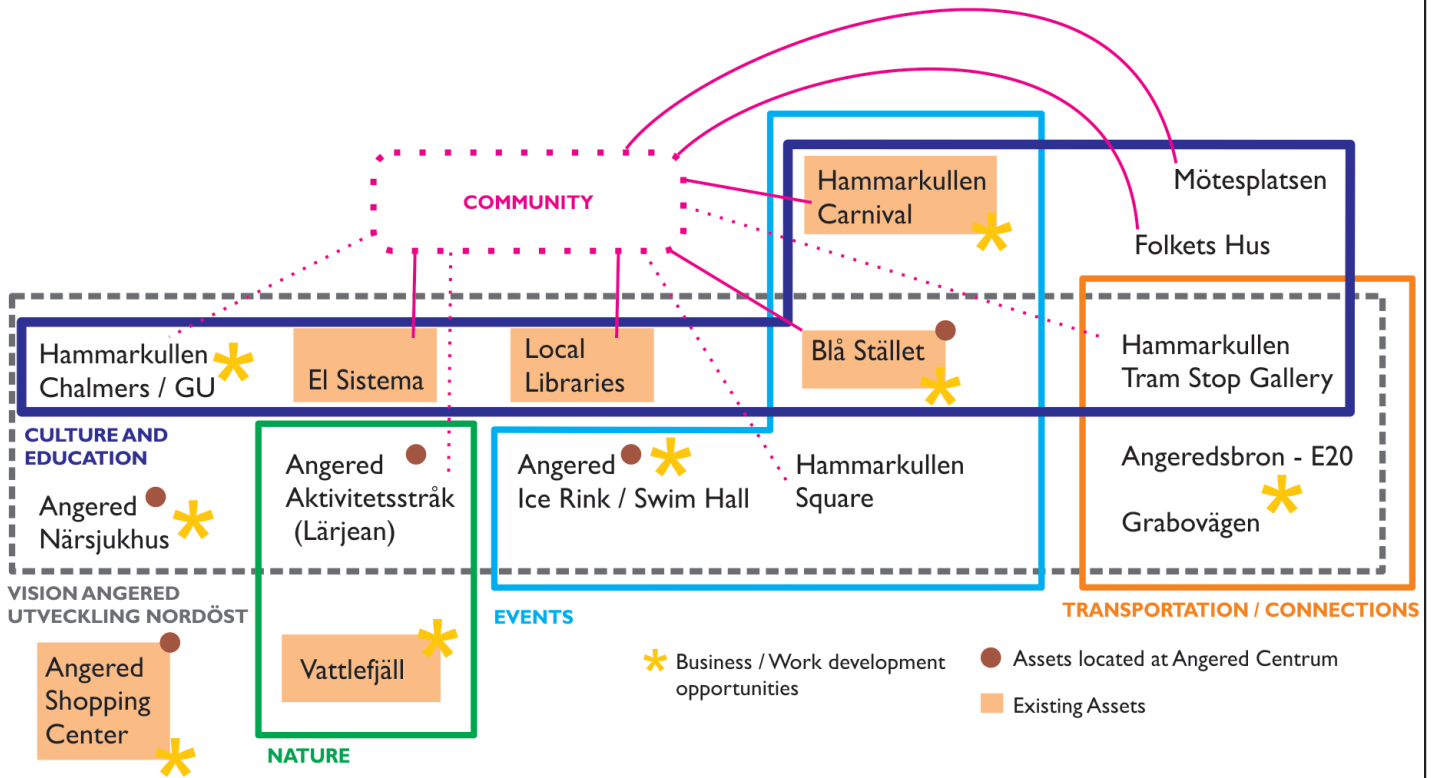
Many impressions could be formed after getting in contact with the neighborhoods of Angered. Some aspects can refer generally to most of them: a strong dependency on Angered Centrum for shopping and transportation (both from neighborhood to neighborhood and from the district to the city center), lack of good urban connections between the neighborhoods - turning them physically segregated between themselves - and negative, lower general statistics in all aspects when compared to integrated areas of the city center.

Areas of attraction could also be identified, as it was presented on the last chapter. Some of them are already existing and have extreme importance in the dynamics of the area, and some are planned or already being built. Some of them are powered by the community, while others are investments of the government.

To understand the connections between them, they were placed in what was called “Landscape of Integration Assets” (LOIA) (Image 15), shown on the next page, and further discussed ahead.



Image 15.The LOIA, Landscape of Integration Assets.



### 11.1.1 - Transportation / Connections

Angered Centrum is clearly the district's nucleus. It is a public transport hub, being the last stop of all the tram lines that connect the area to the city, as well as the node from where most of the buses that serve the neighborhoods depart from. There is no bus line directly connecting the other neighborhoods between themselves; to go from one neighborhood to another, one has to go to Angered and make a connection (with the exception of Hjällbo and Hammarkullen, served by the tram)<sup>(Image 16)</sup>.

This lack of neighborhood connection is easily understood though; most of the common movements, as going shopping or to the city center, are done through Angered. Currently, movements between neighborhoods are not as common, limited to only very specific reasons (a visit to a friend, for example). Right now there are no strong neighborhood magnets that could justify an expanded net of public transportation for now, as most of them are located in Angered or Hammarkullen.

An interesting observation is that between the city center and Hjällbo (the first of the tram stops in Angered), there is only one tram stop - in Gamlestan (the Gamlestadstorget stop). Between Gamlestan and Hjällbo, the tram travels without interruption for 6 minutes - almost half of the distance between the center (the Brunssparken hub) and Hjällbo (14 minutes). Between Hjällbo and Gamlestan there is a shopping area with supermarkets used by the Angered's inhabitants; it can only be accessed by car, bus or walking though.

The new connections (Angeredsbrom-E20 and Grabovägen) proposed by Vision Angered can expand the business possibilities of the area and its overall connections. The improvements in the Hammarkullen tram stop can turn it more attractive and comfortable.

