



Combating Inequalities through Innovative Social Practices of and for Young People in Cities across
Europe

WP3 MALMÖ

18 February 2014

Martin Grander and Mikael Stigendal

Malmö University

1. Introduction.....	2
1.1. Understanding the task.....	2
1.2. The societal context.....	3
1.3. Areas and research questions	6
1.4. Approaching the one area	7
1.5. ... and reselecting the other.....	8
2. Socio-spatial and economic structures of two areas.....	9
3. Development of social structures and experiences from previous actions.....	13
3.1. Housing policy structures.....	13
3.2. Cultural policy structures	15
3.3. Social policy structures	18
3.4. Civil society structures	20
4. Current social structures.....	22
5. Concluding remarks	26
References	28

This report has been written by Martin Grander and Mikael Stigendal from Malmö University. Pia Hellberg Lannerheim and Sigrid Saveljeff from Malmö City Council have provided input in terms of facts and figures as well as comments on various drafts. Martin and Mikael are, however, responsible for the report, supported by Jonas Alwall from Malmö University with detailed comments and advice.

1. Introduction

We have found it important to start by explaining how we understand the task. Furthermore, there needs to be a brief reminder about the societal context, presented in the Malmö and Baseline reports. In order to make the situation in the selected areas fully understandable, we have added knowledge on the current strategies. There is a lot of research available on the areas that we have selected and so we have not had to start from scratch. On the basis of this research we have formulated two research questions, in line with the objectives of WP3. Selecting areas is, however, not the same thing as approaching them. In the one area, we experienced some difficulties which we will explain because they enable some important conclusions to be made. In the other area, we started to carry out a few interviews, but it turned out that we could not continue and thus we had to leave that area. We will explain the reasons, because even here there are some important conclusions to be drawn. Hence, the second area had to be reselected in the middle of the research process. All this deserves a special chapter.

1.1. Understanding the task

As said in the WP3 Strategy report, “the overarching objective of WP3 is to achieve a comprehensive description and analysis of policies and social infrastructure working against social inequalities in selected neighbourhoods of each partner’s city, with a particular focus on young people.” We will start by exploring what this might mean. Firstly, the objective asks us to focus on social structures “working against social inequalities”. Bearing in mind the crucial distinction highlighted in WP2, we understand social inequalities in terms of both *symptoms* and *causes*. Social structures can perhaps alleviate the symptoms of inequality, but it is even better if they counteract the causes of inequality. This latter aspect of inequality is what we agreed to prioritise in WP2. Social structures may, however, also aggravate the existing causes of inequality or even create new ones. The Hamburg team reminded us about this in a comment to the WP2 Strategy report, highlighting a quote from Esping-Andersen where he says that “the welfare state is (...) an active force in the ordering of social relations” (1990: 165). Thus, we should not take for granted that social structures work against social inequalities even if their representatives say so.

Secondly, the objective clarifies that we are not only supposed to make a description but also an analysis. While descriptions are usually associated with the surface, analyses should go beyond that. Encyclopaedia Britannica defines an analysis as a “separation of a whole into its component parts”. What whole should we separate and into what component parts? And what will that entail for the descriptions? Component parts seem to be what the WP3 Strategy report urges us to encompass when it mentions “availability, outreach, accessibility and quality”. We regard these suggestions as being too general, lacking in particular an explicit connection to the inequalities affecting young people. For example, we would, without problems, be able to devote the whole report to the issue of quality.

Instead, we want to pursue an analysis which builds on the distinction between the real, the actual and the empirical. This distinction belongs to the scientific paradigm called critical realism which was presented

in the WP2 Baseline report. It means that we first of all need to identify potentials. A social structure must have the potential to be available and outreaching before it becomes those things. Whether it does become available and outreaching, however, also depends on other things like, for example, how young people living in the area perceive the social structure. Furthermore, a social structure may have a potential which another social structure counteracts and prevents from being actualised. What becomes actualised is not, however, immediately accessible for us but mediated through empirical expressions, as, for example, opinions, statistics, experiences etc. Even the values of a perfectly defined variable should not be taken for granted but have to be carefully interpreted on the basis of a critical approach.

Thus, in this report we will first of all pay attention to the potentials, not any potential but more specifically the ones with the potential to alleviate the symptoms of inequality or, even more importantly, counteract the causes. We define potential in accordance with Encyclopaedia Britannica, which treats it as a possibility, “capable of development into actuality”. Whether and to what extent it does develop into actuality, however, is another matter and to find out about that we would need to go beyond WP3 and talk to the young people. Hence, this report will mainly be restricted to the potentials of policies and social structures working against inequalities affecting young people in the neighbourhoods. That includes values and norms but also strategies, because every social structure is imbued by meaning, and meaning also has a potential to generate effects.

This justifies the distinction and also the relationship between description and analysis. The descriptions have to be made in a way which enables analysis of the potentials. These should be regarded as the component parts which Britannica mentions in the quote above. Since potentials are actualised in relation to each other, the analysis of them should be followed by a synthesis, defined by Britannica as a “combination of parts or elements so as to form a whole”. When that happens, new potentials are emerging which need to be analysed in their own right. This justifies the particular emphasis, asked for in the WP3 Strategy report, “put on the relation and division of labour between state, non-governmental welfare organizations and small-scale bottom up initiatives at the local level”.

1.2. The societal context

The welfare state has a quite comprehensive presence in the areas of Malmö, at least in comparison with other cities and countries in Europe, which will be shown in the subsequent chapters. In the previous Malmö and Baseline reports, we have shown that this depends on the Social Democratic welfare regime, originating already in the 1930s when in Sweden the Social Democratic party began its 44 years of uninterrupted rule in government. The major expansion of the welfare state, however, took place during the 1970s. At that time, the previous growth model, originally associated with the welfare regime, had run into crisis and the welfare state was expanded in an attempt to reverse the crisis. On the local level, this development eventually led to the Malmö city council not being able to afford to continue its expansion. Subsequently, for the following decade and more, Malmö experienced a serious decline.

The crisis in Malmö was particularly severe around the time when Sweden joined the European Union in 1995. The city of Malmö used the new funding opportunities and became one of the cities funded by the URBAN programme, the only such programme in Sweden during 1997-2001. During that time, the Swedish government launched a new policy for metropolitan issues. It had two interrelated goals, increased growth and reduced segregation, similar to the Lisbon Strategy adopted at the European Council in Lisbon in March 2000. The Lisbon Strategy had its roots in the discontent with neoliberalism, which was spreading in the mid-1990s (Morel et. al, 2012). Unemployment had risen sharply and critics gathered around the new perspective that was developed during the second half of the decade, called the social investment perspective (Jenson, 2012: 66), focusing on the relationship between efficiency and equity.

After a few years, an evaluation of the Lisbon Strategy was made by an expert group. In its final report the group was highly critical. The criticism led the Commission to make a revision of the strategy in 2005, focusing on two principal tasks: delivering stronger, lasting growth, and more jobs. That meant a radical break with the previous strategy and a return to neoliberalism (Robertson, 2008: 90; Lundvall and Lorenz, 2012). However, the name of the strategy was retained. That made it hard to recognise and understand the radical difference between the two strategies. The revised Lisbon Strategy put its imprint on the fourth cohesion report from 2007, which subsequently became the basis for the priorities of the structural funds' programming period 2007-2013. The 2005 revision called for member states to draw up national action plans and national strategies for the Lisbon Strategy goals to be met. In Sweden, this national strategy has been the basis for the design of ERDF and ESF programmes. At around the same time the Swedish government abolished the national metropolitan policy. The rhetoric and references to the national metropolitan policy, however, continued to be used. In that way, a duality was introduced between the original and abandoned Lisbon Strategy and the revised Lisbon Strategy which kept the same label.

Previous research (Stigendal et. al., 2013) has shown the effects of this. The revised Lisbon Strategy, with its unilateral emphasis on economic goals, has operated in favour of a neoliberal regime shift, by, among other things, individualising problems, strengthening selective solutions instead of general ones and putting pressure on the voluntary sector to become compensatory instead of complementary. The continued use of the rhetoric and references to the national metropolitan policy, however, as well as the retained name of the Lisbon Strategy, has contributed to disguise the revision and the supremacy of the revised strategy. Participants in projects may have aimed at strengthening social cohesion, for example by collective empowerment, but in the end it has almost solely been the economic achievements that have been counted, in terms of, for example, number of new jobs, companies etc.

