



K2 RESEARCH 2020:1

Public transport and social justice in Malmö

A study of perceptions of the Malmö Express and Malmöpendeln
among residents of Rosengård

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Preface

This reports gives an account of the K2 project “MalmöExpressen och målet om social hållbarhet” (The Malmö Express and the goal of social sustainability), which is a focus group study of how citizens in Rosengård perceive recent traffic investments, especially the Malmö Express but also Malmöpendeln. I would like to thank all the participants in the focus groups and also Iman Ahmad at Rosengårds fastigheter, Erik Abrahamsson at Somaliska Freds and Monika Andersson at Sankta Maria Folkhögskola, who have helped me to arrange the focus groups.

Malmö, June 2020

Anders Melin

Principal investigator

Sammanfattning

Den här rapporten bygger på en fokusgruppstudie av hur MalmöExpressen och Malmöpendeln har påverkat resvanorna hos invånare i Rosengård. Utgångspunkten är att båda dessa kollektivtrafikinvesteringar har haft ett uttalat socialt mål att öka tillgängligheten för Rosengårdsbor. Det är därför av stort intresse att studera hur dessa investeringar påverkat tillgängligheten för invånarna i området. En teoretisk utgångspunkt för studien är forskningsområdet ”transporträttvisa”, vilket intresserar sig för hur transportlösningar påverkar olika samhällsgrupper. Studien använder sig av förmågemodellen (the capability approach) som teoretiskt ramverk för att analysera hur MalmöExpressen och Malmöpendeln påverkar möjligheterna att vara mobil och hur de påverkar vardagslivet för invånarna i Rosengård. Studiens syfte är att kartlägga olika uppfattningar bland invånare i Rosengård om hur MalmöExpressen och Malmöpendeln har påverkat deras resvanor och vardagsliv.

Studien visar att deltagarna fokusgrupperna i allmänhet hade en positiv inställning till MalmöExpressen. Flera fokusgrupper framhöll att de reser oftare med buss nu än när ”den gamla linje 5” trafikerade sträckan. De framhöll att MalmöExpressen är snabb och smidig att använda sig av. I jämförelse med andra busslinjer, framför allt buss 33 och 35 som också passerar genom Rosengård, finns det många fler säten och mer plats för barnvagnar. Speciellt de äldre fokusgruppsdeltagarna uppskattar att det finns många dörrar på bussarna, eftersom det gör det enklare att hitta en ledig plats. MalmöExpressen är också mycket mindre försenad än andra busslinjer. Något som upplevs som negativt är dock att förarna ofta kör mycket fort och ibland tvärbromsar, vilket gör det farligt för passagerarna, särskilt barn och äldre. Vissa av fokusgruppsdeltagarna föredrar att köra bil, eftersom bussen upplevs som otrygg.

Många av fokusgruppsdeltagarna var också positiva till Malmöpendeln och Rosengårds station, bland annat för att den har potential att göra Rosengård mer attraktivt. Dock hade de flesta av deltagarna rest med Malmöpendeln endast ett fåtal gånger eller inte alls. Några nämnde att de ofta reser med Malmöpendeln på helgerna, exempelvis till Hylliebadet eller till köpcentret Emporia som ligger vid Hyllie. Det framhölls som en fördel att det går mycket snabbare att ta sig till Hyllie med Malmöpendeln än med buss.

Utifrån förmågemodellen kan man dra slutsatsen att framför allt MalmöExpressen men också till viss del Malmöpendeln har haft en positiv inverkan på förmågorna och funktionerna hos flera av deltagarna i fokusgrupperna. En funktion definieras i detta sammanhang som vad en person är eller gör, exempelvis att vara föräldrar eller att engagera sig politiskt, medan en förmåga definieras som en möjlighet att välja en viss

funktion. En distinktion görs mellan grundläggande och sekundära förmågor där de förra är mer allmänna, exempelvis förmågan att bevara hälsan, medan de sekundära förmågorna är nödvändiga för att förverkliga de grundläggande förmågorna. Den sekundära förmågan att resa till läkare eller till ett apotek är exempelvis nödvändig för att förverkliga förmågan till hälsa. MalmöExpressen har för många av deltagarna haft en positiv påverkan på deras sekundära förmågor att resa till ett arbete, till en utbildning, till läkare, tandläkare eller apotek, till butiker, till fritidsaktiviteter och till vänner och släktingar. Dessa är i sin tur nödvändiga för att förverkliga förmågorna att arbeta, att utbilda sig, att bevara hälsan, att ha en berikande fritid och förmågan till anknytning. MalmöExpressen verkar också ha haft en positiv påverkan på förmågan till självrespekt för deltagarna i fokusgrupperna, eftersom den signalerar att Malmö stad investerar i att förbättra levnadsvillkoren för invånarna i Rosengård. Malmöpendeln verkar framför allt ha en positiv påverkan på förmågan till självrespekt och förmågan att ha en berikande fritid. Baserat på denna studie kan vi inte dra några säkra slutsatser om hur vanligt förekommande de positiva upplevelserna av MalmöExpressen och Malmöpendeln är. Med tanke på att fokusgruppsdeltagarna representerar olika åldersgrupper, olika etniciteter och båda könen, är det dock sannolikt att deras positiva upplevelser delas av många andra invånare i Rosengård.

1. Introduction

1.1. Public transport and social justice in Malmö

The area of Rosengård south of Amiralsgatan has been characterized as a so-called especially vulnerable area due to its high level of unemployment and criminality (Polisen 2017: 41). In Rosengård, 42% of the population is gainfully employed, compared with 67% for the whole of Malmö (Statistikunderlag för Malmös områden 2019-09-27). Malmö is a city characterized by segregation with large differences in average income between different areas and with significant differences in life expectancy and health (Salonen et al. 2019). As a part of a general effort to improve the living conditions in Rosengård, several investments have been made to improve public transport to and from the area. In June 2014, a Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system was opened between Stenkällan south of Rosengård and Västra Hamnen, which is now trafficked by the Malmö Express, bus number 5. Along this route, the bus has many designated lanes and certain traffic lights prioritize the bus, which leads to fewer stops. The bus has four entrance doors, and passengers buy their ticket in a machine without involving the driver, who sits in a separate cabin. The bus can leave the stops faster and keep an even pace (BRT i Sverige website). Before the establishment of the Malmö Express, the 'old bus 5' travelled between Stenkällan and Malmö Central station, but did not go further. In December 2018, a new train station opened in Rosengård. This new commuter line, Malmöpendeln, now makes it possible to travel directly from Rosengård to most of the other train stations in Malmö: Östervärn, Malmö Central Station, Hyllie, Svågertorp and Persborg. Malmöpendeln aims to improve the communications between the western and eastern parts of Malmö (Malmö stad website, 2020).

This report analyses how the inhabitants of Rosengård perceive the recent investments in public transport in order to determine whether these investments have affected their transport behaviour, transport opportunities, and everyday lives. The theoretical foundation is based on the recently established research area of 'transport justice', which is an area of increased interest among transport researchers regarding questions of how transport solutions affect different groups of society. The interest in transport justice is based on, among other things, research results that indicate that the transport system often generates more benefits for groups that already have a high socioeconomic status, while these same groups are affected to a lesser extent by the negative impacts of traffic (Trafikverket 2017, Lucas et al. 2016). Research has also shown that insufficient access to transportation contributes to social exclusion (Currie 2011).

The increased interest in questions of transport justice between groups with different socioeconomic status is also justified by the fact that it has been a neglected issue for a long time. Swedish government bills on transportation have primarily been oriented towards gender, age and functionality as important variables for the design of the transport system (Trafikverket 2017). Therefore, it is important to place more emphasis on justice aspects of transport planning related to socioeconomic status. How the transport system in a city affects accessibility – which is defined as the possibility to reach different locations – for the least advantaged citizens is seen as a central foundation for determining how just it is (Martens 2017; Bondemark 2017).

There is a need to analyse public transport investments from the perspective of transport justice. This is particularly relevant for the Malmö Express and the Rosengård train station, as they have been established as part of the general goal to increase social sustainability in Malmö by increasing accessibility for all segments of the population¹ (Malmö stad 2016: 19, 35). Malmö's 'Plan for Traffic and Mobility' states that the design and use of the traffic system should give everyone fundamental access to the city. More men own and drive a car than women; therefore, they have better access to the city. This needs to be compensated by high quality public transport and good conditions for walking and cycling (Malmö stad 2016: 20).