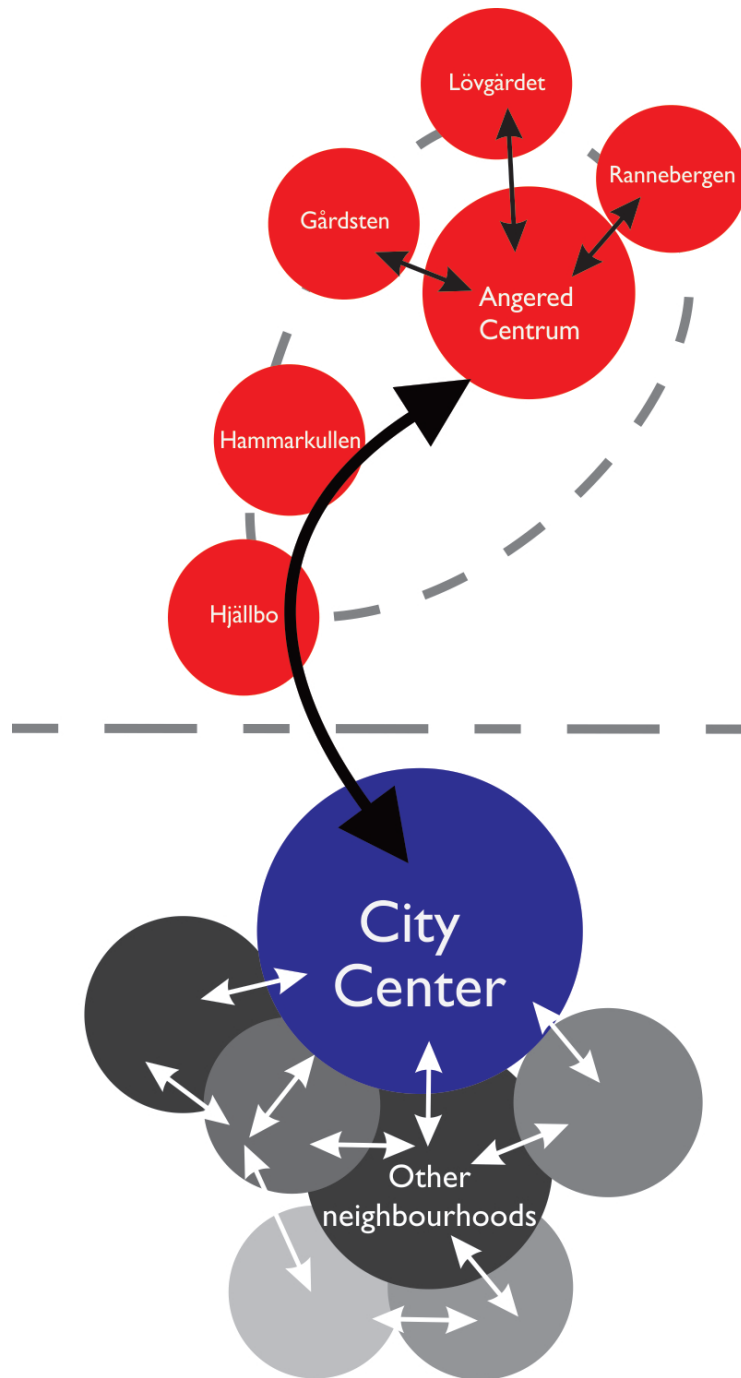


Image 16. Connections between Angered, the city center and the other neighbourhoods

### **11.1.2 - Business / Work**

This concentration of services and activities in Angered causes some problems for the surrounding neighborhoods. Some of them lack bigger markets or pharmacies; chains and businesses have no interest in installing themselves in these areas, as the local economy statistics - lower than many other areas, as previously seen - denounce that they would not be economically sustainable there.

However, many of the spots presented can be further developed or used for business expansion.

### **11.1.3 - Nature**

Nature is an evident potential magnet for the area and source of pride of the inhabitants, and can be used as a marketing element in order to improve the image of the district and raise its touristic interest. It can also be an instrument of integration, if used as a meeting place.

There are two main magnets: Lärjeån, close to the built environment, being transformed into an urban park (*aktivitetstråket*) and Vättlefjäll, more distant, with an aura of untouched, undiscovered beauty. Each of them have the potential to grow in relevance if treated correctly.

### **11.1.4 - Culture and Education**

Many of the presented magnets fall in this category. Blå Stället acts as the main magnet in this respect, with a strong cultural and communitarian profile; the presence of the Center for Urban Studies forms an important link between the city center and the district.

The massive number of different associations present in the district, the Hammarkullen Carnival and actions as El Sistema make it visible that Angered can turn into a synonym of cultural studies and practices for the whole city, with a great potential of growth.

### 11.1.5 - Events

The Hammarkullen Carnival is the sole current event regularly held in the area that acts as a magnet for the whole city.

That is a pity; events can bring awareness and give character to an area. The other magnet potentials (such as nature or culture) could be used in this sense; smaller events (like runs or local concerts) are currently held, but lack expression.

## 11. 2 - Area Based Policies Analysis

The current policies applied in the area seem to be in-line with what was concluded in the theoretical framework. They have a genuine understanding that there is a need of attacking the problems from various angles at once, but face external restraints – for example budget concerns or bureaucratic issues - to act properly.

Utveckling Nordost plans to invest in many areas at once; the project has a preset budget, and aims to use it on the best possible manner. This budget is not sufficient to generate extensive, global changes in the area, but is applied to punctual projects that hopefully can help in igniting greater changes, attacking crucial areas such as job creation and working with the image of the place.

However, many of these actions only bring results in a long term; as an example, Business Region Göteborg predicts that results from their actions will not be seen before the end of the project (supposed to last three years), as the process of installing new companies in an area depends of many factors (market research, finding a suitable spot for the company, building permits, building and so on). Because of that, they face the challenge of showing the population the effectiveness, necessity and budget restrictions of some of their projects. Some inhabitants see the investments as superfluous, when there is a need of investing in more immediate needs (Better schools! More jobs!), while failing to understand that even these immediate needs are part of a process. These slow

motioned actions cause an extreme feeling of frustration in the population.

Vision Angered has a broader view of the region, targeting improvements in several aspects; however, to create results, these plans depend on several actors that not always maintain a dialogue and sometimes seem to walk in different directions. One of the challenges faced by the project is that the city council tends to prioritize infrastructural plans in detriment of other issues, as well as housing and industrial projects over other projects.

As an example, one of the goals of Vision Angered is to elevate the quality of education in the area, until it is the same or better than the one in the Göteborg region. However, schools of the district are being closed due to economic issues, raising parent's complaints; the municipality argues that many of them have underused area and are not economically sustainable, and that these students will be relocated in other schools of the district. This will increase the ratio of students per teacher; something that goes against what Andersson & Musterd (2005) have identified as a policy towards the improvement of education in Sweden then.

With low quality education and no signs of improvement, students are gradually moving into schools located in the central area, taking resources with them. This move is seen by some in a positive light, as an integration factor – but it greatly weakens the local community, creating a very negative spiral. Without economic and educational resources, the area's schools decay in quality, thus losing students and the government economic support attached to them. This movement hurts the area schools even more, and there is no hope for improvement if this cycle is not brought to a halt.

The second policy described by Andersson & Musterd - towards promoting social mix by the inclusion of inhabitants with higher incomes in deprived areas - was tried in Gårdsten with apparently positive results. To rent an apartment managed by Gårdstensbostäder, the applicant must

be subject to special rules of fixed income or character (elderly people and young families, underrepresented in the area, have priority). There is no actual research on the outcomes of this policy, implemented in 2001 and revised both in 2004 and 2010; however, the inhabitants of the area are positive about the changes, and nowadays Gårdsten has a reputation of being “nicer” than the other areas. However, further studies in the area, concerning the gentrification possibilities exposed in the theoretical framework, are needed.

The third policy - aiming to move people away from their original areas to form new networks and find new opportunities – is not officially applied in the area. The focus is to strengthen the district as a new nucleus for the city, and from this perspective connect it to Göteborg. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Angered are forced to reach out for central areas when in need of certain services, especially for leisure. Some particularities in the planning of Göteborg collaborate with this, as will be seen in the next section.

### **11.2.1 - Göteborg’s Evenemangsstråket: Skånegatan**

In Göteborg, the majority of event venues are situated in a same region – Skånegatan and its surroundings. The area is now known as “Evenemangsstråket”, expression that can be translated as “Events street”.

In the same street, there can be found two large sports stadiums practically disposed side by side (Gamla Ullevi and Nya Ullevi); a multi-use indoor arena, commonly used for hockey matches and concerts (Scandinavium), an amusement park (Liseberg), two museums (World Culture Museum and Universeum), a convention center (Svenska Mässen) and a cinema multiplex (Filmstaden Bergakungen). Around the street, there can also be found a public swimming hall (Valhallabadet) and a smaller concert venue (Brewhouse), as well as hotels and parking lots. Currently, plans for expanding Scandinavium or even building a new arena are on its way.

The Evenemangsstråket is a curious example of urban planning. The intention was to create an event-centric area that could be used to strengthen the image of Göteborg as an event city, and also keep all venues close so they can be easily reached. Korsvagen, one of the main transport hubs of the city, is located at the area, and parking lots support the venues, turning transportation simple.

However, one can wonder about how practical it really is to have all these venues at the same place, as it is very unlikely that one will attend a concert, visit a museum, see a sports match and watch a movie all in the same day. In case many events are held at the same time, a traffic problem can also occur.

This venue concentration is also not interesting when viewed in a touristic aspect. Being forced to reach only the same area, a tourist will lose the chance of getting to know various places in Göteborg. The tourist can be lead to feel that the whole life of the town is concentrated there, a very incorrect assumption.