A telling example in Malmö is the project called "Förstudie Innovationsforum" (Pilot Study Innovation Forum), run by Malmö City Council during 2011. The objective of the pilot study was to make preparations for a so-called Innovation Forum, where representatives of many different competences could get together to tackle social challenges. The project involved many actors in evaluations of previous

efforts, interviews, meetings and study visits to other cities. Key lessons were that the work has to "be based on the local context, have faith in people's own ability to create change in their everyday lives and develop methods to gather the actors necessary to achieve real change" (Malmö Stad/Stadskontoret, 2011. Our translation). These lessons and other results were presented at a final conference in December 2011 with around 130 participants from the City Council, civil society, business community and the university. Yet, no Innovation Forum was established, to the disappointment of many involved. Whatever the reason for that may be, it is easy to associate the ideas of the Innovation Forum with the first strategy (the original Lisbon Strategy) and criticise it on the basis of the second strategy (the revised Lisbon Strategy). The second strategy does not justify long-term solutions based on the local context and with many actors involved. Instead, it addresses the individual and does not involve civil society, other than in a compensatory role. Thereby, the potential of civil society is not taken advantage of, because context and long-term perspective are exactly what the civil society may provide. Such a view is supported by the Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö, or the Malmö Commission, appointed in May 2010, against the background of rapidly increasing health inequities and many years of unsuccessful attempts at a reversal. In its final report, presented in March 2013, this Commission, in one of its 72 suggested measures, urges the City Council to strengthen the collaboration with the civil society and take advantage of its potential to create social innovations. The Commission highlights three features of the innovative environment created by civil society:

(a) the methodical commitment and the drive to find new ways to capture the intuitive knowledge in daily life which traditional bureaucracy cannot handle, (b) development of new institutional rules of the game and re-negotiation of normative obligations between a plurality of actors with a variety of goals, and (c) enunciating consensus and mobilization for sustainable, universal, indivisible, and solidarity values that cannot be negotiated away and reduced to pure interest issues. (Our translation)¹

The Malmö Commission supports a social investment perspective, also in line with the first Lisbon Strategy and the original national metropolitan policy. It remains to be seen to what extent the Commission's 72 suggested measures will be implemented. It will be an interesting indicator of what we want to describe as current power relations and struggles. Although there does not exist, neither any outspoken representatives nor any clear-cut divisions between these two main strategies, what different actors say and do will have an impact on the development in one or the other direction.

At the core of this struggle is the approach to the lessons presented by the Pilot Study Innovation Forum. Is the initiative based on the local context? Does it have faith in people's own ability to create change in their everyday lives? Does it gather a broad set of actors necessary to achieve real change? The answer to these questions reveals to which of the two main strategies the initiative belongs. And the choice between

¹ This quote, published in the final report of the Malmö Commission, stems from a background paper written by the researcher Hans-Edward Roos. As it is so beautifully worded he should get the credit for it.

these strategies has a profound impact on how policies and social structure in the neighbourhoods work against the inequalities affecting young people.

1.3. Areas and research questions

We selected the areas of Sofielund and Hermodsdal in Malmö. The areas are both characterized by social exclusion and have a large population of young people. They differ, however, in several important aspects. For example, they have a very dissimilar history. While Hermodsdal was built in the 1960s and consists of rental apartments in apartment blocks, Sofielund is an area with apartment houses built both in the 1920s and in the 1950s, but also detached houses built in the 1920s. Furthermore, they are differently located in relation to the city centre and also represent different traditions of working with social issues.

Hence, the areas correspond to the requirements stated in the WP3 strategy report. That was our first reason for selecting them. The second one is that these areas harbour interesting initiatives and thus, by selecting them we would get the opportunity to pave the way for WP4. Such a procedure seems necessary due to the shortage of time. Thirdly, there is a lot of research on which to build further. In fact, we have carried out a lot of research ourselves on these areas. Again, such favourable preconditions seem necessary to take advantage of, given the very short amount of time scheduled for this work package.

Our previous research has also enabled us to develop specified research questions. The potential of young people to develop innovative social practices is at the centre of the Citispyce project. Thus, it becomes crucial to explore the conditions for that potential to be created, strengthened and actualised. We have seen in previous research that, among other things, the potential may consist of two important competences, namely intercultural competence and area competence, i.e. the competence to, on the one hand, “crack the cultural codes” between groups within a wider social context (and cross the social boundaries between those ‘excluded’ and those ‘included’), and, on the other, to understand the local situation with its problems and possible solutions. We have also seen how different actors relate to such a potential in different ways, not always favourably. For that reason, we want to formulate two research questions, associated with this complexity of problems:

- How are different actors (administrations, NGO’s, etc) able to support social innovations by and for young people, in particular on the basis of young people’s potential regarding intercultural competence and area competence?
- How is it possible to retain the potential of young people when ownership and management of a social innovation is transferred from being self-organised by young people to being managed by an administration within the municipality?

The study of Sofielund was to be guided particularly by the first research question and the study of Hermodsdal by the second. Both these research questions would be related to the previous three on the local context, the faith in people’s own ability and the gathering of a broad set of actors. By answering the

two research questions we would also try to understand in more detail how and to what extent neoliberalism is transforming the potentials of working against the social inequalities affecting young people. Also, we intended to identify actors that represent another direction and what that direction means.

Answering the two research questions, we were to build on the findings of WP2. That concerns the important distinction between symptoms and causes of inequality, as mentioned already above. Also, it includes the relevant contextual knowledge from the Malmö as well as the Baseline report already presented in this section. Furthermore, we would relate to those of the seven prospects for social innovation, presented in the Baseline report, which we find relevant to this report.

1.4. Approaching the one area

Selecting areas is one thing, however. Another thing is to approach them. You cannot just go there and make interviews. Who should you interview and why? And why should the potential interviewees bother to answer your question? You need to prepare the way by spreading the word and securing contacts with people working and/or living in the area. Your study needs to establish some legitimacy. We decided to include such a preparation part in a course – called Urban Integration – at Malmö University. This course is held once a year in the winter time. The idea is to link every new round of the course to an on-going research project. The students are asked to do a study which benefits from, as well as favours the research project. The 2012-13 course was linked to Citispyce and the students examined five initiatives in the Sofielund area. The result was presented in January 2013 by the students at an event which was attended by around 100 persons from the area.

By involving students in preparatory studies, we got to know more about some interesting initiatives and current challenges in the area. Also, we reinforced and enlarged our network. Simultaneously, people working and/or living in the area got to know about us and Citispyce, at least to some extent. Expectations were raised and we secured some legitimacy. In sum, we stirred things up which made us catch sight of what is going on. That paved the way for our WP3 activity during the autumn 2013, including interviews, meetings, discussions and on-site visits. Included in the idea was also to pave the way for WP4.

Partly due to the course in Urban Integration, Mikael was contacted by the manager of the research and development department for schools in the Malmö City Council. The manager had an idea about reinforcing the involvement of civil society in schools. He had had a meeting about it with representatives for “Glokala Folkhögskolan” (see chapter 3.4) and the project Watch-it, run by quite a large group of young people aged 15-30, carrying out many various activities addressed at young people in general to promote democracy. Now he wanted to invite Mikael into a collaborative project. Mikael saw this as a golden opportunity for Citispyce. Watch-it is a very interesting example in Malmö of an innovative practice developed by young people for the purpose of combating inequalities affecting young people.

The young people involved in Watch-it also have an impressive network which may be very beneficial for Citispyce as well. Hence, with no hesitation Mikael accepted the invitation and took part in two meetings during the spring.

It all went into a stalemate, however, at the beginning of June. At a meeting, the manager of the municipal department representing the City in Citispyce let us know that they could not continue to cooperate with us if we insisted to involve an organisation like Watch-it, linked to Glokala Folkhögskolan. This came as a great surprise and we have spent a lot of time trying to understand it. Below we will return to this event and show how it may be interpreted as an interesting indicator of the relationship between the two strategies presented in the previous chapter. Needless to say, although we did not accept this demand, it made our work much harder. During the autumn, Mikael has had a couple of meetings with the manager of the research and development department for schools and young people from Watch-it, but with no decisions taken yet about how to proceed, if at all.