This report applies the capability approach to questions of transport justice. The capability approach has become increasingly important as a theory of justice, and it has been used within many contexts related to social justice (see, for example, Walker et al. 2014). Recently, it has also been employed within the field of transport research (Ryan 2019; Nordbakke 2013; Nyberg et al. 2019), but there is a need for further research about how the capability approach can be used for analysing the social consequences of public transport. This report contributes to the scientific debate by applying the capability approach to an analysis of transport justice in Malmö, with a focus on Rosengård. It analyses whether the Malmö Express and Malmöpendeln have affected the functionings and capabilities of the residents of Rosengård² – and if so, how?

1.2. Purpose and research questions

The aim of the report is to map different views among the residents of Rosengård about how the Malmö Express and Malmöpendeln affect their travel behaviour and their everyday life. The research questions are as follows:

- 1) Have the Malmö Express and Malmöpendeln affected the travel behaviour of residents in Rosengård, and if so, how?

¹ See chapter 2 for a discussion of the concept of social sustainability and its relationship to transport justice.

² See chapter 2 for definitions of functionings and capabilities.

- 2) Have these traffic investments affected the capabilities and functionings of residents in Rosengård, and if so, how?

1.3. Method

Data for the report has been collected with the help of focus groups. Given that the connection between improved public transport, travel behaviour and capabilities is complex and relatively unexplored, using focus groups is a suitable method (Krueger, Casey 2015). In a focus group, individuals can, through conversations with others, gain new insights into how increased accessibility affects their everyday life – insights that may not have been gained in an individual interview situation.

1.4. Disposition

Chapter 2 gives an account of the theory and method that is applied, and chapter 3 discusses previous research. Chapter 4 describes the case of Rosengård, and chapter 5 is an account of the results from the focus groups. In addition, chapter 6 analyses the results with the help of the capability approach. Chapter 7 is a concluding discussion.

2. Theory and Method

2.1. Theoretical framework

2.1.1. Transport justice

Within the debate about transport justice, accessibility is considered a key issue. It can be defined as ‘the potential of opportunities for interaction with locations dispersed over space’ (Marten 2017: 10). A distinction can be made between person accessibility and place accessibility. *Person accessibility* pertains to a person and tells us to what set of locations he or she can reach, whereas *Place accessibility* refers to a place and signifies what groups of people have access to the place or from what set of locations it can be reached. From the point of view of transport justice, person accessibility is the most interesting concept, as justice is concerned with the distribution between persons (Martens 2017: 11).

The concept of justice can have different meanings, and a traditional distinction is often made between corrective and distributive justice. The former denotes justice as a remedial principle that should be applied when one individual wrongly harms another, while the latter denotes a principle for assigning goods to individuals (Miller 2017: 5-6). Distributive justice is more relevant in the context of transport planning, as it is a question of distributing goods among citizens. The government can, for example, choose to focus their investments on roads and highways, which, of course, would benefit car owners, or they can choose to focus more on public transport.

Within the contemporary debate on social justice, recognition is also an important concept. Recognition theory is considered important for explaining social and political resistance. It has been argued that the struggles of some groups, such as ethnic or religious minorities and LGBT individuals, are not primarily a matter of redistribution, but rather an affirmation of their identity. Others claim that recognition should be understood as a much more fundamental ethical concept. All movements for equal rights can be seen as struggles for recognition, as they concern what moral standing individuals should be assigned (Iser 2019; Young 1990).

In the contemporary debate on justice, many theorists regard either redistribution or recognition as the fundamental remedy for injustices. For advocates of egalitarian redistribution, the recognition of differences between groups is a hindrance for the realization of social justice. Advocates of recognition instead see redistribution as outdated materialism that cannot create more just conditions for ethnic or sexual minorities. However, Nancy S. Fraser argues that the dichotomy between redistribution

and recognition is a false antithesis, and that we instead need a theory of justice that includes both dimensions. She regards the paradigms of redistribution and recognition as two distinct perspectives on social justice rather than mutually excluding alternatives (Fraser 2003: 10-12).

Fraser claims that many forms of injustice, such as gender inequality, are two-dimensional. Gender discrimination has its roots in both the economic structure and the status order of society. Gender functions as a fundamental organizing principle of the economic structure in capitalist societies, as it underlies the basic division between 'productive' wage labour and unpaid domestic labour, with the latter mainly performed by women. In order to eliminate gender-specific maldistribution, we need to restructure the gendered division of labour. However, gender discrimination is not only a question of unequal distribution but also a question of status differentiation, as it is connected with cultural patterns that favour traits associated with masculinity and devalue characteristics that are considered feminine. In order to remedy gender inequality, we need policies of both redistribution and recognition (Fraser 2003:19-21). In line with Fraser, this report applies a two-dimensional conception of justice in the analysis. In other words, both issues of distribution and recognition are considered. Moreover, the report employs an intersectional perspective, which acknowledges how different power orders – such as the ones related to gender, class, age and ethnicity – are interrelated. It can be argued that transport research needs to recognize how complex power relations impact people's everyday lives (Joelsson & Scholten 2019).

2.1.2. Transport justice as an important aspect of sustainability

The increased interest in questions of transport justice is closely connected to the focus on sustainability within today's social planning. As mentioned, an important reason for establishing both the Malmö Express and Malmöpendeln was to increase social sustainability. The concept of sustainability became especially influential after the publication of the UN report, *Our Common Future*, in 1987. Originally, the focus was on environmental sustainability and the UN report defines sustainable development as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (*Our Common Future*, p. 43). However, in today's debate about sustainability, it is common to distinguish between three dimensions: environmental, economic and social sustainability (Purvis et al. 2019).

Social sustainability has gained an important place on the political agenda, both on the international and the national levels. The UN promotes social sustainability as an important element of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Several of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals have a strong social character, such as SDG1 'No Poverty', SDG 2 'Zero Hunger' and SDG 5 'Gender Equality' (the website for the UN Sustainable Development Goals). At the EU level, concern for social sustainability is expressed through the Pillar of Social Rights, which was proclaimed at the Social Summit

in Gothenburg in November 2017. It is based on 20 key principles structured around three categories: equal opportunities and access to the labour market, fair working conditions, and social protection and inclusion (the European Commission website).

Social sustainability is a concept without a unanimous definition that includes a large variety of questions, for example, questions about whether or not the physical environment is safe and promotes social inclusion. Dempsey et al. (2011) claim that the following factors are important for determining the social sustainability of a community: social equity, social cohesion and inclusion, social interaction, participation in collective groups and networks, stability, sense of place, and safety and security. Social equity requires that there are no discriminatory practices hindering individuals from participating in the community. It also requires that residents have equal access to different services, such as education, infrastructure, culture and recreation. Social cohesion and inclusion are considered important for a community to sustain and reproduce itself at a decent level of functioning. Social interaction, as well as participation in collective groups and networks, are often regarded as factors that contribute to people's well-being. Moreover, social sustainability requires a certain level of stability. A sense of place is regarded as a dimension of social sustainability because it refers to people enjoying the neighbourhood in which they live. Finally, safety and security are important because they are preconditions of social cohesion and interaction (Dempsey et al., 2011: 292-297). As can be seen from this definition, social equity, including transport justice, can be regarded as an important aspect of social sustainability.

Within transport planning and research about transport planning, the focus has traditionally been on economic and environmental sustainability. However, during the past two decades, there has been an increased interest in questions concerning the social impacts of transportation. A large number of studies across countries show that low-income populations tend to have restricted transport options and that poor access to transport options limits access to jobs, education and health care (Lucas 2018). Lucas et al. claim that transport poverty is a significant problem, both in the 'global north' and 'global south'. In any given country, the poorest parts of the population tend to have a lower level of accessibility in the sense that their opportunities for travelling to places to perform basic daily activities are more limited. Poor groups have limited access to education, jobs and health facilities. They have fewer options of transportation to choose between and are often forced to walk or cycle, sometimes under unsafe conditions. In many cases, they do not benefit equally from improved transport services and transport infrastructures because they cannot afford motorized transport or transit services. They may also become further marginalized due to the negative effects of changes in infrastructure, such as community severance and increased road casualties (Lucas et al. 2016: 353-354).