More importantly in the scope of this work is the fact that the city is missing the opportunity of creating many interest nodes, by concentrating all potential magnet venues in a single spot. A good strategy to raising the awareness and development of an area is giving it a relevant piece of equipment that can generate further investments and interest of builders and inhabitants. Placing these in underdeveloped areas can change their economy, generate jobs and new related activities.

As an example, Göteborg's World Culture Museum opened in 2004 and is located in the evenemangsstråket; one can wonder if Angered was even considered to receive it.

This attraction would be a perfect fit for the area, matching its characted and creating an important hub of education and integration. It was a missed opportunity of promoting other areas of the city.



### 11.3 - The Community Potential

One of the strengths identified in the area is the high number of associations present all over the district. Most of them are located in Hammarkullen and Angered Centrum, however each neighbourhood has at least some groups of different sizes.

These associations are very important assets in the building of the local community. SDF Angered supports associations with capital and resources through its Föreningsstöd. According to their site, their aim «*is to develop good contacts and fruitful cooperation with Angered's associations in order to reach new goals.*».(goteborg.se).

The municipality says that community participation is frequent on its projects, and that the inhabitants are always heard. During the course of its work one example of this dialog could be seen: For the project of Angered's aktivitetstråket, an exposition of three plans made by architecture companies in the Angered's shopping mall. There, people could also write down suggestions and discuss the plan with an architect from the municipality. The architect affirmed that the final project will be a mixture of the three proposals, plus the citizen's inputs.

However, there seems to be an atmosphere of frustration concerning the relations between community and stakeholders. One of the interviews for this work was made with the manager of one of Hammarkullen's associations, who had a strong point of the view in the matter.

*"In mötesplatsen we had a meeting last time Goteborg had a state architect. She was here, and we talked with the companies that own the houses and land owners. We discussed for many hours how to change the ugly area for the kids. She goes and comes back in one month. She comes, and there's no meeting, it's a lecture, we just hear. She is talking. We're sitting in Folkets Hus. She presents her nice drawings. Why are we discussing the lights and where the trees are going to be? Where are the kids stuff we asked for, and that, and all that we said? Why did we even discuss then?"* (Hammarkullen citizen, interview, 2012)

«They're doing an idrottshallen for football and handball here. I sat with the workgroup, with the architect, building people and about 5 from the neighbourhood here. The drawings are ready and they're gonna start building. Then we looked at the plans and I said:

- 'Ok, but where are the seats?'
- 'There's no room.'
- 'One moment, excuse me, you're building this for about 11 or 17 million sek in Hammarkullen. It is the place with the most associations in Sweden and you don't have a place for people to cheer for their teams?'
- 'No, we don't have space.'
- 'Why?'
- 'The firemen say there must be an open space to walk like this.'
- 'They said that? Ok.'

In my work I have the exact same guy that she talked about. I called him and asked:

- 'How are the measurements for the drawings, what's is the minimum?'
- 'Oh, it's like this? Not like this?'

And then in the next meeting I was gonna say 'I have spoken...' and then she interrupts me and says 'I have also spoken to him! We can...'. ... now we can sit 120 people there. I mean, if I hadn't said anything they would have done it like that. That's what I mean, we've gotta be part of things. Someone that can go there and say, 'just a moment - why?' ”  
(Hammarkullen citizen, interview, 2012)

Another interesting moment happened during a discussion following Willian Peterman's lecture "Neighborhood and Grassroots Revitalization: Some Observations from America", at the Center for Urban Studies in Hammarkullen. Association representatives, municipality employees, students and teachers were present.

In the lecture, the advocacy and collaborative planning methods were exposed; they led to a reflection on how are the relations between actors in the Hammarkullen context. Based on the discussion, a model was elaborated (Image 17). Although it was made with Hammarkullen as a basis,

the situation in the other Angered neighbourhoods is not very different from this example.

According to the observations, discussion and the interview, the participatory processes in Hammarkullen would be located between steps 3 and 5 of Arnstein's Ladder. From what was understood, the municipality recognizes its projects as participatory actions, promoting public consults, expositions, meetings and lectures, and collecting suggestions and criticisms. Despite that, the community does not feel represented in the final product, accusing the decision-makers of disregarding their opinions. For their part, the decision-makers defend themselves by affirming that technical decisions must be done by professionals, and because of that certain matters cannot be brought to community appraisal.

There is also tension in the relation between the academia (represented by Chalmers and the University of Göteborg through the Center for Urban Studies) and the actors. The community is glad to have the presence of the universities in the area, but feels frustrated to be continuously used as a study subject without having nothing concrete in return. The university has the education of new professionals as its main goal, and for that cannot support all the community's needs (for example, by developing other sorts of projects than the ones required by formal education) or make student projects turn reality. Nevertheless, they still wish to support the community, and have integration with the local inhabitants as a goal.

The municipality is also willing to contribute to the academia, by participating in lectures and seminars and by providing all the required information; yet the partnership turns sour when concerning proper actions. The decision-makers see the university's views as utopian, and impracticable in a «real-world» setting, where budget and various different interests are at stake.

An important observation concerns the present status of organization of the local communities. Albeit there is a high number of different groups, there does not seem to be an effort for coordination of their efforts: each group has its own goals and activities. Some might collaborate in certain

occasions, but they usually work in a decentralized manner, weakening their voice.

In Peterman's discussion on advocacy planning, it was pointed out that an organization of this groups can make the general demands more cohesed, and give the community a stronger level of representativeness when dealing with the other stakeholders.