Also during the spring, Mikael was approached by the organisation that runs the house, “Sofielunds Folkets Hus”, which hosts Glokala Folkhögskolan and many other activities. This house is the centre of civil society in this part of Malmö and one of the main ones in Malmö as a whole. We will present it in more detail in a subsequent chapter. Following a renovation of the house, the organisation has run into serious financial troubles. Even here, Mikael saw a golden opportunity for Citispyce, paving the way for both WP3 and WP4. He offered to spend some time working together with the organisation in trying to solve the problems and at the same get to know more as well as strengthening the networks to the benefits of Citispyce. The work has contributed to the basis of this report.

1.5. ... and reselecting the other

We did not do any similar approaches to the other area, Hermodsdal. That was because our previous research in that area is so recent. As we have done all this research, we wanted Citispyce to take advantage of our knowledge. On that basis we formulated our research question and did a few interviews. It all ended, however, when the manager for area development in that city district told Mikael that our presence as researchers would be awkward.² Mikael had a good conversation with her and they understood each other’s positions, but it became clear that we could not go on with our selection of Hermodsdal. The manager offered us a neighbouring area to work with but we decided to decline as we cannot at all rely on the same favourable preconditions in that area, regarding knowledge and network.

The manager explained herself by referring to the resentment existing among young people in Hermodsdal after the closure of the so-called Little Greenhouse, which means that young people in the area currently have nowhere to go. Because of this, there is a tension in the area and as already another research team works in the area, doing on-going evaluation, the administration would find it difficult to

² Phone conversation 5/12-13 with the manager for area development in City District “Söder”.

cope with an additional one, she claimed. For us, this raises several important questions about the role of an administration and the implications for research. It seems to indicate a wish of the administration to be in control to solve the problems of disorder. We will return to this opinion because we regard it as linked to one of the two main strategies of societal development in contemporary Malmö.

We had to decide to deselect Hermodsdal, which was very regrettable as we had already carried out a few interviews and written a text. Instead, we have selected North Sofielund, located beside South Sofielund. North Sofielund corresponds to the requirements stated in the WP3 strategy report as well, but has a different character than South Sofielund. The two areas will complement each other, although not to the same extent that South Sofielund and Hermodsdal, it has to be admitted. In terms of solutions, however, the wider area of South and North Sofielund comprises a wealth of innovative initiatives. Selecting North Sofielund enables us to do a better job in WP4.

2. Socio-spatial and economic structures of two areas

The two areas we have selected, North and South Sofielund, are located in the middle of Malmö and belong to the administrative City district “Innerstaden” (inner city). The areas are 26 and 32 acres respectively and are separated from each other by the street Lönngatan (see figure 1). Highly trafficked streets in the west, east and south separate North and South Sofielund from the rest of the city. A small square, Seveds plan, marks the centre of South Sofielund. The area around Seveds plan (from here on referred to as Seved) has been the centre of attention for actions in South Sofielund during the last decades, as much criminality and social turmoil has manifested itself here. In North Sofielund (“Norra Sofielund”), the historically important Nobeltorget, where the Social Democratic “People’s House” (“Folkets hus”) is situated (Billing & Stigendal, 1994), marks the northern border.

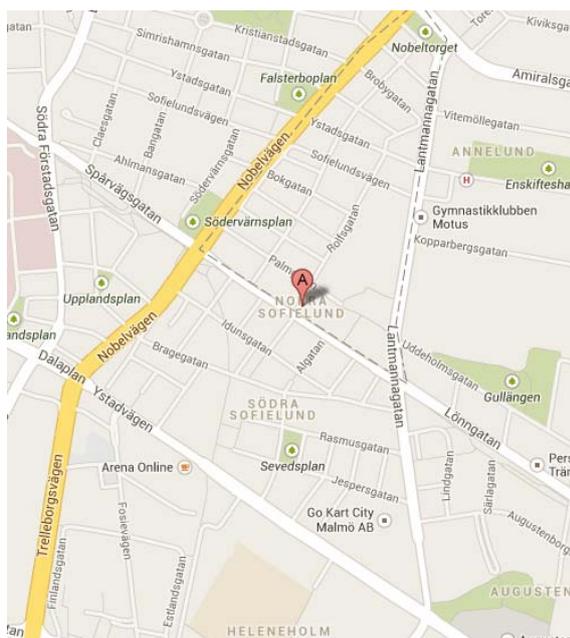


Figure 1. Map of North and South Sofielund



South Sofielund (“Södra Sofielund”) is characterized by mixed settlements, in terms of scale, function and age. Low townhouses and former industrial buildings from late 19th century are mixed with apartment blocks and detached houses from the 1920s and 1930s. There are also apartment blocks built in the functionalistic 1950s. The facades of the older buildings are

mostly brick, while the apartment blocks built in the 1950s are mainly plastered in bright colours. These apartment blocks – three to four storey buildings arranged around semi-open courtyards – are consistent with the approach to urban planning in neighbourhood units during the 1950s. The most common form (68%) of tenure in South Sofielund is rental units. 25% of the dwellings are shares in a housing cooperative (“bostadsrätter”), where you buy the right to live in your apartment, but the apartment is owned by the cooperative, where you become a member (Grander, 2013, p. 12). The detached houses are condominiums, amounting to 6% of the total housing stock. The single largest property owner is the public housing company MKB, which owns 26% of the total housing in South Sofielund, or a third of the rental apartments. The other rental apartments are owned by a large number of small private landlords.

The dwellings in North Sofielund consist of apartment blocks built between 1910 and 1939, which have been renovated on different occasions. The area is quite homogenous in its character, since almost all buildings have four floors. As in South Sofielund, rental apartments are most common. The large majority of dwellings (58%) are rental apartments owned by private landlords. The share of public housing is only 4%. Thus, the public housing company MKB has a much smaller role in North Sofielund than in South Sofielund. However, MKB is currently building a “collective house”, aimed at young people and families who want to rent their own apartment but also to be able to share common localities, such as kitchens and collective cultivation areas.

Although North Sofielund consists mainly of apartment blocks, there are quite a large number of small shops and restaurants. A school (6-16 years) is located in the centre of North Sofielund, and a number of kindergartens and a municipal youth club are present in the area. There is also a large old printing house, today used by a number of associations and municipal projects. The printing house also houses a cultural school and a branch of Sofielunds Folkets Hus, which we will return to. In North as well as South Sofielund, there are quite a few small businesses with a small number of employees, mainly in the field of retail and service.



The urban planning approach in North and South Sofielund with mixed settlements, quarter-structure and low buildings is to a high extent opposed to the ideal that came to dominate the Million Dwellings-programme 1965-1974, when many of the areas in Malmö today



associated with social exclusion were built (Grander, 2013, p. 13). Thus, Sofielund is built in a way that many urban planners today put forward as ideal, since it is small-scale and combines residential and commercial units in the buildings, and thus enhances the possibilities for meetings between people in the everyday life.

The population is 4,600 persons in South Sofielund and 3,700 in North Sofielund (2012), of which more than half are between 19 and 44 years. The proportion of young people aged 15-24 is 15% and 16 %, respectively. The relocation in the area is high, especially in South Sofielund, where a number equivalent to a quarter of the population moves in or out of the area annually. The area is gradually going through rejuvenation, as it is becoming more and more populated with university students and other young people (see chapter 3.1). North Sofielund went through the same process during the last decade. The changing population can also be seen in the statistics on levels of education. The average education level is higher than the city-average in North Sofielund, but lower in South. Looking at trends, the figures are rising in both areas, but the most dramatic change during the last twelve years could be seen in South Sofielund.

	Share of population with tertiary education		
	1990	2000	2012
South Sofielund	15%	17%	39%
North Sofielund	17%	33%	53%
Malmö	19%	25%	44%

Table 1. Education level in Sofielund and Malmö (2012)

47% of the population in South Sofielund are born abroad. In addition, 15 % are born in Sweden with both parents born abroad. The largest immigrant groups come from Iraq, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Yugoslavia, Poland and Denmark. These countries, however, only add up to around half the population born abroad. Hence, the population is to a high extent multicultural. In North Sofielund, 31 % of the population are born abroad and 11 % have parents born in another country. The higher number of native Swedes here could be explained by the great number of young people, especially students, having moved to North Sofielund during the last decades. It could be argued that North Sofielund and the neighbouring area “Möllevången” have gone through a gentrification process since the late 1990s, and many point out South Sofielund as the next area in line for such a transformation.