Lucas et al. divide transport poverty into the following components: 1) transport affordability, 2) mobility poverty, 3) accessibility poverty and 4) exposure to transport

externalities. Transport affordability is connected to the fact that poor individuals often become excluded from basic activities, given that they cannot afford transportation. Mobility poverty refers to a more systemic lack of mobility options for poor groups, for example, due to a lack of transit services or infrastructure. In addition, accessibility poverty considers whether individuals can access their basic daily activities, such as work or education, at a reasonable cost and within a reasonable amount of time. Exposure to transport externalities concerns the fact that poor groups often suffer disproportionately from the negative effects of transportation, such as environmental degradation (Lucas et al. 2016: 355-356).

2.1.3. Transport justice and human rights

Within moral and political philosophy, there are many diverging opinions on what constitutes a just social and economic order (Lamont & Favor 2017). To avoid some of the controversies surrounding the debate about justice, the concept of human rights is sometimes used as a point of departure for analysing questions of transport justice, as there is a certain political and philosophical consensus that human rights ought to be respected (Attoh 2019). Consideration of human rights can be seen as a minimum requirement for justice (Nickel 2007).

In the literature on transportation justice and equity, the focus is mainly on civil rights, such as freedom from discrimination, equality under the law and equal treatment. Thomas W. Sanchez and Marc Brenman point out that civil rights and transportation have often been linked in the American debate due to the segregation between races in connection with public transport (Sanchez & Brenman 2007: 5-7). They state that people with low incomes are more dependent on public transport (Sanchez & Brenman 2007: 2). A larger percentage of 'white households' own a car, in comparison with 'African American households', 'Latino households' and 'Asian-American households' (Sanchez & Brenman 2007: 28). Sanchez and Brenman state that the lack of convenient and reliable public transport in the US is one of the most significant barriers to employment for persons who cannot afford a car (Sanchez & Brenman 2007: 11). In the US, employment growth has been occurring in the suburbs and away from the urban core, where individuals who are ethnic minorities often live (Sanchez & Brenman 2007: 17). Bad public transport also has negative impacts on the opportunities for education for poorer citizens (Sanchez & Brenman 2007: 63).

Some scholars, such as Kafui Ablode Attoh, want the right to transportation to be seen as a socioeconomic right, in other words, a so-called second generation right (Nickel 2007) and not solely as a civil right (Attoh 2019: 104-105). Attoh understands the right to transport as a part of the 'right to the city' in the sense discussed by Henri Lefebvre. This concept is a reaction against the increased privatized isolation of the French cities during the post-war period and a defence of cities as places of encounter and exchange (Attoh 2019: 106; Lefebvre 1996). Lefebvre argues that French cities have become more

segregated and defined by separation. The working-class communities were forced to move from the city centre to 'lifeless suburbs' (Lefebvre 1996).

Attoh points out that scholars and activists around the globe use the concept of the right to the city as a critique of current city planning that disfranchises poor individuals and limits their possibility to enjoy the city. David Harvey, for example, argues that the current capitalist urbanization has led to policies that are more focused on attracting investments than serving the material interests of the residents. The debate about the right to the city raises the question – for which social groups are cities designed (Attoh, 2019: 106, Harvey, 2008)? Attoh argues that cities today are often characterized by exclusion and injustice. In search of global capital, they neglect the poorest residents (Attoh 2019: 13). Defenders of the right to the city often claim that transport planning today is characterized by neoliberal starting-points, which create cities that are undemocratic and give poor and marginalized groups limited access to resources, such as reliable public transportation, that would allow them to truly participate in the democratic process (Attoh 2019: 15).

2.1.4. Transport justice and the capability approach

As mentioned, this report applies the capability approach to analyse how transport investments affect people's functionings and capabilities. The concept of capability is closely related to the concept of human rights, and the capability approach is sometimes described as part of human rights theory. Martha Nussbaum states that the list of capabilities she advocates (see below) covers the same areas as 'first-generation rights' (civil and political rights) and 'second-generation rights' (economic and social rights). However, she rejects the distinction between these two categories of rights, as she maintains that civil and political rights have social and economic preconditions (Nussbaum 2000: 96-97; Nussbaum 2011: 62-67).

Amartya Sen developed the capability approach as an alternative to traditional utilitarian approaches to welfare economics (Sen 1999A; 1999B). Later, it has been applied to different issues of justice, such as gender equality, by, for example, Nussbaum (2000). The capability approach is labelled as an approach rather than a theory, as it is open-ended and underspecified. The capability approach focuses on what people can be or do, in contrast to other theories of justice that are concerned with material resources such as income and wealth or with welfare as a subjective category (Robeyns 2016: 2).

The most central concept within the capability approach is, of course, 'capability', which is defined in contrast to functionings. *Functioning* refers to what people actually are or do, such as being mothers or collecting stamps as a hobby. They can be both complex and very elementary, such as the functioning to eat. *Capability* refers to the opportunity to choose a certain functioning. The capability approach stresses the importance of personal freedom concerning how one wants to live one's life. The role of a government should be to promote capabilities rather than functionings, at least in the case of adult individuals.

For example, both men and women should be given the opportunity to work outside the home, but they themselves should be able to choose whether they want to (Nussbaum 2000: 87-88). Likewise, Sen distinguishes between functionings and capabilities, and emphasizes the value of having freedom of choice (Sen 1992: 40-42).

Sen and Nussbaum have diverging opinions about whether it is appropriate to develop a set list of capabilities. Sen has a more contextualist understanding of capabilities and claims that a set list would ignore the role of public debate, while Nussbaum maintains that the list of capabilities that she puts forward is of universal relevance (Sen 1999A, Nussbaum 2000). She argues that it is a minimal requirement of justice that each individual is guaranteed a threshold level of the following ten capabilities: 1) Life, 2) Bodily health, 3) Bodily integrity (which includes the ability to travel freely from place to place), 4) Senses, imagination, and thought, 5) Emotions, 6) Practical reason, 7) Affiliation (to have relationships with friends and relatives), 8) Other species, 9) Play, and 10) Control over one's environment (Nussbaum 2000: 78-80). Also, authors that have a more contextual understanding of the capability approach have proposed their own lists of capabilities that are relevant for specific cases. Ingrid Robeyns, for example, suggests that the following capabilities should be regarded as essential in the context of gender equality: 1) Life and physical health, 2) Mental well-being, 3) Bodily integrity and safety, 4) Social relations, 5) Political empowerment, 6) Education and knowledge, 7) Domestic work and nonmarket care, 8) Paid work and other projects, 9) Shelter and environment, 10) Mobility, 11) Leisure activities, 12) Time-autonomy, 13) Respect, and 14) Religion (Robeyns 2003A: 76-84).

The application of the capability approach in this report falls more in line with Sen than with Nussbaum. Given that this study has an empirical character, I do not presuppose that certain capabilities are essential; instead, the empirical results will be the foundation for determining what capabilities are relevant in the context of transportation.

One point of view that Sen and Nussbaum have in common is that they both prioritize that individuals reach a certain threshold level for the different capabilities. Sen regards it as especially important that individuals realize basic capabilities up to a certain threshold. For example, he defines poverty as a condition in which the capabilities of an individual have not reached certain minimally acceptable levels (Sen 1992: 109).

Within the capability approach, a distinction is often made between basic and secondary capabilities. The former are those that are most fundamental and often defined in broad and generic ways, such as the capabilities in Nussbaum's list, while the latter are more concrete and specific. The secondary capabilities are necessary for realizing the basic capabilities. The distinction between basic and secondary capabilities is important for understanding the factors that contribute to or impede the realization of the secondary capabilities in order to understand under what circumstances the basic capabilities can be realized (Day et al. 2016: 259).

Another way of expressing the distinction between basic and secondary capabilities is to say that the basic are those that individuals value for their own sake, while the secondary are those that are instrumental for achieving the former (Ryan 2019: 42). Within the field of transportation, we can, for example, regard the capability of having close relationships as a basic capability and the capability to travel to one's friends and relatives as a secondary capability. The latter is valued mainly as an instrument for realizing the former.