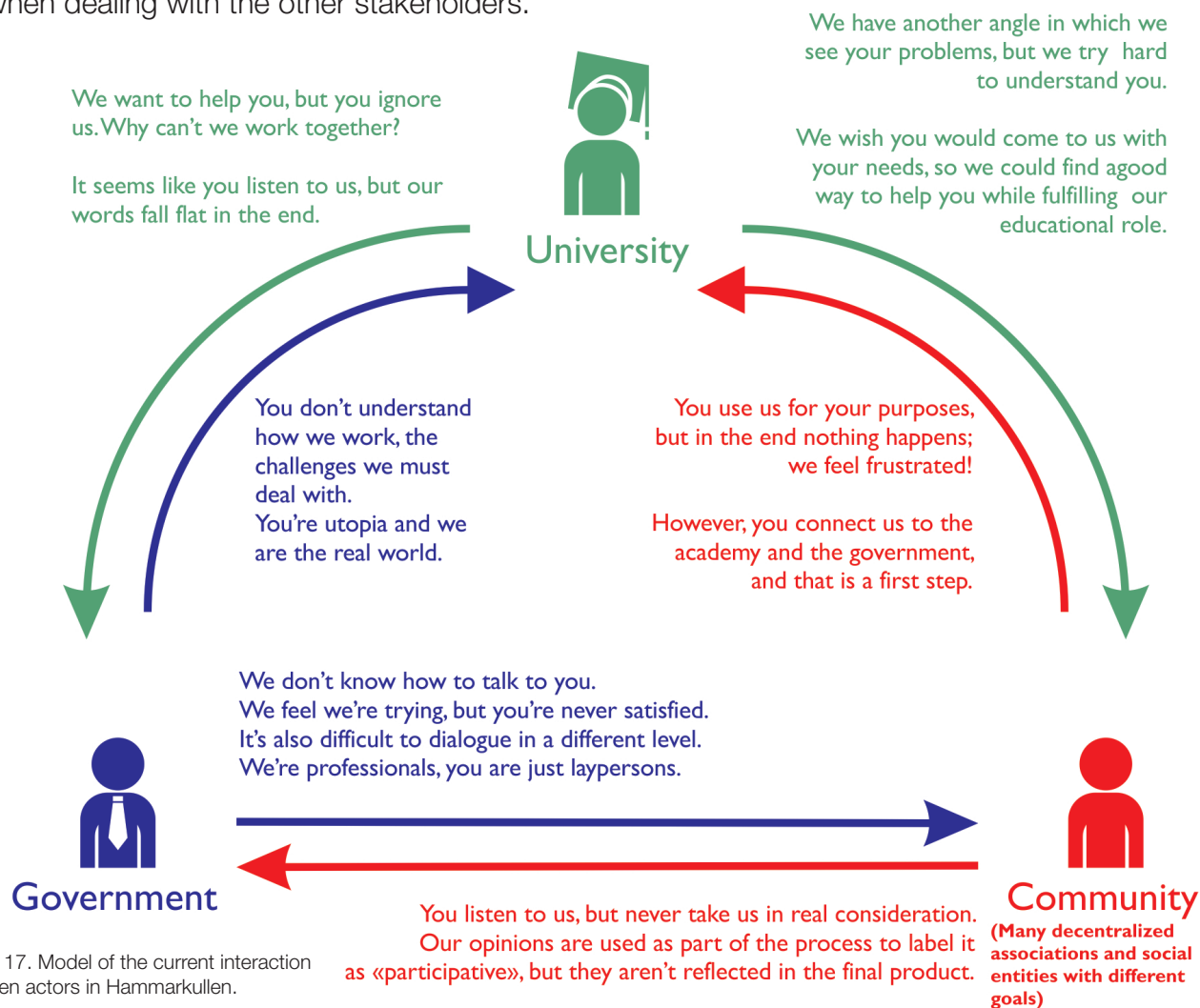


Image 17. Model of the current interaction between actors in Hammarkullen.



# 12.

## Final words

## 12. Discussion

The analysis presented diverse perspectives of Angered: The neighbourhood's historical context, a look on the current political actions for the area, a collection of the most relevant spots of attraction of the district, and an understanding of the relations between actors and the local community. The main areas of attraction were identified and grouped in order to show their common connections in the Landscape of Integration Assets, and these groups were also separately analyzed, having its strenghts and weaknesses highlighted.

With a more concrete image of Angered formed, and the material from the Theoretical Framework, it is now possible to reassess the research questions. To discuss them, Ann Legeby's work in the Stockholm suburbs will also be used as a guide.

### 12.1 - Question 1

***In what way is segregation linked to the social and urban relations between the Angered community and the center of the city, and vice versa?***

When of its creation, the physical segregation of Angered had no noticeable social effects. The first inhabitants of the area – the ones that occupied the space as soon as it was built - were integral part of the Swedish society, part of the working class.

As seen in the historical study of Angered (chapter 7), Angered's neighbourhoods were highly desired by the population as a standard of modern living, and were seen as a good place to live overall. What could have made it less desirable after some years?

*“The analyses have shown that spatially segregated neighbourhoods are highly dependent on local resources and the local population, while integrated neighbourhoods can derive advantage from the surroundings”*  
(Legeby)

That means that when there is a sustainable society in place in such an area, physical segregation is a smaller problem. The negative effects of having a physically segregated community can be diminished with infrastructural investments, and a socially sustainable society attracts this type of assets; public transportation and new roads are created when there is a demand caused by the flow of people coming and going to their jobs or schools; an increase in the number of inhabitants in an area elevates the need for more services, thus more jobs.

*“It is possible to find a significant amount of research which refutes the notion that residential segregation is inherently problematic and which challenges the focus on segregation as a purely residential phenomenon”* (Legeby)

However, with the demographical change that occurred in Angered (with Swedish inhabitants leaving and immigrants arriving, as also exposed in chapter 7), the segregation of the area also gained a social character, a much more complex obstacle.

*“The problem in Sweden is not merely segregation in housing but the strong social and ethnic exclusion mechanisms that are growing. It is reflected in discrimination at work, segregation in secluded housing, political marginalization, etc. Today, being an immigrant no longer means a limited phase in the life of an individual. It has become a state which can extend over several generations, irrespective of actual citizenship or place of birth and upbringing. Many immigrants remain in a permanent state of cultural subordination and social exclusion.”* (Öresjö 1997, 44, in Legeby, 2012).

*“It is likely that people with more resources (i.e. employment, higher education, income, and high mobility) have the possibilities to overcome spatial shortcomings and hence will not be affected negatively to the same extent. Also, that their inclusiveness in society is provided by other factors and therefore their dependence on the local environment is much lower”* . (Legeby)

Social segregation can be extremely challenging as it is (as exposed by the French and Brazilian examples in chapter 2), but when coupled with physical distance, the result can be a disaster. When the social problems are close and visible, they provoke discomfort and an urge to correct the issues for the gain of the whole society. When they turn distant and “invisible”, they also do not seem as urgent or worrisome for the ordinary public: having less economic and political power, the segregated also turn mute, unnoticeable. However, the consequences of the problem still affects the entire society.

*“You can’t stop being afraid just by pretending everything that scares you isn’t there.”*

Michael Marshall - “The Upright Man”

In this case, segregation contributes to the problematic by turning the physical distance even larger in the citizen’s minds; it breaks the city apart, creating a notion of “us” and “them”.

*“...if people or groups of people are limited to using only parts of the city or if groups of people are restricted to sharing not only residential areas but also restricted to sharing urban public space in general, then our everyday life practices also become segregated.” (Legeby)*

Without contact, “the others” are transformed from people into a faceless entity, a stereotype, and their neighbourhoods are perceived as ghettos, largely presented to the public by the headlines published by newspapers.

Curiously, this does not apply only to relations between city and district; even inside Angered, segregation is felt – and in this case, the physical aspect might have less relevance. One interviewed immigrant woman, living in Gårdsten, does not recognize herself as living in Angered:

*“No, I don’t live in Angered. There they burn cars. Where I live it is more calm, I have my house, it’s nice.”.* (Gårdsten inhabitant, immigrant background. Interview, 2011)



In Hammarkullen, areas are known for being inhabited by different groups (Somali quarters, Swedish quarters, for example) as it was noted several lectures from the Chalmers' Suburbs course; in an interesting observation, it was seen that different groups take different routes to move to and from the tram station, as if each of them had their own patterns that thoughtlessly attempt to avoid each other. Neighborhoods of the district with majority of Swedish inhabitants, as Gunnilse and Linnarhult, are often not acknowledged as part of the district, not appearing as part of the plans and actions for the area and having minimal relations to it, although their inhabitants still use Angered Centrum on some occasions.

What could be concluded is that spatial segregation probably is not the sole cause of the social segregation in the area; the complexity of the problem is way larger than this, and concerns economical, ethnic, educational and political issues.

*“Taken together, a segregation of public space, a limited spatial reach and an uneven distribution of spatial centrality – a city characterised by discontinuity – appears to discourage exchange between neighbourhoods and access to urban resources across the city. This has high relevance for the segregation debate: if a majority of the neighbourhoods have such properties, this means that the urban layout encourages a separation of those who cluster together residentially which, in turn, tends to generate separation of social groups and social differences. Moreover, the likelihood that there will be an unequal access to urban resources is significant.” (Legeby)*

However, by turning the inhabitants of the area “hidden” from the society on a day by day basis, the spatial segregation makes the situation worse and collaborates in the persistence of the stigma. For that, we can assume spatial and social segregation do have a strong link, and that yes, segregation plays a part in the social and urban disconnection between Angered and the city center.

## 12.2 - Question 2

***What could be done to turn an area that is at the same time spatially and socially segregated into an attractive node, not only for the minorities that live there, but also for the host population, thus collaborating on bringing a halt to the segregation cycle? What characteristics of the area could be used to strengthen its community and attractiveness?***

It was demonstrated that to make an area attractive, physical, economic and social aspects should be balanced. However, Angered has another layer of complexity: the stigma. One might argue that once the three pillars mentioned reach an equilibrium status, the stigma will disappear. However, this same stigma blocks the path to this improvement, as it could be seen previously (the difficulty to attract new businesses due to the perception that the area is unsafe, for example).

From the perspective of this work – with the role of the architect as a limitation – the challenge to transform the area is extremely complex, and is mostly based on physical aspects. The dilemma is that with a simple proposal of a new building or a new use, the planner might spark a gentrification process; at the same time, a new public space can unleash the potential of a lifeless place.