When it comes to employment, 41 % of the residents (16-64) of South Sofielund and 51% of the residents of North Sofielund are gainfully employed (2011), compared to 52% in Malmö as a whole. The employment rate is slightly higher for men than for women. The unemployment rate (18-64) is 13 % in South and 9 % in North Sofielund. As we pointed out in the Malmö WP2 report however, both the unemployment rate and employment rate are problematic, since the statistics on non-employed include



people who are in full-time education, and might or might not be looking for a job (Grander, 2013, p. 5). As we have seen, both North and South Sofielund are popular areas among students.

As stated in the Malmö WP2 report, the groups who have the hardest time establishing themselves in the labour market are immigrants and young people. The employment rate of these groups is significantly lower than for other residents in the area and city. The area around Seved in South Sofielund is especially characterized by low income and a large percentage of families with children receiving income support. Almost half of all children in South Sofielund live in single-parent households. The average income (2011) is significantly lower for the two areas than the Malmö average. Again, it is nonetheless important to

remember that many students live in the areas. Furthermore, 82 households in North Sofielund and 162 in South Sofielund were receiving income support in 2012. This is, however, a hard figure to compare with the population, since it is not taking the number of persons in the households into account.

	EUR
South Sofielund	14.667
North Sofielund	16.898
Malmö	21.706

Table 2. Average disposable income, per individual (2011)

Democratic participation is weak; in the latest municipal election in 2010, voter turn-out was around 60% in South and North Sofielund compared to 74% in Malmö and a nation-wide average of 82%. Surveys done by the city district officials point to a high proportion of residents in the city district having poor health, are lacking a social base in their own neighbourhoods, and have low social participation. The results of the City of Malmö's annual safety surveys show that the inhabitants in general perceive a high degree of insecurity. The insecurity rates are especially high in the Seved area. It is primarily disturbances, vandalism/littering and drug problems that seem to be greater in Seved compared to the city district in general. Furthermore, the traffic situation is perceived as problematic as cars and mopeds are being used for joyriding and there is a lack of respect for traffic rules.

To conclude, several of the above used indicators might tell us something about the symptoms of the problems in the areas. Both North and South Sofielund could be described as areas characterised by social exclusion, as described in the Baseline report (Stigendal, 2013). The areas are, however, quite different from each other. The situation in South Sofielund, especially around Seved, seems to be particularly precarious. The divisions between people living here and the rest of Malmö seem to be increasing. It is important, however, to bear in mind the weaknesses of the statistics. As stated in WP2, it is important to differ between the symptoms and the causes of the problems. As the indicators might tell us something

about the symptoms, we must look further to find the causes. Relating to the two strategies set out in the introduction of this report, we will now continue with selecting and describing a number of relevant social structures in North and South Sofielund.

3. Development of social structures and experiences from previous actions

In this chapter, we have categorised the social structures on the basis of what kind of potential they have for supporting young people. Four such types of social structures have been identified, serving also as headings in this chapter. Thus, we will write about a wide range of social structures, but categorised under these four headings. That will make it easier to understand, but it will also be helpful for us in drawing conclusions.

3.1. Housing policy structures

Housing is one of the areas dealt with in WP2. Problems associated with housing affect a lot of young people (for example housing shortage, quality, overcrowding etc), which the Malmö WP2 report highlights. In Sweden, however, housing has also been an important part of the solutions, taking shape in various social structures. In this report, we will call such solutions housing policy structures. As we have described in our WP2 reports, an important housing policy structure, as well as being part of the Swedish housing policy and also of the welfare state in general, is the Swedish public housing. The public housing companies are a tool for municipalities to offer inexpensive housing of good quality, for the general public. But they also have a tradition of commencing social measures in the areas. In addition, the public housing companies have been setting the norm for rents in general, meaning that private housing companies have been obliged to follow the annual increase in rents set out by the public housing companies. This has prevented rents from rising, and is often argued to prevent housing segregation due to rents set by the free market (Grender, 2013).

As we see from the statistics, the share of public housing in Sofielund is rather high. The fragmentation of the property ownership structure in South Sofielund, however, is a major challenge in developing a safe and attractive living environment. Some of the property owners have a history of not taking care of their houses and apartments. In the debate, they are referred to as ‘slumlords’, i.e., landlords who make a business out of buying apartment blocks, mismanaging them and then selling them on at a profit (Blomé, 2011).³

We have described how South Sofielund is an area with a high degree of rejuvenation. More and more young people, particularly students, are moving into the area. Since Malmö, much like other major cities

³ Interestingly, North Sofielund is just as fragmented when it comes to ownership. However, mismanagement and slumlords has not been the case here.

in Sweden, has a shortage of housing, young people feel obliged to take whatever is offered. Moreover, Sofielund is highly attractive for young people, with its central location and proximity to the cultural area “Möllervången”. Thus, many young people have become tenants among the ‘Slumlords’, living in bad conditions and not being able to influence their housing. In many cases, they are illegally subletting at very steep rents, as the slumlords do not care about who is living in the apartments and thus are not regulating the sub-letting. This also goes for a lot of younger children, living with their parents in small apartments. Many of the inhabitants living in sub-let apartments in these areas were paying a rent higher than that for a newly built apartment in Malmö’s high-end areas.

The development of the housing sector in Seved has resulted in the fact that many young people could not care less about their area. They develop a careless approach to their physical environment. Since their houses are not being looked-after by the landlords, why should they take care of the houses, stairs, elevators, facades or environments? It could be argued that graffiti and vandalism increase as a symptom of the landlords’ neglect of the buildings (Grander & Stigendal, 2012). And those young people who want to change things, but have no support, what are they to do? If they try to tidy up, who cares? And who will listen to them?

Over the years, the city district has conducted a number of actions in order to make the landlords take responsibility, thus addressing the cause of the problems. In 2011 a project was initiated to improve housing in the area. This initiative resulted in forty-five cases of mismanagement, a municipal take-over of an apartment block and a large increase of members in the local tenants' association. In a few cases, perhaps as a consequence of media-coverage, landlords agreed to take a larger responsibility and renovated some of the buildings. A number of properties also changed owners – with more responsible landlords taking over – during the project.⁴

The public housing company MKB have also taken a number of measures. During 2007-8, the company reduced their rents by 5-15 per cent, in order to attract new tenants. A result is that the area has become popular among university students. 36% of those who moved to MKB's apartments in the area in 2008 were enrolled or recent graduates from Malmö University. The popularity among students is however not only due to the preferential rents. MKB and other actors have created meeting places and urban projects stimulating the young population, which has led to the area beginning to be perceived as exciting for "creative people" (MKB, 2008: 34). One example of these activities is the urban cultivation project “Odling i stan” (Cultivation in the city), a citizen-based network that, together with MKB and private landlords, have been setting up allotments for urban cultivation. MKB and the other landlords have donated land, including unused parking lots, to the network of ‘cultivating’ citizens, who became responsible for their care. Evaluations made by students on the course Urban Integration in January 2013 showed that the residents feel the allotments have made Seved a nice place, that this has created new meeting places and that residents have become more proud of their neighbourhood.

⁴ Discussion 27/11-13 with the area coordinator of Area Programme Seved.

How are the housing policy structures described herein connecting to the causes of the problems? Relating to the WP2 Baseline report (Stigendal, 2013), the actions from the public housing company could be said to go in line with the Social Democratic welfare regime and its general principles on public housing. The public housing company in the area has not only been engaged in social measures in order to strengthen social cohesion, but has also lowered the rents in order to create diversity in the area.

3.2. Cultural policy structures

Another one of the contextual areas dealt with in WP2 is called “Power, democracy, citizenship and civil participation”. In this report we have decided to deal with this area in terms of culture. Cultural institutions like libraries and the local cultural schools, run by the municipalities, have traditionally been an important part of the Social Democratic welfare regime (Stigendal, 2008). On the border between North and South Sofielund, two public institutions of this kind are situated: Arena 305 and The Garage.