In the same way as we distinguish between basic and secondary capabilities, we can also differentiate between basic and secondary functionings. For example, the functioning of travelling to see a doctor can be considered a secondary functioning, which is instrumental to the functioning of maintaining one's bodily health.

Capability theorists point out that individuals have different abilities to convert resources into functionings. The factors determining the degree to which an individual can transform a resource into a capability are called conversion factors (Sen 1992:19-21; Robeyns 2017: 45). In Sen's writings, resources are understood as material or easily measurable, for example, money or consumer goods. How one should distinguish between what should be considered resources and what should be considered conversion factors is often unclear, but in this report, I understand resources as tangible elements that are material or easy to measure and conversion factors as more intangible elements. Both resources and conversion factors can be either personal or collective; for example, a car and a transport system are understood as resources, while physical health and social norms are understood as conversion factors.

To take another example relevant to transportation, a bicycle is a material resource that can be used to achieve a certain functioning, for example, the functioning of commuting to work. However, whether a person who owns a bicycle can use it for travelling to and from work is dependent on certain conversion factors. It requires that the person can move his or her legs well enough and that he or she has learnt how to cycle. The functioning of cycling to work is also dependent on certain collective resources, such as streets or lanes that are suitable for cycling.

It is argued by some philosophers, for example, Ingrid Robeyns, that the capability approach can take into account both issues of recognition and redistribution. Some functionings that the capability approach can consider, such as being healthy and well-educated, are more connected to distributive justice, while others, such as being respected, are more connected to recognition. Moreover, the analysis of conversion factors makes it possible to identify cultural norms that limit the opportunities of certain groups, such as LGBT individuals (Robeyns 2003B: 543-545).

Recently, the capability approach has been applied within transport research to improve our understanding of what role transportation plays for increasing people's opportunities (Ryan 2019; Ryan et al. 2015; Ryan & Wretstrand 2019; Nordbakke 2013). Jean Ryan

points out that we need to consider not only the resources of individuals but also the conversion factors. For example, all people who have a valid driver’s licence may not have the opportunity to drive. Some may have bad health due to old age and do not consider it safe to drive (Ryan 2019: 41).

This table describes the relationship between resources, conversion factors, capabilities and functionings in the context of transportation:

Resources	Conversion factors	Basic and secondary capabilities	Basic and secondary functionings
<p>Individual resources: income, a car, a driver’s licence, a bicycle.</p> <p>Collective resources: roads and bicycle lanes, bus lines, train connections.</p>	<p>Personal factors: for example, health.</p> <p>Social factors: norms concerning mobility, such as whether women are permitted to drive a car or cycle.</p>	<p>The opportunity to move freely (basic).</p> <p>The opportunity to commute to work or school (secondary).</p> <p>The opportunity to visit a doctor, a dentist or buy medicine (secondary).</p> <p>The opportunity to travel to stores (secondary).</p> <p>The opportunity to travel to other social activities: hobbies, meeting friends or relatives (secondary).</p>	<p>Actual travels: Travelling for its own sake (basic)</p> <p>Travel to work, to school, to a doctor or dentist, to stores, to friends or relatives (secondary).</p>

The table clarifies the ways in which resources and conversion factors determine which capabilities to be mobile that people have. For example, even if you have a car and a driver’s licence, you may not be able to drive due to bad health. Some persons who can afford a bicycle may instead walk or take a bus since they have not learnt how to cycle. The design of the public transport system is, of course, also important for people’s capabilities to travel. Your capability to commute to work is limited if there are no connections close to your home and workplace, the travel time is very long, or the departures are very infrequent.

In the context of transport justice, the distinction between capabilities and functionings is important. It is essential to analyse whether differences in actual transport behaviour are consequences of free choice or due to unequal opportunities to travel.

2.2. Method: focus group study

As stated in the introduction, focus groups is a suitable method because the connection between improved public transport, travel behaviour and capabilities is complex and

relatively unexplored. Through focus groups, it is possible to get a good overview of different opinions about a topic or phenomenon (Krueger & Casey 2015: 2).

Four different focus groups were conducted in 2019, with the first at the end of May, the second at the beginning of June, the third at the end of September, and the fourth at the beginning of October. It is recommended to conduct at least three focus groups to gather a range of opinions (Krueger & Casey 2015: 7). The number of participants were between four and six persons, and the participants between ages 20–74. Between four to six persons is often considered a suitable group size for focus groups (Wibeck 2010: 62, Krueger & Casey: 6). The focus groups were ended when the participants did not have more to say about the topics. The focus group talks lasted between 26 and 34 minutes.

Given that one purpose of the study was to analyse whether the public transport investments in Rosengård had affected the transport behaviour of the participants, the study includes only adult persons. For teenagers and children, it would have been more difficult to determine whether their change of travel behaviour was caused by a change of age or changes in the public transport system.

In total, four men and fifteen women were interviewed.³ Given that the purpose of the study is not to analyse gender differences, the gender imbalance cannot be considered a problem. It is sufficient that some men were represented among the participants. All participants of the focus groups except one were born outside of Sweden in the following countries: Somalia, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Jordan, Slovakia, former Yugoslavia, Finland and Denmark. One participant lived close to Rosengård and the others in Rosengård. They had lived in the area between 4–33 years. The interviews were conducted in Swedish. In one of the focus groups, two of the participants had limited knowledge of Swedish and communicated with the help of the other participants.

For the two first focus groups, participants were recruited through a local organization in Rosengård, *Somaliska Freds- och Skiljedomsföreningen* (The Somalian Peace and Arbitration Association). The focus groups took place on the premises of the organization. For the third focus group, the participants were recruited from a school in Rosengård, Sankta Maria Folkhögskola (Saint Mary Folk High School), and it took place in the school. The participants in the fourth focus group were recruited at a meeting place for older people, Mötesplats Seniorum, in Rosengård, and it was also conducted there. When recruiting participants from ethnic minorities, it is often recommended to use the help of local organizations with which they are familiar (Krueger & Casey 2015: 197). The participants were also chosen to represent different categories: men and women, young and old persons, persons working or taking part in an education as well as retired persons.

³ It should be noted that the classification of the participants as men and women is only based on names and appearance, in other words, their biological sex. I did not ask them about their own classification as men and women, as gender identity is of limited importance for this study.

The participants expressed their consent in written form. The focus groups were recorded and later transcribed. The audio files were deleted and only anonymized transcriptions have been kept in order to avoid storing personal information. The statements from the participants of the focus groups were coded into different categories according to the most important themes of the discussion: the Malmö Express, Rosengård Station and public transport in Malmö in general (Krueger & Casey 2015: 147).

An interview guide (Attachment 1) was followed in the interviews, which contained both general, introductory questions and more specific key questions about the Malmö Express and Malmöpendeln (Krueger & Casey 2015: 44-46). The discussions were mainly focused on the Malmö Express, as it turned out that most participants seldom used Malmöpendeln, which partly can be a consequence of the fact that it was recently established. Some more general questions about the participants' view of public transport in Malmö were added after meetings with Iris Rehnström at Skånetrafiken (the regional public transport service provider), and Daniel Svanfelt and Per Wisenborn at Malmö Municipality.

3. Previous research

3.1. Previous studies of travel behaviour among ethnic minorities in Sweden and among residents in socially vulnerable areas

In Rosengård, a large part of the population (62% according to the latest statistics) originate from outside of Sweden, while 27% are born in Sweden but have two parents from outside of Sweden (Statistikunderlag för Malmös områden 2019-09-27). As mentioned, Rosengård south of Amiralsgatan is classified as a socially vulnerable area by the Swedish police. Earlier research about travel behaviour among ethnic minorities in Sweden and among residents in socially vulnerable areas is therefore of relevance for this study. However, there are only a few earlier studies about these topics. One example is a report from the Swedish National Road and Transport Research Institute (VTI) from 2006 about the mobility of individuals born outside of Sweden. It states that there are significant differences between the travel behaviour of this group in comparison with individuals born in Sweden. Only 65% of the men and only 42% of the women born outside of Sweden had a driver's licence that could be used in Sweden. Among individuals born in Sweden, 87% of the men had a driver's licence and 76% of the women. Of the men, 41% of those born outside Sweden owned a car and 19% of the women. As for people born in Sweden, the corresponding numbers were 48% for men and 27% for women (Lewin et al. 2006: 28-29). The differences regarding the possession of a driver's licence between individuals born in and outside of Sweden is confirmed by more recent statistics from the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO). In 2015, 91% of all blue-collar workers between 18–64 years born in Sweden had a driver's licence, but only 70% of all blue-collar workers between 18–64 years born outside of Sweden. 95% of all white-collar workers between 18–64 years born in Sweden had a driver's licence, but only 70% of all white-collar workers between 18–64 years born outside of Sweden (LO 2018).