So, how can a stigma – a psychological barrier – be diminished by the built environment?

People form images of Angered based in what they hear and see in the media. Many have never been there; some only know the Hammarkullen Carnival. To destroy the stigma, people need to know the area. They need to be attracted to the area somehow, and they also need to find it comfortable, natural and easy to reach it.

According to Legeby, work is one of the stronger factors that force people to move from area to area. When someone goes to work in such an area, it is natural that said person will also end up making use of other

equipments - have lunch out, use public transportation, shop on the way home, and so on. With this, the likelihood of seeing non-locals in the area grows, and the segregation of urban spaces is diminished:

“The inflow of non-locals”...”was found to correspond with spatial properties and was related to how spatially integrated an area was in the urban system; its embeddedness and its inter-accessibility. Moreover, inflow of non-locals was found to correspond strongly to accessible working places locally, so if the preconditions were favourable for establishing work places, this also increased the number of non-locals in public space.” (Legeby)

As it was demonstrated in chapter 9, right now Vision Angered has policies that aim in increasing the number of jobs in the area. It would be equally important that both locals and non-locals have a chance to work. A balanced division would ensure better economic aspects to the area as well as promoting integration.

“Such routinised intended and unintended encounters, the result of everyday practice, are argued to produce and reproduce a social interplay that has importance for integration processes in society.” (Legeby)

But work is only one factor. In her study of Stockholm suburbs, Legeby continues:

*“...It is important to highlight that the configurational properties can be outweighed by strong attractions. This was, for example, found to be the case in the neighbourhoods where the larger shopping centres were located, in Skärholmen and in Farsta.”*

*“. Moreover, spatial form is also found to have an impact on the intensity and the constitution of co-presence in public space. However, other factors are also found to influence the co-present situation, for example, in areas with strong attractors such as a train station or a shopping centre, this kind of programming tends to override the*

*configurational influence.” (Legeby)*

Finding strong attraction possibilities was exactly the aim of this work, and a thorough analysis of existing and planned attractiveness spots and initiatives was done in chapter 11. The attraction areas identified during the analysis of the area helped in forming an interesting landscape of existing and future attraction spots of Angered, in many aspects.

It could be said that the existing spots only have a local power of attraction in the present moment. One of the possibilities to make them stronger is connecting and marketing their attributes as a whole, and through that give the area character. The most clear and strong characteristics of the area were its natural assets, the ethnic mix and the cultural initiatives developed in the area, and that leads to the third research question.

## 12.3 - Question 3

### What recommendations can I point out?

In the analysis, several demands became clear, concerning different aspects of the area.

Concerning urban segregation, many improvements could be implemented, both in long and short terms. There is a need of densification in different levels: densifying each neighbourhood by itself, tying them all to each other to make the district cohesive, and joining the whole district to the urban textile of the city, in a larger scale. Easier said than done; some measures that can collaborate in this sense are now presented.

#### 12.3.1 - External connection measures (District / City)

- Diminishing the psychological distance between Angered and city center with a new tram stop between Hjällbo and Gamlestadstorget and raising the speed of the tram tracks (Image 16). Although the distance in minutes between Angered Centrum and the Central Station will probably be increased by some minutes, the feeling of travelling to the “countryside” will decrease. With better connections, more businesses can also be attracted to the area. This stop is also a demand of the citizens that are frequent visitors of the shops in this area, because they depend on long bus trips with connections to reach the place.
- Stronger public transport connections forming a network between neighboring districts: Angered – Bergsjön – Kortedala, in order to expand the options to access the city center and the in-between neighbourhoods, lowering the dependence on the Angered transport hub. In the original plan for Angered, the tram lines had arms to the east. Revisiting this plan could boost the development in the area.
- Densifying the area between district and city center in a

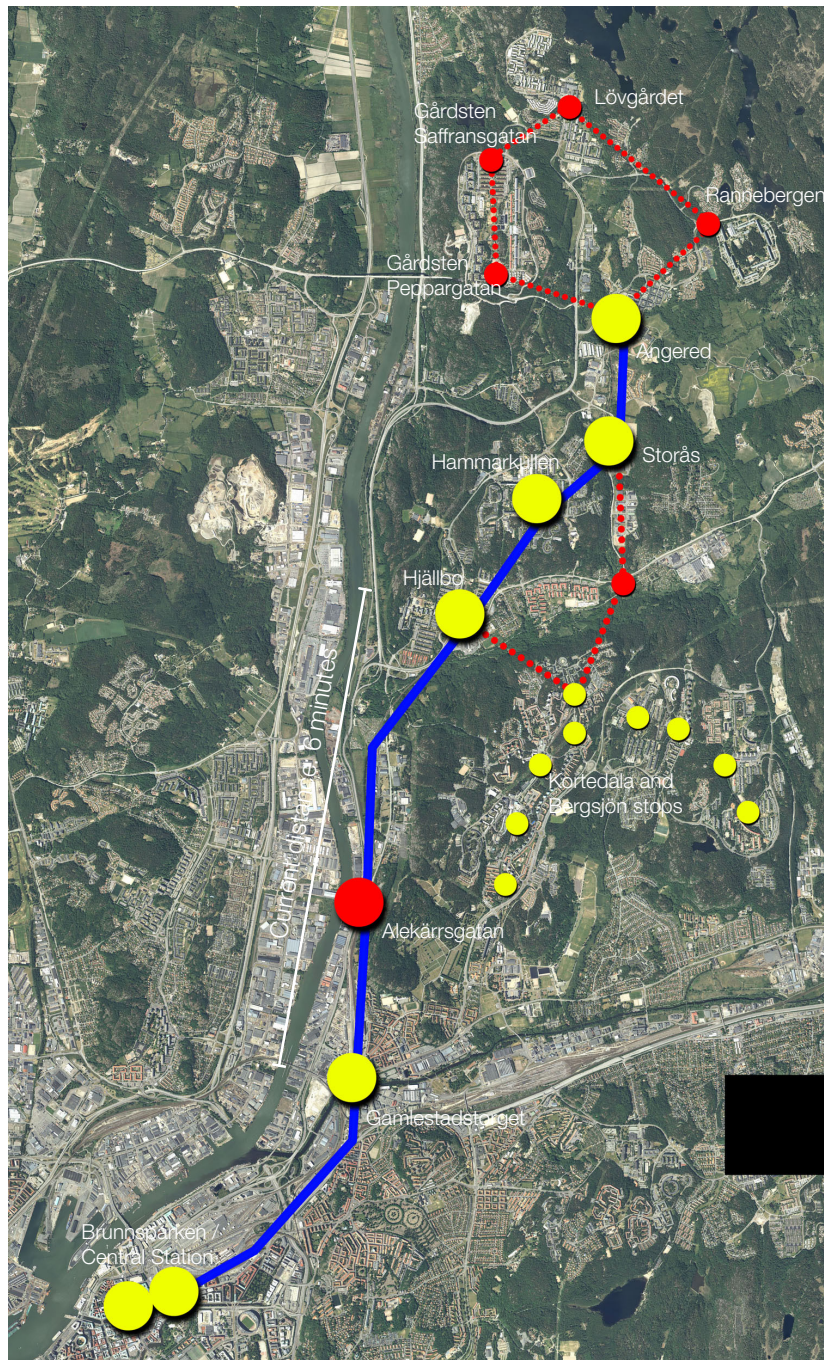


Image 18: Current and proposed tram stops.

- Existing tram stops
- Proposed tram stops
- ..... Proposed new routes (tram / cable car / subway)

long term perspective, with tax and land incentives for the installation of industries, businesses and housing in the district. The contractors are not interested in building in Angered nowadays, as it costs the same as building in other places (but generating less profit because of the lower economic status of the area). The area should be recognized as an area of social interest by the government, that could implement policies of tax reduction to boost investments not only in Angered, but also in other areas that may face the same problems. This would also alleviate the pressure for more developments in the already saturated city center.