Arena 305 is a municipally funded and run leisure time youth club attracting young people from the whole city. In this sense, Arena 305 is different from ordinary municipal youth clubs. The regular youth clubs are open for young people (up to the age of 16), living in the proximity of the club and offer a wide range of activities after school hours. They are funded by the city district’s budget. Arena 305 is different. It could be seen as an after school centre⁵ directed to the creation of all kinds of music, aimed at all young people in Malmö between the ages of 16- and 25 and is funded by central funding from the municipality. Arena 305 is incorporated into an old factory which was carefully renovated during the URBAN programme, 1997-2001, and made a centre of development for all activities related to the URBAN-programme in Sofielund (Stigendal, 2012). The building includes rehearsal rooms equipped with instruments, amplifiers and sound reinforcement system. There are two recording studios, a dance studio, a DJ room, a café, and three different stages. The largest stage has room for an audience of 350. The aims of Arena 305 are rather vague, the manager tells us in an interview.⁶

When walking around the spaces of Arena 305, it is easy to become impressed with the attractive rooms, the cosy café and the high standard of the equipment. But why is the city of Malmö putting a lot of effort and money into this kind of place? And why is it placed in Sofielund? What problems does it solve? The basis for the activities of Arena 305 could be said to be empowerment. According to the manager, who prefers to talk in terms of solutions rather than problems, young people in Malmö do not lack meeting places, but are in need of meeting spaces which “lift them”. Thus, the management has tried to develop Arena 305 as “*a place where young people should feel that they are able to do whatever they dream of, but with support from the staff.*” Thus, it is important to point out that the personnel do not regard themselves as “leaders” but instead as “inspirers”:

⁵ See (Stigendal & Östergren, 2013, p. 90) for definition

⁶ Interview 26/11-13 with the manager of Arena 305.

“We see it as important that the young people coming here can build in their own potentials ... Our approach is to not take away the responsibility from the young people.”

Young people are self-organising all concerts and activities at Arena 305. The staff is supporting them and helping out with resources and marketing. Thus, a bottom-up perspective is central in the activities, albeit with the support from professional youth workers. According to the manager, this approach of mutual trust and self-empowerment is central to the success of Arena 305, which offers several youth-organised concerts and other activities each week. The activities create a number of encounters, not only between the young people and the staff, but also between young people from different areas of the city and with different styles in music.

“Where you come from is not so important here. The music unites young people. Hip-hop and metal-kids are meeting across boundaries; it’s fun to see. They watch and listen to each other, and learn from that. I would say that this is integration work. Integration must happen spontaneously, not as a result of arranged meetings.”

When asked about the results, the manager says that many young people are going through a change in self-esteem. *“The personnel are seeing what happens with the young people during their years here. It is that journey that is the most important asset of our actions”*. Although the success is evident when looking at the high numbers of visitors, Arena 305 has problems attracting young people from the nearest area. In fact, a very small percentage of the visitors come from the Seved area, the manager tells us. Despite considerable promotional efforts, the after-school centre has problems attracting the young people from Seved, just across the Lönngatan street, which seems to work as a physical and mental barrier between South and North Sofielund. The manager regards this as a problem, but at the same time he believes that the general approach of Arena 305 must prevail and that they should not focus too much on specific groups:

“We are too focused on area-based interventions. We are locking in the young people in the areas. But of course, we need to invest where the problems are visible. It is a tough balance”

To sum up, Arena 305 might be said to serve an important purpose in its potential-oriented approach towards young people. For sure, young people visiting Arena 305 get great possibilities in building on their own potentials. Arena 305 has all the pre-requisites needed for becoming the empowering meeting place that creates social relations and makes young people believe in themselves and their dreams. The young people in Malmö who need these relations the most, however, are perhaps not drawn to Arena 305. Thus, it could be said to be potential-orientated in the sense that it builds on the positive potential of young people, but not in the sense that it solves the causes of the problems. It does not counteract the causes of inequalities for young people in Sofielund. It has, however, the potential to create prerequisites for young people to counteract the causes. But in order for that to happen, Arena 305 needs to find a way of attracting young people also from Seved and other disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Located in the same building as Arena 305, The Garage is a meeting place and a city district library, also run by the municipality. Here, visitors of all ages can read and borrow books and magazines in different languages, borrow laptops, exchange and mend clothes, do craftwork, meet others, or just take a cup of coffee or tea. The garage has a language cafe for those who want to practise their Swedish in an informal setting. A number of creative workshops are arranged.

The manager of The Garage tells us in our interview that she likes to address The Garage as a “creative living room” for all citizens not only from the area, but from the whole city.⁷ The aims are to be a local meeting-place, to provide a variety of cultural events and to make the visitors participate. Using the same bottom-up approach as Arena 305, The Garage's various activities have taken shape based on an on-going dialogue and participatory process with the visitors. In fact, the creation of The Garage in 2008 was a result of a number of workshops with residents. This tradition has since then continued. The personnel have on-going dialogue with the visitors to shape the content, services and activities. An annual survey is undertaken to develop the next year's range of activities and services. When it comes to the dialogue with the visitors, the personnel act as counsellors more than librarians. “*The visitors can get help with virtually everything, as long it is in our competence. And if it is not, we can arrange something. For example, free juridical counselling or mother tongue education*”, the manager says.

The supply of books and other resources available for loans is based on the wishes of the participants. Half of all books in the library are bought in as a result of suggestions from the visitors. The manager of The Garage believes that the bottom-up approach has created a feeling of belonging. This could be illustrated by the fact that The Garage has 50% less theft than other libraries, she says. Another key element in the participatory approach of The Garage is the availability of the localities in the evenings and at weekends. Everyone can arrange activities and events at The Garage after regular opening hours. The events are always free and open to the public. The personnel at The Garage provide the spaces, advice and help with marketing. During 2012, over 300 events were arranged at nights and weekends.

According to the manager, there are two reasons for the participatory approach. The first one is to achieve good quality in the supply of services and material. The other reason is to strengthen people's participation in general, in order to create a belief in society and in the long run also a belief in their own ability to create, and to achieve change. Thus, the Garage could be said to rest on two pillars: professionalism and user participation. Finding a balance between these are very important, according to the manager.

But how could The Garage be said to counteract the inequality facing young people in Sofielund? Surveys show that around 50 % of the visitors come from the surrounding areas. But, according to the manager, young people from the Sofielund area are not common visitors at the Garage – with the exception of university students. In fact, young people in general are one of the smallest groups of

⁷ Interview 28/11-13 with the manager of The Garage.

visitors. The manager tells us that a fair amount of younger kids from the area are coming to The Garage after school hours, even if there is a municipal after-school centre for young people under 16 next door. When addressing the children, they tell the personnel that they like to hang out in The Garage since they don't feel at ease at the youth club for younger kids - or that their parents can't afford the €90 monthly fee for gaining access. Children seem to find a meaningful time at the Garage, but not youths.

The main asset of The Garage is perhaps its potential as a meeting place between people from different backgrounds and different parts of the city. With its geographical location, and its approach of being a citywide meeting place, the potential for being a venue for meetings between the excluded and the included is evident. Also, the potential-oriented approach towards its visitors could be seen as an asset. But, as with the case of Arena 305, The Garage cannot be said to counteract the causes of inequality facing young people in the area itself. As with Arena 305, the young people of Sofielund tend to prefer other places to hang out.

As described in the WP2 report about Malmö (Grander, 2013, p. 20), many young people in areas characterised by social exclusion lack social relations to adults representing society. Building such social relations with mutual trust could pave the way for feeling included, but might also be a way out of social exclusion, for example by showing possibilities for education or employment. A fruitful social relationship could empower the young people; making them believe in themselves and offering a way of channelling positive potentials. The possibilities for young people in achieving such relations with adults are indeed unequal in the city. As we can see, both The Garage and Arena 305 build on creating social relations, by providing meeting places and by their empowering approach. However, not many of these social relations are between young people in Seved and people from other parts of the city, or between young unemployed and people who have a job. Creating social relations within an area might create a social cohesion in the area, but as research (Håkansson, 2011) has pointed out, the social relations must also be with people who are representing society, for example by having a job. Both The Garage and Arena 305 could, however, be regarded as having a great potential in letting young people take charge of their own situation.