The report from the Swedish National Road and Transport Research Institute also presents the results of a survey among relatively newly arrived immigrants in Sweden. It was more common for men than women to drive a car and to cycle. As for the use of cars, 43% of the male respondents and 70% of the female respondents stated that they never drive a car. Regarding the use of bicycles, 95% of the men responded that they know how to cycle, compared with only 65% of the women. Among the individuals that knew how to cycle, 55% of the men and 61% of the women stated that they owned a bicycle (Lewin et al. 2006: 40-42). Regarding public transport, it was more common for women than men

to take the bus. Among the men, 54% took the bus at least once a week and among the women 59% (Lewin et al. 2006: 45).

One key result from the report relevant for this study is that significantly fewer individuals born outside of Sweden have a driver's licence and drive a car compared with individuals born in Sweden. Moreover, among individuals born outside of Sweden, the difference between men and women is larger. In addition, in this group, it is more common for men than for women to cycle but less common to travel by bus.

A recent study on the mobility of residents in socially vulnerable areas in Göteborg (Angered, Hammarkullen and Lövgärdet) and in Botkyrka municipality outside Stockholm (Hallunda/Norsborg, Alby and Fittja) points out that well-functioning public transport is essential for residents of socially vulnerable areas. Due to low income, low education and the lack of sufficient knowledge in Swedish, they have difficulties in getting a driver's licence, buying a car or moving to an area closer to their workplace or school. Traditionally, Swedish transport research has focused on commuter travels to work and often on travel during daytime. Persons working during evenings and nights, part-time or with irregular working hours and unemployed persons are often invisible in the research. The study points out that the mobility needs of such persons may not be satisfied, which increases the risk for social exclusion (Berg et al. 2019: 4, 7). Moreover, the study points out that the public transport system is not well-designed for those who work in areas outside the city centre, and thus, there is a need for better connections between the suburbs (Berg et al. 2019: 29).

The study included focus groups with young unemployed individuals from the aforementioned areas. They mostly use public transport when travelling, and they experience public transport as an important resource in their daily life. The interviewees think that they can travel to the places they want to reach with public transport. It functions well for them, partly because they do not have to be on time for a job or to pick up children. It does not make much difference if they are delayed. However, many of the young interviewees think that public transport is expensive and sometimes they choose not to visit friends because of the costs. Moreover, many of the interviewees have the goal to get a driver's licence because owning a car is regarded as a form of freedom (Berg et al. 2019: 19-22).

The study also includes interviews with assistant nurses and nurse's assistants at two homes for older people in Stockholm. At one of these homes located within walking distance from a commuter train station, the interviewees experienced good mobility. In this case, public transport functioned well for commuting to work. The other home for older people has a remote location and is difficult to reach with public transport, especially in the evening and on weekends. It takes around 40 minutes to walk from the nearest commuter train station to the workplace. There is a bus connection from the train station to the workplace, but the bus is not synchronized with the train and it is often delayed. The interviewees had to shift between different modes of transport, and for many

of them, it took more than an hour to reach their workplace. Many of them relied on colleagues to drive them to the commuter train station (Berg et al. 2019: 23).

The study concludes that it has not been able to identify any transport poverty in the studied areas, which is a result of the Swedish model for planning characterized by the tradition to supply suburbs with public transport. Socially vulnerable areas are relatively well supplied with public transport. However, the female interviewees explained that they avoid public transport if they can for security reasons. Moreover, the study shows that public transport is a significant cost for many with low or no income and that the cost contributes to limited mobility and limited access to the job market and education. Low-income groups have difficulties investing in a travel card, which sometimes forces them to buy expensive individual tickets (Berg et al. 2019: 26-27).

3.2. Previous studies of travel behaviour among residents in Rosengård

The travel behaviour among the residents of Rosengård is described in a report by Wennberg et al. (2018). The report is partly based on an analysis of statistics from a travel behaviour survey in Malmö from 2008 and a travel behaviour survey in Skåne from 2013 that is presented in a master's thesis from Lund University by Anna Hansson (2018). Regarding access to different means of transport, access to a bicycle and a car is lower in Rosengård than the average in Malmö. Only 45% always has access to a bicycle, while the average for Malmö is 72%. Only 30% always has access to a car, while the average for Malmö is 44%. Only 49% has a driver's licence, while the average for Malmö is 76%. In addition, fewer women than men have a driver's licence in Rosengård. It is also less common for women to cycle. The percentage that takes the bus is higher in Rosengård than the average in Malmö, 27% and 14%, respectively. In Rosengård, women takes the bus more often than men (Wennberg et al. 2018: 29-30). It seems apparent that the fact that fewer individuals have a driver's licence and access to a car in Rosengård than in Malmö as a whole is connected with the fact that a larger part of the population in Rosengård is born outside of Sweden. As seen from the national study above, fewer individuals born outside of Sweden have a driver's licence and access to a car.

Wennberg et al. also present the result of a focus group study in Rosengård. Regarding accessibility, the participants in the focus groups concluded that it is easy to reach the central parts of Malmö, either by cycling, walking or with the help of public transport. However, it is more difficult to reach other parts of Malmö, for example, Limhamn and Bunkeflo in the south-western parts of Malmö (Wennberg et al. 2018: 40). As for travel behaviour, about half of the participants in the focus groups had a driver's licence, but only a few had a car. However, those without car said that they often could borrow a car or travel with others if they needed to. All of the participants used public transport, in

most cases, the Malmö Express, because it reaches the city centre faster than other buses. Many of the focus group participants cycled, but not everyone. Some of them considered a bicycle to be a toy for children rather than a means of transport. Some female participants said that they cannot cycle or that they feel that it is unsafe (Wennberg et al. 2018: 40). That rather few of the participants in the focus groups cycled also falls in line with the results from the national study of individuals born outside of Sweden (Lewin et al. 2006).

The impact of the Rosengård train station on the mobility of individuals in Rosengård, especially women, is studied in a recent master's thesis from Malmö University by Kate Flowerday (2019). She studied the travel habits of five persons between 25 and 32 years of age, who define themselves as women. All of them have an immigrant background: one was born in Italy, one in Saudi Arabia, one in Syria, one in Lebanon and one in Turkey. Four live in Rosengård, and one lives in Hyllie but works in Rosengård. Two of them work outside the home, two are students, and one is a homemaker with small children. Flowerday concludes that the new station has not significantly changed the travel habits of any of her interviewees. None of them travels regularly with Malmöpendeln from or to Rosengård, and one woman was not even aware of the new train station. As for the other women, one of the main reasons why they do not travel from Rosengård station is the irregularity of the service: one train every 30 minutes on weekdays and one train every hour on weekends. Moreover, some interviewees live rather far from the station, around 2 km. Even the woman from Lebanon who lives in Hyllie and works in Rosengård does not take the train because of the irregularity of the service. It fits better with her schedule to take a bus, even if the travel time is considerably longer. The women from Italy and Turkey mainly cycle within Malmö, while the women from Saudi Arabia and Syria do not, partly because they find it difficult to cycle with their clothing (in the case of the woman from Saudi Arabia because she wears skirts and dresses, and in the case of the woman from Syria, because she wears a hijab). Instead, they travel longer distances with bus or car (Flowerday 2019: 37-47). Flowerday argues that because Rosengård station is built along a pre-existing railway line that was earlier reserved for trade freight, its location is not optimal for all the residents of Rosengård. The station is actually closer for those who live in the more central Annelund district (Flowerday 2019: 54).