### **12.3.2 - Internal connection measures (District / Neighbourhoods)**

- Bonding the neighbourhood islands together to improve the district's character and strength, allowing easier movements and facilitating a sustainable spread of services in the area. This bonding could be done by densifying the areas around neighborhoods (with the help of policies such as tax reduction), giving them new uses as office spaces or new housing stock.
- Improving the pedestrian and cycling routes inside the neighbourhoods and between them, turning them welcoming and comfortable; natural areas could also be connected through trails all over the district, creating a new attraction.
- Expanding the public transport network to operate as a net that covers the whole district, to facilitate movements between neighbourhoods and favour the growth of the "in-between" areas. This transportation expansion could even bring new experiences to the city - such as a cable car system. The novelty would be one more asset to make the community seen.

### 12.3.3 - Urban Magnets

Alan Boniface's Urban Magnets concept, formerly presented in the Theoretical Framework, suggests that attractive areas should be formed around the main activities happening in an area. The profile of the Angered district is characterized by the strong international flair, the connection to nature and the pulsating cultural life.

As seen previously, Boniface suggests that a functional sustainable urban magnet should fill some requirements: have retail and local production possibilities, have an educational character, have regular events connected to it, and an urban form that supports these activities.

Using activities connected to themes existing in Angered as a base, some tentative examples of possible sustainable Urban Magnets will be presented.



# The Ethnic Gastronomy Magnet



Image 19: The Ethnic Gastronomy Magnet

## The Ethnic Gastronomy Magnet

In an area formed by so many different cultures, the gastronomy possibilities should be immense - however, only kebab places are prominent in the area.

Creating a magnet around gastronomy could collaborate in bringing out the various nationalities that form Angered, and use them to differentiate the district from other restaurant-filled areas of the city by having exclusivity: True South American, Ethiopian, Somalian, East-European or Asiatic food with tradition, going further than the basic kebab and sushi places found all around the city and using the ethnic mix character of the area as an asset.

Ethnic cooks could be trained locally, and the same schools could also give short cooking courses to the general public. The ingredients could also be locally produced in urban farms, using the organic and sustainable nature of these products for marketing while involving the community in their production.

Fairs and thematic events paying homage to different nations could form a public that visits the area regularly.

## The Cultural Activities Magnet

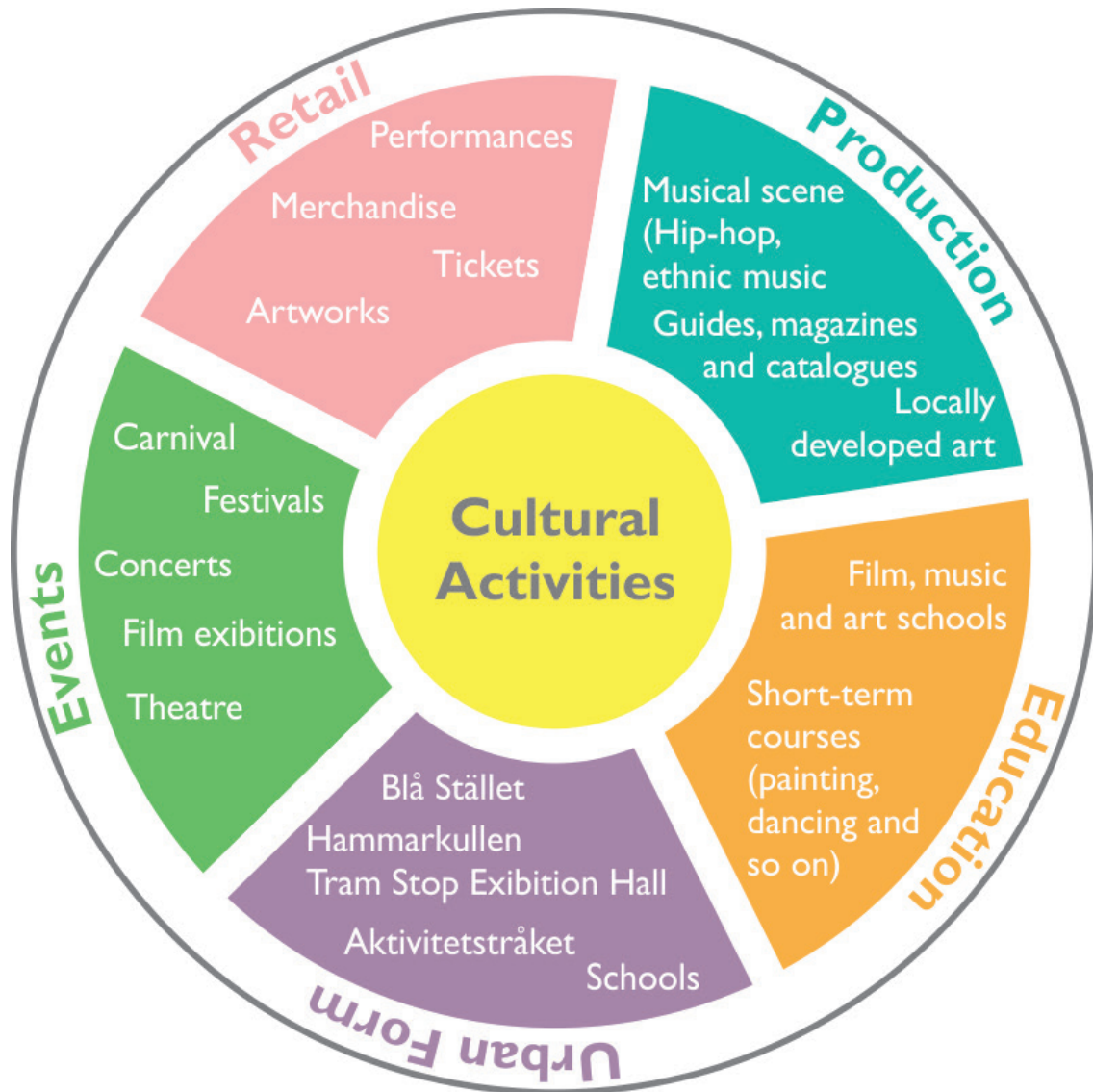


Image 20: The Cultural Activities Magnet

## The Cultural Activities Magnet

The district is already a melting pot of cultural activities, most of them concentrated in Blå Stället, that itself could be considered a local magnet. These activities could be coordinated and strongly marketed in order to form a image of cultural nucleus through the whole city.

The Hammarkullen Carnival is an event that concentrate many dance groups; however, they should also be seen through the year. These groups could conquer a bigger space by promoting courses, workshops and get-togethers through the year in a coordinated manner that could benefit all.

Regular thematic festivals of music, dance, film or theatre would collaborate to keep a constant influx of visitors in the area.

Many actions that would be part of the creation of such a magnet are already in course. The associations and Blå Stället dialogue and work together.