3.3. Social policy structures

WP2 identified three more contextual areas called Economy and labour market, Access to social income, social and health services, and Education and training. Regarding area-based and area-selective measures, these three contextual areas are often treated in conjunction, also with a social policy institution as responsible. Therefore, we will call these solutions social policy structures. Sofielund has a long history of such area-based projects or measures, run by the municipality or the city district. The URBAN programme in 1997-99 funded the first generation of such projects. Thereafter, a major project was the "Seved initiative", funded by the Metropolitan policy (1999-2004), initiated by the Social Democratic government on the basis of the national policy launched in 1998 and mentioned in a previous chapter. The

origin of the Seved initiative was a number of municipally administrated "kvarterslyft", aiming to lift the status of selected quarters in the city district. In the "kvarterslyft" of Seved, a physical meeting place was established where city district officials were located. Their task was to create a dialogue with the citizens by different forms of cooperation with NGO's, businesses and inhabitants. The dialogue aimed to create integration and participation. The experiences of this project were positive, and became the basis of the Seved initiative. The objectives of the Seved initiative were to decrease segregation, creating pre-requisites for growth and to generally improve the living conditions of the residents. The city district attempted to seek cross-sectoral collaboration and partnerships with various municipal, private and civil society actors. Networks were set up based on the wishes and priorities of the residents. So-called Link-workers were employed by the City district administration to help residents with a wide range of problems. The Seved initiative became a regular item in the City district's budget, as the City district administration regarded the project as a success (Andersson et al., 2004, p. 14).

The Seved initiative was one major actor in the setting up of the employment activity Young in Seved, which still exists. This activity involves young people living in Seved aged between 15 and 19 years, who during summer maintain and tidy up their local area. The aim of Young in Seved is to create a sense of belonging, as young people in Seved should feel involved and take ownership of their neighbourhood. This could be seen as an activity addressing the problem of young people feeling alienated from society. By involving young people, the municipality hopes to create a feeling of belonging, which could eventually lead to less destruction and littering in the area.

The Young in Seved initiative is today part of the Area programme in Seved. The area programme is run by the City of Malmö during 2010-2015, with the aim of tackling the lack of social sustainability in Malmö. The decision to start the programme was made based on the awareness of health and welfare in Malmö being unequally distributed between different population groups and between different areas of the city. Five areas are selected for the programme, of which Seved in South Sofielund is one. By influencing development in the selected areas, the programme seeks to enhance social sustainability throughout Malmö. The aim is to create a programme wherein environmental, economic and social sustainability are mutually reinforcing. An underlying idea of the area programme is that the entire city's resources are to be mobilized in support of the development in these five different areas.

In all five areas, public dialogue and co-creation, youth focus, entrepreneurship, innovation and partnerships are key words that will permeate the entire city's work with the area programmes. Both physical and social changes are to be made within the programme: densification of buildings, parks, streets, and gardens are planned in all areas. At the same time, social measures are to be undertaken with schools and local communities. Participation and involvement of the people living in the areas is crucial as the programme seeks to strengthen citizens' knowledge and ability to influence their lives, their

income, their housing and their education. There is a lot of focus on employment and employability, the programme manager says.⁸

Since a few years back, the municipality has been running a parallel action to coordinate various efforts in Seved where the aim is to increase citizen participation in society and reduce exclusion. The work is called “Turning Seved” and involves a network of about 40 local actors. One of the major challenges in the Turning Seved initiative is to increase the employment rate of the population in South Sofielund, particularly among young adults. The actors have developed a job-creation model aimed at young people between 18 and 25. The model consists of three parts which are interrelated. The first part includes confidence-building and relationship-building work in the field, the second part consists of labour coaching and social support, and the third part is about finding work or education. The greatest potential for further growth is considered to be the geographical location with close proximity to the projects, activities and small businesses in Sofielund.

3.4. Civil society structures

Civil society deals with more or less all the five contextual areas, highlighted in WP2, also often in their conjunction. This concerns in particular the associations, initiatives and projects located in Sofielunds Folkets Hus, the centre of civil society in Sofielund. Sofielunds Folkets Hus is an old building and former school, built in 1902 and owned by the municipality. In the early 1990s, it was decaying and the municipality had plans to knock it down. At that time, an association had started in the area with the ambition of creating a meeting place, especially for young people. There was very little for young people to do in the area and that caused a lot of problems, both for the young people themselves and for others. In 1995, the association got the opportunity to dispose of the old school and they thereby established Sofielunds Folkets Hus (SFH). Since then it has developed into a multicultural, flourishing and vibrant meeting place, as well as a basis for a wide range of activities.

Before we look into the house to see what it contains, we need to say something about another association called “Glokala folkbildningsföreningen” (Glocal “folkbildning” association), initiated in the late 1980s and at that time called “Folkhögsskoleföreningen” (Folk high school association), in 1997 renamed as “Folkbildningsföreningen” and in 2013 as “Glokala folkbildningsföreningen” (GFF). The Swedish term “folkbildning” means the enlightenment (“bildning”) of people (“folk”) and refers to the folk high schools and study associations, i.e. the organisations that constitute the non-formal and voluntary educational system in Sweden. Both folk high schools and study associations receive substantial state grants distributed by a government agency called “Folkbildningsrådet” (“folkbildning” council) that makes it easier for civil society to take care of needs and initiatives among young people regardless of priorities inside the municipal structure.

⁸ Discussion 27/11-13 with the area manager of Area Programme Seved.

SFH and GFF have been closely intertwined over the years. From the early days in the mid 90s, GFF initiatives have supplied the house with a lot of activities, day-time as well as night-time. A major initiative was the establishment in 2005 of a “folkhögskola” (folk high school) in the house, called Glokala Folkhögskolan (GFH) with GFF as responsible. Since then, a wide range of courses have taken place in the house, offered for example to young people without a completed formal education as well as to immigrants. Furthermore, GFH offers generic folk high school courses but here with a ‘glocal’ profile, short-term courses for the general public (urban art and hiphop, glocal media etc), general lectures etc.

We have carried out three group interviews, one with the management of SFH, the second with the board of the SFH and another one with two of the leading representatives of GFF. The interviews have focused on the value of the SFH: in the first place its use-value and thereby the type of value which, in contrast to exchange-value, cannot necessarily be measured in money. The management highlights the implications of people in general being welcome and on the voluntary basis of the activity. In SFH, trust and confidence are created, says one of the members of the board. A board member with an immigrant background relates how much he learns in SFH about Swedish society, due to the fact that he feels welcome. This is such a good place to learn. Feeling welcome is something that several of the members of the board highlight. That strengthens your self-confidence. A member says that here “*you get support to get ahead in life in a dignified way*”. He is seconded by another member who finds the statement right on target. “*You grow by the trust you get and subsequently can give.*”

It is also possible to consider the value of SFH in terms of exchange-value and then measured in money. The associations, activities and projects located in SFH attract quite a lot of money. In 2012, that enabled the gainful employment for seventeen persons. A lot of the activity carried out in SFH entails savings for the City council. The management of the SFH, however, does not want the exchange value to be conclusive. Equally important is the use-value created and in its own right. The Malmö Commission supports such an opinion and refers to the Sarkozy/Stiglitz Commission (Stiglitz et. al., 2009) in the critique of existing measures, like GDP (Stigendal and Östergren, 2013: 133):

We must therefore work with a number of different measures of development, a “dashboard” of old as well as new measures, which at the same time capture the various important aspects of societal development, economic, environmental and social, so that the balance between them provides an idea of society’s overall sustainability. Some of these must be general so that a place or situation can be compared with others, but some measures need to be adapted to local needs and contexts. This is in order to fit into processes with increased democratic governance, where different knowledge alliances jointly define concepts, challenges and solutions. This could also mean that these processes have the potential not only to generate locally usable information but also to contribute to the general development of concepts and measures relating to sustainable development in all its aspects.

SFH has been the basis of many different initiatives over the years, including some larger ones such as the Brewery in South Sofielund. In the late 1990s, a group of young skateboarders got the opportunity to take over a large part of the old Brewery. Before that, they had been accommodated at the SFH where the

ideas about creating something much greater were generated. The young skateboarders built up a large indoor skateboard park called the Brewery, then and today considered one of the best and largest in northern Europe. The Skateboard park attracted not only skaters, but also many young people just hanging out, discussing and listening to hip hop. Thus, since then, the activities in the Brewery have been under a constant remodelling to explore new possibilities, according to the wishes of the young participants. In 2006 an independent upper secondary school was started⁹ by a new NGO – The Brewery’s Educational Association. The school had the profile of hip-hop and skate, a fairly unique profile in Malmö and Sweden. As the school is located under the same roof as the association’s skate park, coffee shop and skate shop, the goal is and was to blur the boundaries between school and leisure. Today the school has changed its profile towards an aesthetic-oriented profile, with photo, film, cartooning and - of course - skate boarding as cornerstones.