3.3. Applications of the capability approach to questions of transportation

Jean Ryan is the main author of several articles that apply the capability approach to study the mobility of older persons. She studied the use of public transport among older person in Stockholm (Ryan et al. 2015) and the link between public transport and car access and

the capabilities of older people in the regions of Malmö, Gothenburg and Stockholm (Ryan & Wretstrand 2019) as well as the disparities of mobility among older people in Malmö, Gothenburg and Stockholm (Ryan et al. 2019). Ryan employs the capability approach to reach a better understanding of how the individual resources and conversion factors of older persons affect their mobility-related capability sets (Ryan 2019: 43).

The capability approach is also employed in a study by Jonna Nyberg et al. of how individuals experience driving license withdrawal due to visual field loss and how it affects their welfare. The study concludes that the driving license withdrawal led to less opportunities for the individuals concerning their possibilities to commute to work, to visit friends and relatives and to take part in different leisure activities (Nyberg et al 2019).

An example of a study that employs a similar theoretical and methodological approach is the analysis of mobility among older woman in an urban setting by Susanne Nordbakke. The empirical basis is from the results of four focus groups of women between 67–89 years living in Oslo. Nordbakke argues that the capability approach differs from the more traditional approach to transport research in that it puts more emphasis on how individuals' own actions shape their opportunities (Nordbakke 2013: 168). One result of the study is that not only spatial but also temporal attributes of activities influence mobility in old age. For example, the older women in the study are reluctant to take part in activities that occur during the evening, such as going to the cinema or theatre (Nordbakke 2013: 172). Nordbakke points out that the study shows how individuals' actions shape their opportunities for mobility. It demonstrates the interconnections between individual resources, contextual conditions and individual strategies. The different strategies that the women had developed, for example, carefully planning a trip and staying away at night, became part of their individual resources and increased the capabilities for mobility. Nordbakke argues that in order to understand older persons' mobility capabilities, we must take into consideration the quality of the transport system and individual resources as well as the spatial and temporal characteristics of activities (Nordbakke 2013: 172).

As seen, there are some studies of older persons' mobility that make use of the capability approach, but so far it has not been employed for analysing the mobility of ethnic minorities and the mobility of individuals in socially vulnerable areas. Therefore, the analysis in this report is a contribution to the scientific debate.

The capability approach is also employed in articles on transport justice with a philosophical–normative orientation. In an early contribution to the debate, David Kronlid argues that mobility should be regarded as a capability because it is intrinsic to human well-being (Kronlid 2008). Pereira et al. also discuss transport justice from a more philosophical–normative perspective based on the capability approach. They point out that many studies on transport justice are concerned with the distribution of resources related to transport and do not take adequate account of the fact that different conversion

factors determine the extent to which such resources can be used for reaching desired locations. Other studies are concerned with inequalities in travel behaviour, which also is problematic because some differences can be the outcomes of people's free choices. Instead, Pereira et al. argue that transport justice should focus on differences in accessibility levels, which are defined as people's opportunities to reach different destinations (Pereira et al. 2017).

Pereira et al. argue that, from the perspective of the capability approach, mobility should be considered a basic capability because it is an import precondition for satisfying basic needs. Transport policies should not only increase the general level of accessibility but also guarantee that individuals have a minimal level of access to activities that are important for meeting basic needs (Pereira et al. 2017: 182).

Nahmias-Biran et al. also discuss the capability approach as a theoretical framework for transport justice. They argue that, from a justice perspective, the capability approach is preferable to cost–benefit analysis, which is the dominant method for assessing transport policies. Cost–benefit analysis is often criticized because it does not consider the distribution of benefits and costs (Nahmias-Biran et al. 2017: 200). In contrast, the capability approach is concerned with promoting that every individual reaches a threshold level for all basic capabilities. A person's accessibility can be regarded as a basic capability. Because its goal is to promote a certain threshold level of the basic capabilities for all individuals, it prioritizes individuals with insufficient levels of accessibility.

4. The case of Rosengård

The district of Rosengård was built between 1967–74 as a part of ‘miljonprogrammet’, an attempt by the Swedish government to satisfy the needs for new housing. The intention was to create modern and functional apartments for the working class with a high standard at a relatively low price, as a replacement for unmodern apartments in the city centre. However, at an early stage, it came to be regarded by many as an example of the drawbacks of modernity. Nearly at the same time as the first houses were completed, social workers and architects started a debate about the social problems that could emerge in the area. They described the area as hard, sterile, monotonous, and as a bad environment for children. From the beginning, Rosengård was characterized by high unemployment, high dependency on social welfare and a high level of criminality (Ristilammi 1994: 12-31, 75). When the district was built, it was anticipated that the population of Malmö would continue growing, but the opposite occurred. The increase in the population stopped in 1970, and thereafter, the population decreased steadily (Ristilammi 1994: 60). Rosengård soon came to be seen as a socially marginal area instead of as a role model for future urban development. The social problems in the district increased, and many who had the possibility to do so moved away from the area (Ristilammi 1994: 70). A large number of apartments became vacant, and in many of them, newly arrived refugees moved in (Hallin et al. 2010: 12-13). As stated, today a large majority of the residents of Rosengård are either born outside of Sweden or have parents that both are born outside of Sweden.

At present, Rosengård south of Amiralsgatan is defined by the Swedish police as an especially vulnerable area. Rosengård is characterized by high unemployment, low economic status and high level of child poverty (Hallin et al. 2010: 215; Statistikunderlag för Malmö's områden 2019-09-27). There have been many riots in Rosengård and confrontations between the police and the residents of the area, mainly young men. It has also been common for people to throw stones at buses (Hallin et al. 2010: 61-64). Interestingly, attacks against buses has nearly ended after the establishment of the Malmö Express (interview with Iris Rehnström at Skånetrafiken). In spite of the violence and high level of criminality, many residents experience Rosengård as a safe place to live in. They state that people in the district know one another and that they trust and help one another (Hallin et al. 2010: 131-132, 180).

Hallin et al. argue that the violence between young people and the police can be explained by the fact that many residents in Rosengård experience themselves as unfairly treated by the police and by authorities. They claim that some police officers have racist attitudes and treat individuals with an immigrant background worse than others (Hallin et al. 2010:

178-179). Some residents of Rosengård that were interviewed in the study do not see themselves as having the same possibilities as other residents in Malmö. For example, some women who were wearing a hijab claim that they are discriminated in the job market (Hallin et al. 2010: 137).

Hallin et al. make use of Iris Marion Young's conception of structural oppression in order to analyse the situation for residents in Rosengård. According to Young, oppression is connected both with unequal distribution and with lack of recognition. She claims that structural oppression is expressed in terms of exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence (Young 1990). Many residents in Rosengård experience exploitation, as they only have temporary employments or low-wage jobs. Many of them are also marginalized because they are excluded from the job market. Given that they are dependent on authorities, they experience themselves as controlled. Moreover, feelings of powerlessness are common, because the residents of Rosengård often have low social status and lack any close contact with people who hold high positions in society. They are also exposed to cultural imperialism, as they are often described in stereotype forms and defined as inferior and different from the dominant group. Finally, the fact that violence is regarded as normal and sometimes ignored by the rest of society can also be regarded as a form of oppression (Hallin et al. 2010: 165-166, 181-182).

From the beginning, there have been many attempts by social workers and activists to reduce the social problems in Rosengård (Ristilammi 1994: 75-92). Currently, 'Amiralsstaden' (The Admiral City) is one of the most ambitious projects aiming at increasing the social sustainability of the district. The establishment of the Malmö Express and Rosengård station is closely linked to this project. It is named after the street, Amiralsgatan, that passes through Rosengård. The project originates from a proposal by the Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö (2013). Amiralsstaden is a generic term for projects of urban development that centre around Rosengård station. It involves the districts of Annelund, Östra Sorgenfri, Emilstorp and Rosengård, which are located close to the station. The point of departure is that investments in the physical environment can function as 'a tool for achieving environments that promote health, reduce segregation, overcome barriers, improve accessibility, increase security and trust, increase participation, increase the attraction and not least function as a clear signal that a change is on its way' (Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö 2013: 165).

The Commission states that, at present, barriers, in the form of streets and the railway, strengthens the differences between the housing areas located close to Rosengård station. Amiralsgatan is one of the barriers that should be transformed from a traffic route to a town street with a scale that better fits people's needs of closeness and experiences. The Continental track is also described as a barrier that can be overcome with the help of the new station (Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö 2013: 165).