# The Languages Magnet

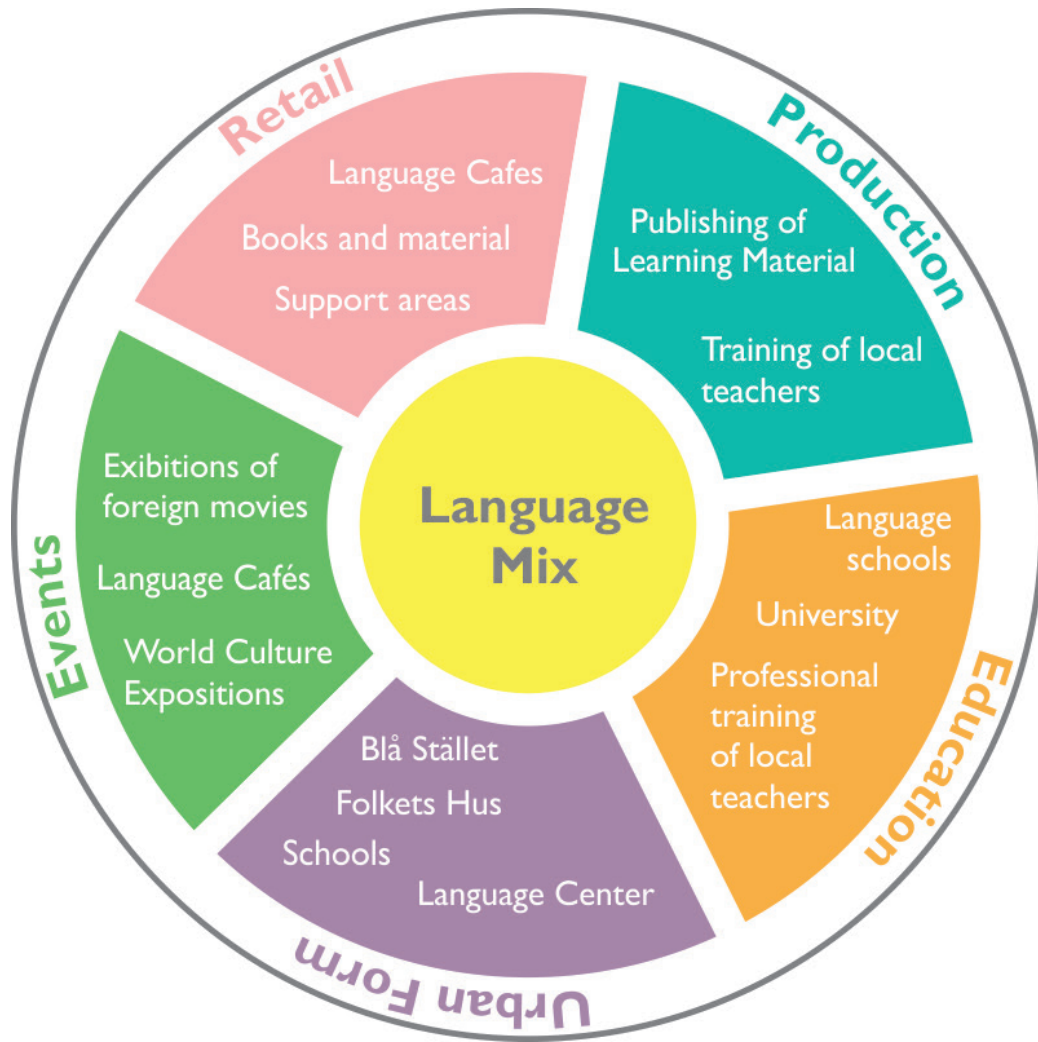


Image 21: The Language Mix Magnet

## The Languages Magnet

Angered has the potential to turn into a language education district - there is no place with such a huge amount of native speakers and potential teachers of all languages anywhere else in the city.

This magnet could be combined with the cultural activity magnet for events and expositions.

# The Sports Magnet



Image 22: The Sports Magnet

## **The Sports Magnet**

All the nature present in the area is an invite for sport activities. These activities could collaborate for the community life (by facilitating the creation of new contacts, networks and friendships) while also welcoming the external population.

Business and education could develop around these themes, offering support for the activities and training. Different sport events through the year would help in imprinting this character to the area.

## **Ethnic Mix - Segregation or Integration Asset?**

Many of the possible magnets use the ethnic mixture of the area as an asset. One could argue that the use of the ethnic mix to imprint character to the area would actually enforce segregation instead of combating it, by differentiating Angered from the rest of the city.

The ethnic character already exists in the area, and probably will persist; but that is not a negative fact. As long as this character is used in order to attract people and develop the district, segregation is not the issue; integration is what would be promoted in this case. Accepting, understanding and learning from a different culture is the best way to destroy prejudices.



### 12.3.4 - Participatory Processes

To make a magnet work, the complete integration of the community in its actions is of the most importance, to avoid gentrification processes.

From the Hammarkullen experience, it could be seen that the area's community is formed by many small parts with different goals, that often do not maintain a dialogue. The community needs to have a stronger coordination to turn more visible and representative, and to be able to work together, propose changes and come up and implement initiatives by itself.

Using Peterman's (2004) advocacy and collaborative planning exposition, the model of cooperation previously presented was revised (Image 21).

The new model suggests that the different associations and community groups should strive to cooperate and form a centralized group together. This group would be more representative in a political level, thus having more power of dialogue with the municipality. With support from the academia, initiatives could be created with professional support, vouching for their viability and limiting questioning from the decision-makers.

At the same time, these initiatives could be used for education and research by the academia. The university should also work together as a support for government actions, testing the viability of plans and suggesting new methods and projects.

The government should strive to work with the population, implementing true participation processes, listening to the inputs and making them be seen in the projects as much as possible.

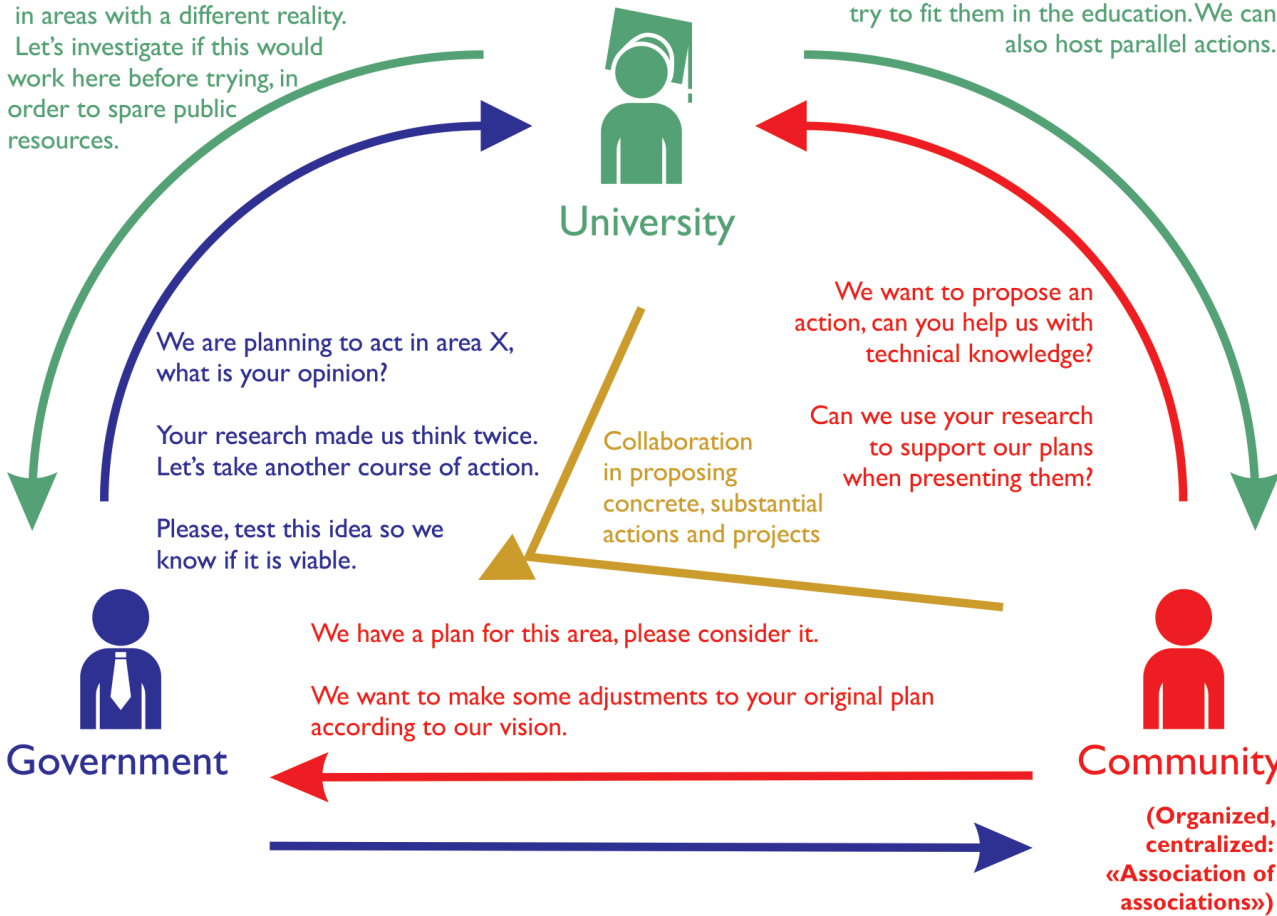
Do you have any areas that need research?