4. Current social structures

The WP2 baseline study resulted in seven prospects for social innovation. We want to consider and assess the current social structures on the basis of these seven prospects. To what extent do the different types of social structures fulfil these seven prospects? Are there measures that are contradictory and, if so, what does that mean? What are the strategic issues regarding the support for young people in their development of social innovations to solve problems of inequality?

Firstly, the Baseline report presented an understanding of Europe which underlines the dependency between the countries, to the advantage of some and to the disadvantage of others. Patterns of inequity are growing, certainly within cities but also between countries. Secondly, the Baseline report highlighted the need for young people to get to know each other across Europe and address the causes of inequality collectively. Thirdly, the Baseline report identifies uncertainty as the common denominator of all the symptoms of inequality. Young people in general across Europe are exposed to a growing uncertainty. Fourthly, the Baseline report urges for a development of the productive sector in particular corresponding to the principles of discretionary learning, the form of learning where employees are engaged in work activities involving problem solving and learning (Stigendal, 2013, pp. 18–19). Also, financialisation has penetrated almost every aspect of European societies and that has to be dealt with. Fifthly, the Baseline report emphasises the significance of the welfare state. Instead of being dismantled, forcing civil society to become compensatory, it should be improved, encouraging and supporting civil society to become complementary. Sixthly, the Baseline report highlights the need to strengthen the rights of young people, in particular where it means something. Seventhly, young people’s positive potential, such as their creativity in dealing with their own situation and injustices (Stigendal, 2013, p. 45), has to be taken advantage of, on the basis of a potential-oriented approach.

⁹ See Grander, 2013: 15 for a history on the independent school system in Sweden.

To start with housing policy structures, this addresses the third prospect by supporting increased safety for young people. This is done through both safer housing and safer living environments. Housing policy structures can also be said to address the fourth prospect, because measures within rented accommodation mean that young people do not have to become dependent on financialisation, which is the case if young people should buy a cooperative apartment or a detached house. Housing policy structures also relate to the fifth prospect, since MKB's policy is in accordance with the general welfare regime. In addition, the sixth prospect is also fulfilled, since a stronger rental housing sector involves strengthening the rights of young people.

The cultural policy structures may well have to do with both the first and the second prospects, but they depend to a high extent on the individual users. These prospects are not part of the structures themselves, but the structures create opportunities for them. In addition, it is about the fifth prospect, since the structures are expressions of the general welfare. Moreover, we cannot be sure if the cultural policy structures in Sofielund help in strengthening the rights of young people and are taking advantage of young people's potential, but the possibility is certainly there.

The social policy structures have a particular focus on the third prospect, judging from the discussion with the area manager and the description of the Area Programme. Young people should be helped to get a job. But what kind of jobs? To what extent do these jobs also strengthen the rights of young people, and not exploit them? We don't know, and it would need a larger study to find out. Nor do we know to what extent social policy structures enhance the general welfare state. It depends on the approach pursued and we are seeing signs of both approaches.

The civil society in Sofielund can arguably be said to address all seven prospects. Sofielunds Folkets Hus (SFH) has, together with Glokala Folkhögskolan, the international perspective inscribed in its organizational forms. Many efforts have also been made to create partnerships between young people in different countries. For example, SFH was one of the main sites when European Social Forum was arranged in Malmö, 2008. Trust and confidence are mentioned as characteristic of SFH. There is much work carried out under the principle of discretionary learning, which the Malmö Commission also stresses. Civil society clearly has a complementary role in relation to the welfare state, but is it becoming compensatory? This is the big question that we will return to, although without offering any conclusive answers in this report. There is no doubt that civil society creates opportunities for young people where they can strengthen their rights. Civil society is also characterized by a potential-oriented approach.

To sum up, both the housing policy structures and the cultural policy structures constitute favourable conditions for young people to develop innovative solutions to the problems of inequality that face them. Whether also the social policy structures constitute a favourable condition and if so to what extent, we cannot know for sure. We want to reconnect to the division we made in the introductory chapter between two overall development strategies. The first strategy has its roots in the social investment perspective with its emphasis on the relationship between economic and social objectives, which was also what the

original Lisbon Strategy and national metropolitan policy expressed. The second strategy is in line with the revised Lisbon Strategy, when neoliberalism took revenge as Robertson puts it (Robertson, 2008: 90), and again the economic objectives were prioritized.

The civil society described in this report represents the first strategy, based on a social investment perspective. It is demonstrated by, for example, the fact that use-values are considered at least as important as exchange values, by the long-term approach and by the potential-oriented approach. Civil society could be said to be in line with the recommendations of the Innovation Forum, arguing for the efforts to be based on the local context, having faith in people's own ability to create change and develop methods to gather a broad range of actors. Civil society is also clearly the best at creating opportunities for those who do not have what society requires (have-nots) but certainly have something else, those who do not do what society requires (do-nots) but certainly do something else, and those who do not feel what society requires (feel-nots) but certainly feel something else. Civil society can surely also be good at creating opportunities for those who do not want to be involved in society (want-nots).

But how and by which actors is the neoliberal strategy represented, the strategy that helps to tighten the limits and raise the barriers that exclude the have-nots, the do-nots, the feel-nots and the want-nots? Hardly the housing policy and cultural policy structures, in the way they are driven in Sofielund with the general character built-in. But what about the social policy structures? There is a risk that area-based and area-selective programmes contribute to the development of selective welfare and thus stigmatizes, just by the focus on specific areas. The cultural structures do not get this effect because they are aimed at young people from all over the city. This could also be said about the housing policy structures, since they so clearly focus on the structures. The actors within the housing structures act as they would have done in any part of the city.

Selectively oriented structures do not, however, necessarily have to be neoliberal. The Malmö Commission advocates Marmot's principle of proportionate universalism, meaning that action should be "universal, but adapted, both in scope and design, to those most in need" (Stigendal & Östergren, 2013, p. 59). The Garage is a good example of proportionate universalism through the placement of a general measure in an area where people live who may have the greatest need of it, while being open to the whole city. Could it also be said that the social policy structures, for example the Area Programme, express a proportionate universalism? Perhaps, but we do not know that. It would require a more extensive study in which also young people are interviewed.

There are, however, other actors, actions and phenomena that represent a neoliberal strategy. As we wrote earlier, this representation need not be done deliberately, although it has such an effect. One example is the problem affecting Sofielunds Folkets Hus over the last year. An extensive renovation was carried out in 2012-13 with the support of *Boverket*, the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning. The remaining cost was covered by the property owner, the municipally-owned company *Stadsfastigheter*, but it was to be paid through a rent increase. Crucial to the rent increase is the

depreciation period. According to the management,¹⁰ SFH was first told that the period for depreciation would be 25 years. Prior to the completion of the renovation, the period was changed to 17 years. This means a much higher rent, which the SFH claims that it cannot cope with. Thus, the management has in the past year devoted much time and energy trying to get the depreciation period increased to 25 years in order to be able to pay the rent. They have so far not succeeded. Neither senior managers nor politicians seem able to change this. No one has been able to provide SFH with a convincing explanation of why it cannot be changed. Thus, SFH risks going bankrupt in 2014. Such a persistent adherence to economic principles, without any regard of the use-values created in SFH at risk of being destroyed in a bankruptcy, we see as an expression of a neoliberal strategy. But who drives this strategy, how intentional it is and what support it has, we do not know.

For this and a number of other reasons, the management of SFH has developed a great distrust. *"Some politicians and officials do not seem to want to have a civil society,"*¹¹ says one of our group interviewees. The distrust among the management is primarily targeted at one of the leading politicians in the city, the councillor for labour market and adult education. He has been associated with some of the characteristics of the neoliberal strategy, including the opposite of what the pilot study Innovation Forum advocated with initiatives based on the local context, the belief in the ability of people to create change in a broad sense and cooperation in broad partnerships. This is a bit paradoxical because the councillor is considered to belong to the left wing within the Social Democrats, the dominant party in the coalition that governs Malmö. He has made himself known as a strong critic of for-profit companies in the education, health and social care sectors. Perhaps his attitude could be seen as resembling that which Billing and Stigendal (1994) have described as a "municipal socialist" approach, an approach which resulted in the formation of the municipal housing company MKB in 1946. The councillor seems to prefer that the municipal authorities themselves resolve the problems. We had the impression that he was behind the opposition to our collaboration with one of the projects run by Glokala Folkhögskolan, described in the introduction of this report. The pre-requisites for such municipal socialism have, however, changed fundamentally and instead this ambition may to some extent have neoliberal effects. That is probably not what the councillor has had in mind.