In a report about the goals and values of Amiralstaden, it is described as a pilot project aiming at counteracting the current tendencies and increasing equality – in aspects such as expected length of life, results in school, household economy and access to work – in Malmö and Sweden as a whole (Amiralstaden 2018: 5-6). The report also states that Rosengård station will facilitate transport and contact with the surrounding world. In parallel with the physical development, the goal of Amiralstaden is to increase the level of employment, reduce housing segregation and give all children an equal start in life (Amiralstaden 2018: 12). Amiralstaden is also connected with the Culture Casbah project, which consists of building new apartments in Rosengård, a central building close to Rosengård station and a new meeting place that is meant to unite sporting and cultural events close to Örtagårdstorget in the middle of Rosengård (Rosengård fastigheter website).

5. The results of the focus groups

5.1. Transport behaviour

Regarding the use of public transport, some of the focus group participants use buses or trains only a few times a month. Many of those belonging to this category have a driver's licence and access to a car. One young male participant explained that he uses public transport mostly to travel to the university, but in his spare time he usually drive a car. There is a clear gender difference between the participants, as all the men but only a few women in the focus groups drive a car at least sometimes, which is in line with the results from earlier research. Many of the women in the focus groups lack a driver's licence. Some of them use public transport nearly every day. They take buses or trains to work or to schools on weekdays, while other women use public transport mostly on weekends in their spare time. The older and retired focus group participants use public transport regularly, with some doing so nearly every day, and others only a few times per week. Only one of the participants of the focus groups said that she cycles regularly, which also is in accordance with earlier results that fewer residents in Rosengård cycle compared with residents in the whole of Malmö.

The participants use public transport for different purposes: to commute to work or to an education, to visit relatives or friends living in other areas or outside Malmö, to go shopping, to visit dentists or doctors, and to visit the centre of Malmö to take a walk. Most of the participants take the bus much more often than the train, and they take the Malmö Express more often than other buses. Some use the train mostly for travelling to places outside Malmö, such as Copenhagen, while some take the train from Rosengård to Hyllie, for example, for visiting the shopping mall, Emporia. None of the participants stated that they use Malmöpendeln to travel to the city centre, which can be explained by the fact that it is more convenient to take the Malmö Express because the departures are much more frequent even if it takes longer time (it takes 16 minutes to travel from Rosengård station to Malmö Central Station with bus, but only 7 minutes with train). For the residents in Rosengård who live far from the station, the Malmö Express is especially preferable.

5.2. Views of the Malmö Express

The views of the Malmö Express (bus number 5) are in general very positive, which is in line with earlier research. It is seen as an advantage that it passes through nearly the whole

of Malmö and it stops at several places in the city centre. Compared to other buses, there are many seats in it and a lot of space for prams. Several of the participants of the focus groups, especially those who are older, appreciate that there are many doors on the buses that you can enter, as it makes it easier to find a seat. An older woman said the following:

“Much easier and more comfortable when one enters and finds a seat, for example, one does not need to walk through the whole bus as in other buses” (translation by the author).

Because of the many entrance doors, the bus is considered smooth and easy to use. Another advantage compared to other buses is that there are more frequent departures. Many participants stated that they mostly use bus 5. Moreover, they mention that bus 5 is much less often delayed than bus 33 and 35.⁴ Some stated that it is better to take number 5 and change buses rather than taking bus 33 or 35. One woman said the following:

“Number 5 all the time, because number 5 is there all the time. Whenever you want, you go directly and you travel. You don’t have to wait as with the other buses. Number 33 and..” (translation by the author).

In addition, the participants pointed out that by using bus 5, you can reach your destination fast. It is considered an advantage that it has designated lanes and does not have to wait in traffic with cars. Furthermore, one woman mentioned that her children go to school in the district of Västra Hamnen (Western Harbour) and that it is convenient for them to take bus 5. In addition, some of the participants also considered it convenient that the buses have outlets for charging mobile phones and some also emphasized that they like the design of the new bus 5.

In spite of the high frequency of the departures of the Malmö Express, some focus groups’ participants pointed out that it often takes a long time to travel if you have to change to another bus, which is in accordance with earlier studies of the Swedish public transport system that point out that it is not well-designed for people working outside of the city. One of the participants mentioned that he previously worked in another suburb in Malmö, and in that case, he chose to drive a car because it would have taken too much time to use public transport.

Some participants of the focus groups mentioned that a disadvantage of bus 5 is that it travels very fast and the bus drivers sometimes slam on the brakes, which makes it dangerous for the passengers, especially children and older people. Some of the older participants said that the bus drivers sometimes stop too briefly at the bus stops, which makes it difficult to enter or leave the bus in time. Because they consider the bus unsafe, some participants shared that they are reluctant to use it. Some prefer driving instead. A

⁴ Both bus 33 and 35 pass through Rosengård. Bus 33 travels the distance between Ön in the northwest of Malmö and Värnhem in the northeast, and it passes through the southern parts of Malmö. Bus 35 travels the distance between Gustaf Adolfs torg in the city centre and Kvarnby in the eastern parts.

few participants also complained about the temperature in the bus. It is often too hot in summer and too cold in winter. The bus drivers do not adjust the heating system well to the outside temperature.

However, most of the participants that use public transport regularly say that they travel more often with the 'new bus 5' than with 'the old bus 5'. The new buses are more convenient and larger than the old ones, and are on time more often. Some say that it has made their everyday life easier. Today, it is easier to travel to the grocery store or pharmacy and to visit friends and relatives.

5.3. Views of Malmöpendeln

The focus group participants were also positive about the new commuter line, partly because the new train station has the potential to make Rosengård more attractive. It can increase the contact between people in Rosengård and people in other parts of Malmö. One young man said the following:

“You exchange contact with other people. Those from Rosengård see other people. Other people see people from Rosengård. So it is a positive thing, it looks like, and it creates more life also in Rosengård” (translation by the author).

One participant thought that it would make people from other areas of Malmö more inclined to visit Rosengård. This view of Rosengård station is in accordance with the current political rhetoric that the new station has the potential to increase the attractiveness of Rosengård and thereby reduce segregation in Malmö. However, in spite of the positive perception of the station, most of the participants had travelled from it only once or a few times, or even not at all.⁵ A few said that they travel often with the train from Rosengård on the weekends. The participants considered it a disadvantage that the departures are infrequent and that you cannot travel directly from Rosengård station to destinations outside of Malmö. Some participants said that Malmöpendeln has created a very fast and smooth connection to Hyllie. The participants stated that they use Malmöpendeln mainly for reaching Hyllie in the western part of Malmö, for example, for visiting Emporia or Hylliebadet (the public swimming baths in Hyllie). Some participants mentioned that the advantage with the train station is that the connection is much faster than bus if you want to travel to the western parts of Malmö. One participant said that she takes the train from Rosengård with her children because they like travelling by train. However, as the participants do not use Malmöpendeln often, it does not appear that it

⁵ Statistics from Skånetrafiken indicate that few residents in Rosengård use Malmöpendeln regularly. On average, 363 persons travel every day from Rosengård station on weekdays, and 177 on weekends (e-mail correspondence with Martin Vesterberg at Skånetrafiken, 2020-02-03). This is a small number as the population of Rosengård is 23,758 (Statistikunderlag för Malmö's områden 2019-09-27) and as it is likely that many of these passengers come from other districts that are also located close to the station.

has led to any significant improvements in their everyday life. The positive perceptions may be more connected with the fact that it signals that Malmö Municipality is willing to invest in Rosengård (see chapter 6).

5.4. General views of public transport in Malmö

In general, the participants were satisfied with public transport in Malmö, but they thought that the fares had increased too much recently which is in accordance with earlier studies that high cost is a problem for people in socially vulnerable areas because many of them have a low income. This may restrict their use of public transport. Moreover, some focus group participants stated that many travel on the Malmö Express without paying, partly due to the high fares.

In addition, many participants mentioned that bus 33 and 35 are very often delayed and have too infrequent departures. Some participants stated that the bus drivers do not follow traffic rules and drive too fast. Others said that some bus drivers do not wait long enough for passengers to enter or exit the bus. For example, they should wait longer for mothers with children. Another criticism of the bus drivers was that they seldom lower the bus for people with a pram or people in a wheelchair. Some pointed out that they prefer driving instead because they think it is safer.