We have these results, please take them in consideration before starting a new action.

The actions you are proposing had results in areas with a different reality. Let's investigate if this would work here before trying, in order to spare public resources.

Please share your experiences with us so we can better understand this area.

Yes, we can support your plans, We will try to fit them in the education. We can also host parallel actions.



We are planning to act in area X, what is your opinion?

We came to the conclusion that this is a good solution, do you agree?

Your project is viable, we'll add it to the future plans or adapt existent ones to reflect this.

Our budget doesn't not afford this right now, but we'll implement what we can and keep it in mind for the future.

Image 23: A proposed model for a participation model

## 12.4 - Thesis Summary

This work depicted the problematic of segregation in the district of Angered, in both urban and social aspects. To enable an understanding of the matter, the concept of segregation in its varied forms was discussed (chapter 3) and compared to the concept of integration (chapter 4).

It became clear that integration and segregation are not opposites, and that social integration should be the main aim of the policies for the area. Social integration would contribute for the diminishing of urban segregation in a long term perspective; currently, social segregation and the stigma created by it hinder the growth of the area by turning it unattractive for investments.

The aim of this work was to find ways in which a planner could intervene to break the segregation cycle. The main measure, presented in the theoretical framework (chapter 8), was to turn the area attractive. This would help in bringing new visitors to the area, minimizing the stigma and creating new opportunities.

The main existing attraction areas were analysed through the theoretical framework, formed by different concepts, in order to understand their importance and meaning for both the locals and visitors. The character of these areas also helped in forming an image of what are the district's main strengths: its ethnic mixture, its dramatic nature and the pulsating cultural life fuelled by the area's associations.

In the attractiveness subchapter of the theoretical framework it was demonstrated that a strong and active community can boost a place attractive power. Because of that, the relation between the community, the government and the university was also presented and analysed.

Taking all of this in consideration, the urban magnets concept was applied, focusing on discovering possibilities of the area.

The key to transforming Angered is to take a step back and look carefully at every factor that makes the district itself; the strong international presence, the connection to nature and the varied cultural life.

By utilizing these strengths, recommendations for the district could be formulated, taking equally into consideration the social and urban aspects, and letting them both build on each other.

This could potentially create the turning point for the area: from a place of uncertainty, segregation and fear, into a thriving community that brings Göteborg new assets, be they cultural, social, capital or environmental.

## **12.5 - Future research**

Talking about segregation on a large scale left me an impression of trying to put together a giant puzzle for which I could never find the correct pieces - a very frustrating effort sometimes.

I finish this work certain that I will not be able to solve it alone indeed. I tried putting some pieces together, and I hope more hands can correct or join my part in order to create a larger picture.

Future research could focus on understanding the Gårdsten phenomenon mentioned in 7.2 and 11.2, a neighbourhood that is having apparent positive results after being subject to a social mix policy; it is not clear if this improvement is generating gentrification, although there is already a clear division between areas per population.

Other relevant topic could concern an analysis of the spatial segregation of the district through urban syntax, a very interesting topic that unfortunately would require a whole thesis by itself. Its results could come up with an interesting contrast to this work.

## 12.6 - Conclusions

At the start of this thesis, my idea was to do an analysis of the area from an urbanistic point of view; now concluding this work, it is obvious that it is very difficult to do so, if not impossible. I concluded that spatial and social segregation are deeply connected in the case of Angered, and the only way to diminish their negative influence is a multidisciplinary approach.

The spatial segregation contributes in hiding the area's community from the rest of the population, creating stigma and an "us and them" rift in society. This stigma can only be destroyed by contact; Angered's population needs to see and be seen in order to be incorporated with the rest of the public. It is a two-way path and efforts are needed from both sides. These efforts must come from all spheres: social, economic, educational and political projects can not be disconnected from the issues that concern the segregation of the physical spaces. With their support, the area will be able to be utilized and enjoyed to its full potential, by all the society.

However, the task was to explore which role urban planning could take to support integration. I discovered that the

13 minutes that separate Angered from the city center by tram feel like an enormous distance in reality, and that

the area currently does not present many incentives to pull the population from the greater Göteborg towards it;

the current areas of attraction only have local influence. In contrast, my belief that Angered depended on the city center was incorrect; the area is quite self-sufficient, so the inhabitants of Angered do not have many incentives to visit the city center either. Creating commuting opportunities via jobs, education and cultural activities can contribute to raise the mix between areas.

Another mix possibility could be created by strengthening the area character, thus improving its attractiveness.

This could be achieved by exploring the existing assets as its nature, ethnic composition and cultural initiatives.

My proposal for this was based in the creation of different urban magnets with different characteristics, each

using one of the area's strengths.

Densifying the area is also a challenge that needs to be taken on; the amount of isolated neighbourhoods in the

area must be taken in consideration when planning the overall expansion of the town. Connecting the neighbourhoods

to each other and then the greater Angered to Göteborg needs to be a long term perspective for the city.

And inserting Angered in these plans brings us back to the first point presented; the community's representation and voice. Giving the community power diminishes the risk of gentrification and gives it representativity on a political level, promoting and pushing advances in all aspects.

## 12.7 - Reflections - Invisible Beauty

Arriving at the end of this work, I find myself trying to put into words what is exactly the invisible beauty of Angered. Some would say it's the untouched nature, but that is more than visible with a simple walk through the area. It is not invisible; it is just hidden, waiting for the inhabitants to discover, many times forgotten and obscured by the image of the towering concrete buildings that define the place.

Through the lens of the media, all you can conclude is that Angered is basically an unruly, chaotic area; its inhabitants appear like nothing more than stereotypical caricatures with different habits and costumes. Some say it is not representative of Sweden, with a bit of resentment.

I would like to invite all that have read this work to take tram 8 towards the north, until the last stop - if on a sunny weekend, even better! Take the time to read or just contemplate how the landscape changes - city, nothing, industry, underground, city again. Take a look at the time, and see that it did not take so long (especially if you come from a big city where getting stuck in a traffic jam for 40 minutes is a standard...).

Get out of the tram, and you will see a pretty ordinary place full of people, maybe more lively than many areas of Göteborg. There are plenty of different food options, good places to shop and cultural offerings. Probably there is something going on in the square or at Blå Stället. Walk some minutes, and there are playgrounds, forests and lakes. Now think again about those headlines - not so scary anymore, I hope.

This is not to say that Angered is a idyllic community free of problems and unjustly represented in the media. As seen in this thesis, there are numerous, grave problems. Solving the biggest of them starts with your tram journey, though.

In my opinion, the beauty of Angered is not easily seen, it has to be

experienced. It is not everywhere that you can find so many engaged, passionate people that are able to truly inspire you with their different stories, backgrounds, languages and appearance. A swede organizing a Brazilian-style carnival, a palestinian lecturing you about different types of kebab, a Chilean telling stories of the dictactorship times and teaching you about what freedom really means, young people trying to understand themselves and their heritage in order to form their own identity in tough times.

I am extremely thankful for the opportunity of doing this work there and interacting with these people; it has been a mind-opening, deeply transforming experience. I hope this work can add to the cauldron of ideas and actions that are currently under way.

I believe the puzzle of Angered is way simpler to solve than it looks; the real solutions lie in human interactions, the daily exchange between different people. It is about looking up from plans, maps and numbers, and towards these people that seem so different from yourself at a first glance. Directives and resources can help, but it needs a human approach first and foremost.





# 13.

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