But what does he have in mind, then? We interviewed him and he says he is not at all opposed to the civil society.¹² Civil society provides space for young people's own initiatives, he says, but the drive will disappear the moment the municipality formalizes the initiative and fits it into a decision hierarchy. The municipalisation sometimes inhibits a lot. The enthusiasts may suddenly have no place when the initiative is formalized in the municipality. The councillor sees the great benefits of civil society, but believes that there is a lack of a sustainable structure for cooperation between municipalities and associations. We need new solutions and a proper discussion about it, he says.

¹⁰ Group interview with the management of SFH 27/5-13.

¹¹ Group interview with the management of SFH 27/5-13.

¹² Interview 31/10-13 with the councillor for labour market and adult education in the City of Malmö.

“There are plenty of associations that want to do something and if they should continue to do so they must start a company, but then they act in a market and other things happen ... The definition of the social economy and social enterprise is too loose and does not fit into our current system. But it must be fitted. Maybe it is something that we in Malmö can take the initiative for.”

Could it be that the contradictions are based on misunderstandings, at least to some extent? *“In the more general discussion of collaboration I do think that we are pretty consistent,”* the councillor says. It makes us wonder who or what drives the neoliberal strategy and what support it has. Indeed, we can point out quite a few effects of a neoliberal strategy, such as the persistent insistence on a shorter depreciation period, a problem-oriented approach, a selective focus, priorities of exchange values at the expense of use-values, unproblematised growth initiatives, unilateral measurements of success based solely on economic indicators, unilateral measurements of results at the expense of processes etc. Could it have to do with lack of knowledge? Do people not understand that they contribute to the change of society in a neoliberal direction when, for example, a shorter depreciation period so persistently is defended? In that case, there really is a need for social innovations that can help develop the knowledge of where society is going and how we as individuals unwittingly can push it in a direction that we might not really want.

5. Concluding remarks

Research is interference. No matter how you carry it out, you interfere in reality. You may pretend that you do not interfere, but simply by approaching people you make them think and react, perhaps with the effect that it becomes more difficult to access what you want to know. As a researcher, you often cannot get hold of what you want to know. And when you do get hold of it, you realise perhaps that this is not what you want to know. Thus, you may as well interfere deliberately, pay attention to what happens and try to be pleased with what you perceive. Whatever this is, it has to be treated critically and interpreted, as potentials being actualised in a context and empirically perceived. This is what we have done. We have stirred things up to see what comes down, how and in what shape. We have grabbed the opportunities to see how we could make use of them. And we have done that in order to fulfil the objective of WP3, building further on WP2 and with the intention to pave the way for WP4. Now it is time to draw some conclusions:

Firstly, drawing on previous research we formulated a research question dealing with how different actors (administrations, NGO's, etc) are able to support social innovations by and for young people, in particular on the basis of young people's potential regarding intercultural competence and area competence. In the assessment of this ability, we have used the seven prospects of innovation, presented as conclusions in the WP2 Baseline report, highlighting the need for change and prospects for social innovation. Also, we have categorised the social structures in four types of structures to enable comparisons. It turns out that the civil society structures respond to all seven needs. The housing policy structures and cultural policy structures respond to some of the needs as well. Whether and to what extent the social policy structures

respond to the needs has not been possible to find out in this study. It depends on what strategy the structures are imbued with and we need to interview young people as well to get to know that. Our analyses and conclusion raise a few questions:

- How can the potentials of civil society be realised, made use of, supported and developed?
- How can the complementary function of civil society be strengthened and the tendencies to become compensatory counteracted, on the basis of a long-term and sustainable relationship with the institutions of the welfare state?

Secondly and also drawing on previous research, we formulated another research question which we, unfortunately, could not proceed with, due to circumstances explained in the report. The reasons why we could not proceed, however, make this question even more urgent. Its urgency was underlined by the councillor in our interview with him. Thus, we may as well formulate it again:

- How is it possible to retain the potential of young people when ownership and management of a social innovation is transferred from being self-organised by young people to being managed by an administration within the municipality?

Thirdly, our study has highlighted several effects of a neo-liberal strategy. How the causes of these effects are enacted, however, remains obscure. It seems that no one wants to take responsibility for it. Besides the neo-liberal strategy, the report has highlighted another strategy, supported by the social investment perspective, and emphasising social goals in their own right as well as the relationship between economic and social goals, without giving prominence to the former. This strategy imbues civil society but it may also be enacted by welfare state institutions, as shown in the report. The existence of these two strategies leads to some questions:

- How can knowledge be created, developed and disseminated on where society is heading, how the neo-liberal causes operate and how an individual may enact these causes unwittingly?
- How can the agents of the other strategy, supported by the social investment perspective, be encouraged to continue pursuing this strategy and made aware of its implications for the development of society?

These conclusions and their subsequent questions help us specify the needs of social innovations. As such, they will be useful for our work in the forthcoming work packages.

References

- Andersson B, Liedholm M, Otterbeck J, et al. (2004) *Fyra stadsdelar – fyra vägar mot integration*. Malmö, Malmö stad.
- Billing P and Stigendal M (1994) *Hegemonins decennier: lärdomar från Malmö om den svenska modellen*. Malmö, Möllevångens samhällsanalys.
- Blomé G (2011) Organizational and economic aspects of housing management in deprived areas. Available from: <http://kth.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2:458200> (accessed 23 May 2013).
- Esping-Andersen G (1990) *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Available from: http://books.google.se/books/about/The_three_worlds_of_welfare_capitalism.html?id=V12FQgAACAAJ&pgis=1 (accessed 27 May 2013).
- Grander M (2013) *Malmö. Symptoms and causes of inequality affecting young people. Cityspice City-report*. Malmö.
- Grander M and Stigendal M (2012) *Att främja integration och social sammanhållning. En kunskapsöversikt över verksamma åtgärder inom ramen för kommunernas bostadsförsörjningsansvar*. Stockholm, Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting.
- Håkansson P (2011) *Ungdomsarbetslösheten: om övergångsregimer, institutionell förändring och socialt kapital*. Lund University.
- Jenson J (2012) Redesigning citizenship regimes after neoliberalism: moving towards social investment. In: Morel N & Palier B & Palme J (eds): *Towards a social investment welfare state? : ideas, policies and challenges*. Bristol: Policy
- Lundvall B-Å & Lorenz E (2012) From the Lisbon Strategy to EUROPE 2020. In: Morel N & Palier B & Palme J (eds): *Towards a social investment welfare state? : ideas, policies and challenges*. Bristol: Policy
- Malmö Stad/Stadskontoret (2011) Slutrapport: Förstudie Innovationsforum.
- MKB (2008) Annual report. Malmö, MKB Fastighets AB
- Morel N & Palier B & Palme J (eds) (2012) *Towards a social investment welfare state? : ideas, policies and challenges*. Bristol: Policy
- Robertson S L (2008) Embracing the global: crisis and the creation of a new semiotic order to secure Europe's knowledge-based economy. In: Jessop B, Fairclough N & Wodak R (eds): *Education and the knowledge based economy in Europe*. Rotterdam: Sense
- Stigendal M (2008) *Biblioteket i samhället - en gränsöverskridande mötesplats?* Lund: BTJ; Stockholm: Svensk biblioteksforening (Lund: Grahns tryckeri), Available from: <http://dSPACE.mah.se/handle/2043/7254> (accessed 10 December 2013).
- Stigendal M (2012) *Malmö – från kvantitets- till kvalitetskunskapsstad*. Malmö, Malmö stad.

Stigendal M (2013) *Causes of Inequality affecting young people in 10 european cities - Baseline and comparative report*. Malmö.

Stigendal M and Östergren P-O (2013) *Malmö's path towards a sustainable future. Health, welfare and justice*. Stigendal M and Östergren P-O (eds), Malmö, Malmö stad.

Stigendal M & Jakobsson E & Sjöberg K (2013) Potentialer för tillväxt och sammanhållning- en studie av storstadsinsatser inom regionalfondsprogrammen för Stockholm, Västsverige och Skåne-Blekinge. *Tillväxtverket*, available at: <http://publikationer.tillvaxtverket.se/ProductView.aspx?id=1888> (accessed 9 May 2013).

Stiglitz J, Sen A and Fitoussi J-P (2009) Report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress. www.stiglitz-sen-fitoussi.fr