6. An analysis of the results based on the capability approach

First, it seems apparent that public transport plays an important role in the lives of many of the participants, especially for those not using a car. Some of them commute regularly to work or to school. Moreover, several of them stated that they take the Malmö Express more often than they took 'the old bus 5'. The Malmö Express has affected the functionings of many of the participants. It has become easier to travel with a pram and for older people, it is easier to find a vacant seat. Some say that the Malmö Express has made it easier to buy food and medicine and to visit friends and relatives. We can conclude that the Malmö Express has also increased their opportunities, given that it facilitates their travels.

Based on the statements of the participants concerning their use of public transport, it seems important for the following secondary capabilities: the capability to travel to work, to travel to an education, to travel to doctors, dentists and pharmacies, to travel to grocery stores, and to travel to leisure activities (for example, shopping or visiting public baths). These secondary capabilities are in turn instrumental to different basic capabilities. For example, to work and to educate oneself can be considered capabilities in themselves. The capabilities to travel to work or to an education is, of course, instrumental to them. Moreover, health is often regarded as a basic capability, and it is dependent on the capabilities to work in order to earn an income and the capability to travel to doctors, dentists and pharmacies as well as grocery stores. The capability of self-respect is another basic capability that is less tangible but nevertheless fundamental and important to recognize. The capabilities to travel to work and to an education can also be regarded as instrumental for achieving this capability. The capability of having close relationships is another example of a less tangible capability, and it presupposes the capability to travel to friends and relatives. In addition, the capability of enjoying one's leisure time is also important, although it can be considered less fundamental than the other basic capabilities. It is, of course, dependent on the secondary capability to travel to leisure activities.

We can employ the view of the relationship between resources, conversion factors, capabilities and functionings presented in chapter 2 for analysing how the Malmö Express has affected the opportunities of the focus group participants. For mothers with children, the Malmö Express has made it easier to travel since there is more space for prams in the new buses. The fact that a person has small children and has to travel with a pram can be seen as a conversion factor that determines the way in which she or he can make use of a

resource, such as a bus line, to achieve certain functionings, such as travelling to a grocery store. Because there is more room for prams in the Malmö Express than in the 'old bus 5', the capability to travel to a grocery store for these groups of individuals has increased.

Only one of the participants mentioned that she cycles regularly. The other participants did not say why they do not cycle, but based on earlier research, it is likely that some, especially among the female participants, have not learnt how to cycle or that they think it is inconvenient or unsafe. Social norms may also be a conversion factor that makes these individuals more dependent on public transport.

Feminist transport researchers point out that women have more complex travel patterns than men as they often have the main responsibility for childcare, shopping and home-making (Greed 2019: 30). This conclusion is confirmed by this study as many of the female focus groups participants stated that they have to bring a pram with them when travelling to grocery stores or other destinations. Because many of them do not have a driver's license and access to a car – which is common among residents in Rosengård – good public transport is especially important.

Likewise, because it is easier for older people to find a vacant seat in the Malmö Express than in the 'old bus 5', their opportunities to travel to friends and relatives have increased, at least for some individuals. In this case, health is a conversion factor that affects the way in which individuals can make use of a bus line to achieve certain functionings. For many of the older participants, health issues are a limiting factor that makes it more difficult to travel. Also for older residents in Rosengård, access to good public transport is in general more important for them than for residents from other parts of Malmö, because a larger part of them lack a driver's license or access to a car. This study indicates that different factors – such as gender, class, age and ethnicity – interact and together determine the transport opportunities of an individual.

Also, for individuals other than parents with children or older persons, the Malmö Express has made it easier to travel because the bus is more often on time than the 'old bus 5'. In that respect, the Malmö Express has increased their capabilities to travel to work or to an education.

As for Malmöpendeln, the participants use it mainly in their spare time to visit Hyllie, for example, to go shopping at Emporia or visit Hylliebadet. One participant said that she travels with her children from Rosengård station because they like travelling by train. To some extent, the Malmöpendeln has also increased the opportunities of the participants. The secondary capability of travelling to leisure activities is instrumental for the basic capability of enjoying one's leisure time.

In spite of the fact that most of the participants seldom or never take the train from Rosengård station, they nevertheless have a positive perception of it. It seems to be more connected with the view that the station can make Rosengård more attractive than it having any significant impact on their travel behaviour and opportunities to travel. The

construction of the station, together with other projects, such as the Culture Casbah, signals that Malmö Municipality and other stakeholders want to invest in and improve the area. In terms of justice, it seems to be more connected with recognition than with redistribution. From the perspective of the capability approach, it seems like Rosengård station has increased the capability of self-respect, at least for some of the participants. Part of the positive perception of the Malmö Express can probably also be explained by its impact on the capability of self-respect. Some of the positive comments about the Malmö Express concern its design, rather than the practical functions of the buses. Also, the investment in new buses signals the willingness to improve the area.

Based on the focus groups, we can conclude that the Malmö Express and Malmöpendeln have increased the opportunities for many of the focus group participants, at least according to their own perceptions. It has a positive impact on their capability to travel to work, to an education, to doctors, dentists and pharmacies, to grocery stores and to leisure activities. These secondary capabilities are preconditions for realizing the following basic capabilities: the capability of work, the capability to educate oneself, the capability of health, the capability of self-respect, and the capability of having close relationships. Moreover, mobility can be considered a capability in itself. In order to live a good human life, it is important to have the ability to move spatially.

7. Concluding discussion

7.1. Results

This study contributes to a better understanding of the mobility patterns and opportunities to be mobile of residents in socially vulnerable areas and is thus of importance for both transport research and transport planning. It confirms the conclusions from previous research that residents of Rosengård in general have a positive view of the Malmö Express and that they in general are more dependent on public transport than residents in other parts of Malmö, as a larger percentage of them does not have a driver's license or access to a car. Both the Malmö Express and Malmöpendeln have increased the opportunities for some of the focus group participants, at least according to their own perceptions. The Malmö Express has a much more significant effect on their mobility-related capabilities than the Malmöpendeln, at least partly because the departures from Rosengård station at present are irregular and one cannot travel directly to destinations outside of Malmö. The Malmö Express has a positive impact on the capability to travel to work, to travel to an education, to travel to doctors, dentists and pharmacies, to travel to grocery stores and to travel to leisure activities. These secondary capabilities are preconditions for realizing the following basic capabilities: the capability of work, the capability to educate oneself, the capability of health, the capability of self-respect, to enjoy one's leisure time and the capability of having close relationships. Moreover, mobility can be considered a capability in itself. Malmöpendeln seems to have contributed mostly to the capability of enjoying one's leisure time and the capability of self-respect.

7.2. Strengths and weaknesses of the theory and method

One strength of the capability approach is that it is helpful for analysing the ways in which resources and conversion factors determine individuals' opportunities to be mobile. In this study, it provides us with a better understanding of how infrastructural and social factors influence people's capabilities to be mobile. However, the approach is not primarily focused on power relations and their impacts on mobility patterns, which in this context can be important for achieving a more comprehensive understanding of people's opportunities to be mobile.

As for the method of focus groups, it is fruitful for obtaining an overview of different perceptions of a phenomenon. In this study, it improves our knowledge of the different views of the Malmö Express and Malmöpendeln among residents in Rosengård.

However, it cannot give us any certain information of how common different perceptions of these two transport investments are among the population in Rosengård as a whole. For this purpose, quantitative methods are necessary.

7.3. Suggestions for further research

It would be interesting to complement this study with quantitative analyses of people's travel behaviour and experiences of travelling in Rosengård in order to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the impacts of the public transport investments in Malmö. In addition, more qualitative studies of people's perceptions of public transport in socially vulnerable areas is important to better understand what role public transport can play for increasing the opportunities of the residents in these areas.

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Attachment 1

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introductory questions

Do you use public transport? If so, how often and which trains or buses?

For which purposes?

Key questions

What do you think of the Malmö Express ('new bus 5')? Do you use it? If so, how often?

Has the Malmö Express affected your travel behaviour? If so, has it affected your everyday life?

What do you think of Malmöpendeln? Do you use it? If so, how often?

Has Malmöpendeln affected your travel behaviour? If so, has it affected your everyday life?

What is good and bad with current public transport to and from Rosengård? What can be improved?



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